Developing multilingual literacies in Sweden and Australia

Opportunities and challenges in mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance in Sweden and community language education in Australia

Anne Reath Warren

Abstract

This thesis aims to learn about opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies in three forms of education in Sweden and Australia that teach or draw on immigrant languages. In Sweden *mother tongue instruction* and *multilingual study guidance* are in focus and in Australia, a *community language school*. Taking an ecological approach to the research sites, the thesis investigates how language ideologies, organization of the form of education and language practices impact on the development of multilingual literacies. A range of linguistic ethnographic data including 75 lesson observations, 48 interviews, field notes and photographs has been analyzed against the theoretical backdrop of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) and emerging theories of translanguaging (García & Li, 2014) to investigate the questions. The thesis ties together the results of four interlocking case studies investigating the above-mentioned forms of education.

Study I analyses the syllabus for mother tongue instruction in Sweden and finds that while aligning with the overall values of the curriculum for the compulsory school, a hidden curriculum constrains implementation. In Study II, multilingual practices during multilingual study guidance in Sweden are analysed, and demonstrate how translanguaging helps recently arrived students reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. In study III, systematic analysis of indexicals reveals contrasting language narratives about language and language development in and around a Vietnamese community language school in Australia. Study IV focuses on mother tongue instruction in Sweden and through analysis of audio-recordings of lessons, interviews and field notes, finds three dimensions of linguistic diversity infuse the subject.

Opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are created when there is equal access to spaces for developing literacies in different immigrant languages, within which language ideologies that recognize and build on the heteroglossic diversity of students' linguistic repertoires dynamically inform the organization of education and classroom practices. Challenges are created when monoglossic ideologies restrict access to or ignore linguistic diversity and when there is a lack of dynamic engagement with implementation and organization. Basing organization, and classroom strategies around the linguistic reality of the students and the genres they need, benefits the development of multilingual literacies in both settings and can help students become resourceful language users (Pennycook, 2012b, 2014).

Keywords: *mother tongue instruction, community language schools, translanguaging, heteroglossia, narrative analysis, multilingual literacies, resourceful speakers, continua of biliteracy.*

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For my family,
geographically near and far
but always in my heart.

The present thesis is based on the following studies:

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Acknowledgements

The photograph on the cover is a visual metaphor for the theoretical tensions I write about in this thesis, but it could almost double as a metaphor for the PhD experience. The tummy-tickling highs of a funfair ride could be compared to the exhilaration of post-conference presentation highs, incredible interviews or extra-inspiring supervision sessions, while fears of mechanical catastrophe and centrifugal forces flinging one into oblivion might be compared to the pre-conference presentation terrors or the lingering anxiety of imposter syndrome, whispering "Can you really do this?" The ride of the doctoral student is of course longer, more complicated, terrifying and rewarding than a three-minute thrill, but both eventually end. With my feet firmly on the ground once again, I am overjoyed to write that I have *really* done it! But not alone…

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1 Multilingual students in monolingual spaces

This thesis investigates opportunities for and challenges to language development in educational environments where immigrant languages are studied or drawn on in Sweden and Australia. Transnational migration and the presence of more than one language in educational contexts are not solely modern phenomena (García, 2009, p. 13). However, increasing numbers and awareness of children who speak languages other than national majority ones in classrooms over past decades, has raised questions about relevant approaches to the education, especially language education, of these children (ibid.; Cenoz, 2009).

There is broad consensus in the research concerning the personal, academic and societal benefits in developing knowledge of more than one language (August & Hakuta 1997; Axelsson, 2013; Bialystok, 2001; Cummins, 1976, 1978, 1986, 2005, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders & Christian, 2006 Hill, 1996; Hyltenstam, 2006; Thomas, Wayne & Collier, Virginia, 2002). In recent years, the complexity of the multilingual repertoire has also been in focus (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; García, 2009). An important aspect of this thesis, is the recognition that the way that people who mostly speak one language (e.g. English) use that language, is different from the way that people who speak more than one language, use that language and the other languages they speak (Cook, 1999). Cook argued for forms of language education that recognize the multicompetence of language learners, rather than aiming at creating replicas of "native speakers" (ibid., p. 204). More recently, Pennycook suggests that helping students become resourceful language users, who draw on "multiple linguistic and semiotic resources" (Pennycook, 2012b, p. 13) and learn the genres they need to communicate and learn, would be a useful goal for language education programmes.

Although multilingualism is widely acknowledged as beneficial, and our knowledge of the complexity of the multilingual repertoire is established, linguistically diverse educational settings around the world continue to base their organization and pedagogical approaches on monolingual understandings. Monolingual understandings emphasize acquiring literacies in the socially dominant languages more than other languages (Eisenchlas, Schalley & Guillemin, 2013) and the importance of using and developing languages separately (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014; Li, 2011b). Instead of nurturing the existent multilingualism of students whose families

speak languages other than the socially dominant one, immigrant-receiving countries around the world have been accused of suppressing the multilingual potential of their population (Clyne, 2005). I have not yet found a quote which captures this juxtaposition better than Cummins did in 2005, when he described the language education situation in North America as a:

> […] bizarre scenario of schools successfully transforming fluent speakers of foreign languages into monolingual English speakers, at the same time as they struggle, largely unsuccessfully, to transform English monolingual students into foreign language speakers (Cummins, 2005, p. 586).

This thesis concerns itself with untangling the "bizarre scenario" described by Cummins by investigating three forms of education that aim to develop rather than squander the linguistic resources of multilingual students (cf. Clyne, 2005):

1. mother tongue instruction (Sweden)
2. multilingual study guidance (Sweden)
3. community language schools (Australia)

Classrooms in Sweden and Australia are characterised by increasing linguistic diversity (see 2.2.1 and 2.3.1). In Sweden, mother tongue instruction (Swe. *modersmålsundervisning*) is available through the public school system for studying languages spoken at home. Recently arrived students who are in the process of learning Swedish are also given the opportunity to use their mother tongue and other languages they might know to help them acquire Swedish and subject literacies in their first years in the Swedish school systems through a form of educational support called multilingual study guidance (Swe. *studiehandledning på modersmål*). In Australia, school age children have the opportunity to study immigrant languages other than English through community language schools, usually operating at weekends or in the evening, and run by parents and members of the local linguistic community[2].

The aim of this thesis is to learn more about the opportunities for and challenges to developing multilingual literacies that these forms of language education offer, to contribute to our knowledge of relevant educational approaches with multilingual students. The word *multilingual* as opposed to *bilingual* is used throughout this thesis. Definitions of bilingualism have traditionally been extremely restrictive, with a monolingual bias that implied that a high level (similar to the competence a monolingual has in the one language he or she speaks) in both languages was required (Dewaele, 2015). A recent

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[2] In the North American context, "heritage language schools" is the equivalent term and in the UK, "complementary schools".

definition of multilingualism as "two plus any number of languages" (ibid., p. 2) is better suited firstly to the theoretical perspectives taken on language and language practices in the thesis (see 4.4 for further discussion) and secondly to the research settings explored in this thesis, where participants often speak more than two languages.[3]

The terms *literacy/literacies* evoke images of written texts. In this thesis, written texts are not the central focus, rather the analysis focuses on the opportunities for or challenges to the *process* of developing multilingual literacies available through the forms of education investigated. The process of developing literacies includes the use of oral and vernacular as well as written linguistic resources (Hornberger, 1989). The word literacies, in the plural form, is used to acknowledge that the "use of language in or around writing" (cf. definition of "biliteracy" in Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, pp. 97–8), takes place in a myriad of forms, from digital to paper-based including multimodal resources and a range of other semiotic devices (see Tusting, 2008 for an overview of ecologies of New Literacies).

Knowledge goals in the syllabus for mother tongue instruction in Sweden include learning to express oneself in writing (see 2.2.3). Multilingual study guidance aims at helping recently arrived students develop subject literacies in Swedish by drawing on languages other than Swedish that the students understand (see 2.2.4). Finally, the aims of the community language school investigated in Australia (see 2.3.3) include developing literacies in the languages being studied. These forms of education are embedded in contexts where another dominant language is used in society and learnt at schools (Swedish in Sweden and English in Australia). As such, students studying or using languages other than Swedish or English through mother tongue instruction, multilingual study guidance and community language schools, are explicitly aiming to become literate in more than one language. In other words, these forms of education aim to provide students with opportunities to develop multilingual literacies.

Previous research on the forms of education investigated in this thesis indicates that there is a significant gap between the way that these forms of education are intended to work, and what happens in implementation. Moreover, the conceptualizations of language and linguistic practices that inform the forms of education do not always reflect the linguistic practices of the students for whom the forms of education are designed (see chapter 3). As well as the problems that arise when there is a gap between policy and implementation,

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[3] The term "plurilingual competence" (Council of Europe, 2017) is an alternative term which emerged in the course of research and analysis in this thesis. It is defined as "The repertoire of languages known by each individual … [which] … comprises languages acquired in different ways … for which people have different competences … at levels of mastery which also differ". For the sake of consistency with the theoretical framework however, I have chosen to retain the term "multilingual literacies" in this thesis.

there is also an inherent risk that policies that do not reflect the practices of communities are open to failure (Lindberg, 2010).

The studies in this thesis investigate how complex interdependency of ideas that people have about languages, the organization of education and language practices, impacts on the development of multilingual literacies. To investigate this, linguistic ethnographic field work (Copland & Creese, 2015; Rampton et al., 2004; Snell, Shaw, & Copland, 2015) was conducted in Sweden and Australia, between 2012 – 2014. The schools, classrooms and other places visited in the course of fieldwork are regarded as interdependent systems within a larger linguistic ecology (Haugen, 1972; Mühlhäusler, 2000). Taking an ecological perspective on a setting implies a broad view, aimed at taking into consideration the complexity of factors that impact on learning, rather than focusing exclusively on one particular aspect. In Sweden, schools and classrooms where mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance in Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish and Urdu took place were observed and audio recorded (71 Lessons in total). Twenty-seven interviews were conducted with teachers, school and organization leaders and students. Field notes were written and photographs taken throughout the period of observation. In Australia a community language school where Vietnamese was taught and the administrative organizations supporting the school were visited over a period of 12 months. Four lessons were observed and audio-recorded in the Vietnamese school (8 hours, 20 minutes), and 19 interviews with teachers, head teachers, administrators, parents and students were conducted (see chapter 5 for a detailed description of the methodology informing the study and Table 11 for a summary of the data).

1.1 Aims and research questions

This study aims at gaining deeper understanding of factors which offer opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies in mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance in Sweden, and a community language school in Australia. It addresses three research questions:

1. What characterizes the language ideologies in the investigated settings with regard to the use and development of immigrant languages?
2. How does the organization of education in or drawing on immigrant languages impact on opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies in the investigated settings?
3. How do informants in the investigated settings use and talk about language and language development?

As a thesis by publication, different aspects of these questions were addressed in the four articles or studies which comprise the thesis. In Study I, analysis of the syllabus for the subject of mother tongue instruction was conducted and related to the values of Swedish compulsory school expressed in the umbrella curriculum, and classroom activities during mother tongue instruction in Kurdish. Study II, also based on data collected in Sweden, presents a functional analysis of multilingual practices in 13 lessons during which multilingual study guidance was conducted. Translanguaging was found to fullfill five functions which help recently arrived students reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. In Study III, systematic analysis of deictics, reported speech and evaluative indexicals in stories told during interviews with teachers, parents, students and administrators involved with the Vietnamese community language school in Australia, reveals narratives of flexible and separate multilingualism. These narratives are interpreted alongside observed classroom practices and broader approaches to the organization of education in that setting. Study IV examines linguistic diversity in the Swedish context of mother tongue instruction through, first, thematic analysis of the data, and then categorization of the data relating to linguistic diversity into three heteroglossic categories (see studies 1–4).

The continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989, 2003; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) is the theoretical model which underlies the methodology of this study. It is also used as an analytical and interpretive tool in two of the articles and to interpret the results of the whole thesis. This model was created for use in research and language planning situations, to highlight the complexity of factors which impact on the development of literacies in more than one language in any given setting. The model of the continua of biliteracy recognizes the dynamic nature of developing literacies in different languages, and does not therefore function as a heuristic for measuring competencies or imagined "endpoints" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 273) of development (see 4.1.1 for a more detailed explanation of the model).

1.2 Outline of the thesis

After this introductory chapter, chapter 2 provides a conceptual and contextual backdrop to the study, including a discussion of terminology, historical backgrounds on the multilingual contexts, then a focus on the specific educational contexts in Sweden and Australia. A review of the research that is relevant to the contexts investigated is given in chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the theoretical framework of the thesis, including first the overarching ecological approach taken and the continua of biliteracy model, then language ideology, theoretical perspectives on the organization of language education and finally understandings of language and language practices, including translanguaging

and the resourceful speaker. In chapter 5 the methodological approaches taken to this study are presented. This chapter also includes brief discussions on translation, transcription and ethics. Chapter 6 provides summaries of the four empirical articles (see Table 1 also) and the results of the investigation, which are presented in relation to the research questions and the theoretical perspectives. A discussion of the results including implications and future directions concludes the thesis in chapter 7. A summary in Swedish, and appendices follow.

Table 1: Summary of articles included in the thesis

	STUDY I	**STUDY II**	**STUDY III**	**STUDY IV**
CONTEXT	Mother tongue instruction	Multilingual study guidance	Vietnamese community language school	Mother tongue instruction
	Sweden	Sweden	Australia	Sweden
METHODS	Curriculum analysis	Functional analysis of multilingual practices in classroom interactions	Systematic analysis of deictics, reported speech and evaluations in interviews	Thematic analysis of lesson transcriptions and interviews; heteroglossic categorization
FOCUS	Intended and enacted syllabus for mother tongue instruction	Classroom-based multilingual practices	Language ideologies/ language narratives	Linguistic heterogeneity in the subject of mother tongue instruction

2 Conceptual and contextual background

In this chapter the terminology used to talk about and classify the kinds of languages and forms of education studied are reviewed first. The position taken and terms chosen for use in this thesis are clarified. The language contexts investigated in Sweden and Australia are complex as a result of historical, political and ideological developments in each country. The last two sections introduce these contexts.

2.1 Contested concepts

The terminology used to describe the forms of education investigated in this thesis and the languages taught and used in them, is the source of on-going academic discussion and debate. Not only are there different terms used in each context to describe similar phenomena, but they have changed in both the settings over the past fifty years and are different from those employed in other international settings. *Mother tongue*, *community language*, *first language* and other labels given to the languages and forms of language education investigated in this thesis are not neutral. First language or L1 for example, is a term commonly used to refer to the language a speaker learns first and is often presumed to speak best. This term is difficult to navigate and use for those who grow up hearing and using more than one language simultaneously and whose competence in the said languages varies throughout their life. It also sets up a hierarchy or order of language learning that is equally difficult to adhere to for the many multilinguals around the world for whom language use and learning is more fluid and dynamic (García, 2009). If a child grows up hearing and learning to speak two languages, and is then educated in a third, which of those languages is her first language when she is fifteen years old? What implications does calling one language (of three) a first language have for enrolment in schools and placement in learning programmes?

These questions do not have clear-cut answers, which is why it is important to introduce the terms used and positions taken in this thesis against a background of established discussions and debates. Underlying this thesis is the understanding that, despite the diversity of terms used, what unites them is that the languages being taught and learnt are *not* foreign (Wiley, 2014a, p. x).

The term *native speaker* is often used to refer to people who presumably speak a particular language as their L1. This term (along with *native language* and *mother tongue*) have been problematized, in that they appear to conflate biology with proficiency, ignoring social factors in language learning (Rampton, 1990, p. 98). The term mother tongue has been used by those at polar opposite ends of the socio-political spectrum in the field of language planning. It has, for example, been used as the fundamental starting point in arguments for the language education rights of minority children (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989; UNESCO, 1953). On the other end of the spectrum, mother tongue has also been used to describe the languages used in the notorious apartheid era Bantu Education system in South Africa (Klerk, 2002, p. 23) and as a nationalistic rallying point, particularly in German publications of the 1930's and 1940's (for further examples and discussion see Coulmas, 1997). These negative associations remain salient for some scholars (e.g. Weber, 2014) and have contributed to the contested and controversial ideological weight of the term. In spite of these difficulties, the term mother tongue has also been defended, and attempts have been made to clarify its meaning and create more inclusive and sociocultural understandings and uses for it (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989).

The term *heritage language* is often used in the North American context and refers primarily to languages spoken by immigrant communities and their descendants. It does not usually include indigenous American languages, which are distinctly different from heritage languages in that there is no external group of speakers who can be turned to as resources in language acquisition and maintenance (McCarty, 2014). The term heritage has been criticized as carrying connotations of something distant, ancient and lacking in contemporary relevance (Baker & Jones, 1998; García, 2009, p. 60) but it is still used widely.

Home language is another term used to describe the languages spoken by immigrant communities and their descendants living in societies where another majority language is spoken. The term was used in Sweden to describe immigrant languages (Swe. *hemspråk)* and the form of education through which they were taught (Swe. *hemspråksundervisning)* until 1997. However, it was argued that a term which indexes languages to the home environment, potentially constrains them for use in official contexts (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). This line of reasoning underlay the terminology change in Sweden in 1997 (see 2.2.2).

The term *community language* was used first in Australia (Clyne, 1991) and is now also used in New Zealand and the UK. Although it has generally positive associations to groups with shared cultural and linguistic values, the way it is used can be understood to imply that speakers of socially dominant majority languages (such as Finnish in Finland), do not form a community (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008, p. 10).

A plethora of other terms are used to describe languages in this category, including: diasporic, ethnic, immigrant, languages other than-[socially dominant language], local, refugee, minority, strategic languages, not to mention those used when speaking of indigenous languages, which can also be called autochthonous, aboriginal, ancestral, endoglossic, regional, or official minority languages (see Extra & Gorter, 2007, pp. 21–2 for an extensive overview of terms used to describe people, languages and forms of language education). Arguments have been raised for calling all languages simply languages, as a mark of egalitarianism (McPake & Sachdev, 2008, p. 88) and for not using the term languages at all, on the basis of their socio-political inventedness (Makoni, 1998; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015; also 4.4.1).

In this thesis, I take the position that individuals and speech communities should ultimately be the arbiters of the labels applied to the language they speak (Wiley, 2014b). However, as the thesis investigates forms of education that use particular terms, for the sake of clarity, I will use the terms used in that context. In other words, when referring to the Swedish context, the term mother tongue is used. When referring to the Australian context, community language is used. When the individual languages are under discussion, they are called whatever the teacher or speaker of that language called them in the context, in accordance with the overall positioning described above. In general discussion, they are called *immigrant languages*. However, I acknowledge the criticisms and shortcomings of all those terms.

2.2 The Swedish context

Sweden is and has long been a multilingual country. The Swedish Language Act (SFS 2009:600) recognizes and protects Swedish as the main language of the country, and five official national minority languages; Sámi, Finnish, Meänkieli (Torne Valley Finnish), Romani Chib and Yiddish. Official statistics on the linguistic backgrounds of Swedish citizens are not collected, but the estimated percentage of the population who speak languages other than Swedish was 11% in 2012 (Parkvall, 2015, p. 41). Figure 1 shows the top twelve languages other than Swedish spoken in Sweden according to this estimate.
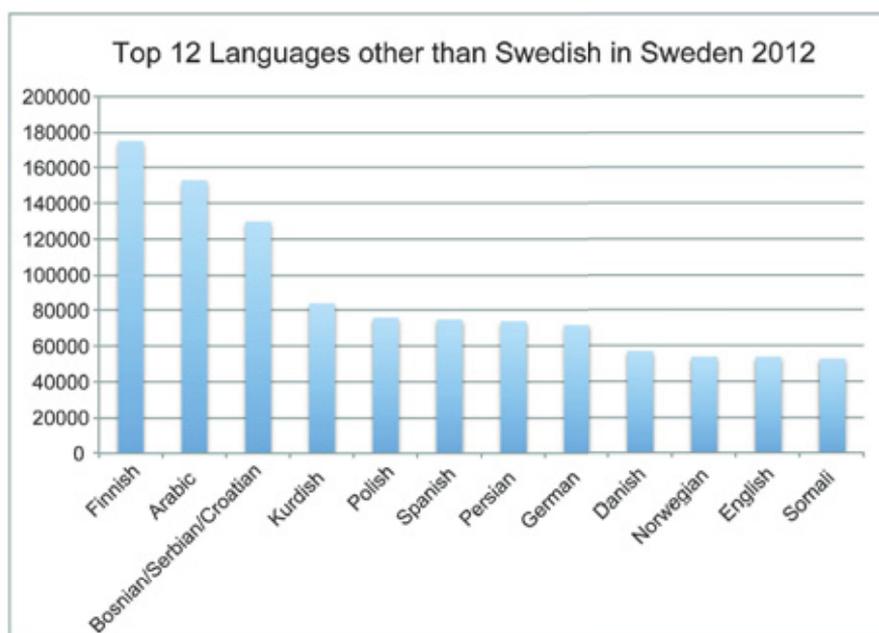
Figure 1: Top 12 languages other than Swedish in Sweden, 2012 (based on Parkvall, 2015).

Figure 1 is based on statistics regarding country of birth, where those who were born in Sweden are presumed to speak Swedish as a mother tongue, and those who are not are presumed to speak a language other than Swedish as a mother tongue. There are obviously many complicating factors, including the problems of defining mother tongue (as discussed in 2.1). The figure of 11% must also be regarded as a low estimate due to the fact that a percentage of children born in Sweden (and therefore not included in the 11% figure), are the children of immigrants, and are likely to speak languages other than Swedish at home. Moreover, the statistics are not recent, and therefore do not include the large number of asylum seekers who have arrived in Sweden over the past two years.

Provisions for studying immigrant languages are available through the public school system in Sweden in the form of the elective school subject of mother tongue instruction. Furthermore, students who move to Sweden from abroad are entitled to multilingual study guidance, using their mother tongue or other languages they speak or have been educated in, to help them reach the learning goals of subjects in the curriculum of the Swedish compulsory and upper-secondary school. The following section presents a historical perspective on multilingual Sweden.

2.2.1   Multilingual Sweden

The presence of the indigenous Sámi people and their languages has been continuous in Sápmi (the northern regions of Scandinavia, Finland and Russia) since prehistoric times. The earliest archaeological findings indicating human settlement in this region are from 9000 BC (Kvenangen, 1996, p. 11). The Sámi languages are part of the Finno-Ugric language group and thus highly divergent from Swedish. Statistics on numbers of speakers are difficult to estimate. The social stigmatization of identifying as Sámi is likely partially due to the notorious race biological research of the 1920s–1950s to which the Sámi were subjected. This resulted in fear of being listed in registers among speakers of Sámi (Outakoski, 2015, p. 7).

Sweden's current national borders have shifted dramatically throughout its history, influencing the languages spoken within them. The earliest evidence of the Germanic languages spoken in the region which is today called Sweden are inscriptions on rune stones which date back to 200–600 AD (Haugen & Faarlund, 2007). Old Scandinavian emerged in the period 600–1500, and was taken to other territories, including the British Isles, Iceland and Greenland, by the Vikings between 750–1050 AD. It has mostly disappeared from these regions now or been absorbed into other languages (ibid.). The advent of Christianity in the 10th and 11th centuries and writing on parchment led to diversification of Old Scandinavian into regional varieties (Old Norwegian, Old Swedish, Old Danish, Old Gutnish and Old Icelandic).

During the 1500s and until 1660, it is estimated that only approximately half the population of Sweden spoke Swedish and Swedish dialects; the rest speaking varieties of Sámi, Finnish, Latvian and low German (Parkvall, 2015, p. 14). Speakers of languages other than Swedish were free to speak their languages and attend schools which used those languages. In the areas where Sámi and Finnish were spoken, it was self-evident (although for regulatory rather than altruistic reasons) that civil servants spoke the language of the local population (Parkvall, 2015, p. 19). There was great diversity in the dialects of Swedish, some of which have since been declared languages rather than dialects, for example, Elfdalien (Swe. *Älvdalska;* SIL, 2016).

The geographical territory which Sweden encompassed in 1658 at the peak of the Swedish Empire (1611–1718), included parts of what we in 2017 call Finland, Norway, Estonia and Lithuania, with the capital, Stockholm, lying in prime central position (de Vries, 2010). The fall of the Swedish empire (1718) involved the loss of most of these territories, with the exception of Finland, leaving Swedish and Finnish as the biggest languages. In 1809 Russia annexed Finland, and Sweden and Norway united. The century that followed the loss of Finland has been described as the most monolingual period in Sweden's history – 98% of the population are estimated to have spoken either Swedish or varieties of Swedish (Parkvall, 2015, p. 16).

In the latter half of the 1800s and continuing well into the 1900s, national-istic ideologies and associated notions of one nation = one language emerged and strengthened in Sweden. During this period, schools took extreme measures, including corporeal punishment, to enforce the use of Swedish and ban the use of other languages and dialects of Swedish (Parkvall, 2015). These measures were so effective that in Sweden today, there is virtually no trace left of the diverse varieties of Northern Germanic (or Scandinavian) that previously existed within its borders.

After World War II the linguistic profile of Sweden grew increasingly complex and diverse. In the early post-war period attitudes towards this linguistic diversification were still highly assimilationist. However by the mid-1950s, Sweden was gaining an international reputation as an advocate for peace and social justice, and a revival of ethnic consciousness, began to take hold at a grassroots level as well (Salö, Hedman, Ganuza, & Karrebæk, forthcoming). As labor immigration increased in the 1960s, ethnic activists in Finnish, Estonian and Jewish communities began to agitate for the right for education in their own language (Borevi, 2013; Wickström, 2015). These grassroots demands contributed to the movement which eventually led to the Home Language Reform (1977) and the subject of *home language instruction* (Wickström, 2015, p. 173; see 2.2.2).

In 2009, the Language Act (SFS 2009:600) was passed by the Swedish parliament. The purpose of the Language Act is to regulate the status and use of Swedish and other languages, protect the Swedish language, the linguistic diversity of Sweden and each individual's access to language (SFS 2009:600). In paragraph 14, the right to learn, develop and use Swedish, any of the official national minority languages and Swedish sign language is protected as well as the rights for speakers of other languages to develop and use their mother tongue. Mother tongue instruction is also sometimes used to teach and revive official national minority languages but the focus in this thesis will remain on immigrant language education. For research and reports on education for the official national minority languages in Sweden (Sámi, Finnish, Meänkieli, Romani-Chib and Yiddish), see Hult (2004), Hyltenstam (1999), Lainio (2006), Minoritets-språkskommittén (1997), Outakoski (2015), Svenska språknämnden (2003) and Wingstedt (1998).

This abbreviated history of multilingual Sweden makes it clear that speakers of many different languages have lived within Sweden's changing borders for many centuries. The forms of language education in focus in this thesis are only the most recent educational response to multilingual Sweden. A background to mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance is presented in the next section.

2.2.2 Mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance – a brief history

Mother tongue (Swe. *modersmål)* was originally the name of the subject which today is called Swedish. However, in the early 1960s, as increasing numbers of students with different mother tongues enrolled in Swedish schools, the appropriateness of the term was questioned. In 1962, the subject of mother tongue was re-named Swedish, while mother tongue was reserved for describing languages other than Swedish. In the same year, the subject of *Finnish as a home language* became available to students in grades 7 and 8. In 1966 Swedish municipalities started receiving government funding to arrange educational support for other immigrant students and Swedish students who had studied abroad. This support included what was then called Swedish as a foreign language, now called Swedish as a second language (Swe. *svenska som andraspråk*) and study support in home languages (Swe. *studiehandledning på hemspråk*), which in this thesis is called multilingual study guidance (see 2.2.4 for further discussion). Home language instruction (Swe. *hemspråksundervisning*) was offered to language groups other than Finnish for the first time in 1968, and in 1969, generic aspects of the syllabus for Finnish as a home language were recommended for teaching these languages as well (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 45).

As described in the previous section (2.2.1), during the 1960s and 70s Sweden's official political and ideological attitudes towards immigration and the language education response to immigration shifted. Driven by local and academic communities and underpinned by principles of social justice and equal opportunity a Home Language Reform was enacted in 1977. This reform led to legislation that gave multilingual students in Sweden the right to apply for the elective subject of home language instruction. Multilingual study guidance was still available as a separate form of multilingual support, for multilingual students who risked not passing one or more subjects in the Swedish curriculum. Both of these forms of education were offered and regulated through the public school system (SFS 2011:185). The same system exists today. The Home Language Reform and introduction of home language instruction and multilingual study guidance had the support of all Swedish political parties in 1977. Today, this support is still mostly intact, with the Swedish Democrats being the only political party with a political platform explicitly opposing tax-funded mother tongue instruction.

The Home Language Reform required commitment to significant infrastructural and pedagogical reform, organization and implementation. Teachers and resources for more than 100 languages had to be found, educational seminars on the subject of home language instruction and multilingual study guidance and courses for home language teachers needed to be arranged. Moreo-

ver, organisation and timetabling of the subject and administration of earmarked government funds designated to home language instruction and multilingual study guidance had to be arranged (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012, p. 62). Reports and research following the Home Language reform often reported on the organisation and implementational challenges facing home language instruction and multilingual study guidance (see 3.3.1).

Between 1977 and 1988 teacher education programmes (called *home language programmes*) for home language teachers were offered at universities in the three biggest cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. It was also possible to qualify as a home language teacher through the general compulsory school teacher education programme, but very few teachers chose this pathway. 1 301 teachers qualified as home language teachers between 1977 and 1986. They were responsible for teaching the subject of home language instruction from grade 1 to grade 12 and in adult education and conducting multilingual study guidance in all the subjects in the Swedish curriculum. They were also expected to assist with contact between home and school (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 51). The breadth of the home language programme and the short time in which it was expected to be completed (two years) has been criticized (Enström, 1984, 1987; Jacobsen, 1981). The focus on language skills as opposed to cultural content, and the shallowness that resulted from preparing teachers for such a wide spectrum of potential mother tongue learners (Nygren-Junkin, 2008, p. 289) were also pointed as problematic.

The original aim of home language instruction was to provide the best possible conditions for all students to succeed at school, regardless of their linguistic or cultural background and develop their ethnic and linguistic identity. Home language instruction was to be provided for eligible students from primary school through to adult education, for as many hours as they needed. It was intended to be an integrated part of the school life and was and still is a graded subject. The first syllabus for the subject of home language instruction appeared in the 1980 Swedish curriculum. To be eligible for home language instruction, the language requested was required to be a "living part of home life" (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 46). Seven years later, in 1985 this criterion was changed and made more restrictive (see 2.2.3).

In 1990, The Swedish National Audit Office (Swe. *Riksrevisionsverket*) investigated educational provisions for students who spoke languages other than Swedish at home, including home language instruction and Swedish as a second language. The final report was highly critical of home language instruction, focusing overwhelmingly on negative aspects (RRV, 1990). The report itself was the subject of intense criticism which highlighted unprofessional methodology and lack of background knowledge about the subject of home language instruction as major challenges to its credibility (Hyltenstam &

Tuomela, 1996, pp. 21–2). In spite of the criticisms directed at the report, major budget cuts directed specifically at home language instruction were suggested in a bill presented to the Swedish parliament the following year (Prop.1990/1:100). Funds previously earmarked for home language instruction, multilingual study guidance and Swedish as a second language were reallocated to a general grant to municipalities, which could be used in accordance with local priorities.

These changes, part of a general reform and decentralization of the Swedish school, intensified the emerging polarized attitudes towards home language instruction. Relatively drastic changes in home language instruction were noted in the years following the bill. An investigation of municipalities throughout Sweden found larger groups of students in home language instruction groups in 65% of the municipalities, a 33% reduction in the number of teaching hours dedicated to home language instruction and an 8% reduction in student enrolments (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 23: see also Figure 3). These cutbacks inflicted great damage on the subject of home language instruction, effects which would be felt for many years (Lainio, 2013).

After 1991, the most common way of arranging home language instruction was either before or after other scheduled lessons and it was no longer compulsory for municipalities to organize it unless there were at least five students to form a group.

In 1997, the names of these forms of education were changed, the term mother tongue (Swe. *modersmål*) replacing home language. The term home language had been criticised by many who saw it as limiting the domain of use of the languages taught through the subject to the home (although the same researchers pointed out various difficulties with the term mother tongue as well) (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 10; also 2.1).

From 2000, speakers of all of Sweden's five official national minority languages were granted exemption from all criteria, which entitles them to mother tongue instruction regardless of their ability in the language or the size of the groups (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012, p. 58).

The syllabus for home language/mother tongue instruction has been adapted over the years the subject has existed, reflecting Sweden's changing demographics and the international research on bilingualism and bilingual education. The most recent changes include the downplaying of factors such as "culture of origin" and "cultural affinity" in general, as many of the students who take mother tongue instruction today were born in Sweden, and can no longer be assumed to have a particular cultural affinity with the region from which one (or both of) their caregivers were born (Skolverket, 2011, p. 6). The 2011 syllabus now refers to "areas where the mother tongue is spoken" as opposed to "the students' language and culture", recognizing that individuals can identify with different cultures and speak different languages (ibid.). Broadly speaking, the syllabus has maintained a strong focus on linguistic

knowledge and the strengthening of personal and cultural identity (Spetz. 2014, p. 26), and familiarity with linguistic structures and text genres has been highlighted. The role of the subject in strengthening knowledge development was added for the first time to the 1994 syllabus and has remained (ibid.).

There are teacher education programmes for mother tongue teachers of Finnish (Stockholm university), Turkish (Uppsala University) and Arabic (Malmö University) and a number of individual subjects and shorter courses aimed specifically at mother tongue teachers (for example at Malmö, Uppsala, and Dalarna universities, the University of Gothenburg and through the national centre for Swedish as a second language). The fact remains, however, that only a small number of mother tongue teachers have received education specifically for their subject since 1988 and mother tongue teachers are exempt from the teaching licence requirements that all other teachers in the Swedish school are required to withhold.

2.2.3   Mother tongue instruction today

The right to the subject of mother tongue instruction is protected in the Swedish Code of Statues by the blueprint Language Act (Swe. *språklagen;* SFS 2009:600) as well as the stronger Swedish Education Act (Swe. *skollag;* SFS 2010:800) and the Ordinance for the Compulsory School (Swe. *Skolförordning;* SFS 2011:185). While paragraph 14 in the Language Act states that every individual who lives in Sweden and who speaks a language other than Swedish or one of the official national minority languages should be given the opportunity to develop and use their mother tongue (SFS 2009:600), it is the regulations in the Swedish Education Act and the Ordinance for the Compulsory School that take precedence. As such, the rights accorded in the Language Law cannot be fully realised under the current laws and ordinances of the public schools, which are constrained by specific regulations (Spetz, 2014, p. 9).

To be eligible for mother tongue instruction in Sweden after 1985, and still today, students must use the language they request to study on a daily basis with at least one caregiver, a group of at least five students must be able to be formed and a teacher must be available (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185). Speakers of Sweden's five official national minority languages are exempt from the first two criteria. When students are enrolled for the first time in the Swedish compulsory school, caregivers should be asked which languages are spoken at home and if they would like to apply for mother tongue instruction for their child.

In the 2015/16 academic years, 151 languages were available for study through mother tongue instruction, giving a fair representation of languages other than Swedish spoken in Sweden (Skolverket, 2017). The ten languages with most students enrolled were Arabic (52 822 students were eligible and

34 664 studied Arabic as a mother tongue), Somali, English, Bosnian/Croa-tion/Serbian, Persian, Spanish, Finnish, Albanian and Polish (see Figure 2).
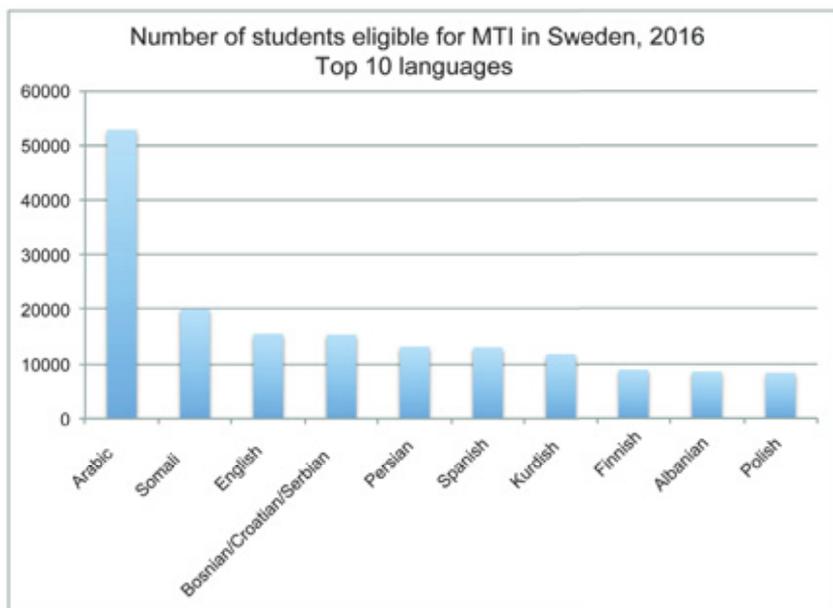
Figure 2: Top ten languages taught through mother tongue instruction, 2016.

Figure 2 illustrates the ten languages studied through mother tongue instruc-tion with the most students enrolled in 2016, while Figure 1 indicates the lan-guage with the most speakers in 2012. In Figure 1, Finnish is the language with most speaker while in Figure 2 the language with the most speakers en-rolled in mother tongue instructions is Arabic. This can be related to the rap-idly changing demographics of Sweden between 2012 and 2015 during which large numbers of asylum seekers from countries in which Arabic, Somali and Persian/Dari is spoken fled to Europe, many to Sweden. A high percentage of the asylum seekers arriving in Sweden during this period were of school age and thus eligible for both mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance (Juvonen, 2016).

The aims of mother tongue instruction described in the syllabus, are to give students the opportunity to develop their abilities to:

1. express themselves and communicate in speech and writing in their mother tongue;

2. use their mother tongue as an instrument for their language develop-ment and learning;

3. adapt the language to different purposes, recipients and contexts;

4. identify language structures and follow language norms;
5. read and analyze literature and other texts for different purposes and
6. reflect over traditions, cultural phenomena and social questions in areas where the mother tongue is spoken based on comparisons with Swedish conditions (Lgr11, 2011; translated by the author of the thesis).

The number of students studying mother tongue instruction has risen steadily since its introduction, with small dips notable only after restrictions on eligibility and funding were enforced in 1985 and 1991 respectively (see Figure 3).
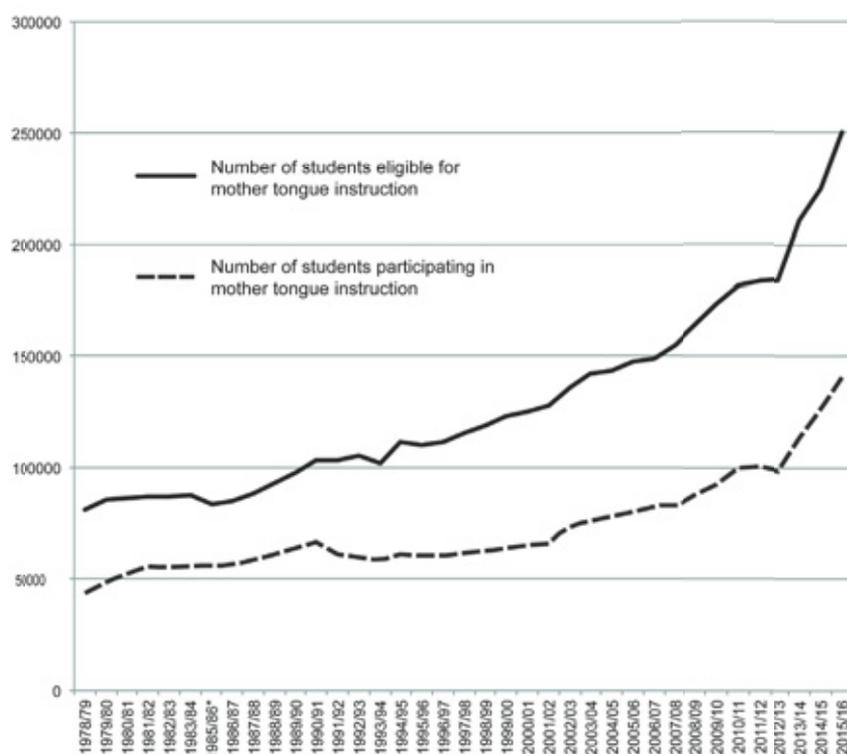
Figure 3: Numbers of students eligible for and participating in home language/ mother tongue instruction in the Swedish compulsory school 1978–2016.

In the 2016/17 academic year, 27% of students at the Swedish compulsory school were eligible for mother tongue instruction and of those, 56.9% took

the subject Skolverket 2017)[4]. This represents 15.4% of all compulsory school students (Skolverket, 2017). In 2016, 11.6% of students enrolled in the compulsory and upper secondary school combined (grades 1–12) studied mother tongue instruction (Skolverket, 2017; Skolverket, 2016a, 2016b).

The number of mother tongue teachers has risen alongside the increasing numbers of students applying for the subject. In 1978, there were 2 671 mother tongue teachers employed to teach 52 different languages (Liljegren, 1978). In 2016 these figures had risen to 5 045 mother tongue teachers, teaching 151 languages (Skolverket, 2016c).

2.2.4   Multilingual study guidance today

Although Swedish educational policy documents still translate *studiehandledning på modersmål* as 'study guidance in the mother tongue', in this thesis it is recast as multilingual study guidance. This decision was made as analysis of interactions during multilingual study guidance demonstrated that there are always other languages used as well as the mother tongue, not least, Swedish (Reath Warren, 2016).

Multilingual study guidance has been available in the Swedish school since the 1960s. It aims to help multilingual students reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum by giving them access to a tutor, often their mother tongue teacher, who works through Swedish subject matter using languages the student understands. It is provided most often for recently arrived students. The most common arrangement is that multilingual study guidance is provided during the first years recently arrived students attend the Swedish school. Some students (especially older ones) are placed in Introductory Classes for their first year in the Swedish school, while others are placed directly in mainstream, age-appropriate classrooms. For students who have subject knowledge in languages other than Swedish, multilingual study guidance facilitates the transfer of this knowledge to the Swedish context. For students without subject knowledge, it provides an introduction to and short-term support in subjects in the Swedish curriculum. The number of hours provided per week is unregulated and varies between schools (Skolinspektionen 2010: 22).

As multilingual study guidance aims to help students in whichever subject they are experiencing difficulty, there is no single course plan; rather it is the learning goals of the subject for which multilingual study guidance is being provided that are in focus. The only official resource for planning and conducting multilingual study guidance is a 44-page handbook in Swedish

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[4] Mother tongue instruction is an elective subject, which is why not all eligible students study it. The reasons for students not taking the subject have not been specifically investigated, but based on other research cited in this study, it is likely that lack of information about the subject, inconvenience (due to timetabling), perceived lack of time, low status of the subject and a range of other more ideologically informed reasons may lie behind the lack of uptake of the subject.

(Skolverket 2015a) but there is a growing range of academic and vocational courses to prepare people to conduct it. In Sweden, during the 2014–2015 academic year, 17 300 students (1.8% of the total population of the compulsory school) received multilingual study guidance (Skolverket 2015b). In the 2016/17 academic year, this percentage had risen to 2.9% (Skolverket, 2017).

In late summer 2015, on-going years of war and global unrest reached a new climax and large numbers of people fled to Europe. The total number of asylum seekers who came to Sweden during 2015 was 162 877. Of these, 51 833 were school-age children and therefore entitled under Swedish law to attend school while waiting for the decision regarding their families' application for asylum (Migrationsverket, 2017). A great deal of attention was suddenly focused on multilingual study guidance, as schools searched for ways of accommodating and educating these students. Mother tongue teachers, traditionally those who have conducted multilingual study guidance, were in demand. When it became obvious that supply was not going to match the demand, recently graduated high school students fluent in the languages required, and other bilingual professionals were called on to assist with multilingual study guidance throughout Sweden (personal communication with a local administrative manager of mother tongue teachers, 13 Nov 2015). A range of short courses have been developed over the past two years to prepare mother tongue teachers and others to conduct multilingual study guidance. The courses are held by a range of educational sites, including universities (Dalarna University College) and adult education centres (ABF Vux Polytechnic).

Multilingual study guidance is regulated in the Swedish compulsory school ordinances, where it is stated that it should be offered to students eligible for mother tongue instruction, if they are at risk of not reaching the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum (SFS 2011: 185). If students have been educated in a language other than their mother tongue, they are entitled to multilingual study guidance in that language. Students can receive support in several different subjects during the same session.

Mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance are forms of education or support which aim to develop knowledge in immigrant languages and Swedish subject matter, respectively. They are both arranged within the framework of the Swedish compulsory school, but mother tongue teachers are expected to assist with contact between the school and home (Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 50). Apart from this, and the criterion that the language requested for mother tongue instruction is one of daily use with at least one caregiver, the role of parents or the home environment is not made explicit in arrangements surrounding mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance. There are researchers who suggest that parental involvement in the organisation of this form of language learning optimises opportunities for learning (Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Baldauf, 2005; Bunar, 2015; May,

1994), which leads into the next section of this chapter, introducing multilingual Australia and community language schools.

2.3 The Australian context

Like Sweden, Australia is a multilingual country and the idea of multilingualism is widely celebrated (Piller, 2016, p. 1). While English is the de facto official language of communication and education, the most recent census figures indicate that approximately 21% of Australians speak languages other than English at home, the most common of these being Mandarin, spoken by one in 40 Australian homes (ABS, 2017c)[5]. Figure 3 shows the top twelve languages other than English (LOTES) spoken in Australia according to the 2011 census.
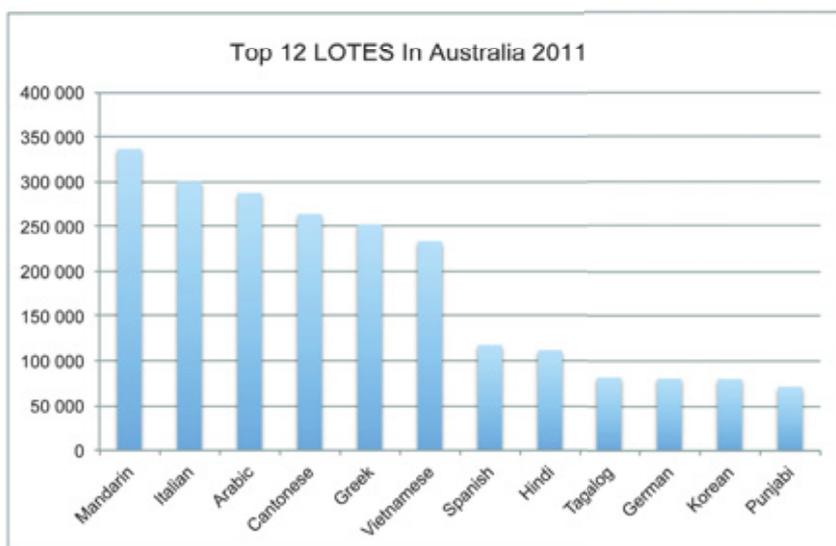
Figure 4: Top ten languages other than English spoken in Australia, 2011 (ABS, 2017a).

Chinese (Mandarin), the most widely spoken LOTE, and Arabic, the third largest, are a reflection of recent waves of migration, while Italian, the second largest LOTE reflects earlier waves. It should be recognized that these statistics underestimate the extent and simplify the nature of multilingualism in Australian due to the way that census questions about language use are

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[5] As this thesis goes to press, official statistics from the 2016 census are being released but are not complete, for example only the four most commonly spoken languages at home are available at this stage. Figure 4 therefore reports on figures from the 2011 census.

phrased [6] and the ways that languages are coded and categorized (Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995; Liddicoat, in press; Ndhlovu & Willoughby, 2017).

Provisions for studying the languages other than English that people report in the census, and/or other languages they may speak, are spread between different educational organizations. A common choice is to study at a community language school. The option of studying at a community language school (which are also called after-hours ethnic schooling establishments or ethnic schools) however, depends on place of residence and the language spoken. Community language schools tend to be concentrated in metropolitan and to some extent, larger regional centres, limiting the opportunities for speakers of many immigrant languages in more remote areas in Australia to study the languages they speak in a formal educational setting (Liddicoat et al., 2007, p. 105). [7]

2.3.1 Multilingual Australia

More than 250 indigenous languages were spoken in 1770, when the British arrived (Clyne, 1991, p. 6) and the languages that different waves of migrants have brought with them have added to the linguistic diversity of the Australian continent. The languages spoken by indigenous Australians and Torres Strait Islanders are not in focus in this thesis, but as I am addressing the multilingual history of Australia, it is essential to acknowledge their presence, deplore the significant loss that has occurred and position myself as an advocate for revival and development of indigenous languages. For research and reports on education in indigenous Australian languages see Nicholls (2005), Simpson (2008) and Simpson & Wigglesworth (2008).

While the majority of the first Europeans who came to Australia were from English-speaking countries, with the increasing diversity of immigration in the nineteenth century came speakers of Chinese, German, (Scottish) Gaelic, Irish, French, Italian, Danish and Welsh. Attitudes towards speaking languages other than English during the early nineteenth century were initially accepting and *laissez-faire* (Clyne & Kipp, 2006, p. 8). In fact speaking more than one (European) language was considered prestigious in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and bilingual education programmes existed in languages such as German, French, Gaelic and Hebrew (Clyne, 1988a).

The first major challenge to these attitudes came with the introduction of state compulsory and monolingual English education in the late nineteenth century (Clyne, 1991). Federation in 1901 marked a watershed and brought in an era of "aggressive monolingualism" (Kipp, 2008, p.70), recently recast as

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[6] Census questions are "Does the person speak a language other than English [LOTE] at home? (If more than one language other than English write the one that is spoken most often)".

[7] Note that it is possible to study some community languages through distance education (Nordstrom, 2015a)

the "period of outright exclusion of unwanted cultural and racial groups in Australia" (Ndhlovu, 2014, p. 37). During this period, monolingualism in English was promoted as a symbol of British tradition as well as Australian identity (Clyne, 1991; Kipp, 2008). Some schools banned the use of languages other than English as languages of instruction and migrants were under pressure, both explicit and implicit to assimilate and learn English (Ozolins, 1988, p. 115).

This era of extremely restrictive immigration policy lasted until the 1970s, when the so-called multicultural era of language planning and policy in Australia began (Lo Bianco, 2003). Recent reconceptualizations of this period (1972 – present) describe it as "the period of assimilation – tolerance that is often misconstrued as integration" (Ndhlovu, 2014, p. 37). The first multilingual language policy in an English-speaking country (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 16), The National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987) was developed during this period. It was also during this period that community languages were introduced in some schools, typically the low-SES, mainstream schools that 86% of speakers of community languages attended. Being able to study their languages in a mainstream school gave speakers of those languages improved opportunities for accessing tertiary education (Teese & Polesel, 2003). During the 1980s and 1990s, calls to address Australia's proximity to Asia resulted in the introduction of Asian languages (Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Indonesian, Korean and most recently Vietnamese) into the mainstream curriculum.

Attitudes to language education in Australia today have been described as fundamentally economically based. In this phase "the role of education investments in economic competitiveness, and in this regard, literacy – assumed always and only to be literacy in English" (Lo Bianco, 2014, p. 199) is stressed in public discourse, policy and in schooling. This refocusing on (English) literacy has taken the focus off both languages other than English and the subject of English as a second language, which in turn takes attention away from immigrant and indigenous learners. Indeed, the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (Department of Employment, Education and Training & Dawkins, 1991) actively moved focus in language education away from community languages, arguing that the diversity of languages in Australia was problematic, and it was necessary to focus on languages which had a broader national interest instead (Liddicoat et al., 2007, p. 14). Many Australian scholars in recent years have identified what they have called a monolingual mindset in Australia (Clyne, 2004), characterized by the devaluing of multilingual practices in language education in favour of out-of-date, monolingual approaches (Clyne, 2004, 2008; Ellis, 2006; Ellis, Gogolin, & Clyne, 2010; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Heugh, 2014). It has been argued that the monolingual mindset impacts on broader understandings of language use in the community (Schalley, Guillemin, & Eisenchlas, 2015). It has even been suggested that

monolingualism needs to be unlearned in Australia, to interrogate the assumptions that are "deeply embedded in the curriculum, in education and in our own ways of seeing and working in educational communities and in societies" (Scarino, 2014, p. 302).

It is possible to study the very wide range of languages other than English spoken in Australia in a variety of educational settings, including state schools of languages (in the states of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia), and the mainstream school, where Chinese [Mandarin] can be studied as a first, second or background (cf. heritage) language while Arabic, Hindi, Turkish and Vietnamese have syllabuses pitched at background learners only (ACARA, 2017). The focus in this thesis is on community language schools. A brief background to that form of language education is presented in the next section.

2.3.2   Community language schools – a brief history

In the first hundred years after Europeans arrived in Australia (approximately 1800–1900), government involvement in education was minimal and multiple languages were used in mainstream schools for different purposes and in different communities (Clyne, 1985; Liddicoat, in press), thus, to some extent bypassing the need for today's form of community language education. The first languages taught through part-time ethnic schools in Victoria were German, (in 1857), Gaelic, (1907) and Hebrew (1880), while in South Australia the length of the school day was extended to insert education in community languages (Clyne, 1985). *Ethnic schools* established during this early period have been described as "part-time; community initiated and controlled; non-profit-making; concerned primarily with teaching a specific community language and […] other aspects of the cultural heritage of the community" (Norst, 1982, p.6). The term *ethnic*, to describe schools and languages, was replaced by *community* in the mid-1970s to acknowledge the role that these languages play in the lives not only of immigrants, or ethnic minorities, but also of their Australian-born children and grandchildren (Clyne, 1991, p. 3). The term is not generally used to refer to the languages spoken by indigenous Australians and Torres Strait Islanders (cf. heritage vs. indigenous American languages; see 2.1).

Accurate figures on the number of community language schools and languages taught in a longitudinal perspective are difficult to collate. Not all community language schools are affiliated with Community Languages Australia, the national advocacy group which has collected figures in past years. Moreover, languages are identified in different ways by different groups of people; sometimes being listed multiple times under different names, or being grouped together under one broader label (Liddicoat, in press).

As a form of language education on the margins of the mainstream system, central government authorities have not collated data on community languages schools. Uneven trends emerge when gathering data from different reports. For example, in 1982 it was reported that 61 447 students studied 53 community language languages at 937 (ethnic school) locations (Norst, 1982). In 2003 it was reported that 77 languages were taught (Liddicoat et al., 2007). In 2017, the number has fallen to 69 languages. The number of schools reported in 2017, approximately 743, has also decreased to below the 1982 level. The only clearly rising figure is the approximate number of students studying at community language schools, in 2017 estimated to be 112 000 (see Table 2 in section 2.3.3 for the most recent available figures).

The fact that the number of schools appears to have decreased is difficult to interpret. It may be due to the fact that alternative providers of community language education have expanded since 1982. For instance, students who previously studied in community language schools may have changed to the state-based and funded schools of languages in Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales. The inclusion of some community language in mainstream schools may also underlie the reported decrease in enrollments in community language schools (Mascitelli & Merlino, 2011).

Federal funding (A$30 per student per year) to community language schools was introduced in 1981 (Clyne, 1985), but has changed in nature since then. From 1997, earmarked, federal government funding for community language schools and the teaching of languages other than English in mainstream schools was merged into one element. This meant that federal funding was no longer earmarked for community language schools and responsibility for distribution was delegated to state jurisdictions (Liddicoat et al., 2007, p. 98).

In the state in which the research for this thesis was conducted, there was no guaranteed government funding for community language schools. Instead, applications had to be submitted to the state government department of Education each year, and was provided only if a range of criteria were met (the provision of rolls, insurance plans and proven use of the syllabus designed by the state education department among them). Some of the community language schools in that state preferred to remain un-funded rather than fill in the complex 32-page application (personal correspondence with President of the state advocacy group for community language schools, 2017; Vaidyanathan, 2016).

The majority of teachers in community language schools are volunteers, which has been interpreted as both a strength (in that they are community members who should be able to reflect community aspirations) and a weakness (in that they may not also have the relevant qualifications) (Scarino, 1995). There are a range of short-term pedagogy courses, that community language teachers may or may not take. In-service training is sometimes available, and award-bearing courses in teaching community languages have been

developed at some universities, but the situation is greatly diverse between and within states, regions and languages (Gearon, 2015). Moreover, as community language teachers usually have other full-time jobs, they may neither have the time nor the resources to pay for long and expensive courses to support the voluntary work they perform (Cardona, Noble, & Di Biase, 2008).

2.3.3 Community language schools today

In sum, there is no legal protection for speakers of languages other than English to develop their knowledge of and literacies in those languages, although forms of language education have developed in response to community demands and from community efforts. Community language schools are non-profit, after-hours organizations, established and run by volunteers, often parents, to pass on language and culture to their children and strengthen literacies (MCEETYA, 2005, p. 3, 12). As such, they can be compared with heritage language schools in North America or the complementary schools in the UK.

Table 2: Schools, students and languages at community language schools, Australia, 2017 (CLA, 2017). (Numbers in brackets supplied by individual states on CLA website).

	Community Language schools	Students Enrolments	Number of Languages Taught
New South Wales	256	31 517	56
Victoria	190 (170)	38 052	45 (41)
South Australia	94 (96)	7 712	46 (45)
Western Australia	28 (68)	25 117	28 (47)
Queensland	78	6 234	31
Australian Capital Territory	50 (77)	1 936	40 (35)
Northern Territory	8	1 500	7
Tasmania	15	260	6
Approximate Totals:	**743 schools**	**112 000 students**	**69 languages**

Government funded community language schools in Australia are required to be open to anyone in the local community wishing to learn that language, even as a beginner (Liddicoat, in press). Lessons at community language school are usually held on weekends or after school and there are both state and national advocacy groups that represent and lobby for the schools. There are more than

1000 community language schools in Australia, offering "language maintenance" in 69 languages to approximately 112 000 school age children (Community Languages Australia, 2017). The southern states of Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia have historically, and even today, the largest number of community language schools and students.

There are no official statistics indicating what percentage of Australian students from grade 1 to grade 12 study community languages. However, a way to estimate this is to compare the total population of students enrolled in Australian mainstream schools, from grade 1 to 12 (3 750 973, ABS, 2017b) for the year 2014), with those enrolled in different forms of community language education, in community language schools, state schools of languages and mainstream programmes, as displayed in Table 3 (204 353).

Table 3: Australian students studying community languages through different forms of education.

Form of community language education	Number of Enrolments
Community Language Schools	112 000 (CLA, 2017)
Chinese at mainstream schools	77 453 (Orton, 2008)
Victorian School of Languages	13 000 (VSL, 2017)
South Australian School of Languages	1 900 (Tedesco, 2017)
Approximate TOTAL	**204 353**

This calculation suggests that approximately 5.4% of the total population of Australian students attending primary and high school study community languages either through a community language school, the Victorian or South Australian School of Languages or the mainstream education system. This figure is a low estimate, and does not take into account the students studying through other state-based language schools (in New South Wales), unfunded or unaffiliated community language schools or those studying Arabic or Vietnamese at mainstream schools.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter the complexity of terminology used in the field of language education investigated was presented first and the position taken in this thesis established. The investigated contexts were then introduced. Both Sweden and Australia are multilingual countries with multilingual histories. There are

forms of language education through which immigrant languages can be studied in both countries, and in both countries, they grew out of grassroots movements. In Sweden, however, top-down initiatives took over responsibility for arrangements to a large extent. Mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance are now taught through the mainstream school system, and the right to these forms of education is protected by the law. In contrast, in Australia, responsibility for the form of education is distributed between different organizations, many of them voluntary and community-based. Based on figures from the past seven years, the percentage of students studying their mother tongue in the Swedish school system (11.3% of those in grades 1–12) is approximately double that of those in the same grade range in Australia (5.4%)[8]. In the next chapter, previous research in immigrant language education settings is presented.

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[8] It must be pointed out that while the percentage of students eligible for mother tongue instruction in Sweden is known (in 2017; 27%) the corresponding figure in Australia is not known, so this calculation should be regarded in light of that limitation.

3   Research review

The research review in this chapter complements and expands on those in the individual studies. In the studies, the reviews are specific to the explicit focus of each article while in this chapter, a broader perspective is taken to situate the whole thesis in the research landscapes of each context it explores.

3.1   Mother Tongue Instruction - previous research

To conduct a systematic review of the research on mother tongue instruction in Sweden, both English and Swedish search terms were used to search major academic databases in Sweden, including those at the largest universities and the national academic library catalogue. From all the references located, those written in languages the researcher does not understand, conference presentations and student essays were eliminated. The number of research articles, reports, chapters and books written on the subject of mother tongue instruction has increased exponentially every year since 1978, and in all the university-based data bases, the number of student research essays yielded the most references (a small research project is a compulsory component of teacher education in Sweden). These essays are not drawn on in this research, however their large number indicates that multilingualism and mother tongue instruction are of interest to both teacher educators and student teachers.

Alerts were set up with key journals and Google Scholar for notification of new publications relating to mother tongue instruction. Less than ten doctoral theses address mother tongue instruction in any way; their findings are incorporated into the summary below.

Studies I and IV in this thesis concern the links between the syllabus and regulations surrounding mother tongue instruction and classroom practices. Salient themes which emerged in the review of the literature on mother tongue instruction include:

- Learning opportunities and challenges: organization and implementation
- Ideological factors in mother tongue instruction
- Mother tongue instruction classroom studies.

3.1.1 Learning opportunities and challenges: organization and implementation

Mother tongue instruction was introduced with research-based intentions to improve learning opportunities and identity formation for multilingual students in Sweden. Much of the research has, however, focused on the organizational challenges and on-going struggle for legitimization the subject has faced with fewer classroom-based studies focusing on pedagogies, practices or learning opportunities.

In a one-year ethnographic study conducted in mother tongue instruction classrooms where Somali and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian were taught, a statistically significant positive correlation between the number of years spent in mother tongue instruction and reading development in Swedish and Somali was found (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017b). Mother tongue instruction has also been found to play a significant role in the overall well-being (Hill, 1996) and integration of multilingual students (Nygren-Junkin, 1997).

In a report commissioned by the Swedish National Agency for Education, quantitative analysis of grade 9 school-leaving marks showed that those students who had consistently taken mother tongue instruction reached significantly higher levels of achievement across all subject areas than both their multilingual peers who did not participate in mother tongue instruction and their (purportedly) monolingual Swedish peers (Skolverket, 2008). This finding was described at the time as a "head-on collision" with the subject's marginalized position in the Swedish school (ibid., p.21) but in fact, reflects the findings in Sweden mentioned above, and those in the international research (August & Hakuta, 1997; Bialystok, 2001; Cummins, 1976, 1978, 1986, 2005, 2007; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006; Hill, 1996; Thomas & Collier, 2002) which empirically demonstrate the academic and cognitive benefits of multilingualism.

Both early and more recent studies report on the marginalization of mother tongue teachers and lack of opportunities for collaboration with other teachers in the Swedish school (Enström, 1984; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Jonsson Lilja, 1999). This is directly connected to organizational issues, including the fact that mother tongue lessons are often scheduled after or before school (Avery, 2015; Nygren-Junkin, 2008; Sahaf, 1994; Tingbjörn, 1982). The lack of time allocated to mother tongue instruction (rarely more and often less than 60 minutes per week) is another organizational problem which constrains opportunities for realizing the intentions and aims of the subject (Brorsson & Lainio, 2015; György Ullholm, 2010; Lainio, 2013). This problem has also been reported on in investigations commissioned by the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket, 2008) and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (Skolinspektionen, 2014).

Due to the challenges of developing teaching resources for all the languages offered through mother tongue instruction, materials are often imported from other countries. Analysis of imported teaching resources has found that the level of the resources does not always match the language abilities of students in Sweden and that content of the resources sometimes diverges too significantly from the values of the Swedish school to be useful in that context (Garefalakis, 1994; Sahaf, 1994; Nygren-Junkin, 2008; Walldoff, 2013).

Another challenge identified in the literature on mother tongue instruction is the heterogenous nature of the classes, often described in terms of mixed ages and abilities. Mixed age groups are a result of the often limited number of students in a particular area applying for mother tongue instruction in a particular language, and the need to form groups of at least five students. Heterogenity in ability is dependent on a wide range of factors, including the length of time students have lived in Sweden, language practices at home and the language variety spoken, including regional varieties from the countries of origin and contact dialects which develop in diasporic settings (Boyd, 1988; Eklund, 2003, p. 203; Lainio & Wande, 2015). A significant challenge identified is deciding which organizational and pedagogical approaches best address this linguistic heterogeneity. Teaching a "standard variety" spoken in a distant country may not always be the best way to strengthen cultural identity of a child who speaks a regional variety of a language, or one which is influenced by Swedish (Jacobsen, 1981; cf. Valdés, 2014).

3.1.2   Ideological factors

While research pointing to the potential economic benefits that societies as well as individuals stand to gain by fostering widespread multilingualism through the formal education systems (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Hyltenstam, 2006) underlies The Home Language Reform and subsequent introduction of mother tongue instruction, opposing views are also present in public debate and opinion on the subject.

In two separate analyses of letters to the editor in major publications in the Swedish media conducted more than ten years apart, similar polarized themes emerged (Spetz, 2014; Wingstedt, 1998). Mother tongue instruction was in both studies simultaneously characterised as a facilitator of language development (especially Swedish) and a hindrance to it; as sociologically and economically beneficial for Sweden and as detrimental to the same. Arguments both for and against mother tongue instruction were also sometimes framed as informed witness statements (Wingstedt, 1998) or insider knowledge (Spetz, 2014), due to being based in personal experience. The fact that arguments for and against the subject have shifted so little in almost 20 years, are not in any sustained manner based on knowledge about multilingual development and

are strongly connected to other sociocultural issues, suggests that the subject still acts as a proxy for expressing opinions about issues which are otherwise too politically sensitive to comment on openly, such as integration, immigration and multiculturalism (cf. Hyltenstam & Tuomela, 1996, p. 11; Spetz, 2014; Wingstedt, 1998).

In an analysis of interview and questionnaire studies with mother tongue teachers dichotomous themes such as us/them (mother tongue teachers/other teachers); inside/outside; my language/your language, reveal that teachers' experiences are polarized (Svensson & Torpsten, 2013). In spite of these experiences, or perhaps due to them, the mother tongue teachers positioned themselves as operating as a bridge between parents, school and Swedish society, a metaphor drawn on by other researchers (Wigerfelt, 2004). The irony of bridging ideologies and polarizing experience is evident in Svensson & Torpsten's study and has been commented on in other studies focusing on mother tongue teachers (Andersson, 2006).

Other ideological issues have been uncovered in studies examining parents' beliefs, where perceptions that the "wrong variety" of a language was being taught emerged; these beliefs being linked to political or ideological conflicts originating in other countries (Latomaa, 1993; Nygren-Junkin, 2008). Boyd reports on Scottish parents in Sweden who refused mother tongue instruction due to the fact that it was taught by a teacher from Texas, USA; a teacher who in their opinion did not speak their child's home language (Boyd, 1988, p. 95).

In relation to the two Finnic varieties spoken in Sweden (Sweden Finnish and Meänkieli), the issue of developing standardized forms for use in teaching has been debated (Lainio & Wande, 2015). Top-down approaches and legal rights can strengthen languages, but necessarily involve some degree of standardization and an "objectified view" (p. 136) of the language. This, it is suggested "raises questions about the role of social constructivist/non-essentialist views on language" (ibid.). It is argued that top-down approaches and support for this process must be complemented and informed by bottom-up initiatives (ibid., p. 137).

It has recently been suggested that mother tongue instruction in Sweden remains available as a public school subject, because language policy decisions, positions and ideologies have traditionally been made in consultation with the academic field, unlike Denmark, where the political field alone has more influence (Salö, Ganuza, Hedman & Karrebaek, under review). Consequently, as the academic field in Sweden is characterized by consensual understanding that development of multilingualism through mother tongue instruction is of value, official ideologies support mother tongue instruction.

Views or ideologies expressed in public arenas and shared among stakeholders in mother tongue instruction are important at a more grassroots level as well, as they impact on the value students place on their mother tongue and accordingly, their practical decisions to study mother tongue instruction or not

(Haglund, 2005; Hill, 1996; Otterup, 2005; Sahaf, 1994). The low status awarded by some to mother tongue instruction is an ideological issue that impacts on implementational processes and is exacerbated and reinforced when the subject is invisibilized by decisions made in schools (cf. Avery, 2015). Ideological perspectives are thus intertwined and interdependent with organizational factors.

3.1.3   Classroom studies

Little research on mother tongue instruction has been conducted in classrooms. In an early study based on interviews, classroom observations and analysis of policy documents, it was found that mother tongue instruction was unable to be implemented effectively in the classrooms visited due to lack of time and resources available to the subject (Municio, 1987).

25 years later a one-year ethnographic study was conducted in mother tongue instruction classrooms where Somali and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian were taught. Findings regarding benefits gained from (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017b) and challenges facing (Ganuza & Hedman, 2015) the subject were reported in 3.1.1. The same study also reports on the ways that mother tongue teachers construct mother tongue instruction as something essential for students who might otherwise be at a disadvantage in the school system, arguing that this positioning of the subject raises the status of the subject (ibid.). In another analysis, a statistically significant positive correlation between reading comprehension in the mother tongue and school results was found, despite the limited time spent on the subject (Ganuza & Hedman, under review).

An analysis of multilingual practices during mother tongue instruction lessons from the same study was also conducted. Here it is argued that observed multilingual practices were not underpinned by flexible understandings of language, and should therefore not be classified as instances of translanguaging (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017a). Even multilingual practices, it is argued, can be modelled on monoglossic views of language (see 4.2.1 and 4.4.2).

Mother tongue instruction is available in Denmark, but is not as widespread as in Sweden. In a linguistic ethnographic study conducted in classrooms teaching Arabic, Dari, Pashto and Somali as a mother tongue in Denmark, mother tongue teaching is described simultaneously as a "an inherently national, profoundly local and intensely global phenomenon" (Daugaard, 2015, p. ix). The study concludes that mother tongue teaching occupies a vague and unstable position in the national curriculum (cf. Salö et al., forthcoming). At the same time, it provides a space for intense investment in issues surrounding language, identity, power and the nation; functioning as a kind of language laboratory for the invention and disinvention of languages (Daugaard, 2015).

A doctoral thesis from Norway draws attention to a range of aspects which are important in relation to the opportunities that bilingual teachers (understood as mother tongue teachers) have for collaborating with other teachers (Dewilde, 2013). The thesis concludes that that lack of continuity, conversation and collaboration with other teachers impacts on the working environments of bilingual teaching assistants. Moreover, differing academic backgrounds, ideas about bilingualism and bilingual education as well as the complexity of students' linguistic repertoires and pedagogical approaches used by the bilingual teachers for working with them were identified as salient issues, impacting on collaboration.

Studies I and IV in this thesis add to the empirical classroom research conducted in mother tongue instruction in Sweden, and bring new perspectives on organization and pedagogies by analysing the intended and enacted syllabus and linguistic heterogeneity in the classrooms visited.

3.2 Multilingual study guidance - previous research

If mother tongue instruction has been the subject of relatively limited scientific investigation in Sweden, even less has been written about multilingual study guidance. To try and find research on the subject, both English and Swedish search terms were used to search major academic databases in Sweden, including those at the largest universities and the national academic library catalogue. Of 22 results, only three related to multilingual study guidance; two conference presentations (one by the author of this thesis) and the article written in Study II. Embedded in the literature on mother tongue instruction, however, were some texts relating to multilingual study guidance, which are all accounted for in this section, with additional texts were found by following up references. One reason for the difficulty in finding texts on multilingual study guidance is that it is given different names, especially in texts written in English.

The importance of cooperation and collaboration between all teachers involved in multilingual study guidance is highlighted throughout the research. In a handbook written to support schools and teachers in implementing multilingual study guidance in the early 1980s for example, we are told that:

> Study guidance in the home language is an important part of home language teachers' job, but if it is to work well, other teachers must all be involved as well (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1984, p. 1; translated by the author of the thesis).

The same handbook describes that the purpose of multilingual study guidance is to help the student acquire subject specific and cultural knowledge and develop study strategies which give students tools for independent learning in Swedish (ibid., p. 13). It is stressed that it is better to provide multilingual

study guidance for too long rather too short a period. For a recently arrived student in lower secondary school, multilingual study guidance for three years is recommended, and it is suggested that there may well be a continuing need for multilingual study guidance in upper secondary school (ibid., p. 13).

After the publication of this handbook in 1984, multilingual study guidance is mostly mentioned in reports and overviews of educational approaches with multilingual students. These report that well-planned and well-conducted multilingual study guidance is important for knowledge development and integration into the Swedish school (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Skolinspektionen, 2009, 2010, 2014; Skolverket, 2008).

In empirical studies investigating learning conditions for recently arrived students, multilingual study guidance is identified by teachers and recently arrived students themselves as positive for the attainment of subject learning goals (Juvonen, 2015; Nilsson Folke, 2015). It is also suggested that multilingual study guidance contributes to interactional scaffolding (Uddling, 2013). A recent interview and document study revealed that the potential benefits of multilingual study guidance are undermined by insufficient opportunities for collaboration between different categories of teachers and the challenges of recruiting tutors to conduct multilingual study guidance (Avery, 2016). Another study based on interviews with 16 tutors argues that multilingual study guidance provides recently arrived students with support and increases their self-confidence and willingness to participate in subject instruction and social interactions (Rosén, under review). Some instances of multilingual study guidance are seen as "door openers" for multilingualism and translanguaging (ibid.). Finally we are reminded that while multilingual study guidance provides valuable support, the education of recently-arrived students is the responsibility of the whole school. Organized collaboration between all categories of teachers and tutors is thus necessary if multilingual study guidance is to succeed.

The importance of collaboration between recently arrived students' subject teachers and the tutor or mother tongue teacher who conducts multilingual study guidance is again pointed out in a study based on interviews with a range of teachers involved in teaching recently arrived students (Jepson Wigg, 2016). All the teachers interviewed in the study spoke about multilingual study guidance, and the difficulties of organizing it effectively. In an analysis of interviews conducted with recently arrived students in the upper secondary school, students describe how the mother tongue teachers conducting multilingual study guidance "help us understand school here in Sweden" in very positive terms (Sharif, 2016, p. 103).

A recent doctoral thesis investigated six recently arrived children's encounters with reading and writing in early primary and pre-school, through ethnographic fieldwork and context analysis. The study found that the children mostly encountered written texts in their mother tongues during mother tongue

instruction and multilingual study guidance (Duek, 2017). Class teachers at the pre-schools and primary schools where this study took place acted as gate-keepers; identifying a need for multilingual study guidance or rejecting it. Not all class teachers were convinced about the benefits of multilingual study guidance, nor recommended it for recently arrived children. There was no collaboration between the mother tongue teacher who conducted multilingual study guidance and the class teacher, and the teachers appeared to mix up mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance (Duek, 2017, 130–135).

Duek's thesis (2017) and Study II in this thesis, are to the best of my knowledge, the only empirical studies undertaken in classrooms where multilingual study guidance takes place. Study II thus contributes to the identified need for more empirical research on this form of multilingual education (cf. Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012, p. 352; Jepson Wigg, 2016).

3.3 Community language schools – previous research

To conduct a systematic review of the research on community language schools in Australia, references were retrieved from academic libraries and databases, including ERIC and the Australian National Library database, Trove to locate theses. Ongoing alerts were set up with Google scholar and a range of key journals.

Study III in this thesis concerns the links between language ideologies and linguistic practices around community languages. Salient themes which emerged in the review of the literature on community language education include:

3.3.1. Learning opportunities and challenges: organization of community language education in Australia
3.3.2. Community language use in mainstream educational settings
3.3.3. Research in or on community language schools

3.3.1 Learning opportunities and challenges: organization of community languages education in Australia

Early research on organizing community language education in Australia investigated how community groups, language teachers, linguists and professional language organizations mobilized and lobbied for greater support for community language learning (Ozolins, 1993). This movement impacted on the federal government's decision to proceed with the inquiry that would eventually lead to the development of the National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987; see 2.3.1).

Collaborative projects in the years following the introduction of the National Policy on Languages included the establishment of National Languages Institutes at universities, and publications on the language potential of nine key languages in Australia (Fernandez & Gearon, 2017). A range of reports and research projects examining how community language learning could be organized to create optimal learning opportunities ensued. Rubino (2004) investigated approaches to teaching Italian at a tertiary level to groups comprising both of background and non-background speakers of Italian. In a study of community language schools attended by first, second and third generation immigrants in New South Wales, the purpose of cultural and linguistic maintenance was critically examined (Cardona et al., 2008). The schools in that study were identified as sites for the *negotiation* rather than *maintenance* of linguistic, cultural and identity issues. It is argued that globalization, the increasingly complex linguistic and cultural backgrounds of students and "harsher" attitudes to questions of cultural difference in Australia have changed the context in which community language schools are embedded (ibid., p. 60). In conclusion, a question is raised as to whether "linguistic and cultural diversity can be effectively encouraged and promoted within an Anglo-centric state dominated by a monolingual mindset and perceptions of community language maintenance as inhibitors and evidence of poor 'loyalty' to the 'project of the nation" (ibid., p. 63). In the interests of encouraging and promoting linguistic and cultural diversity through community language schools, the report identifies a range of issues requiring practical responses. These include investigating and improving funding arrangements, connections with the mainstream schools, training and professional recognition of community language teachers and improved understanding of the roles and purposes of community language schools (ibid., pp. 63–4).

In research investigating the factors that impact on quality and organization of community language schools, the size of the community speaking the language, how long the community has existed in Australia, levels of integration, resources it has access to, including teaching specialists and relations with the country of origin, were all found to be significant (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 54). The programs the schools operate were also found to vary according to their affiliations with cultural, religious or other national aspects of the local community, whether they work together with local mainstream schools, work to gain accreditation for their courses and whether they are large or small (ibid.).

An overview and analysis of the way community language education was organized in the Australian state of New South Wales indicated that much had been achieved by co-ordinating both community and government support for community language schools (Baldauf, 2005). The establishment of equitable government grant schemes for community language schools, provision of professional development for community language teachers, support in curriculum design and development of initiatives to link to mainstream schools have

improved co-ordination. However, the fact that neither community language teachers nor the courses they teach in community language schools are officially recognized by the department of education constrains closer co-operation. The review stresses the continuing importance of community support, arguing that without it, there is a risk that community languages will be lost instead of developed (ibid., p.133). A similar theme is brought up in a case study of Italian, where it is argued that introducing it as a language subject in the mainstream school resulted in widespread uptake by students of non-Italian background, but decreasing uptake among background speakers of Italian (Slaughter & Hajek, 2015).

A significant contribution to the organization of community language learning was the development of the Quality Assurance Framework (Wyatt & Carbines, 2008) which, through extensive consultation with community language groups and schools throughout Australia, aimed to improve collaboration and co-ordination between schools across the nation.

3.3.2 Community language use in mainstream educational settings

Recent research from Australia indicates that when permitted, multilingual students draw on their entire linguistic repertoire in learning situations. A growing range of studies over the past 12 years have explored the challenges of legitimatizing the use and development of community languages in mainstream settings (Fielding, 2016; French, 2015; Heugh, 2014; Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014; Mercurio & Scarino, 2005; Molyneux, Scull, & Aliani, 2016; Scarino, 2014; Turner & Cross, 2015).

A recent study focusing on language education in the state of New South Wales (NSW), notes that study of community languages in both mainstream and community language schools has decreased, despite accreditation in the upper secondary school of some community languages (Cruickshank & Wright, 2016). The decline in enrolments, most salient in low-SES schools, is attributed to "illogical" scaling practices, which rank *subjects* taken in the final year of upper-secondary school rather than the *grades* achieved in the subjects, for entry to tertiary programmes. Students studying languages as "background speakers" are given much lower rankings than students studying the same language as a foreign language (ibid. pp. 84–5), which has led to students actively withdrawing from community language studies in the last year of upper-secondary school. An ethnographic study in a linguistically diverse upper secondary school in Victoria where students have experienced studying community languages both at the mainstream school and through the accredited courses at the Victorian School of Languages report on a related phenomenon. In Victoria, the system of scaling students' final marks on a bell curve, regardless of the jurisdiction through which they study the languages, restricts the

number of students able to get high marks (Willoughby, 2014). It is observed that:

> In Australia's highly competitive higher-education market, students and their parents are often deeply conscious that studying a heritage language instead of an English-medium subject where students have been receiving good marks may jeopardise the student's chance of winning a place in their preferred university course (Willoughby, 2014, p. 13).

The next and final section of this literature review section on community language education focuses specifically on research in or about community language schools.

3.3.3   Research in and on community language schools

Diversity has been a defining characteristic of community language schools for more than 30 years. Norst (1982) described the schools she investigated as diverse in a range of measures; language communities, variety of languages and attitudes in the surrounding community. Liddicoat et al. (2007) later pointed out the diversity of the learning backgrounds of students in community language schools.

There are a range of studies on community *languages* in Australia, investigating for example; attitudes towards regional varieties among speakers of Italian (Bettoni & Gibbons, 1988), language maintenance and shift in communities speaking German and Danish (Clyne, 1988b; Søndergaard & Norrby, 2006) and community languages in Australia in general (Clyne & Kipp, 2006; Kipp, 2008; Kipp & Norrby, 2006; Mercurio & Scarino, 2005; Rubino, 2007). Empirical studies conducted in community schools are scarce. However, in the past five years, four doctoral dissertations have opened up this field of research with ethnographic and phenomenological studies, investigating community language schools where Swedish, Chinese (Mandarin) and Greek are taught. The findings of these studies (briefly reviewed below), bring contemporary insights into these environments which are relevant to this thesis.

The challenges of meeting the needs of students with little knowledge of their community language was raised in a doctoral thesis based on a phenomenological study of teachers in Chinese, Arabic and Greek community language schools (Gindidus, 2013). The hybrid, heterogeneous and in-between identities of students attending Chinese community language schools (Yang, 2015; Lu, 2015) emerged in two other doctoral theses. In a forth doctoral thesis, a linguistic ethnographic project, analysis of linguistic practices in an on-line class demonstrated how students used Swedish and English flexibly to complete tasks and activities while learning Swedish as a community language (Nordstrom, 2015b). While these four theses also explore other themes, linguistic heterogeneity is a theme that runs through them all.

The cultural capital of becoming bilingual was valued by parents who enrolled their children in the Swedish community language school mentioned above, and while learning Swedish to belong to an imagined Swedish community was also important, the notion of Swedish culture was downplayed (Nordstrom, 2016). In contrast, in a Chinese (Mandarin) community language school, it was the language, rather than bilingualism itself, which was regarded by students as an investment in ethnic capital which could be transformed into cultural and human capital in education and employment, respectively (Yang, 2015).

The importance of the influence of teacher beliefs on classroom practice is emphasized in a study of teachers of Chinese (Mandarin) in community language schools in the state of Victoria (Lu, 2015). This study also recommends a form of professional development for community language teachers, through which they can gain familiarity with the teaching context in Australia, which differs significantly from that in their country of origin (ibid., p. 264). Since 1993, a number of universities in Victoria have developed shorter professional learning courses (comprising 15–30 hours of training) for community language teachers, to equip them with pedagogical toolkits for dealing with classroom management and mixed-ability classrooms (Gearon, 2015).

Curriculum practices in one high vitality and one low vitality community language school in the state of Queensland have been investigated (vitality is judged on measures of status, demography and institutional support). As this study involved observations and visits to the community language schools, it is included in this review of classroom studies, but it clearly connects to studies investigating organization of community language learning as well. Results indicate that low vitality or more vulnerable community language schools struggle to maintain their schools when they have limited government support (Vaidyanathan, 2016). The difficulties of accessing this support in that state are also discussed. Vaidyanathan further argues that although migrant families and community support are vitally important (cf. also Baldauf, 2005; Pauwels, 2005), government support is also crucial to maintain the vitality of all community language schools.

3.4 Multilingual practices in language education

The final section of the research review highlights research in immigrant languages in a broader perspectives which address the issue of heterogeneity and hybridity.

Over the past twenty years, a significant amount of research has been conducted in complementary schools in the UK, uncovering diverse linguistic practices, ideologies and identities. In linguistic ethnographic studies of complementary schools, UK born students have been found to construct complex

multilingual learner identities drawing on equally complex linguistic resources (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; Li, 2014b; Li & Zhu, 2013; Lytra, 2012; Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Creese, 2006). A conclusion that can be drawn across all of these studies is that the flexible multilingual practices observed in the schools are firmly "underpinned by the social structures of which such interactions are a part" (Creese & Blackledge, 2011, p. 1196).

In North America, research in heritage language schools and other forms of education where immigrant languages are drawn on have also focused on the language practices of multilingual students and their families (sometimes understood as translanguaging, see 4.4.2). These studies find that multilingual practices are common, and reflect the bilingual worlds that these students inhabit and need to make sense of everyday life (Cummins, 2007; García & Kleifgen, 2010; García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012a, 2012b; Stille & Cummins, 2013).

It has also been noted, however, that there is a lack of empirical research into pedagogical approaches and their outcomes in heritage language education (Valdés, 2014). An approach to developing learning programmes for heritage learners, based on achieving standards in five goals (communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, community) is suggested (ibid., p. 31). Factors which should be taken into consideration in achieving these goals include:

- Which variety of a language should be in focus
- Development of appropriate teaching materials
- Providing instruction which capitalizes on a family or community connection to the language
- Catering for and assessing the range of abilities students bring with them
- Teaching students who speak different varieties or registers of the same language, including varieties perceived as low-status or non-standard
- The fact that languages spoken in diasporic situations inevitably develop differently from the language in the original homeland. (Valdés, 2014).

Increasing recognition of the linguistic diversity of students in mainstream classrooms around the world has led to interest in multilingual practices, both their naturalness (cf. García, 2009) and their potential to be harnessed as pedagogical resources (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This interest is reflected in studies around the globe, investigating how flexible multilingual practices are drawn on to communicate and learn. From classrooms in South Africa (Kerfoot & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2014; Probyn, 2015) and Australia (French, 2015; Nordstrom, 2015a) to hip-hop poetry in Hong Kong (Lin, 2014) and communication among Christian snowboarders in Finland

(Peuronen, 2013), the research spotlight is being shone on multilingual communication in the 21st century without a monoglossic lens. This topic is returned to in 4.4.2 and discussed from the emerging theoretical perspective of translanguaging.

3.5 Summary

Research in the Swedish context indicates that mother tongue instruction is subject to polarized views and opinions, which impact on students' decisions to study it and the ways that the subject is organized in different schools. While reports and research have demonstrated that there are academic benefits associated with studying mother tongue instruction consistently, there are also considerable challenges in organizing and implementing it effectively. Multilingual study guidance is described by teachers and students as beneficial academically and socially. The need for effective organization, including space and time for collaboration between teachers and tutors conducting multilingual study guidance and subject teachers is also stressed, as current arrangements often don't allow this.

In the Australian context, much of the research focuses on different aspects regarding the connections between community language schools and mainstream schools. The importance of support from both communities and governments is stressed. In the final section of the research review, the complexity of multilingual repertoires was in focus; this a theme that also ran through the research on mother tongue instruction in Sweden and community language schools in Australia. Heterogeneity and linguistic diversity are themes which called for particular theoretical frameworks. These are presented in the next chapter.

4 Theoretical perspectives

This chapter presents the theoretical perspectives taken in this thesis. The first section introduces language ecology and the model of the continua of biliteracy, which is drawn on in analysis and interpretation. Language ideology is central to both the organization of language education and language practices in classrooms. Theoretical perspectives taken on these three aspects are thus presented in the final three sections.

4.1 Language ecology

Haugen (1972) describes language ecology as the study of interactions between languages and the environment in which they are used.

> The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological; its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication (Haugen, 1972).

In this definition, the importance of both the psychological and social environment in which language develops is emphasized. The interaction between languages in the mind of multilinguals is an aspect of language development addressed by both the continua of biliteracy model (see 4.1.1) and the concept of translanguaging (4.4.2.1). The interaction between the sociocultural environment and individuals has been captured in an ecological model for studying human behavior (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This model conceives of any environment as a set of nested structures, like Russian dolls, where the participants in the systems within each layer are affected not only by the systems within that layer, but also the systems in other layers, and, significantly, the interactions between the layers. Bronfenbrenner's model has been developed and applied in educational research to investigate the contexts, roles and ways that language is used (cf. van Lier, 2004, p.49).

A call for studies of the language ecology of multilingual classrooms was made more than ten years ago (Creese & Martin, 2003) and since then studies

have been conducted in a range of classrooms teaching different languages (Blackledge, Creese, Baraç, Bhatt, Hamid, Li, Lytra, Marrtin, Wu & Yağcioğlu, 2008; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Li, 2014a; Probyn, 2008; Saxena, 2008). These studies all regard the students, schools, and languages that they study as interlinked components in a complex, integrated, social and psychological system, as opposed to the study of an isolated phenomenon. The studies thus consider the systems and networks which connect the object of study to its environment to be integral in understanding the object itself. An ecological perspective is also dialogical, considering not only the agency of human, political and social processes in the organization of education and the linguistic practices used in those forms of education, but also the effect that the surroundings have on the participants in the forms of education investigated, and the forms of education themselves.

In the studies which make up this thesis, the dialogical relationship between the ideologies informing state or national organization of language education and interactions in classrooms and schools is key to understanding the opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies that the settings offer. The model chosen to investigate and analyze these settings is the continua of biliteracy, which is introduced in the following sections.

4.1.1   Continua of biliteracy – an ecological model

The continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989, 2003; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) is an ecological model, developed to represent the complex and interdependent factors which impact on developing literacies in more than one language. Biliteracy is defined as "the use of two or more languages in or around writing" (Hornberger 2003: xii), including multilingual, vernacular, indigenous and everyday literacies (Hornberger 2000: 357). Oral resources often precede and are embedded in the process of writing texts, and are therefore considered integral to the development of multilingual literacies and valid objects for analysis in this thesis. As discussed in the Introduction, the term *multilingual*, rather than *bilingual* is used in this thesis, due to the complexity of the linguistic resources being drawn on, and the inadequacy and restrictiveness of a term which implies two (only) languages. The term *literacies*, rather than *literacy* emphasizes the multiplicity of work undertaken by students in the contexts as they work towards developing literacies. The singular form, literacy, draws attention to language alone, usually a single national language, and focuses on the production of standardized texts, presuming that such texts exist and are recognizable, definable and able to be reproduced. The plural, literacies, in contrast emphasizes other modes of representation beyond written words, where meaning is dynamic and communicated in specific ways in different cultures and contexts (Cope & Kalantziz, 2000, p. 5).

The purpose of the continua of biliteracy model, is to "break down the binary oppositions so characteristic of the fields of bilingualism and literacy" (Hornberger, 2004, p. 156) and instead draw attention to the continuities and connections between skills and experiences. As such, the continua of biliteracy model rejects concepts such as monolingual or bilingual, L1 or L2, regarding them as polarized and idealistic "theoretical end points on what is in reality a continuum of features" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 273). Instead, the continua model envisages the development of multilingual literacies as a dynamic process, taking place along a series of intersecting scales (Figure 4) and nested continua (Figure 5).
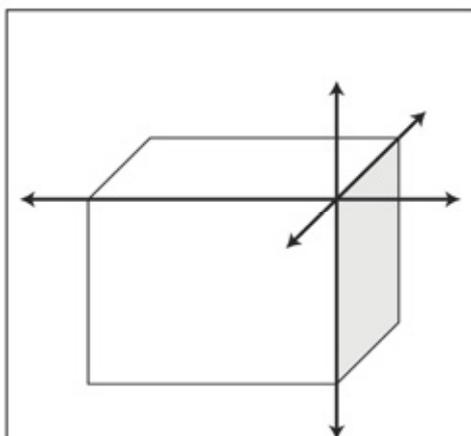
Figure 5: Intersecting relationships among the continua of biliteracy. Reprinted with permission from: Hornberger, N. & Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2000). Revisiting the Continua of Biliteracy: International and Critical Perspectives. Language and Education, 14, 96–122. www.tandfonline.com
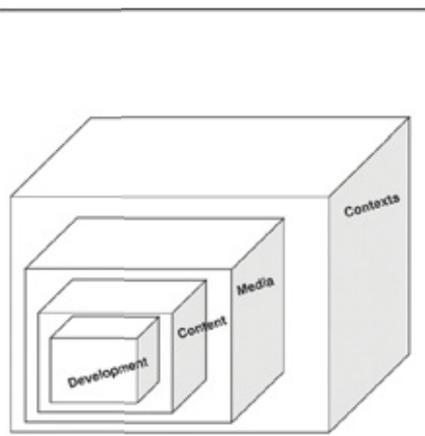
Figure 6: Nested relationships among the continua of biliteracy. Reprinted with permission from: Hornberger, N. & Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2000). Revisiting the Continua of Biliteracy: International and Critical Perspectives. Language and Education, 14, 96–122. www.tandfonline.com

The model represents how the development of literacies in more than one language is affected by *the concrete and ideological spaces* through which multilingual speakers move (contexts), *what* multilingual speakers read and write (content), *how* they read and write (individual development) and *by what means* (media) they do so (cf. Hornberger & Link, 2012a). These scales are described in more detail in the next sections.

4.1.1.1 Contexts of Biliteracy

The contexts in which multilingual literacies develop can be understood as the physical and ideological spaces people move through as they live their daily lives. In the model of the continua of biliteracy, contexts are defined by the following three scales:

- Micro – macro
- Oral – literate
- Bi/multilingual – monolingual

We all physically move through and between local, home or micro contexts and more distant school/work or macro contexts. The nature of these contexts, including the associated ideologies and regulations which shape them, impacts on the ways that people who inhabit or move through them use languages (cf. Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005). The conditions created by ideologies and regulations ultimately impacts on the opportunities available for the development of multilingual literacies in those contexts.

Some contexts are characterised by strong oral traditions (storytelling with friends and family), other by strong literate traditions (academic text-writing at university). Multilingual interactions and resources are common and ideologically neutral in some contexts, for examples the homes of multilingual families, while in other contexts, only monolingual interactions are sanctioned. As multilinguals move through these aspects of context, their freedom to use the languages in their repertoire varies, which in turn impacts on the way that literacy in those languages develops.

The proposition underlying the model of the continua of biliteracy is that instead of being constrained at either end of any of the continua, the development of multilingual literacies is enhanced when individuals have the freedom to move freely along the scales, drawing on and learning from the resources at both ends and those in between (Hornberger, 2005). In relation to the contexts of biliteracy, it is argued that the use of the oral, multilingual resources common to micro (home) environments in multilingual families supports the development of literacies in macro contexts (like schools), where monolingual and written resources are often prioritized.

4.1.1.2 Media of biliteracy

The media of biliteracy refer to the specific characteristics of the languages in which literacies are being developed and how they enter an individual's repertoire. In the model of the continua of biliteracy, media are defined by the following three scales:

- Simultaneous – successive exposure
- Dissimilar – similar structures

- Divergent – convergent scripts

Some multilinguals have been exposed to two or more languages since they were born (simultaneous exposure) and others develop literacies in one language first, then add others to their repertoire (successive exposure). In the literature on bilingualism, a distinction was traditionally made between these different kinds of learners (Hornberger, 1989; McLaughlin, 1985) but it is now generally recognised that it is systematic use of the languages involved, and not solely the age of acquisition which has the greatest impact of the development of bilingualism (Genesee, 1989; Hornberger, 1989). The order of acquisition can also be highly complex and dynamic with different languages or elements thereof entering the multilingual repertoire at different times and with different results. This situation is particularly salient in situations of transnational migration (Blommaert & Dong, 2010).

Some individuals develop literacies in languages which are structurally similar and orthographically convergent (for example, Swedish and English) while others have structurally dissimilar and orthographically divergent languages in their emergent repertoire (for example, Russian, Hungarian and English). This distinction does not imply that children who speak languages which are structurally and orthographically convergent have better opportunities for developing biliteracy than those who speak structurally and orthographically divergent languages. Indeed, research indicates that there is little difference in the development of biliteracy which can be related to relative structural or orthographical divergency (Fishman, Gertner, Lowy, & Milan, 1985). Rather it is the recognition of the heterogeneity of the linguistic background which the continua brings to light. This recognition also implies a movement away from approaches to learning in which all multilingual students are viewed as a homogenous group, assumed to have similar needs.

4.1.1.3 Content of biliteracy

The content of biliteracy was the last aspect added to the model (in 2000). It addresses the content expressed in the languages in question. As such, while the media of biliteracy shed light on the structural and orthographic forms and the order of acquisition that languages of biliteracy take, the content continua focuses on "the meanings those forms express" (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 108). In the model of the continua of biliteracy, content is defined by the following three scales:

- Minority – majority
- Vernacular – literary
- Contextualized – decontextualized

In the content of biliteracy, it is argued that access to both minority *and* majority content; vernacular *and* literary forms is favourable for the development of multilingual literacies. In practice this means for example, that multilingual speakers of Vietnamese and English have better opportunities for developing literacies in both languages when they have access to a variety of texts, media and other resources in Vietnamese as well as English.

The final continua considers and contrasts the highly decontextualized content that is valued in academic settings (for example school textbooks), and the more contextualised texts drawn on in home or other less formal settings. It is argued that allowing students to draw on their knowledge of contextualized texts can help them to understand and develop their knowledge in and use of the decontextualized texts valued in powerful academic settings. For example in Skilton-Sylvester's research, she reports how a Cambodian woman learning English as a second language draws on her knowledge of the structure of informal letters in Khmer when learning the structure of letters in English (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p.111). When students have the opportunity to draw on existing knowledge in their own language, in this case of letter writing in Khmer, they are better able to access, analyze and eventually produce the corresponding structures in the target language.

4.1.1.4 Individual development of biliteracy

These scales represent the factors unique to each individual that impact on the way they develop literacies in the languages they are exposed to. In the model of the continua of biliteracy, the individual development of biliteracy is defined by the following three scales:

- Reception – production
- Oral – written
- L1 – L2

In contrast to earlier theories advocating what was believed to be straightforward progression of skills development (listening first then speaking, reading and finally writing), we now know this process to be infinitely more complex, multidirectional and dynamic (cf. Hornberger, 1989, p. 281). Every individual develops their receptive (listening, understanding, reading) and productive (speaking and writing) skills in languages in different ways. Learning may proceed gradually and consistently in all skills and languages, or it might backtrack, be interrupted or proceed more quickly in one language or skill than another in reaction to the contexts multilingual individuals move through (cf. Hornberger & Link, 2012a, p. 267). For example, it is not uncommon that children of immigrants understand (have well-developed receptive skills in) the language(s) their parents speak but have more difficulty speaking and writing (have less well developed productive skills) in that language. In contrast,

a scholar of French who speaks another language in his/her daily life, may feel more comfortable writing and reading French than speaking it (cf. Valdés, 2014).

The ways and extent to which the languages in the repertoire are drawn on is also a significant factor in the development of literacies in those languages. Drawing on the languages one knows when learning an additional language indicates that application of knowledge in one language is being applied to learning the other. This is conducive to learning (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Link, 2012a). In the present form of the continua model, this is represented by the L1 – L2 continuum, but it can also be understood as a continuum along which a range of linguistic codes are placed, reflecting the increasing recognition of the complexity of multilingual repertoires (García, 2009; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2001). Theorizations of translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012a; also 4.4.2.1) connect strongly to the notion of movement along the L1 – L2 continuum.

4.1.1.5 Power relations and the continua of biliteracy

The continua of biliteracy model is infused with power relations. When the original model (Hornberger, 1989) was revisited and developed (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000), not only were the content continua added, but a new visual representation of the model, emphasizing the power relations was developed (Figure 7, see next page).

This representation draws attention to the fact that in schools with the educational regulations in which they are embedded, competencies at one end of each of the continua tend to be more privileged than those at the opposite end. For example, development of written competencies are more privileged than oral competencies (cf. Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 98). Figure 7 stresses that the development of multilingual literacies is enhanced when multilinguals are able to draw on all points of all continua, instead of being restricted to one end or another in one space or another (Hornberger, 2005, p. 607). This dynamic movement gives multilingual students access to resources in all the languages and cultures in which they are developing literacies. In addition, the movement contests "the traditional power weighting of the continua by paying attention to and granting agency and voice to actors and practices at what have traditionally been the less powerful ends of the continua" (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, p. 99).

4.1.1.6 Studies drawing on the continua of biliteracy

The model of the continua of biliteracy has been applied in multilingual education contexts worldwide. To name just a few, it has been used in Wales, to analyze transliteracy, language planning and the Welsh National Curriculum (Baker, 2003), in Sweden to investigate multilingual literacy among young

<div style="border:1px solid">

traditionally less powerful   ←→   traditionally more powerful

Contexts of biliteracy

micro   <————————> macro
oral   <————————> literate
bi(multi)lingual   <————————> monolingual

Development of biliteracy

reception   <————————> production
oral   <————————> written
L1   <————————> L2

Content of biliteracy

minority <————————> majority
vernacular <————————> literary
contextualized <————————> decontextualized

Media of biliteracy

simultaneous exposure   <————————> successive exposure
dissimilar structures   <————————> similar structures
divergent scripts   <————————> convergent scripts

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Figure 7: Power relations in the continua of biliteracy. Reprinted with permission from: Hornberger, N. & Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2000). Revisiting the Continua of Biliteracy: International and Critical Perspectives. Language and Education, 14, 96–122. www.tandfonline.com.[9]

learners of Sámi (Outakoski, 2015), in Philadelphia, USA to investigate cultural identity in Korean church school (Pak, 2003), in Arizona to analyze language policy and bilingual content (Skilton-Sylvester, 2011), in South Africa and Bolivia to consider classroom challenges in implementation of multilingual language policies (Hornberger, 2002) and to illustrate how multilingual practices can enhance school experiences and academic achievement through translanguaging (Hornberger & Link, 2012a, 2012b).

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[9] In Figure 6 the order of the continua is different from that in the figure showing the nested relations (Figure 5), but there is no assumption of any particular order, rather the continua are conceptualized as "infinite spaces, they are not scaled in relation to each other" as indicated by the arrows in Figure 5 (personal correspondence, Nancy Hornberger, 1 March 2017).

4.1.1.7 Critical views on ecological perspectives

Critiques of the language ecology approach warn about the potential dangers of oversimplifying and overgeneralising the links between linguistic and biological diversity (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Edwards, 2001). Pennycook (2004) reminds us of the centrality of humans and human processes in language development. Languages, he argues, "do not adapt to the world: they are part of human endeavours to create new worlds" (Pennycook, 2004, p. 213). Taking biological metaphors literally renders languages natural objects rather than socio-culturally and politically constructed artefacts. This risks depoliticizing language diversity (ibid.).

The starting point of this thesis is that human, socio-political and ideological factors inform the organization of forms of education and the linguistic practices of participants within them. The central concerns of the present thesis are to investigate the impact of contextual, ideological and organizational factors on language use and development, and the dialogical impact that language use has on restructuring the environments in which it is used. Conceptualizing the contexts as language ecologies acknowledges this dialogical process and, I argue, highlights rather than downplays the human and political factors that contribute to it.

Commenting on the application of the continua of biliteracy model, Street (2003) noted that it is "the combination of complementary frameworks, rather than any one in isolation, that provides that productive direction" (p.353). The continua of biliteracy model does not explain or move our understanding of the development of multilingual literacies forward on its own. However, combining it with other complementary theoretical perspectives does. The studies comprising this thesis include complementary theoretical perspectives, including critical pedagogy (Study I) to analyze the syllabus, translanguaging (Study II) to analyze multilingual interactions, language ideology (Study III) to analyze narratives in interviews, and heteroglossia (Study IV) to examine the subject of mother tongue instruction. The results of the studies are interpreted through the model of the continua of biliteracy in order to better understand how language ideologies, organization of language education and language practices can impact on the development of multilingual literacies in those contexts.

Thirty-six years after Haugen's first text on language ecology (1972), Creese and Martin pointed out that taking an ecological perspective on education and classroom practice demands recognition of their situated and localised nature, but also their embeddedness in the surrounding socio-political environment "in which ideologies function to reproduce particular balances of power" (Creese & Martin, 2008, p. xiii). Theoretical perspectives on language ideologies are explored in the next section (4.2) to shed light on how ideas about languages can impact on opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies.

4.2 Language ideology

In a discussion on ideology, Blommaert (2006) distinguishes between Marxian and Durkheimian traditions. In Marxist theory, ideology was strongly related to power and struggle, and the kind of consciousness and perceptions of reality that result from one's social class. Durkheimian traditions took a more neutral stance, defining ideology as "the 'social cement' [that turns] groups of people into communities, societies and cultures" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 510). Blommaert notes that even while language was not the explicit focus in these traditions, it was never far away, and for some philosophers, such as Bakhtin, language was the embodiment and expression of social struggle and as such, profoundly ideological (Bakhtin, 1981; Todorov, 1984; see 4.2.2).

Language ideologies can be understood as beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language that are socially shaped and, in a dialogical fashion shape the environments through which people move (Fairclough, 1991; Piller, 2015). As "a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55), language ideology has been influential in linguistic ethnography, linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2006; Wodak, 2007). In language ecological perspectives, language ideologies include "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). Researchers exploring language ideologies in multilingual ecologies have noted that when linguistic orders informed by particular language ideologies are appealed to, for example in language classrooms or in language planning, not only are relatively firm borders drawn around languages, but speakers of them are assigned to particular, often non-negotiable social positions (Blackledge, 2005; Milani, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). One of the objectives of a language ecology perspective is to uncover and make obvious the ideologies that both inform and form the context (Creese & Martin, 2003) which helps develop a better understanding of the language ecology in question (Blackledge, 2008), including the way that language education is organized. Moreover, it is crucial to make the language resources which exist in the spaces investigated visible. This can be facilitated by researchers being "proactive in pulling apart perceived language orders: that is, where a particular language and its structures and use becomes so natural that it is no longer seen as construing a particular ideological line" (Creese & Martin, 2003, p. 4).

The relative visibility of languages and the presence of "firm boundaries" (Blackledge, 2008, p. 29) being placed around them or not, can be related to the presence of either monoglossic or heteroglossic language ideologies. These perspectives are discussed in the following two sections.

4.2.1 Monoglossic ideologies

Monoglossic ideologies imply that monolingualism is the normal state of affairs, or the "unmarked case" (Ellis, 2006, p. 173). In educational contexts with monolingual perspectives, a multilingual is often expected to be able to use all languages equally well, across all contexts (as well as a monolingual knows one language). Underlying monoglossic ideologies is an assumption that the only legitimate linguistic practices are those performed by monolinguals (García, 2009, p. 115). Another common expectation is that the languages that a multilingual speaks should be compartmentalised and kept separate.

The pejorative term *semilingual* (Hansegård, 1968) derives from monoglossic ideologies. This term was minted in the 1960s in Sweden, in an attempt to describe the alleged interruption of language development in immigrant children, particularly speakers of Torne Valley Finnish (now one of Sweden's official national minority languages). According to Hansegård, this led to children who only half-mastered Swedish and Finnish, the ultimate consequence being intellectual and emotional poverty (ibid. p. 128). Although no empirical evidence for the alleged interruption of language development was ever found, and the term has been discredited (Bratt Paulston, 1983; Stroud, 2004), it was used for many years by the general public and even in academic circles in Sweden. Paradoxically it was drawn on both as an argument for the introduction of mother tongue programmes (discussed in Borevi, 2013; see also Cummins, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976) but also as a way of pathologising multilingual development, upholding borders between immigrants and non-immigrants and as a signal for moral panic (Stroud, 2004).

Even the more positively positioned concept of *balanced bilingualism* springs from monoglossic ideologies. Although equal and appropriate (rather than equal and low as in semilingualism) competence in more than one language is the implicit understanding of balanced bilingualism, the term does not acknowledge that bilinguals rarely have equal, consistent competence in the languages they speak across all contexts, nor over time (Baker, 2011; García, 2009; Grosjean, 1985). When applied to the concept of multilingualism, the concept of balance becomes even more untenable (Baker, 2011, pp. 8–9).

Monolingual ideologies have been variously described as *monolingual views of bilingualism* (Grosjean, 1985), *parallel monolingualism* (Heller, 1999, p. 271), *monolingual language ideologies* (Flores & Schissel, 2014) and *separate constructions of bilingualism* (Creese & Blackledge, 2011). When monoglossic ideologies shape the organization of language education, negative impressions of and outcomes for multilingual students can emerge, as expectations are based on a monolingual ideal as opposed to the multilingual reality (cf. García, 2009, p. 134, 220). If multilingual students do not meet

monoglossic educational aims and expectations, a deficit view of multilingualism, where it is regarded as something problematic, may emerge (Avery, 2015; Clyne, 2008; Lindberg, 2010; Valdés, 2005).

4.2.2 Heteroglossic ideologies

Heteroglossia is one of the English translations of several related terms Bakhtin (1981) used when describing the diversity of resources (*raznojazyčie*), discourses (*raznorečie)* and voices (*raznogolosie)* that language comprises (Todorov, 1984). Heteroglossia rejects monoglossic perspectives which view language as static, and "unaffected by actual language use" (Lähteenmäki, 2010, pp. 19–20). Rather, heteroglossic ideologies recognize that language is always socioculturally formed; never neutral or given, always posited (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 270).

It is common to regard the multilingual practices and multilingualism of students in schools today as a modern phenomenon, a result of transnational migration, digital technology and globalisation. However, while mobility and mixing are increasingly viewed as central concerns in the study of languages and language education (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), they are not new. Bakhtin (1981) contrasts the "closed off monoglossia" (p. 67) which characterized the genres (epic, lyric and tragedy) of the ancient Greeks with the heteroglossic "parodic and travestying forms" of the folk (p. 67). In discussing the form of the novel, the tension between centralizing unifying forces pushing towards standard forms, and the centrifugal, de-stratifying forces representing the diverse and non-standard voices of the people is traced through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and into the modern age (ibid. p. 68). The simultaneous use of different forms or signs, with their diverse sociohistorical associations is a characteristic of heteroglossic interaction, and mirrors this tension (Bailey, 2007, p. 257).

Heteroglossic ideologies regard the linguistic repertoire of multilinguals as complex, fluid and dynamic, encompassing "multiple co-existing norms" (García, 2009, p. 117). Moreover, heteroglossic perspectives on language assumes that multilingual practices are not random, but based upon solid sociocultural ground, including surrounding language practices (Busch 2014, pp. 21–22). Heteroglossic linguistic practices have been described in different contexts as *flexible bilingualism* (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), *polylingual languaging* (Jørgensen, 2010), *translingual practices* (Canagarajah, 2013), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010) and *translanguaging* (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li, 2014). Although the terms are diverse, what they all have in common is the understanding that making meaning is achieved through a range of linguistic and other resources, and not solely through the

use of isolated and separate "enumerable, bounded sets of linguistic resources" (Blackledge & Creese, 2014, p. 2). Moreover, the speaker, rather than the code is at the heart of the interaction.

Heteroglossic approaches to the organization of language education acknowledge the instability and sociocultural nature of language and work with diversity instead of against it, in the interests of maximizing learning opportunities (cf. Busch, 2014). García (2009) distinguishes between recursive and dynamic heteroglossic approaches to the organization of multilingual education. Recursive programmes aim to wake up and develop languages which have been lost or ignored, by recognizing and teaching them through formal education programmes. Dynamic approaches aim to include and combine many languages and varieties in different ways in education, dependent on the situation and student. The linguistic aim of heteroglossic programmes is multilingualism (ibid, pp. 118–9).

4.2.3   Ideologies and approaches to multilingual education

Multilingual language policies, are "essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible" (Hornberger, 2002, p. 30). In a later paper and in the light of cutbacks to bilingual education programmes in the United States, Hornberger argues forcefully that when language policies close down spaces previously created for multilingual education, language educators and users should fill up implementational spaces with multilingual educational practices, and thus "prod actively toward more favorable ideological spaces" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606). The dialogical effect of this ideological occupation is described:

> Ideological spaces created by language and education policies can be seen as carving out implementational spaces at classroom and community levels, but implementational spaces can also serve as wedges to pry open ideological ones (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606).

The organization of the educational settings visited in the studies that comprise this thesis, is formed and informed by particular language ideologies. Better understanding of the language ideologies increases our understanding of the contexts in which the form of language education investigated are embedded, and how the organization of language education forms and informs those contexts. Moreover, it can tell us about the kinds of linguistic practices that are used and sanctioned in implementational spaces in that setting. Better understanding of these ideological and implementational spaces and the linguistic practices that fill them, can help us learn about the opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies that the forms of language education investigated provide.

4.3 Theoretical perspectives on organization of language education

Perspectives on the organization of language education are dynamic. Traditional, top-down understandings rest on the belief that participants in the organization of language education have power and authority and arrange education for people with whom they often have little or no contact (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 196). Ecological perspectives on the organization of language education have raised awareness of the significance of local or micro-level involvement (Baldauf, 2006). Bottom-up planning recognizes grassroots responses to local needs, inherently diverse, and realized in different ways by different actors according to their specific context (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014).

Approaches to organizing education in, or drawing on immigrant languages can take either of these approaches, or a combination of both. Top-down approaches regarding immigrant languages vary widely around the world but it has been argued that they are all ultimately "constrained by the agendas that reinforce the role and perception of official languages" (Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014, p. 285), which can leave limited space for the opinions, agendas and wishes of diverse and specific language groups. Top-down approaches can be seen from another perspective of course, namely as a pathway for providing space, funding and resources for language education in immigrant languages in mainstream or other formal educational contexts.

In bottom-up approaches, the opinions, agendas and wishes of the local community are the driving force behind the organization of education in immigrant languages. Bottom-up approaches can be used to implement macro-level policies, to contest macro-level policies which exclude them, to address local needs and to open up new language education possibilities (Alexander, 1992; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014). However, factors such as lack of funding, professional development opportunities and formal recognition, as well as discriminatory attitudes in the surrounding context have been identified as constraints to the fulfilment of the aims of bottom-up approaches (Baldauf, 2005; Wiley, 2005).

Lo Bianco (2004) described co-operation between language communities and government authorities which leads to the provision of accredited education in a wide range of languages as a fusion between top-down and bottom-up interests. Ideally, fusion approaches bring bottom-up community perspectives to programmes which are funded and resourced by governments. Consistent and on-going contributions from above (governmental agencies) and below (families and communities) and collaboration are necessary for the success of fusion approaches (Baldauf, 2005). Fusion approaches have been suggested as a way of improving the situation for minority language education in Sweden (Lainio & Wande, 2015) where it is argued that bottom-up initiatives

do not receive "sufficient societal support from central authorities" (ibid. p. 134).

Regardless of the direction of the approach, the organization of language education is always influenced by the orientation planners have towards language; specifically, whether they view it as a problem, a right or a resource (Ruíz, 1984, see also Hult & Hornberger, 2016). While it is often stated that the majority of the world's population is multilingual (Baker, 2011; Cenoz, 2009; Cook, 2002; García, 2009), orientations towards this multilingualism inevitably impact on the forms that language education takes in any given context (see also 4.2) and contrasting orientations existing alongside each other in the same society (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015, p. 2). There are societies where multilingualism is framed both as a resource and a right, but immigrant languages often still struggle to find space in school curricula (Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014, p. 273). Moreover, even in situations where there are programmes in place, the languages and programmes are often both surrounded and informed by conflicting and polarized ideologies and attitudes (Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014; Spetz, 2014; Wingstedt, 1998) which impact on their potential for success.

Drawing on analysis of language policies from around the world, three factors that influence the space allocated to the immigrant languages in mainstream curriculum have been identified: social cohesion, competition between languages and the invisibility of non-dominant languages (Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014, p. 282). In situations where factors relating to social cohesion constrain space, an underlying assumption is that the inclusion of languages other than the socially dominant one in education is divisive, while the use of one language by all has a unifying effect (ibid.) Where there is competition between languages, there are beliefs that languages cannot exist, develop and be drawn on side by side but are in competition for space in the curriculum and importance. Finally, the invisibility factor is salient in contexts where immigrant languages are neither acknowledged in education nor known about by decision-makers in any setting.

Sociolinguists and language educators have for many years pointed out the advantages of allowing multilinguals to draw on the languages they know best when learning (Cummins, 1986, 2000, 2005, 2007; García, 2009; Hall & Cook, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012a; Tavares, 2015). However, languages other than those of instruction are commonly locked out of mainstream classrooms around the globe (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013; Cummins, 2005; García & Kleifgen, 2010). In situations where immigrant languages are incorporated into mainstream schools, the ways this can be done vary enormously, from being media of instruction, to being at best permitted to assist with learning in mainstream subject and languages, to being language subjects in their own right.

Typologies that classify and describe the many different forms of multilingual education that have evolved (e.g. Baker, 2011; Cenoz, 2009; Fishman,

1976; Hornberger, 1991) can provide a starting point or framework on which to base multilingual education planning, but even forms of education that involve the use of more than one language can be underpinned by monoglossic ideologies, where monolingualism or monolingual competence in more than one language is the expected outcome. The increasingly dynamic and complex nature of individual and societal linguistic resources demand new approaches to organizing language education.

Recently, arguments have been made for forms of language education which transgress mono-, bi- and multilingual typologies by recognizing, accepting and supporting the use of students' entire linguistic repertoire in all learning situations (García & Li, 2014, pp. 70–1). These heteroglossic approaches to multilingual education attempt to incorporate as many languages as possible in flexible systems characterised by flexible linguistic practices (García, 2009, pp. 115–122; see 4.2.3). Theoretical perspectives on language and flexible linguistic practices are presented in the next and final section of this chapter.

4.4 Language – theory and practices

In the following section, the perspectives on language taken in this study are introduced first and then the understandings of multilingual practices which underpin the thesis.

4.4.1 Languages as inventions – dynamic perspectives

Underlying the theoretical and analytical approaches taken in this study, is the recognition that languages are socio-political inventions (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006). Languages are described and named in order to codify, unify and standardize diverse linguistic practices and invoke feelings of nationalism and belonging but also the equal and opposite incarnation, otherness and exclusion. There is abundant research which explores, documents and analyzes the ways that languages have been invented, but these are not expanded on in this thesis (see Makoni, 1998; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Mühlhäusler, 2000; Schieffelin, 2000, for fascinating examples).

As structures within and the distinctions and boundaries between "named languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015) are more blurry and indistinct than codified versions permit, categorizing and classifying linguistic practices into separate codes, varieties and dialects is problematic. Finding the most appropriate terminology to describe the state of knowing or using more than one named language becomes challenging if the languages are not named. If they all exist on a continuum of dialects, varieties and families, how is it even possible to know how many one speaks? Is that even necessary?

The term *dynamic bilingualism* has been suggested as a way of describing the multiple, complex and changing ways in which multilingual individuals and communities communicate and interact (García, 2009, p. 119; also 4.2.2). From the perspective of dynamic bilingualism, concepts such as first language (L1) second language (L2) and balanced bilingual do not and cannot explain the language practices of the majority of the world's population. To describe a bilingual as someone who speaks two languages equally well, or a multilingual as someone speaking more than two languages equally well, does not take into account the complexity, unpredictability and perhaps above all the movement of today's world. As García describes:

> …bilingualism is not like a bicycle with two balanced wheels; it is more like an all-terrain vehicle. Its wheels do not move in unison in the same direction, but extend and contract, flex and stretch, making possible, over highly uneven ground, movement forward that is bumpy and irregular but also sustained and effective (García, 2009, p. 45).

Instead of assuming linguistic homogeneity and predictability, dynamic perspectives expect heterogeneity and mixing in interactions (cf. Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). Viewing bilingualism as dynamic recognizes that the diverse language practices of individuals and communities evolve and adjust to changing sociocultural, socio-political and multimodal conditions. The importance of recognizing the dynamic nature of bilingualism is particularly important in educational contexts, to avoid deficit perspectives on multilinguals brought about by incomplete understandings of the complexity of multilingualism.

A caveat on the dynamic perspective relevant to the research setting investigated needs to be made here. In the schools and classrooms I visited, languages are not only named by those who teach and learn them, and as such, treated as separate entities, but also assigned timetable positions, teachers, certain numbers of students and resources. So while acknowledging that the linguistic practices observed in these spaces are dynamic, heteroglossic and contribute to their own invention (cf. Daugaard, 2015) it is still necessary to give them names (Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015). It has been pointed out that even people with highly heteroglossic repertoires benefit from being able to communicate and perform in linguistically acceptable ways (ibid. p. 300). From a social justice perspective, not giving students the skills they need to select appropriately from their repertoire in order to produce genres which will give them access to the halls of power would be highly unsatisfactory. The challenge that this thesis presents is acknowledging and negotiating the heteroglossic reality of the forms of education investigated, and simultaneously giving students access to the genres of power. The notion of the resourceful speaker (Pennycook, 2012b, 2014; also 4.4.2.2) is a helpful guide in this endeavour.

4.4.2   Multilingual practices

In the environments visited during this project, different forms of multilingual education were in focus. Interactions observed in classrooms and reported on in interviews were characterized by their multilingual nature. This study takes a dynamic perspective on language practices as well as languages, drawing on the concepts of translanguaging, discussed in the next section, and heteroglossia (4.2.2) to understand interactions, perspectives and the contexts in which they take place or to which they refer.

4.4.2.1   **Translanguaging**

The concept of translanguaging, translated from Welsh, *trawsieithu,* originates in the context of Welsh bilingual education, where it was developed as a teaching practice which systematically alternated the languages of input and output (Williams, 1996). It was understood to help advanced learners of English and Welsh achieve "deeper learning […] language development, cognitive development and content understanding" (Lewis et al., 2012a, p. 667) of subjects in the Welsh curriculum. This approach developed out of the observation that deeper knowledge of subject matter was achieved when students worked with receptive and productive tasks in different languages (see Lewis et al., 2012a and Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b for more details on the early history and development of the term in the Welsh context).

Multilingualism and multilingual education are becoming increasingly important (Cenoz, 2009; Edwards, 2007) and meeting the needs of multilingual students in mainstream classrooms has become a salient issue for many teachers. The theories and approaches associated with translanguaging in the Welsh context are still under development as students, teachers and researchers look for new ways of learning and teaching in multilingual classrooms. Translanguaging offers new and more positive, pedagogical perspectives on multilingual practices, which have previously been frowned upon in educational contexts (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

From a dynamic perspective, translanguaging allows language practices to be understood from the perspective of language users rather than linguistic perspectives (Garcia, 2009, p. 45; García & Li, 2014, p. 22). It takes the focus off the concurrent use of different languages in the same utterance, and onto the communicative needs of the speaker. From this perspective, translanguaging can be understood as "*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order *to make sense of their bilingual worlds*" (García, 2009, p. 45; italics in original).

Translanguaging has been drawn on to analyze and theorize multilingual practices in a variety of educational environments. In the UK, it has been argued that translanguaging approaches in complementary schools are used for identity performance and language learning and teaching (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). In university settings in the UK,

translanguaging among Chinese students helps them create transnational identities (Li & Zhu, 2013). In an analysis of multilingual practices among Chinese youths in Britain, the notion of a *translanguaging space*, a space for translanguaging as well as a space created by translanguaging was proposed (Li, 2011a). Translanguaging spaces, it is argued, emphasize the agency of multilingual individuals as they create spaces for themselves, using the resources they possess, and break down artificial dichotomies in research paradigms, as they are interactionally created by individuals (ibid., p. 1234). In multilingual South Africa, pedagogical translanguaging improves opportunities for learning in science lessons (Probyn, 2015), promotes concept literacy (Madiba, 2014) and affords affective and social advantage and deeper content understanding among student teachers (Makalela, 2015). Translanguaging practices in writing (Canagarajah, 2011a) and science education (Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014) at university have been analyzed to identify teachable strategies and teaching practices respectively. The very salient links between translanguaging and the development of multilingual literacies have also been analyzed and discussed (Garcia, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012a, 2012b).

In the Swedish context, translanguaging practices during English medium education in high schools and primary schools have been identified as potential tools for teaching and learning (Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). It is suggested that more studies in multilingual environments may reveal further strategies for this. In an earlier study undertaken by Yoxsimer Paulsrud, investigating English-medium education in Sweden (2014), the affordances translanguaging practices could offer were constrained in one school, by preoccupation with *how much* of each language should be spoken. In another school that instead focused on *how* to use two languages together, translanguaging offered opportunities for learning. Mismatches between observed multilingual practices and the ideological underpinnings of the practices are highlighted in Ganuza and Hedmans's analysis of multilingual practices during mother tongue instruction in Sweden (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017a; see also 3.1.3).

The studies above, conducted in a range of contexts, indicate that translanguaging is a useful theoretical and possibly pedagogical tool for working in multilingual situations, but also that there is uncertainty concerning how and even if it should be drawn on in educational contexts. In this thesis, translanguaging is discussed in relation to a range of multilingual practices observed and reported on in interviews in the investigated contexts, where different languages are used together in different ways to facilitate understanding, learning and communication. Given the divergence of these contexts, the way translanguaging has been applied is explained in more detail in the respective articles, and in the summary of the studies (see chapter 6).

4.4.2.2   The resourceful speaker

A not infrequent criticism of translanguaging perspectives is the assumption that if it is permitted in classrooms, not only will teachers lose control but students will not be given the opportunity to develop competences in named languages (Otheguy et. al, 2015). The notion of the resourceful speaker is useful for negotiating this.

The notion being a resourceful speaker is connected to the idea of *passing* (Piller, 2002) and also to reflections on the expediency of selecting the bits and chunks of language that, in combination, enable us to communicate and perform in the situations we find ourselves in (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). In Piller's research, passing (as a native speaker) was "temporary, context-, audience-, and medium-specific performance" (Piller, 2002, p.179). As such, it did not imply adopting false linguistic identities or aiming at achieving ongoing standard-like varieties of English, but being able to perform in a way that met the demands of the situation.

Being a resourceful speaker has been framed as a desirable goal for all, not only multilinguals, and implies being good at "shifting between styles, discourses and genres" (Pennycook, 2012a, p. 99). As an emergent goal in educational contexts, the concept implies being able to draw on "multiple linguistic and semiotic resources, and accommodate, negotiate and be light on [one's] feet" (Pennycook, 2012b, p. 13).

The implications that the notion of the resourceful speaker might have when considering multilingual practices and the development of multilingual literacies will be considered in chapter 7.

4.5 Summary

This project focuses on opportunities and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies, drawing on the ecological framework of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). Three contrasting forms of education in or drawing on immigrant languages, informed by different language ideologies are investigated, but multilingual practices are characteristic of all the environments visited. The practice and theory of teaching languages is often underpinned by conceptualizations of languages as separate, countable and characterised by specific structures and functions. The tension between these monoglossic ideas and forms of education (4.2.1) and understandings of languages as socio-political inventions which underpin heteroglossic approaches (4.2.2) lies at the heart of this thesis. The theoretical perspectives on language ecologies, ideologies, the organization of language education and linguistic practices presented above provide different lenses for examining and understanding the data gathered for this thesis, which will be presented in the next chapter.

5 Materials and methods

In this chapter the research approach, settings, participants and methods used to collect and analyze data in this thesis are presented. The aim of this chapter is to expand on the (necessarily) limited space dedicated to description of methodological approaches in the individual studies, and provide a methodological and analytical framework to connect the research questions and articles.

5.1 Linguistic Ethnography

To investigate the research questions proposed, qualitative methods and associated theoretical understandings from linguistic ethnography were used. Linguistic ethnography connects closely with linguistic anthropology of education (see Wortham, 2008) and traditional sociolinguistics, and as an emergent methodological approach, it is still under discussion and development (Creese, 2008, p. 229). It is characterized by its combination of close and detailed analysis of linguistic features with empirically based understandings of the environment in which the linguistic features exist, and acknowledgement of the dialogical relationship between the two. As such, it strengthens purely linguistic analysis, by offering rich contextual information, and it brings a closer linguistic focus to anthropological approaches to research sites, which otherwise have the potential to be very broadly focused. With this double perspective, the approach has been described as a way "tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up" (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4). In an early discussion paper on linguistic ethnography, the overall approach is described as follows:

> Linguistic ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2).

In linguistic ethnography, interpretation of interactional and interview data is built on knowledge of local contexts, recorded in field notes, captured in photographs, gained from close study of classroom, school and policy documents (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2011, p. 1200), as well as broader knowledge of the sociohistorical and socio-political aspects of the context. By embedding close

linguistic analysis in a context, linguistic ethnography thus provides a way to investigate local actions and how they are embedded in wider social contexts (Copland and Creese 2015, p. 13).

In this thesis, the individual language classrooms and schools in which they are located are understood as being embedded in complex linguistic ecological systems (see 4.1), each with their own unique sociohistorical, -political and organizational environment. In keeping with this perspective, the collection and analysis of data encompasses the language classrooms and the lessons taught there, including the recordings made, photographs taken and field notes written, and the social, ideological and organizational environments (structure) in which the classrooms are embedded.

The next section of this chapter presents the specific setting, participants, data, data collection and processes of analysis in each setting respectively. A brief summary including reflections on ethics concludes the chapter.

5.2 The Swedish setting

The forms of education investigated in Sweden are both conducted within the framework of the mainstream education setting (see 2.2.2), so the majority of the data was collected in the Swedish compulsory school. In order to observe a range of practices in different languages, a multilingual suburban area in a large Swedish city was chosen as the principal research site. Classrooms where students from grades 1–9 (aged between 6–16) studied their mother tongue or received multilingual study guidance in different subjects were observed. Six lessons with children in the pre-school class (aged 5–6) were also observed.

Data were collected in and around 13 different multilingual schools and preschools over a period of 12 months as well as the municipal offices which administrate mother tongue instruction. The schools where most lessons were observed are given the pseudonyms of Alpha School (32 lessons) and Omega School (11 lessons).

98% of the 529 students aged 6–16 attending Alfa school spoke languages other than Swedish at home. The school has more than 30 years of experience with working with multilingual students. Five mother tongue teachers were employed by Alpha school during the initial period of data collection. This is an unusual arrangement, as mother tongue teachers are most commonly employed by the local municipality, where administration and professional development relating to the subject is also conducted. The mother tongue teachers employed at Alpha school also had the majority of their students at that school, which is one of the reasons that the decision was made to employ and base them there.

96% of the 503 students aged 6–16 at Omega school spoke languages other than Swedish at home, and like Alpha school, the school has many years of experience teaching multilingual children. Omega school also employed five mother tongue teachers, teaching the languages most commonly spoken at that school. A co-ordinator (also a teacher at the school) was responsible for organizing mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance at the school, and providing a link between the (travelling) mother tongue teachers and Omega school.

The municipal unit which administered mother tongue instruction was also visited during the study to conduct interviews (with the principal), and meet up with mother tongue teachers. When the unit arranged professional development sessions for mother tongue teachers, they were held at a local high school, after students and teachers had left for the day, as space was limited in the unit office.

5.2.1 Participants

This section gives a brief description of the wide range of participants who indirectly informed the study and describes in more detail those who contributed directly through interviews and being observed. The mother tongue teachers are described in the most detail as they were in focus more than any other category of participant.

5.2.1.1 Mother tongue teachers

Four mother tongue teachers conducting mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance were observed in this study. They taught Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish and Urdu respectively. All the teachers had taught mother tongue instruction for many years (13–33 years), and had a wealth of experience and knowledge of the subject. The teachers who participated in the study were chosen on the basis of a range of factors, including recommendation (by the pedagogical head teacher of the mother tongue teachers at Alpha school), length of experience (I wanted to observe and talk with teachers who had experience of the subject), form of employment (I wanted to observe and talk with teachers who were employed both by schools and municipalities) and gender (I wanted a balance). See Table 4 for an overview of the mother tongue teachers.

5.2.1.2 Other teachers and staff

Eleven other teachers and staff members were interviewed. All but one were employed at Alpha school, and they had diverse backgrounds. These staff members were interviewed in order to explore their perceptions of mother tongue instruction, multilingualism and multilingual education.

Table 4: Overview of mother tongue (MT) teachers in the study.

Teacher	Qualifications	Experience	Languages spoken	Employer
Turkish MT teacher	MT teacher education from a Swedish university	32 years as MT teacher in Sweden	Turkish, Swedish, English, some French	Alpha school
Kurdish MT teacher	Primary teacher education from Turkey	6 years as primary teacher in Turkey. 13 years as MT teacher in Sweden	Kurdish (northern and southern), Turkish, Swedish, some English, some Arabic	Alpha school
Arabic MT teacher	Pre-school teacher education from Sweden. MT teacher education from a Swedish university	33 years as MT teacher in Sweden	Arabic, Western Neo-Syrian, Swedish	Omega school
Urdu MT teacher	Primary and lower-secondary school teacher education from Pakistan. Primary school teacher major mathematics from Sweden	26 years as MT teacher in Sweden	Urdu, Punjabi, Swedish, English	Municipality

The teachers interviewed taught Swedish as second language, social science and natural science. The Swedish as a second language teachers were also the main teachers in the Introductory classes for recently arrived students (see 2.2.4) at Alpha and Omega schools, respectively. As well as these teachers, Alpha school's student counsellor, nurse and secretary were interviewed.

During field work I had numerous casual conversations with a wide range of other teachers and staff members in the different schools I visited, at the school cafeteria and on buses between schools. Brief summaries of these unrecorded, informal conversations were written in field notes as soon as possible after they took place.

5.2.1.3　School and organization leaders

Three school and organization leaders were interviewed to gain insight into how mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance were organized and implemented in the context.

The deputy principal of Alpha school was interviewed twice; first during initial field work, second, as a follow-up interview more than two years after the initial fieldwork was conducted. S/he had worked for 13 years as a language teacher prior to joining school leadership at Alpha school, where s/he had worked for three and a half years when interviewed the first time.

The principal of Omega school was also interviewed and chose to have a Swedish as a second language teacher present during the interview. The principal of the municipal unit for the organization and implementation of mother tongue instruction was also interviewed. S/he had worked originally as a primary school teacher then moved into leadership positions within the municipality. S/he had been the principal of the mother tongue unit for five years at the time of the interview.

5.2.1.4　Students

Focus group interviews were conducted with 22 volunteer students. I had met them during the initial (unrecorded) lesson observations, then again during the weeks I was at the schools observing and recording lessons, so they knew who I was and were, to some extent, familiar with my presence. Table 7 gives an overview of the composition of the focus groups.

All but one of the students in the focus group discussions were born in Sweden. In the focus group with students studying mother tongue instruction in Arabic there was one student who had moved to Sweden two years before.

5.2.2　Data and data collection

Data in the Swedish context were collected initially over a 12-month period. A pilot study, consisting of four interviews with four mother tongue teachers was conducted in February 2012, to guide me to the issues which mother tongue teachers perceived as important in their profession. Interview data from one of those interviews is drawn on in article III, but otherwise, the analysis is based on the data collected during the main study. I met the teachers in the pilot study through recommendations from a colleague. While this was partially convenience sampling (Yin, 2011, p. 89), they were employed in a highly multilingual municipality and were recommended as highly experienced, which meant they fit the criteria I was beginning to develop for the selection of teachers in the main study. Through further purposive, snowball sampling (ibid., p. 89) I met other teachers and staff members. Follow-up interviews with the Kurdish mother tongue teacher and the principal of Alpha

school were conducted 18 months after this initial period of field work was completed.

5.2.2.1 Setting up the study

Following the pilot study, I made contact with the principal of Alpha school, which had been described in relatively positive terms by mother tongue teachers in the pilot study interviews. Information about the proposed research project was sent to the school and after receiving the spoken approval of the principal, I visited the school so s/he could sign the informed consent form, and to plan the project. The principal then referred me to the Kurdish mother tongue teacher, who was the head of the teaching team for mother tongue teachers at Alpha school and would become not only a key informant (in his/her role as a mother tongue teacher) but also a key co-ordinator and my main contact person in the Swedish part of the project.

The Kurdish teacher recommended a number of mother tongue and other teachers whom s/he thought would be useful informants for the project. After meeting the four mother tongue teachers who agreed to be involved, plans were made for me to accompany them as they travelled between their schools and classrooms over a period of one week each (total four weeks), to meet their students, talk about the project and observe (but not record) their lessons and working conditions.

5.2.2.2 Lesson observations

After this initial period of unrecorded observation, the period of intensive observation and audio-recording of lessons commenced. The methods used to collect data during this period of time resemble discursive shadowing (Dewilde, 2015; Dewilde & Creese, 2016) in that I accompanied the mother tongue teachers and recorded a great deal of the activities they participated in during their working day. On the other hand, I did not give them their own recording device, and therefore did not capture conversations they had in situations when I wasn't there. I accompanied the four mother tongue teachers to all their lessons over a period of one week, respectively, again. In total 58 mother tongue instruction lessons and 13 lessons during which multilingual study guidance was conducted were observed and audio-recorded, which was deemed enough to achieve saturation (Heigham & Croker, 2009, p. 10).

I generally sat at the back of the classroom, taking field notes during these lessons, noting how many students attended, the seating arrangement, activities conducted and, to the extent I was able, the language arrangements (mostly when Swedish was used, sometimes other languages, such as English, were also used). I was not a participant in the lessons, although I was occasionally asked questions by the students, or given contextualizing information by the mother tongue teacher. A small digital audio recorder was placed at the front of the classroom, and while students were aware of its presence, and on

one occasion picked it up and talked about it, it was relatively unobtrusive. Photographs were also taken of the classroom and school environments I visited and, with the approval of the students, student notebooks and teaching resources. The audio files and photographs were transferred to my computer at the end of the day and filed in the password-protected server of the university at which I was employed.

I also attended two meetings and one professional development workshop for mother tongue teachers organized by the municipal unit for the organization and implementation of mother tongue instruction. An overview of the recorded and analyzed lessons in both mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance is given in Table 5.

Table 5: Overview of mother tongue instruction (MTI) and multilingual study guidance (MSG) lessons observed and audio-recorded.

Number of lessons observed	Dates	Time
MTI Arabic: 11	Oct. 2012	10 hrs 42 mins
MSG Arabic: 4		2 hrs 17 mins
MTI Kurdish: 16	Sept-Oct. 2012	11 hrs 41 mins
MSG Kurdish: 3		2 hrs 30 mins
MTI Turkish: 17	Sept. 2012	12 hrs 45 mins
MSG Turkish: 3		1 hr 5 mins
MTI Urdu: 14	Nov. 2012	11 hrs 27 mins
MSG Urdu: 3		2 hrs 32 mins
Total number lessons observed: 71		**Total length of recordings: 55 hours**

5.2.2.3   Interviews and conversations

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with fourteen members of staff, including the mother tongue teachers themselves, other subject teachers, pedagogic leaders and other staff members. Six focus group interviews were conducted with 22 students. A great number of unrecorded casual conversations also took place throughout the months spent in the research site. Drawing information from a range of informants helped to broaden and deepen understandings of mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance (Hood, 2009, p. 81).

Mother tongue teachers

As well as the semi-structured interviews conducted with mother tongue teachers to gather biographical information, I had many other casual conversations with them throughout fieldwork. Lesson-content, classroom issues and many more topics related to mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance were discussed in these conversation, some of which were audio-

recorded separately, others not. A brief summary of the unrecorded conversations was written as soon as possible afterwards.

See Appendix 1 for all interview guides[10]. While there are a number of questions that I wanted to cover in the interviews, the order and manner in which they were covered was very flexible.

Teachers and staff interviews

Semi-structured interviews with the other teachers and pedagogical leaders were mostly conducted during and following the period of lesson observation. These interviews took place in classrooms, at a time chosen by the teacher or staff member themselves. An overview of the staff interviews conducted is given in Table 6.

Table 6: Overview of staff interviews.

Semi-structured recorded interviews	Date	Time
Arabic MT teacher	Oct. 2012	31 mins
Kurdish MT teacher	Oct. 2012	31 mins
Turkish MT teacher	Oct. 2012	52 mins
Urdu MT teacher	Nov. 2012	20 mins
Deputy principal Alpha School	Nov. 2012	57 mins
Principal Omega school and Swedish as a second language teacher	Oct. 2012	86 mins
Principal of MTI municipal unit	Nov. 2012	67 mins
4 x Swedish as a second language teachers (working with Introductory classes)	Oct-Nov 2012	5hrs17 mins
Natural sciences teacher	Dec. 2012	40 mins
Swedish and Swedish as a second language teacher	Dec. 2012	30 mins
Social science teacher	Nov. 2012	22 mins
Alpha school nurse	Nov. 2012	27 mins
Alpha school counselor	Nov. 2012	57 mins
Alpha school secretary	Oct. 2012	38 mins
Total recording time : 29 hrs 10 mins		

Student focus group interviews

Following the period of lesson observation and after all the signed informed consent documents had been returned, focus group interviews with students were conducted. The discussions took place either before or after lessons. Questions were presented as a structured card game, whereby students picked

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[10] The interview guides and informed consent documents from the Swedish study are in Swedish, and those from the Australian study are in English. The questions asked and information given in both setting were similar, which is why the Swedish documents have been left in the original language.

up a card from a pile on the table, answered the question and then other students took turns around the group, to give their answers (see Appendices). The next card was turned up by the next student, and the same procedure was followed. Field notes were taken throughout the discussion, a diagram of the seating arrangements was drawn and a chart detailing the order in which students answered questions was noted to make transcription of the discussion more straightforward.

An overview of the student focus group interviews is given in table 6 (rounded up/down to the closest minute).

Table 7: Overview of student focus group interviews.

Focus groups	Students	Date	Time
Grade 7 Kurdish	4	December 2012	31 mins
Grade 8 Kurdish	4	December 2012	23 mins
Grade 9 Kurdish	5	November 2012	38 mins
Grade 8 Arabic	4	December 2012	41 mins
Grade 9 Turkish	3	December 2012	50 mins
Grade 5 and 8 Urdu	2	December 2012	41 mins
Total recording time: 3 hrs 44 mins			

5.2.2.4 Additional linguistic ethnographic data

Six kinds of data are characteristic of recent studies conducted using methods from linguistic ethnography: field notes, audio recordings gained through key participants carrying recording microphones, videos and photographs, interviews, field documents (classroom artefacts) and researcher-generated narratives (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 67). In this study, as well as the interview and observation data described above, hundreds of photographs were taken throughout field work, three moleskin notebooks were filled with hand-written field notes, and classroom and school documents were collected or photographed. In other words, this study has examples of many of these categories of data.

5.2.2.5 Follow-up interviews

Three follow-up interviews (two with the Kurdish mother tongue teacher, one with the principal of Alpha school and one with the Swedish as a second language teacher at Omega school who had participated in the interview with the principal in 2012) were conducted 18 months after this first period of field work ended, in the final year of the study. The purpose was partly member-

checking (see Analysis 5.5) but also to check if any major structural or organizational changes had occurred since the initial fieldwork had taken place. An overview of these interviews is given in table 8. All interview schedules used in the Swedish context are included in the Appendices.

Table 8: Follow-up interviews – Sweden.

Follow up interviews	Date	Time
Kurdish MT teacher (2)	November 2014	74 mins
	July 2015	57 mins
Principal Alpha school	July 2015	43 mins
Swedish as a second language teacher (formally at Omega school)	March 2015	68 mins
Total recording time:		**4 hours 2 minutes**

5.3 The Australian setting

Fieldwork in the Australian setting took place in a community language school teaching Vietnamese and at three different administrative organizations that surrounded it: the state advocacy group for community languages, the government resource centre and the state government department of education.

The Vietnamese community language school had 550 students enrolled at three different schools at the time fieldwork was conducted. It enrolled children from grades one to 12. The grade 11 and 12 group had the option of studying for and taking an external examination in Vietnamese, which gave points towards school leaving certificates. The school operated on Saturday mornings in the rooms and grounds of three large state schools. Two were located in a suburb in the outskirts of a large city; the other in a centrally located school. Fieldwork was carried out in the two suburban campuses. Lessons ran from 9.00 to 12.00, with a break midway through. The Vietnamese school Parent's and Citizen's group organized a canteen where drinks and snacks could be purchased. During the 12 months during which I conducted fieldwork, I also attended a *Family Fun Day*, a fundraising dinner, an awards ceremony and a singing competition which the Vietnamese school organized.

The state advocacy group for community languages (hereafter, advocacy group) promotes community language schools in that state, including the Vietnamese community language school in this study, by:

1. providing assistance to community language schools that want to apply for grants,
2. organizing activities, awards and events to raise awareness of community language schools and

3. promoting the importance of respect for people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

The advocacy group is represented by a president (an honorary role, unpaid) and government funding (which has to be applied for annually) covers the costs of a secretary, employed on a half-time basis. Annual general meetings are attended by community language school members, local politicians, the national president of Community Languages Australia and anyone in the general public who is interested.

Prior to February 2013, when fieldwork in Australia began, the advocacy group had been housed in state government premises. After re-structuring of the government department of education, the advocacy group had been relocated to smaller and less central premises where there was not enough room for all their teaching resources, many of which had to be discarded.

The government department which had supplied the office space for the advocacy group prior to 2013 had also previously provided support to the advocacy group through a resource centre. This resource centre had developed curricula and resources for community language schools and language education in mainstream schools. The resource centre had also helped community language schools apply for government funding. After the restructuring of the government department, the resource centre was abolished and the advocacy group relocated (as described above). Consequently, there is now no longer a direct link between the advocacy group and the state government and no automatic curriculum, resource or professional development support for community language schools through the government department. Although all this support is now missing, community language schools are not eligible for funding unless they can prove implementation of the generic syllabuses developed previously by the resource centre.

The state department of education (hereafter, the department) is the umbrella government jurisdiction responsible for mainstream education in that state. It also administered applications for funding for community language schools and the advocacy group.

5.3.1 Participants

The following section introduces the main participants and their role in the Australian setting. Unlike the Swedish setting, where the mother tongue teachers contributed more data due to the length of time spent with them during fieldwork, participation in the Australian study was divided more evenly between the groups and individuals described in the following section.

5.3.1.1 Administrators and leaders

Administrators in the three administrative organizations described in 5.3 were interviewed for this study. At the department, two education officers were interviewed. They both had backgrounds in teaching and had worked for the department in the focus area of languages for one and seven years, respectively.

The former senior education officer at the resource centre was also interviewed, to gain a historical perspective on the setting. S/he had previously worked as a language teacher and school leader in the mainstream school and had worked at the resource centre for nine years.

Both president and the former president of the advocacy group were interviewed. Both of them had been involved in different community language schools and had been members of the advocacy group for 18 years. The sitting president had extensive experience of working in volunteer organizations in the multicultural sector while the former president was a university tutor.

The principal of the Vietnamese school was interviewed formally twice but we had many casual conversations as well. S/he had come to Australia as a young adult after completing schooling in Vietnamese. The principal had been involved first as a teacher and then as the principal of the Vietnamese school for over 25 years. S/he worked in the telecommunications industry.

5.3.1.2 Teachers

Three teachers were observed teaching Vietnamese and interviewed. They had all come to Australia as young adults. The grade two teacher had taught Vietnamese at the Vietnamese school for 14 years and was a high school mathematics teacher. S/he also marked state-wide external examinations in Vietnamese. The grade 9 teacher had taught at the Vietnamese school for 18 years and was a computer engineer. The grade 11 and 12 teacher had taught at the Vietnamese school for 13 years, was a computer engineer and also worked part-time as a pastor.

5.3.1.3 Parents

Five parents were interviewed in three focus group interviews. Some of the parents had come to Australia as young children and completed the majority of their schooling in English, in Australian schools. Others had arrived as adults and received limited education in English as a second language (ESL). They held a variety of professional and non-professional jobs, and were all members of the Parents and Citizens group at the Vietnamese School.

5.3.1.4 Students

Nineteen students from the year 9 and 12 classes at the Vietnamese school volunteered to speak to me about language use and language learning in four

focus group interviews. All the students were born in Australia or New Zealand, and thus had completed all their mainstream schooling in English. The majority of the students had attended the Vietnamese school since age nine approximately.

5.3.2 Data and data collection

Data collection in the Australian setting took place over a period of 12 months, in the Vietnamese school itself, events organized by the school, and at other locations where administrators with the advocacy group, resource centre and the department worked or arranged to meet me. Unlike the Swedish setting, where interviews with mother tongue teachers in a pilot study guided the direction, it was early interviews with administrators in the advocacy group and the resource centre that guided this case study.

5.3.2.1 Setting up the study

Initial fieldwork in the Australian setting began with email contact with representatives from the administrative organizations associated with community language schools in that state. The first contact to respond was the former education officer at the resource centre, who agreed to meet me for an interview. A great deal of historical, organizational information was given in this interview, and the beginnings of a contact network were established.

Further emails and telephone calls led me to the president of the state advocacy group, whom I then met in person at the Annual General Meeting of the advocacy group. I met many other stakeholders in community language education in that state at that meeting, including the president of the national advocacy group for community language schools and teachers and principals of community language schools teaching Mandarin, Fijian, German, Dutch, Vietnamese, Swedish, Tamil and more. As I had been asked to introduce myself and my research at that meeting, many of those attending spoke with me afterwards and expressed interest and willingness to participate in the project. This is also where I met the principal of Vietnamese school for the first time.

The decision to conduct case studies at the Vietnamese community language school was based partly on pragmatic reasons; the principal was very keen to show me the school and explicitly invited me to visit; and partly because as the sixth largest language other than English spoken in Australia, Vietnamese is a significant language in the local and national language ecology (see Figure 4 in 2.3).

An initial visit to the Vietnamese school's two suburban campuses (which were situated next to each other) was made to meet the teachers, a co-ordinator, parents and visit the classrooms. A schedule was then drawn up for subsequent field work, during which classroom observations and interviews would be conducted. As community language schools usually have classes on

the weekends, fieldwork in the Vietnamese school took place over nine Saturday mornings, during which I observed classes, audio-recorded lessons and conducted interviews. Interviews with the administrators in the advocacy group, resource centre and department and attendance at meetings and other events were conducted at different times throughout the year (see Table 10 for dates).

5.3.2.2   At the Vietnamese school - lesson observations and assemblies

Lesson observations in the Vietnamese school took place over five Saturday mornings, four of which were recorded. I observed and audio-recorded lessons with grades 1, 2, 9 and the combined grade 11–12 class. The same procedures were followed as in the Swedish observation; a small audio-recording device was placed at the front of the classroom and I sat at the back, writing field notes in which descriptions of the students in attendance, the seating arrangement, activities conducted and, to the extent I was able, the language arrangements were included. Photographs were taken of classrooms, resources and, with their permission, student notebooks. Each lesson consisted of two sessions, broken up by a break for morning tea. Three assemblies which proceeded some lessons were also attended and audio-recorded. A summary of the recorded lessons and assemblies is given in Table 9.

Table 9: Overview of lessons and assemblies observed and audio-recorded – Australia.

Lessons observed	Dates	Time
Grade 1	July 2013	72 mins
Grade 2	August 2013	149 mins
Grade 9	August 2013	138 mins
Grades 11–12	August 2013	141 mins
General assembly	July 2013	28 mins
Final assembly	December 2013	32 mins
Song competition assembly	November 2013	47 mins
Total number lessons: 4 **Total number of assemblies: 3**		**Total length of recordings:** **10 hrs 7 mins**

5.3.2.3   Interviews and conversations

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven administrators and three teachers at the Vietnamese school. Focus group interviews were conducted with 19 students (three groups) and five parents (on three occasions). As in the Swedish setting, I also had many casual conversations with other

parents, the coordinator of the Vietnamese school and other volunteer workers and advocates for community language schools whom I met at meetings and events. Brief summaries of these conversations were written in field notes.

Adminstrators and leaders

Interviews with six different administrative leaders and the principal of the Vietnamese school were arranged as fieldwork progressed and were held in locations of the participants' choosing. Government permission was required to interview the education department officers. The interviews took place in their offices in an inner-city, high-security skyscraper. In contrast, interviews and conversations with the principal of the Vietnamese school took place in an empty classroom on Saturday morning, in a Pho restaurant and while walking around the local shopping centre buying sugarcane juice. Interviews with administrators at the advocacy group and the former resource centre were held in their homes, once while I helped make sandwiches for an advocacy group meeting.

Teachers at Vietnamese school

The three teachers interviewed at the Vietnamese school all had long experience of teaching Vietnamese (more than 12 years) and in the semi-structured interviews with them, apart from biographical information, their views on learning Vietnamese and language in general were in focus. Interviews were conducted either during breaks, after or during the lessons, at a time and in a place (usually an empty classroom) of the teachers' choosing.

Parents

The principal introduced me to the president of the Vietnamese school Parent's and Citizen's group and suggested that he set up times and places for the interviews. Three focus group interviews took place at the Vietnamese school while lessons were being held. The six parents who spoke to me had volunteered to do so, and discussion was very lively, focusing on their reasons for sending children to the Vietnamese school, language use and development and the Vietnamese school itself.

Students

I wanted to talk to students around the same age as those whom I had interviewed in Sweden, and ask them the same questions, primarily about language use and development. The grade nine students were aged between 15–16 years old and those in the composite grade 11–12 class were between 16–18 years old. These grades do not correspond to the grades in the mainstream school. Most of the students in the grade 9 Vietnamese school class attended grade 10 or 11 in the mainstream school and those on the composite 11–12 Vietnamese

school were usually grade 12 at the mainstream school. Details of all the interviews are given in Table 10 (below). Interview schedules are included in Appendix 9.4.

Table 10: Overview of interviews - Australia.

Recorded interviews	Date	Time
Administrators		
Principal -Vietnamese school (2 interviews)	June, Sept 2013	2 hrs 6 mins
Education officers - (Department) (former) Education officer -	June 2014	1 hr 25 mins
(Resource centre)	March 2013	3 hrs 52 mins
President - Advocacy group (2 interviews)	May, June 2013	2 hrs 5 mins
(former) President advocacy group	July 2013	1 hr 20 mins
Teachers		
Grade 2 teacher (2 interviews)	Aug, Nov 2013	51 mins
Grade 9 teacher (2 interviews)	Sept, Oct 2013	1 hr 48 mins
Grade 11–12 teacher	Oct 2013	34 mins
Parents		
(3 focus group interviews)	July 2013	42 mins
	Sept 2013	25 mins
	Nov 2013	39 mins
Students		
(4 focus group interviews)		
Grade 9 (5 students)	Aug 2013	70 mins
Grade 9 (8 students)	Aug 2013	60 mins
Grade 11–12 (3 students)	Aug 2013	64 mins
Grade 11–12 (3 students)	Aug 2013	52 mins
Total number of interviews: 19		**Total time:** **19 hours 53 minutes**

5.3.2.4   Additional linguistic ethnographic data

In the Australian setting, in addition to the recorded lessons and interviews, hundreds of photographs were taken of school and classroom environments, resources and student work, fundraising dinners, the family fun day and award giving ceremonies. Classroom artefacts were collected and extensive field notes written throughout the whole period of data collection.

5.3.2.5 Following up

As I returned to Sweden after the 18 months spent in Australia, I was unable to conduct face-to-face follow-up interviews or return to the schools. However, I have exchanged many emails with the President of the advocacy group and the principal of the Vietnamese school, confirming facts, discussing ideas and checking that my understanding of certain events and environments corresponded with their understandings. I have also followed the activities of the advocacy group by following their website, and reading their newsletters, released four times a year.

5.4 Summary – both settings

In table 11 a summary of all the data collected and analyzed is provided. This table leads into section 5.5 (Analysis) where the data is connected to the method of analysis, and the article in focus.

Table 11: Summary of data - Sweden and Australia.

Material and methods	Number of lesson observations	Number of semi-structured interviews			Number of focus group interviews		Other linguistic ethnographic data
Partici-pants	Students and MT teachers	MT teach-ers	Leaders Admin-istrators	Other staff and teach-ers	Students	Parents	Photographs
Sweden	MTI: 58 (average length 46 minutes) MSG: 13 (average length 50 minutes)	6	4	11	6	-	Field notes Classroom artefacts
Australia	4 (average length 125 minutes)	5	7	-	4	3	School and administrative documents
Total	**75**	**11**	**11**	**11**	**10**	**3**	

5.5 Analysis – all contexts

Nvivo software was used to store and analyze the data. New lesson summary documents were created by combining field notes with partial transcriptions of the audio-recorded lessons. A limitation of these documents is that I was only able to transcribe what was said in Swedish or English, and ask the teachers about content in post-lesson interviews.

Analysis of linguistic ethnographic data is characterized by continual movement between theory and data, each further informing and developing understanding of the other in an on-going and abductive manner (Agar, 2008). This approach provides a methodological space for making the role of the researcher explicit and negotiating between the local emic understandings of research participants and the more theoretically informed understandings of analysts (Tusting and Maybin 2007: 578–80). Both the emic perspectives from the research participants and theoretical interpretations are combined to interpret the practices and perception in the context.

Data were analyzed in different ways to address the research questions of the individual studies. In study I, the syllabus for mother tongue instruction in Sweden was analyzed to investigate firstly how well it aligned with the umbrella Swedish curriculum. Analysis of interviews with mother tongue teachers was conducted to identify what they perceived represented challenges to enacting the syllabus. Finally, a unit plan and lessons in Kurdish classes were analysed to trace learning goals from the syllabus and identified how challenges to successful enactment of the syllabus were addressed in that context.

In study II, the development of multilingual literacies during multilingual study guidance was in focus. Multilingual practices during multilingual study guidance lessons, field notes and interview transcriptions were classified into five functional categories, adapted and expanded on from models developed in other contexts where multilingual practices in the classroom were in focus (Fennema-Bloom, 2009/10; Martin et al. 2006; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014: 159).

In study III, interviews, field notes and partial transcripts from lessons were thematically analysed into emic categories including 1) spaces for languages, 2) content/curriculum and quality, 3) organization, 4) heterogeneity and 5) purpose of community language education. Deictics (words or phrases whose meaning is dependent on knowledge of the context to which they refer), reported speech and evaluations in the interview data were systematically analyzed to investigate how ideas about languages and language use were indexed in other scales of the context.

In study IV, lesson summary documents and interview transcripts were analyzed inductively. Emic themes including 1) resources, 2) collaboration, 3) advantages of mother tongue instruction, 4) disadvantages of mother tongue

instruction and 6) heterogeneity emerged, the most prominent being heterogeneity. In the second analytical stage, all data in the theme of heterogeneity were categorized into the three heteroglossic categories (Busch, 2014; Todorov, 1984).

More detailed descriptions of the analytical approaches and the results of the four studies are given in chapter 6.

5.5.1 Multilingual transcriptions and translations

In both settings all interviews were transcribed, initially roughly, for thematic content analysis. As themes emerged, and analytical decisions were made, certain extracts were selected for more focused analysis. More detailed transcripts were prepared for these extracts, including short and longer pauses, but the pauses were left untimed as the focus was not on conversation analysis but functional analysis of multilingual practices (in study II) and analysis of indexical markers (in study III). The transcription codes used are provided in each of the articles, and vary, depending on the focus of the analysis and the research questions investigated.

The lesson extracts analyzed in Study II were transcribed and translated to Swedish by either translators or university students, all of whom signed a confidentiality agreement. A small amount of funding provided by a grant made only a token payment possible, so the work was largely volunteer-sponsored. Other speakers of the language checked the transcription and translation afterwards. Only then was I able to translate the transcriptions to English.

Interviews in the Swedish context were conducted in Swedish, transcribed in Swedish and translated to English by the author of the thesis.

The production of translated transcripts is a complex process, requiring decisions about the most appropriate way of representing ideas presented in one cultural context so that it makes sense to readers in completely different geographical, cultural and organizational locations. The final product after this process is more a transmuted text (Halai, 2007, p. 347) than a translated transcription. While the potential for shades of meaning to get lost in translation is always present, the transmuted texts analyzed in this project aim to make sense of the original words, convey the spirit and manner in which utterances were made, while maintaining readability (Halai, 2007, p. 351).

5.5.2 Ethical considerations

This project was conducted in two different countries, and followed the ethical guidelines issued by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011) and the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) in Australia. This means that all of the participants interviewed (and in the case of students, their parents as well) were given information about the project and

signed an informed consent document (see Appendices) which gave me permission to record interviews with them, and gave them the right to withdraw their permission at any stage of the project. None of the informants did so. All of the schools, their locations and the informants in the project have been anonymized or given pseudonyms, to protect their identity.

6 Summary of studies and results

This thesis comprises four studies exploring three forms of education in or drawing on immigrant languages. The overall aim of the thesis is to learn more about opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies in the investigated settings. In this chapter, the four studies included in the thesis are summarized (6.1) and then the results of the whole study are presented (6.2).

6.1 Summaries of the studies

6.1.1 Summary of Study I: Mother tongue tuition in Sweden – Curriculum analysis and classroom experience

In Study I, the syllabus for the subject of mother tongue instruction, with the learning goals for grades 7–9 is in focus. Analysis of the intended and enacted syllabus brings insights on how the syllabus offers students in grades 7–9 opportunities for reaching the learning goals of the subject of mother tongue instruction and thus contributes to addressing the second research question of the thesis.

The study is based on the analysis of curriculum and syllabus documents firstly from a perspective of constructive alignment (Biggs & Tang, 2011) and secondly from a critical perspective (Ditchburn, 2012; McLaren, 2007). The internal consistency of the syllabus for mother tongue instruction was analysed by exploring whether the learning objectives of the subject could be traced through learning and teaching activities and assessment tasks described in the syllabus. The learning, teaching and assessment tasks were also compared with the values, tasks and goals of the umbrella curriculum for the Swedish compulsory school (Lgr11, 2001). The syllabus for mother tongue instruction was found to be internally well-aligned and consistent with the curriculum.

Empirical data comprising semi-structured interviews with four mother tongue teachers and 58 classroom observations (45 hours) of mother tongue instruction undertaken during 2012, was then analysed thematically. Attitudinal, structural and classroom based challenges that mother tongue teachers

identified with the subject emerged. The hidden curriculum has been defined as the "unintended outcomes of the schooling process [which] can often displace the professional educational ideals and goals of the classroom teacher or school" (McLaren, 2007, p. 207). The hidden curriculum is not written, but it is known about, learnt, expected and experienced by teachers and students. The challenges described by mother tongue teachers were interpreted as contributing to the hidden curriculum which constrained opportunities for the successful enactment of the mother tongue instruction syllabus.

To examine how mother tongue teachers addressed the challenges of the hidden curriculum, analysis of lesson plans and classroom activities during Kurdish as a mother tongue was conducted. The article illustrates how organizational changes and pedagogical strategies in the investigated context, facilitated successful enactment of the syllabus for mother tongue instruction, thus contesting the hidden curriculum. Although the results of this study are highly context-specific, they provide examples of how the intended syllabus for the subject is enacted in one setting, and propose that awareness of the hidden curriculum for mother tongue instruction can and should lead to concrete changes to improve opportunities for the organization and implementation of the subject in other contexts.

6.1.2 Summary of Study II: Multilingual study guidance in the Swedish school and the development of multilingual literacies

In Study II, focus is on interactions during and perspectives on multilingual study guidance for recently arrived students in Sweden. The results of the study help address all three research questions.

Multilingual practices during 13 lessons of multilingual study guidance and extracts from 17 interviews in which multilingual study guidance was discussed, were analyzed in order to investigate what the observed and perceived functions of multilingual practices during multilingual study guidance were. This was done by classifying the data into five functional categories, adapted from models used in other contexts where classroom multilingual practices were in focus (Creese & Martin, 2006; Fennema-Bloom, 2009/10; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). The analysis shows how practices during multilingual study guidance and perspectives on the form of education regard it as functioning to raise awareness of lexical, conceptual, metalinguistic, task-oriented and sociocultural issues. Using languages that students understand alongside the Swedish language used in textbooks, mainstream lessons and handouts, the mother tongue teacher and the student work together to:

1. reformulate words and concepts,
2. explain and discuss words and concepts,
3. raise metalinguistic awareness

4. raise task awareness and
5. raise sociocultural awareness.

The study concludes that multilingual study guidance creates a temporary space for translanguaging (Li, 2011a; García & Li, 2014), which facilitates subject knowledge development in Swedish and other languages. This helps students reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. It is also argued that recognition and expansion of this space has the potential to improve opportunities for recently arrived students' on-going development of multilingual literacies.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the results in Study II. Firstly, the existence of multilingual study guidance represents macro-level awareness that the linguistic resources of recently arrived students are valuable and should be actively accessed to help them achieve the knowledge goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum (SFS 2011:185). Secondly, multilingual study guidance is not always offered to students who need it and it is often not organized in a way that helps it fulfill its stated purpose (cf. Avery, 2016). Thirdly, understanding and organization of multilingual study guidance varies considerably between schools (cf. Skolinspektionen 2009, 2010, 2014). Finally, this study argues that even when multilingual study guidance is well-organised and well-taught, the potential that the translanguaging practices in multilingual study guidance have for the broader, on-going development of multilingual literacies is as yet unacknowledged at the macro-level. As soon as students are deemed ready for monolingual instruction in Swedish, multilingual study guidance is stopped (cf. Nilsson Folke, 2015).

The final conclusion very much reflects the implicit power imbalance which is typical of many approaches to language education, where minority languages and resources, if recognized at all, are only drawn on to the extent that they facilitate the development of majority languages and seldom for their own inherent value (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000, pp. 98–101). Once multilingual study guidance is withdrawn, the only space available for the potential on-going development of other languages spoken by recently arrived students in the Swedish compulsory school is the elective subject of mother tongue instruction.

6.1.3   Summary of Study III: Monoglossic echoes in multilingual spaces - language narratives from a Vietnamese community language school in Australia

The third article investigates language narratives in the context of a Vietnamese community language school (Vietnamese school) in Australia through the analysis of indexical markers. The results of this study help address research questions one and three. The study takes a dialogical perspective on language

use and development and examines how the stories people in the research setting tell about languages impact on and are impacted by the language learning environment investigated. Systematic analysis of deictics, reported speech and evaluative indexicals in stories told during 19 interviews with 34 students, parents, teachers and administrators was conducted to investigate how informants talk about language and language use and how this impacts on the language learning environment in that context.

Stories allocating language use and development to separate spaces were present throughout the context of the Vietnamese school, indexing wider beliefs about language use in Australia (Clyne, 2004, 2008; Ellis et al., 2010; Scarino, 2014). This reflects monoglossic conceptualizations of language observed in other contexts (Cummins, 2005; Pavlenko, 2002; Creese & Black ledge, 2011) in which the use of languages other than English interconnects with the status of the languages being spoken and the spaces they are used in (Blackledge, 2001; Blommaert et al., 2005; Piller, 2015).

In contrast, the narrative of flexible multilingualism frames multilingual practices as common practice for multilingual Australians in daily life and at the Vietnamese community language school, but constrained in other spaces. The narrative of flexible multilingualism developed through the stories told in this study, normalizes flexible linguistic practices and illustrates how they can be resources for learning in that context (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2011; French, 2015; García & Li, 2014; Molyneux et al., 2016; Nordstrom, 2015a).

Conclusions drawn in this study are firstly that separate conceptualizations of language exist throughout the context. However, the narrative of flexible multilingualism indicates that human agency has the potential to re-shape local scales of context (Canagarajah, 2015; Canagarajah & De Costa, 2015). In the Vietnamese school, students, parents and teachers work together and draw flexibly on their linguistic resources to communicate and learn. The stories told in interviews and discussions indicate that this reflects practices in other local environments, including home and among family and friends who share the same resources. However, in other scales of their environment indexed in the interviews, particularly in the mainstream school, the structuring impact of policies which emphasize the separateness of languages and the over-riding importance of acquiring literacies in English constrain flexible linguistic practices (Blackledge, 2001; Blommaert et al., 2005; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Piller, 2015).

6.1.4 Summary of Study IV: Heteroglossia in mother tongue instruction in Sweden and the development of multilingual literacies

This article analyzes connections between linguistic diversity in the subject of mother tongue instruction in Sweden and the learning aims of the subject. The study helps address all three research questions by considering how beliefs about languages have impacted on the regulations surrounding mother tongue instruction, impacting in turn on the way students are grouped, and the linguistic practices employed. Linguistic ethnographic data collected over 12 months in 13 schools were analyzed, first thematically. Data categorized under the theme of linguistic diversity was further analyzed and classified into three heteroglossic categories: a) linguistic diversity, b) multidiscursivity and c) multivoicedness (Bakhtin, 1981; Busch, 2014; Todorov, 1984). These three categories were then interpreted through the continua of biliteracy to investigate if relationships could be traced between linguistic diversity in mother tongue instruction, heteroglossia and the development of multilingual literacies in the setting.

Results show that the subject of mother tongue instruction and regulations surrounding it respond to linguistic heterogeneity in the context. While linguistic diversity is generally framed as a resource for learning, organizational and implementational aspects are still regarded as problematic in some contexts. Multidiscursivity, where diverse varieties of languages are grouped together, was the most prominent aspect of heteroglossia traced in this study. The tension generated when pure forms of languages are preferred over divergent varieties has been captured in practices in other complementary schools (Francis, Archer, & Mau, 2009; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Karrebæk & Ghandchi, 2015; Lytra & Baraç, 2009) and examples from this study reflect these findings. Mother tongue teachers reacted in different ways to multidiscusivity, however, sometimes accepting, even drawing on it as a resource, other times relinquishing to the centripetal forces, emphasizing unity and centralization instead.

Multivoicedness refers to situations when different words and forms of expressions are drawn on to communicate (cf. translanguaging). In the context of mother tongue instruction, even though multivoicedness was often accepted as natural and expected (cf. Study II) translanguaging can still lead to tension (cf. Francis, Archer, & Mau 2009: 521; Lytra 2012: 93).

Heteroglossia is characterized by tension (Bailey, 2007, 2012; Bakhtin, 1981), and this article concludes that the subject of mother tongue instruction is infused by heteroglossia and thus by tension as well. The challenge of providing language education in more than 150 languages within the framework of the traditionally monolingual Swedish school is well documented (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012; Skolverket, 2008).

The continua of biliteracy supports the view that giving students access to all their linguistic resources is favorable for the development of multilingual literacies (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000). This study shows how the heteroglossic linguistic resources of multilingual students in the Swedish compulsory school are acknowledged in the provision of mother tongue instruction. It also shows how mother tongue teachers, students and administrators address the multidiscursivity and multivoicedness that characterizes the classrooms visited in this study, both accepting and being challenged by it. By accommodating heteroglossia, mother tongue instruction allows students to draw on their own linguistic repertoires in the process of developing literacies in others, indicating the opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are available.

These results contribute to discussions on organizational and pedagogical approaches that work with rather than against heteroglossia, to enhance learning in mother tongue instruction.

6.2 Ideology, organization and practices

The articles included in this thesis investigated three research questions considering the impact that language ideologies, the organization of education and language practices have on the development of multilingual literacies in different educational settings. The combined results of the investigation are presented in this section in relation to the theoretical framework of the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) and the theoretical literature relevant to each question. A brief reminder of the continua of biliteracy, and the aspects of it relevant to the research questions are also provided.

Section 6.2.1 (Language ideology and the development of multilingual literacies) addresses the first research question, which asked what characterizes the language ideologies in the investigated settings with regard to the use and development of immigrant languages. Section 6.2.2 (Organization of education and the development of multilingual literacies) ties together the results of the investigation of the second research question, which asked how the organization of education in or drawing on immigrant languages impacts on opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies in the investigated settings. Finally, section 6.2.3 (Language practices and the development of multilingual literacies) presents the results concerning the third research question which investigated how informants in each of the investigated settings use and talk about language and language development.

6.2.1 Language ideology and the development of multilingual literacies

The continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) posits that developing literacies in more than one language is affected by *the concrete and ideological spaces* through which multilingual speakers move (contexts), *what* multilingual speakers read and write (content), *how* they read and write (individual development) and *by what means* (media) they do so (cf. Hornberger & Link, 2012a).

All of these factors are defined by three sets of intersecting scales where one end of each of these scales is traditionally associated with more power and privilege than the other (see Figure 7, section 4.1.1.5). For example in the spaces through which multilinguals move, micro (home, family, friends) as well as macro (school, society, global perspectives) contexts impact on the opportunities those individuals have for developing literacies in the languages they speak. In macro contexts such as mainstream schools, monolingual, literary textbooks and the production of monolingual, literary texts are invested with power. Conversely, multilingual, vernacular stories told in micro contexts, such as at home or with friends, are less powerful.

The argument underlying the model of the continua of biliteracy is that permitting and supporting multilingual speakers as they move along and between the continua of the model, improves their opportunities for developing multilingual literacies. In terms of the example above, this implies that allowing multilingual students to draw on their multilingual vernacular repertoires in school environments offers opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies and empowers these vernaculars.

In considering how ideologies impact on opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies, the continua of the contexts of biliteracy will be in focus. The contexts in which multilingual literacies develop are defined by the following scales:

- micro – macro
- oral – literate
- bi/multilingual – monolingual

Language ideologies, as "the mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55) influence every level of linguistic ecologies. Feelings, beliefs and conceptions about languages influence the ways parents speak to their babies in micro-contexts as well as the decisions made by governments about language education in macro environments. Language ideologies in different scales of context can either open up spaces and opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies, or set up challenges to the same.

Study III focuses most explicitly on language ideologies and illustrates how conceptualizations of languages as separate units, which should develop and be used in separate spaces are reported alongside more flexible conceptualizations. In the ecology of the Vietnamese community language school in the Australian setting, all participants, students, parents, teachers and administrators described how Vietnamese and English should be kept separate from each other, and not be mixed. Administrators working in the government department responsible for funding community language schools reinforced this view, indicating that English was the only language of relevance in the mainstream school in that state:

> Our role with schooling is to ensure that students have adequate standard Australian English to that they need to study and succeed in the curriculum so it's about delivering standard Australian English (Interview with government administrator, Australia).

This statement reflects what other researchers have noted about how linguistic orders in relation to language planning which are informed by particular language ideologies, often draw boundaries around languages, and assign speakers of those languages to particular and often non-negotiable positions (Blackledge, 2005; Milani, 2007, p. 23; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). The government administrators are quite clear about the role of mainstream schooling, which is to develop adequate competencies in standard Australian English. Other languages are relegated to other spaces, or simply not acknowledged (cf. invizibilizing languages, Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014, p. 282). As the administrators also commented in discussions about how community language learning takes place in that state, the department "doesn't have a stance" on the development of community languages. In Australia, this position is sanctioned as there is no law which protects the rights of multilingual Australians to develop literacies in languages other than English nor gives equal access to forms of education which would help them do this.

The language ideology unpinning the narrative of separate multilingualism is anchored in the monolingual mindset, a language ideological phenomenon identified in the Australian literature (Clyne, 2004; Scarino, 2014) and also in the analyzed data in Study III. Separating languages and not allowing students to draw on all the languages in their repertoire presents a challenge to the development of multilingual literacies.

Study III also reveals a contrasting narrative, indexing flexible use of Vietnamese, English and other languages in spaces beyond the Vietnamese school and observed in classrooms at the Vietnamese community language school. In focus group interviews, students reported using Vietnamese, English and other languages such as Korean, Japanese and Cantonese flexibly to communicate, to joke, for entertainment and to learn. The grade 2 teacher is observed using English with her grade two Vietnamese class, and reports using Vietnamese

at the mainstream school. Through their own agency, the students and the teacher thus contest the narrative of separate multilingualism and create spaces for translanguaging (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a), which improves their opportunities for developing multilingual literacies according to the continua of biliteracy model.

In the Swedish setting, analyses in Studies I, II and IV are not focused directly on language ideologies. However, legislation relating to language and language education is a reflection of the language ideologies of law-makers in the highest macro-levels of a society, specifically, whether they view language as a problem, a right or a resource (Ruíz, 1984; Hult & Hornberger, 2016). Depending on which orientation is taken to the organization of education, Hult and Hornberger recommend asking particular questions. For example, if language is considered to be a resource, it is important to ask "what ideological and implementational spaces are present in policies that allow for the development of educational programmes that expand students' bi-/multilingual repertoires?" (Hult & Hornberger, 2016, p. 41).

Language ideologies in Sweden at the macro level have created ideological and implementational spaces in some classrooms (where mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance take place) in the Swedish compulsory schools for the expansion of students' multilingual repertoires. Moreover, these spaces are given legal protection.

The Ordinance for the Compulsory School (SFS 2011:185) framing multilingual study guidance states that the mother tongue and other languages that students may have been educated in previously can be used to help recently arrived students reach the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. Study II shows how multilingual study guidance provides a space in the otherwise mostly monolingual Swedish school where students can draw on all their linguistic resources to learn. This includes oral and multilingual resources, more typical of micro (home) than macro (school) settings. This approach to the organization of language education creates a translanguaging space (Li, 2011a) which allows for the integration of language codes "that have formerly been practised separately in different places" (García & Li, 2014, p. 24).

The right to mother tongue instruction is protected by the blueprint law, The Language Act (SFS 2009:600), and the Education Act (SFS 2010:800). As a subject in the Swedish curriculum, it is available for every multilingual student attending school in Sweden who applies for it and meets the criteria (see 2.2.3). Provided that a teacher is available, opportunities for developing multilingual literacies through mother tongue instruction are therefore available to eligible multilingual students throughout Sweden.

In Study I, the syllabus for mother tongue instruction was found to be well aligned with the values, tasks and goals of the Swedish curriculum, and examples of successful classroom implementation of this syllabus are presented.

Study I thus also demonstrates how the macro-level ideologies create both a space for the development of literacies in languages other than Swedish in the Swedish compulsory school, and a syllabus which harmonizes with the values, tasks and goals specified in the umbrella curriculum.

Language ideologies thus play a crucial role in creating a space for the development of multilingual literacies in the Swedish compulsory school. However, different ideas about languages in other scales of context can impede the implementation and organization of the subject (see also 6.2.2). For example, in Study I, mother tongue teachers reported on the low status and lack of hours allocated to mother tongue instruction, and how they felt the subject to be marginalized. In the pilot study, several teachers reported that the attitude of the principal to the subject of mother tongue instruction was key in determining their working conditions at that school. Despite the value of translanguaging practices during multilingual study guidance demonstrated in Study II, it is cut off as soon as students are perceived to have sufficient Swedish to follow mainstream lessons. In study IV, teachers report on problematic conditions at a school where the principal described arranging mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance as "complex and challenging".

These situations index language ideologies that view development or use of the mother tongue as a lower priority or as something which is challenging to implement and organize. In spaces where these kinds of feelings, beliefs and conceptions about languages exist, there is a risk that mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance will be implemented or organized ineffectively, or in the worst case scenario, not be provided at all. Such situations represent a challenge to the development of multilingual literacies.

6.2.2 Organization of education and the development of multilingual literacies

The ways that the organization of education impacts on the opportunities that speakers of immigrant languages have for developing literacies in those languages in formal educational settings is here discussed in relation to the continua of contexts of biliteracy (see 6.2.1 and 4.1.1.1) and theories concerning the organization of education. It has already been noted in 6.2.1 that ideologies impact on the availability of and legal protection for language education in or drawing on immigrant languages. The results presented in this section will therefore focus on more concrete empirical examples of how the forms of education are organized to address the second research question, in relation to the continua of contexts of biliteracy.

Approaches to the organization of education in or drawing on immigrant languages discussed in 4.3, include top-down (see Liddicoat & Curnow,

2014), bottom-up (see Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014) or fusion, a combination of top-down and bottom-up (see Lo Bianco, 2004). All of these approaches are influenced by the ideological positions of the agents of control (Ruíz, 1984; Hult & Hornberger, 2016). What happens in schools and classrooms can diverge significantly from what is imagined when provisions for education are devised.

The Vietnamese community language school investigated in the Australian context is, to some extent, an example of a fusion of bottom-up and top-down approaches to organizing language education (Lo Bianco, 2004). In the Vietnamese school, established and run by parents and community members (bottom-up), eight students were preparing to take external examinations in Vietnamese, the results of which would contribute towards school leaving certificate scores (top-down). Although teachers had developed their own syllabus (bottom-up), use of the syllabus developed by a state government resource centre was one of the requirements for the limited government funding of the school (top-down). In classrooms, both syllabuses were drawn on. Government funding (top-down) was complemented by fundraising by the parent and citizens' group (bottom-up).

This fusion approach to organizing language education, where the interests of the community and the support and demands set by government agencies work together, facilitates movement along the continua of the contexts of biliteracy by acknowledging and legitimizing the value of multilingual resources in an otherwise monolingual education system. When organization of education acknowledges the linguistic resources common in micro contexts (i.e. Vietnamese) by allowing them to contribute to high-stake assessment, such as external examinations contributing to school leaving certificate scores, opportunities for the development of multilingual literacy are created.

However, there are a number of other organizational factors which challenge this development as well. There are inherent problems in Australia with the assessment procedures in accreditation of community languages (Cruickshank and Wright, 2016, Willoughby, 2014; see also 3.3.2). Moreover, community language schools in Australia are concentrated in the capital cities and larger regional centres, leaving multilingual children in remote areas with more limited opportunities for developing literacies in languages other than English that they might speak in a formal educational setting.[11] While the Vietnamese community language school in Study III applied for and received government funding, teachers and volunteers interviewed during fieldwork reported that the application form for funding was long and complicated and therefore too time-consuming to fill in. As a result, there are a number of com-

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[11] Note that distance education in community languages is available in some languages (Nordstrom, 2015a; see also 2.3)

munity language schools which operate without government funding or curriculum support, and thus are completely dependent on the work of volunteers from the local community (personal correspondence with president of the state advocacy group for community language schools, 24th March 2017). This jeopardizes equal access to education in community languages. Interpreted through the continua of biliteracy, multilingual students in Australia are not always able to draw on the linguistic resources in micro-contexts (their homes) in macro (school) contexts, and this represents a challenge to the development of multilingual literacies in the broader Australian context.

In the Swedish context, examples of classroom interactions and unit planning in Study I illustrate how the linguistic resources of the micro (home) environment are legitimized, drawn on and developed in the macro (school) context. When students are asked to think about, write about and discuss what Kurdish means to them, and to consider why they are studying Kurdish, using both Swedish and Kurdish in the process, the opportunity to draw on all resources along the contexts of biliteracy continua is made possible. When students interview other multilingual teachers, and ask what those teachers' mother tongues mean to them, it is not only the students' multilingualism which is valorized (cf. Hornberger & Link, 2012a, 2012b) but also the teachers'.

The many examples of linguistic heterogeneity in Study IV illustrate how diverse linguistic resources from the homes of multilingual Swedes are legitimized in the macro-context of the Swedish compulsory school in the subject of mother tongue instruction. The general linguistic diversity of schools was indexed by signs in entrance halls showing which languages were spoken at that school, school mottos which promoted linguistic diversity and most importantly, through organizational procedures that assigned times and places for mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance. Some approaches to organization can make mother tongues and mother tongue instruction visible and accessible to multilingual students. For example, Alpha and Omega schools both employed mother tongue teachers at their schools. Alpha school also allocated specific classrooms to teachers of Kurdish, Turkish and Arabic, the most widely spoken immigrant languages at that school, which enabled the display of pictures from countries where the languages students study are spoken, student work, alphabets in different languages and storage of novels for students to borrow and read (see Figures 8 and 9).

In classrooms, the diverse varieties of languages present were sometimes regarded as a challenge, and sometimes drawn on as a resource. As the Arabic teacher explained when discussing the wide variety of backgrounds that students in Arabic mother tongue classrooms spoke:

Figure 8: Posters in Kurdish classroom: Plant kurdica/kurdicum; Kurdistan's highest mountain; Bazid/Dogu Beyazit; Urfa/Ruha: Alpha school 2012.

Figure 9: Novels in Turkish: Alpha school 2012.

> Most of the students speak a lot of Arabic at home and then it's the dialect they speak. But we start … my starting point is where they are. They know their dialect. I help them approach and learn classical Arabic. Some learn very quickly others need more time (Pilot study interview, 2012).

The same teacher explained later how Swedish was also a natural resource in the classroom, as students learned modern standard Arabic.

A range of structural, attitudinal and classroom challenges are also described by mother tongue teachers in Study I, illustrating that organization of the subject is far from optimal, and sometimes serves to invisibilize the languages and the subject. This reflects both early and more recent research on mother tongue instruction in Sweden (Municio, 1987; Jonsson Lilja, 1999; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Brorsson & Lainio, 2015). The teachers perceive that too little time is allocated to the subject (46 mins per week on average in this study), that limited budgets impact negatively on the resources available for teaching, and that there are implementational difficulties at both school and municipality levels which result in the subject being disconnected from other aspects of school life. These organizational problems represent challenges to the development of multilingual literacies.

Study II demonstrates how multilingual study guidance, when arranged for and organized well, provides a space in the mainstream school setting where translanguaging is sanctioned and thus facilitates the short-term development of multilingual literacies. However, as also revealed in Study II, multilingual study guidance is not always provided, so the development of multilingual literacies for recently arrived students is facilitated only if the agents in control in the context (class and subject teachers, principals and municipalities) recommend and organize the form of education and provide opportunities for subject teachers and mother tongue teachers or others conducting it, to collaborate. Another challenge to the on-going development of multilingual literacies is the short-term nature of the support, which implies that unless multilingual students continue studying mother tongue instruction, the space for developing multilingual literacies in the Swedish school will disappear.

6.2.3 Language practices and the development of multilingual literacies

In this thesis, empirical data relating to language practices comes from lesson observations, focus group interviews and semi-structured interviews. Multilingual practices including translanguaging were in focus to some degree in each of the studies. Translanguaging has the potential "to explicitly valorize all points along *the continua of biliterate context, media, content and development* … [and] build on students' communicative repertoires to facilitate successful school experiences and greater academic achievement" (Horn-

berger & Link, 2012a, pp. 268–269) [emphasis added]. To illustrate the relationship between language practices and the development of multilingual literacies uncovered in this research project, the results are presented in relation to *contexts of biliteracy*, in particular the bi/multilingual-monolingual continuum (see 6.2.1), and *individual development of biliteracy*, specifically the L1 – L2, L3, L4 continuum. These continua of the individual development are defined as:

- reception – production
- oral – written
- L1 – L2, 3, 4 etc.

These continua are a reminder that multilinguals and emergent multilinguals have different starting points in their development of literacies. Receptive (understanding what is said and written) and productive (speaking and writing) skills develop at different rates and in different ways, depending on a range of factors, illustrated in other scales of the continua model. Oral skills (speaking) and written skills also develop at different rates and in different ways, and the different languages in the repertoire are acquired and drawn on in different ways for each individual. According to the model, opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are maximized when the individuals can use all the resources they have in learning situations, including receptive and oral skills in immigrant languages as well as producing spoken and written texts in other, socially dominant languages.

For example, if students who understand (have receptive skills in) a language but are unable to speak it (a productive skill) are given the freedom to draw on their well-developed receptive skills in learning situations, their productive skills will also benefit and develop. If, on the other hand, their receptive skills are downplayed, or ignored, their productive skills will take longer to develop. Drawing on both productive and receptive skills, on both oral and written texts, and on all the languages in the multilingual repertoire, will enhance their opportunities for developing multilingual literacies.

Study I describes how a Kurdish mother tongue teacher enacts the intended syllabus in a unit of study which draws on his students' heterogeneous linguistic repertoires and views them as resources for learning. By devising activities in which students read, write, listen and speak in both Swedish and Kurdish, the students are given permission to and support in moving along the L1 – L2, 3, 4 continuum and thus have opportunities for developing literacies in both languages. Moreover, the linguistic resources in their home environments are valorized (cf. Hornberger & Link, 2012a, 2012b).

Study II focuses explicitly on translanguaging, by analysing how multilingual practices during multilingual study guidance facilitate the understanding of subject matter in Swedish. Discussion of tasks in languages that students

understand helps the students reformulate words and concepts in Swedish. By talking about the task at hand and the expectations of the Swedish school, students could complete school exercises more satisfactorily. Metalinguistic discussions about verbs and pronunciation contribute to recently arrived students' understanding of the Swedish language. Finally, discussion of the sociocultural aspects of living in Sweden helps students to gain deeper understanding of the country they have recently moved to.

Talking about Swedish history in Turkish helped the grade 6 student in Study II write a better report on the subject in Swedish. Practising pronunciation and helping with vocabulary and spelling helped a grade 9 Kurdish student prepare a Powerpoint presentation and oral presentation in Swedish as a second language. By using languages that students understand as well as using Swedish, opportunities for developing their oral and written skills in both languages are created.

However, Study II also illustrates that the potential value of translanguaging practices during multilingual study guidance is brought to a halt when students are perceived to have enough Swedish to follow mainstream lessons. When this happens, and if the student does not have mother tongue instruction, all opportunities for developing multilingual literacies in the Swedish compulsory school disappear.

Study IV shows how mother tongue teachers in Sweden draw on heteroglossia as a resource in mother tongue instruction classrooms, by starting with the resources each student brings to class with them, not necessarily those of the teacher. The Kurdish teacher explains:

> I think my starting point should be the Kurdish that the student speaks at home. That Kurdish. Not that every student in the group regardless of the variety that they speak at home should learn my the teacher's variety. No. On the contrary I start from the student. From the Kurdish they speak at home (Interview, Kurdish MT teacher, 2012).

While some teachers arrange lessons in a way which allows students speaking different varieties of languages, and at different levels, to work and learn together, the challenges presented by linguistically heterogenous groups are also salient. Centripetal forces, pushing inwards to standardization were also evident in mother tongue classrooms. Teachers encouraged their students to use the mother tongue as much as possible, and spoke about moving towards standard forms by drawing on vernaculars. The Kurdish teacher referred to this as "international Kurdish", the Arabic teacher as "classical Arabic". So while there was a movement towards standard forms, there was also recognition throughout the classrooms visited, that students did not always have the same levels in or even speak the same varieties of languages as each other or their teachers. The mother tongue teachers I spoke to were aware of this, and addressed it in different ways, sometimes through flexible linguistic practices

and translanguaging, sometimes by insisting that students used the target language.

Study IV concludes that there is a gap between how regulations frame the subject and the heteroglossic reality of the classrooms investigated in this study, which can impact on the opportunities individual students have for developing literacies in the language variety he or she speaks. If the different varieties in the classroom are not acknowledged, students risk not understanding what is being taught. If, on the other hand, teachers and students can navigate creatively and pedagogically through the different varieties present, better opportunities for developing multilingual literacies will be created.

Study III reported on narratives which indexed flexible multilingual practices of students and teachers in spaces beyond the Vietnamese school, reflected in practices observed during lessons. In the Vietnamese school, these flexible practices are drawn on as a resource by one teacher, who regards it as completely "normal" to use both English and Vietnamese to help her students understand. In the mainstream school, the flexible use of Vietnamese and English takes place outside of the official educational space, in an unpaid and unrecognized lunchtime tutorial. As such, flexible movement along the L1 – L2, 3, 4 continuum takes place across the scales of the context, but in the mainstream school, the practices are not officially sanctioned, and are regarded as "taboo" by students, and government administrators. Study III concludes that in spaces where students are able to draw flexibly across their linguistic repertoire, better opportunities for developing literacies in both languages will be created.

In all of the studies, multilingual practices were observed and reported on. These practices must therefore be considered a natural feature of these learning environments (cf. García, 2009). The practices are in some situations explicitly drawn on as a pedagogical resource as well (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010). When this happens and students are able to and supported in drawing on their full linguistic repertoires, opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are created. In spaces where flexible linguistic practices are discouraged, challenges to this development are instead created.

6.3 Summary of results

The summarized results of this thesis are presented in Table 11. Those addressing the first research question (What characterizes the language ideologies in the investigated settings with regard to the use and development of immigrant languages?) are presented in the row entitled *Ideologies*. Results addressing the second research question (How does the organization of education in or drawing on immigrant languages impact on opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies in the investigated settings?) are in the

row entitled *Organization* and the results addressing the third research question (How do informants in each of the investigated settings use and talk about language and language development?) are in the third row, entitled *Language practices.*

Intrinsic to creating opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are ideologies at macro and micro levels which view languages as resources and allow students to draw on them flexibly in learning situations. Organization of language education which is responsive to the needs and linguistic practices of the local communities and harmonizes with the overall educational and sociocultural goals of the surrounding ecology helps create implementational spaces for the development of multilingual literacies. Equally important is legitimization of the linguistic resources students bring with them to classrooms, so the implementational spaces can be filled with multilingual practices (Hornberger, 2005). Education in immigrant languages which does not reflect the sociolinguistic reality of the people they are designed for and ineffective organization and implementation create challenges to this development.

As many researchers working in multilingual contexts have pointed out, pedagogies cannot be generated in any kind of generalized way from research (Arthur & Martin, 2006; Lin, 1999), and I argue that the same applies to approaches to the organization of language education. Instead, the complex and specific "socio-political and historical environments in which such practice is embedded and the local ecologies of schools and classrooms" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 107) should inform the development of organization and pedagogical approaches and strategies in any given context. Based in qualitative methods and case studies, the results of this thesis cannot be generalised to other contexts. However, they provide a detailed, unique contribution to knowledge of the forms of language education investigated, and the opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies that those forms of language education offer. Their relevance in other contexts should be considered in relation to the specific local sociolinguistic ecology of that setting.

As more time was spent in the Swedish context, and two different forms of education were investigated there, the results are more complex than those reported for the Australian context, where only one school was visited and one article written. The results reported in this thesis thus shed more light on the Swedish than the Australian context. There is, however, potential for on-going analysis of the data collected in both contexts to continue building our knowledge of these forms of education.

Table 12: Opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies in the Swedish and Australian settings. Summary of the findings.

SWEDISH SETTING	OPPORTUNITIES	CHALLENGES
IDEOLOGIES	Language ideologies at the macro-level which create *spaces* for the expansion of multilingual repertoires and *legal protection* for the spaces for all multilingual students in Sweden (Study I, Study IV, 6.2.1). Language ideologies at an organizational level which regard language as a resource and facilitate implementation (Study I, IV, 6.2.2). Language ideologies in classrooms which support the flexible use of linguistic resources in learning (Study I, IV, 6.2.3).	Language ideologies at an organization level that view the implementation and organization of mother tongue instructions and multilingual study guidance as challenging or problematic (Study I, 6.2.1). Language ideologies that frame mother tongue instruction negatively, lowering the status of the subject (Study 1, 6.2.1). Language ideologies in classrooms which prioritize standardized varieties and invisibilize heteroglossic diversity (Study IV, 6.2.3).
ORGANIZATION	Organizational approaches which make space for and facilitate the teaching of mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance (Study 1, Study II, 6.2.2).	Organizational and implementational shortcomings, which result in mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance not being offered or being ineffectively organized, for example insufficient hours, unsuitable rooms and a lack of resources (Study I, Study II, 6.2.1, 6.2.2). Lack of contact and collaboration between mother tongue teachers and subject teachers (Study II, 6.2.2).
PRACTICES	Translanguaging during multilingual study guidance (Study II, 6.2.3). Classroom strategies which build on heteroglossia as a resource (Study IV, 6.2.3).	Gap between sociolinguistic realities and regulations concerning mother tongue instruction (Study IV, 6.2.3). Lack of knowledge of pedagogical strategies for working with flexible linguistic practices (Study IV, 6.2.3).

AUSTRALIAN SETTING	OPPORTUNITIES	CHALLENGES
IDEOLOGIES	Language ideologies at a community and family level which view language as a resource and establish schools to teach languages (Study III, 6.2.1).	Language ideologies at the macro level which do not provide a space or legal protection for the learning of community languages for all multilingual Australians (Study III, 6.2.1). Language ideologies in the mainstream school and other spaces in Australia which constrain the use of language other than English (Study III, 6.2.1).
ORGANIZATION	Organizational approaches where a fusion between bottom-up and top-down interests inform the development and the form of language education (Study III, 6.2.2).	Unequal access to community language schools (2.3, 6.2.2) Unequal access to government funding for community language schools - some are completely dependent on volunteers (6.2.2). Problematic processes regarding accreditation of studies in community languages (6.2.2).
PRACTICES	Flexible multilingual practices observed at the Vietnamese community language schools (Study III, 6.2.3). Reported flexible multilingual practices in the mainstream school (Study III, 6.2.3).	Constraints placed on flexible linguistic practices (Study III, 6.2.3).

7   Concluding discussion

This final chapter of the thesis discusses first the results of the studies from the broader perspective, considering how ideological factors impact on both the organization of education in, or drawing on immigrant languages, and language practices. This is followed by a brief reflection on the methodological approaches taken and the chapter closes with a summary of the contributions the study makes and comments on future directions.

7.1   Discussion of the results

In this research project the role that language ideologies, organization of education planning, and language practices play in the development of multilingual literacies has been investigated in different contexts. The continua of biliteracy is a framework which offers prodigious applications in understanding the factors that impact on the development of multilingual literacies. The following discussion of results considers ideology and the organization of language education first (7.1.1) and then ideology and language practices (7.1.2) to acknowledge the interdependence of these factors and their roles in facilitating or challenging the development of multilingual literacies. In 7.1.3 all three perspectives are brought together. The discussion in this chapter moves from considering the research questions individually into considering broader implications of the sum of the results and what they mean for understanding the development of multilingual literacies.

7.1.1   Ideology and organization

In Sweden, 11.4% of students enrolled in schools (grades 1–12) take the elective subject of mother tongue instruction. The corresponding percentage of students (grades 1–12) in Australia studying community languages is approximately 5.4% (see 2.2.3 and 2.3.3). This is a low and rough estimate. Moreover, given that the number of multilingual students in Australia who are potentially eligible for education in community languages is unknown, it does not tell us about the relative uptake of this form of education among those eligible for it in Australia. In Sweden statistics indicate that in the academic year 2016/17, 27% of the compulsory school population were eligible for the

subject of mother tongue instruction and 56.3% of those students took the subject (Skolverket, 2017). In spite of these limitations the figures indicate that the percentage of students studying mother tongues in Sweden is approximately double that of those studying community languages in Australia.

On the other hand, students at the Vietnamese community language school in this study received more than three times as much instruction per week (2.5 hours) as the students studying their mother tongue in Sweden did in this study (46 mins per week on average). The amount of time allocated to mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance is widely regarded as insufficient by the informants in this study, which reflects previous research and reports in Sweden (Avery, 2015; Bunar, 2010; Ganuza & Hedman, 2015; Lainio, 2013; Municio, 1987; Nilsson Folke, 2015; Skolinspektionen, 2009, 2010, 2014). Conversely, in the Vietnamese school, the quantity of instruction that the community themselves believe matches the needs of their students can be supplied.

It appears that ideologies that regard language as a resource, which result in top-down organization of mother tongue instruction in Sweden, benefit a wider group of multilingual students than in the Australian context. Moreover, recently arrived students are given time and space for using languages other than Swedish to achieve the learning goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum as well as the option of studying their mother tongue. But the Swedish context is also characterized by a range of implementational and organizational problems. The next section considers the benefits and the challenges facing mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance in Sweden, considering the importance of connecting both ideological and organizational perspectives.

7.1.1.1   Ideology and organization in the Swedish context

One of the foundational values on which the Swedish education system rests is equality (Lgr11, 2011). As a subject in the Swedish curriculum, equality of access to mother tongue instruction, if the regulations surrounding the subject are followed, should be guaranteed. Any student who speaks a language other than Swedish at home with one caregiver has the right to study that language at school. Recently arrived students have the right to multilingual study guidance which, although short-term, allows them to draw on all their linguistic resources to learn. There are also university courses (albeit few) in mother tongue instruction for students who wish to qualify as mother tongue teachers of Finnish, Arabic and Turkish (see 2.2.2) and a growing range of course for those wishing to qualify as multilingual study guidance tutors (see 2.2.4).

The comparatively high uptake of students in mother tongue instruction in Sweden might be a reflection of this ideology of equal opportunity which valorizes and offers legal protection for the right to use and develop literacies in languages other than Swedish in the Swedish compulsory school. In turn, this

may indicate that such ideologies contribute to creating opportunities for developing multilingual literacies.

Despite these benefits, associated with the ideologically informed, top-down approach to mother tongue instruction and multilingual study guidance, practical problems described in the research and also reflected in this thesis (Studies I, II, IV), indicate that on-going engagement is needed at every stage of implementation and organization as well. The principal at Alpha school suggests that closer connection and collaboration between the mother tongue teachers and the mainstream school are key:

> Mother tongue instruction works best when you have teachers that are included in the staff body, they have the same development areas, same focus, work with the same pedagogical goals, plans, that is when you work together (Interview, principal Alpha school, October 2016).

Not every school has enough students of the same language group to justify employing the same model that Alpha and Omega school had. In schools which are unable to employ mother tongue teachers, the attitude of the principal is deemed crucial (Study I). If school and administrative leaders do not organize sufficient hours of mother tongue instruction, and in a way that makes it accessible and relevant, then mother tongue teachers will have limited abilities to help multilingual Swedish students develop multilingual literacies. Moreover, as study IV shows, the highly heteroglossic nature of students' linguistic resources is not reflected in the regulations concerning eligibility for the subject, nor in the organization of groups which mother tongue teachers teach.

The results of this thesis indicate that top-down approaches need to be complemented with dynamic engagement with the organization and implementation of mother tongue instruction at every level. Re-engagement with ways of framing and organizing mother tongue instruction is necessary as is pre- and in-service education for mother tongue teachers that includes perspectives on and strategies for teaching in linguistically heterogeneous classrooms. Finally, as mother tongue instruction is non-compulsory, opportunities for developing multilingual literacies through the subject can only be realized if parents enroll their children, so parental engagement, that which drives the community language schools in Australia, is necessary in the Swedish context as well.

7.1.1.2 Ideology and organization in the Australian context

Multilingualism is celebrated in Australia (Piller, 2016; also 2.3), however, unlike Sweden, there is no legal support protecting the rights of citizens to use and develop community languages and no educational approach that guarantees that every multilingual Australian school child can do so. There is no (official) educational support in or drawing on community languages for recently arrived students either. Even when education in community languages

is available, the monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2008) creates a range of challenges to organizing and implementing language education (Heugh, 2014; Scarino, 2014) and negative perceptions of using languages other than English in Australian society (Schalley et al., 2015).

The former president of the advocacy group for community languages insisted that all that community schools needed to flourish was on-going guaranteed government funding:

> I'm saying that you know that there should be equal opportunity and I think that equal opportunity means support to other languages just as they're supported in mainstream. We are doing 80% contribution, the government can consistently provide at least the 20% consistent 20% support. It is most likely that these language schools will still thrive and still survive. And the benefit of this is obviously multifold, it's unmeasurable, there's no instrument to measure the benefit (Interview, former president of state advocacy group for community language schools. July 2013).

This view is of course personal, and undoubtedly coloured by 18 years of unpaid volunteer work at the Hindustani community language school. However, it indicates a belief that energy and engagement at the community level, complemented by guaranteed government funding, is key to the opportunities available for developing multilingual literacies in that context.

While bottom-up approaches bring crucial local insight and arguably more energy into the organization of the form of education, I argue that allocating the task of education in (immigrant) languages other than English solely to under-funded community language schools set up by parents and community member enthusiasts, creates an un-equal system. Multilingual children living in cities, whose parents know and care about the development of the languages they speak, might attend a community language school. But this leaves a large group of multilingual children in Australia without access to formal educational programmes where they can develop literacies in the languages spoken in their homes and communities. Moreover, when there is no tangible connection between mainstream schools and community languages, there is a risk that community language use is discouraged in the broader community and the languages themselves become invisible, at worst forbidden (cf. Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014). The fact that the majority of teachers are volunteers, working otherwise in other jobs, limits their opportunities to partake in teacher education programmes, and the availability of such programmes is, in any case, limited (Gearon, 2015; 2.3.2). This strengthens the already strong arguments that have been made for continual work at every level in Australia to unlearn monolingualism (Scarino, 2014) and replace the monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2008).

7.1.1.3 Ideology and organization - conclusions

It has been suggested that a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches, or a fusion approach might provide an effective model for education in immigrant languages (Lo Bianco, 2004,) and minority languages (Lainio & Wande, 2015). The results of this thesis suggest that neither purely top-down nor purely bottom-up approaches to organizing immigrant language education *automatically* provide optimal opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies. While fusion approaches are potentially valuable for combining government and infrastructural support with local interests and practices, it is equally important that participants throughout the scales of context, recognize the value of developing literacies in immigrant languages and, building on these beliefs, adopt dynamic and flexible approaches to organization of the form of education. Language ideologies that frame language as a resource need to permeate the scales of the context and infuse organizational approaches, if opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are to be realized more fully.

7.1.2 Flexible linguistic practices, ideology and tension

In spite of the different ideologies informing and approaches taken to the organization of the forms of education investigated, flexible linguistic practices among multilingual students and teachers are common across the contexts. Multilingual students in this study drew on their whole linguistic repertoire when speaking in the classrooms and schools visited (see all studies). Words and phrases from a range of languages were written on whiteboards, notebooks and textbooks (where they existed) to facilitate the learning of languages that might previously only have been spoken at home (see figure 10). In interviews in both countries students and teachers (and parents in Australia) also reported on using both languages, sometimes together, sometimes separately, to communicate and learn in spaces outside of the formal learning situation. These practices indicate that students and teachers are resourceful speakers (Pennycook, 2012b) and users of linguistic resources in these spaces and reflect and add to the international literature on flexible linguistic practices in multilingual classrooms (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012a; Probyn, 2015).

Students listen to the text "Cấu Trúc Gia Đình Việt Nam" to:
1) Complete the family tree below, then cross-check your work with your friend; and
2) Complete the comprehensive questions in Vietnamese.

Giải nghĩa: **cấu trúc**: *structure;* **ancestors**: *tổ tiên;* **chú, bác**: *uncle;* **cô, dì**: *aunt;* **họ nội**: *paternal side;* **họ ngoại**: *maternal side;* **tổ**: *ancestor;* **dòng họ**: *(all relatives who share the same family name);* **gia phả**: *family annals (records);* **nguồn gốc**: *origin;* **đại gia đình**: *extended family;* **tiểu gia đình/gia đình căn bản**: *nuclear family.*

Answer these comprehensive questions in Vietnamese:

1. Quyển sách dùng để ghi tên tất cả những người trong gia tộc được gọi là gì và nó có ích lợi gì?

Figure 10: Textbook, grade 11–12, Vietnamese community language school. Australia.

Translanguaging has potential as a pedagogical approach in multilingual classrooms (Canagarajah, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010) but conflicting ideological orientations on translanguaging impact on the degree to which it is perceived as a pedagogical resource (cf. Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). The results of this thesis echo both of these observations.

In Study II translanguaging was found to have five functions which helped recently arrived students meet the goals of subjects in the Swedish curriculum. There is potential to further develop the translanguaging strategies observed during multilingual study guidance, to enrich the development of the other languages used, as much as the development of Swedish. In study I, students worked on a task which required them to use both Swedish and Kurdish in written and spoken form to fulfill the learning goals. This approach also has potential for the mutual strengthening and development of the languages used.

In Studies III and IV on the other hand, language ideological positions underpin positions on flexible linguistic practices, and limit their pedagogical potential. In the Australian context, considerable tension between positions advocating flexible use of linguistic resources, and those aiming for separate use and development was reported on in different scales of the context, inhibiting flexible practices in mainstream schools. In the linguistically heterogeneous classrooms described in Study IV, the tension between developing

standard varieties of languages and the heteroglossic varieties spoken in classrooms is revealed. Some of the teachers spoke of strategies for dealing with this (for example, "starting with the student"; see 6.2.2, 6.2.3) while others found the situation challenging.

The linguistic heterogeneity of classrooms and schools investigated indicate that there is a need for the development of pedagogical approaches based on ideologies which frame heteroglossia as a resource (cf. Busch, 2014) without ignoring difference (cf. Lindberg, 2010). The multilingual pedagogies observed in the studies comprising this thesis have not been formally tested for educational outcomes, but they can and should provide a springboard for further discussion and development of strategies. The importance of developing pedagogies based on "the practices we see multilingual students adopting" (Canagarajah, 2011a, p. 415) has been pointed out. While translanguaging strategies have potential as pedagogy, it is vital not to underestimate the importance of helping all students develop literacies in the linguistic resources of power. To ignore this is to ignore the power dimension of the continua of biliteracy, which acknowledges that written, decontextualized, literary and monolingual texts still hold the balance of power in most societies, and schools have a responsibility to prepare their students for that.

As translanguaging shifts the focus from separate languages onto the flexibility of linguistic practices, it has ideological and political implications (cf. Lewis et al. 2102b, p. 659). Therefore, developing translanguaging strategies requires an ideological shift. When there are clear strategies and more spaces available for using the languages students know as they learn, the tension between using one language "too much" or "not enough" (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010, pp. 109–112) might reduce. In addition, the development of such strategies can reframe students in mother tongue instruction, multilingual study guidance and community language schools as resourceful users of linguistic resources, in the process of developing styles, discourses and genres (Pennycook, 2012b), rather than "failed" speakers of specific, separate and bounded mother tongues or community languages (cf. Cook, 1999). A focus on developing students' abilities to produce texts in relevant genres, and multicompetent, resourceful speakers would enable students to develop competencies in the texts and genres of power as well as other styles; valuable educational goals in any context.

Flexible translanguaging strategies that can be adapted in accordance to context-specific knowledge (of the mother tongue and community language classrooms) can benefit both the teachers and students. By explicitly valorizing the linguistic practices associated with families, communities, and the sociolinguistic realities of students, opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies can then be created. Moreover, when the heteroglossic ideologies associated with translanguaging infuse these strategies, translanguaging can become a relevant and useful pedagogical approach in mother tongue instruction (cf. Ganuza & Hedman, 2017a) and community language schools.

7.1.3 The cycle of ideology, organization and practice

The continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) makes explicit the complexity of developing literacies in more than one language and the interdependent nature of the contextual factors, the available content, the nature of the languages themselves (media) and the stages of development that each individual learner goes through. Hornberger (2005) has also noted the interdependence of ideology, organization and practices in the development of multilingual educational policies. She describes how approaches to organizing language education can create ideological spaces, which operate to carve out implementational spaces in communities and classrooms. She stresses the importance of filling up these spaces with multilingual educational practices, not only to occupy and keep the spaces open but also because multilingual educational practices can "act to pry open ideological spaces" (Hornberger, 2005, p.606).

In accordance with the ecological approach this study takes, the process of creating opportunities for and minimizing the challenges to the development of multilingual literacies through education programmes is acknowledged as dialogical. Moreover, it can be imagined as a dynamic cycle, reacting to the changes in the local ecology and adapting approaches and strategies accordingly (see Figure 11).
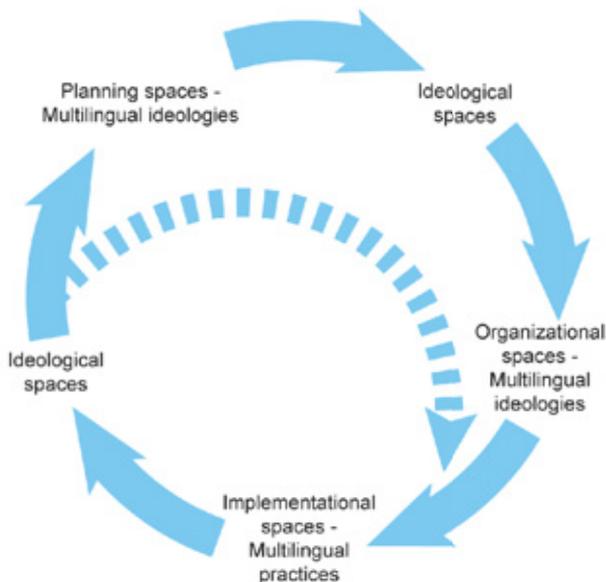

Figure 11: The cycle of ideology, organization and practice (drawing on Hornberger, 2005).

Figure 11, based on the results of this thesis and Hornberger's (2005) remarks concerning ideological and implementational spaces, represents the dynamic cycle of ideology, organization and practice, which can optimize opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies.

Implementational spaces, specifically, classrooms and schools, have been created by both top-down (Sweden) and bottom-up/fusion (Australia) approaches to organizing education. This thesis indicates that these environments are indeed often populated with "multilingual educational practices" (Hornberger, 2005, p. 606), including translanguaging, which reflect the sociolinguistic reality of the students. However, to create meaningful and on-going opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies, the spaces where the forms of education are *planned* and *organized* need to be populated with *multilingual ideologies* as well.

In the planning stage (top left-hand corner of Figure 11), approaches to planning forms of education need to be infused with flexible multilingual ideologies, understood here as orientations which regard language as a resources (Ruíz, 1984; Hult & Hornberger, 2016), with soft and flexible rather than hard and unmovable boundaries between them (cf. Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). When these ideologies inform planning approaches, reflexive development of educational approaches, in consultation with local linguistic communities, can take place. The ideological space which such approaches to planning creates, can then lead to organizational spaces, also infused with flexible multilingual ideologies, which are responsive to the visions of the planners and local linguistic practices. Organization then leads directly to the creation of implementational spaces (schools or classrooms), which can be filled with multilingual educational practices. As Hornberger emphasizes, as well as keeping the spaces open, these practices can also open up new ideological spaces. In these ideological spaces, reflection and consultation may lead teachers and students back to the existing form of organization (the broken arrow) or pry open a new space for re-thinking and adjusting planning, in response to the dynamics of the local linguistic ecology.

A concrete example of how forms of education can be re-thought and adjusted, occurred in Sweden after the summer of 2015. Education planners were faced with a demand for the expansion of multilingual study guidance, an area previously almost invisible in research and under-prioritized in schools (see 3.2). However, in response to dynamic changes in the local linguistic ecology, the Swedish government allocated resources to the development of courses for tutors in multilingual study guidance, updated official guidelines on multilingual study guidance (Skolverket, 2015a), consulting with schools and researchers in the process. This process is still unfolding, but if the ideological space it has opened is filled with responsive approaches to the organization of multilingual study guidance, the dynamic cycle of ideology, organization and

practices can continue, and offer recently arrived students in Sweden opportunities to develop literacies in both Swedish and the languages they already speak.

This cycle of ideology, organization and practice cannot function optimally without coordinated communication and collaboration between students, parents, teachers, school leaders and researchers. The arrows in Figure 11 represent active engagement, or agency, which I argue is crucial to maintaining the cycle through every level of the language ecology.

7.2 Contributions

Based on the results (chapter 6) and the discussion (7.1.1; 7.1.2 and 7.1.3) the main contribution that this study makes are:

1. The organization of education makes a difference to how many students have access to the forms of education which open up opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies. Top-down approaches in the contexts investigated in Sweden provide more widespread access than the bottom-up/fusion approach investigated in Australia.

2. Bottom-up/fusion approaches (Australia) allow communities to allocate the hours they believe students need, to education in community languages while hours allocated through top-down approaches are constrained by decisions made by the organizers.

3. Translanguaging practices in a range of languages take place during multilingual study guidance (Sweden) and provide short-term opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies.

4. The subject of mother tongue instruction is infused with linguistic diversity: the classrooms visited were characterized by a heterogeneous range of varieties of the mother tongues.

5. Some mother tongue teachers have strategies for working with linguistic diversity, but other participants (students, teachers, principals) found it challenging and difficult to negotiate.

6. Language ideological factors in the Australian context constrain the flexible use of linguistic resources in some spaces, but when they are drawn on, opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies are created.

7. Language ideological factors impact on organization of education and perceptions and use of translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy.

7.3 Methodological reflections

7.3.1 Linguistic ethnography

Methods from linguistic ethnography were chosen to approach the research questions guiding this thesis. In order to understand the complex language education sites I visited, extended time spent in the field was crucial, as was the collection and analysis of data from a range of perspectives, and in different scales of the context. As the description of the two contexts reveals (see 2.2 and 2.3), the forms of language education investigated take place in very different environments, and there is variation within as well as between these environments. Methods from linguistic ethnography were well-suited to exploring these contexts. A broader, questionnaire-based study would not have captured the detail needed to describe these environments, while a narrower study would not have captured the variety within and between the settings nor been able to explore overlapping themes.

The length of time I spent in and around each school, and the triangulation of data collection methods (lessons were observed, judicious field notes were written and many interviews and casual conversations took place with a wide range of people in the field) helped to ameliorate the inherent risk of participants telling me what they thought I wanted to hear rather than what they really thought, or at least, if they did, it would be more obvious (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 183). Conducting interviews in as neutral a manner as possible also helped (Yin, 2011).

Audio, rather than video recordings were deemed the most appropriate choice for this project to minimize the impact of the researcher's presence. Without any guarantee of help with translation, it was decided to record interviews, conducted in a language I speak and understand, rather than giving students (cf. Blackledge and Creese, 2010) or teachers (cf. Dewilde, 2013) recording devices and focusing on other interactions in which they partook.

In the Swedish context, lesson observations could be undertaken throughout every week day of the school term. On busy days, as many as five lessons in mother tongue instruction or multilingual study guidance were observed. In the Australian context, lessons were held only on Saturday mornings. The contrast is clear: while in the Swedish context, one week of fieldwork resulted in observation of approximately 21 lessons, in Australia, one week was equal to one lesson. As a result, less lessons in total were observed in Australia, but observing more was not feasible considering the timeframe of the whole project.

As a thesis, conducted by a solo researcher, and again, with no guarantee of translation assistance, discussion, debate and negotiation of ideas took place during supervision, coffee breaks with doctoral colleagues, through member

checking, frequent email contact with key informants and the generous support of volunteer translators/transcribers. In the absence of a multilingual research team (see Blackledge & Creese, 2010, pp. 82–107; Copland & Creese, 2015, pp. 69–70 for discussion) these processes contributed greatly to the data analysis, bringing insights and understanding that would have been impossible to achieve on my own.

7.3.2 Researcher reflexivity

As an immigrant to Sweden, a teacher of English as a second language and, albeit briefly, as a mother tongue, and a bilingual mother of bilingual children, I have some credential for insider status among the mother tongue teachers in the Swedish context. On the other hand, English is a high status and highly visible language in Sweden and around the world. In this way my insights into developing multilingual literacies are completely different from those of the teachers in this research project, whose repertoires included languages that do not have the same status or visibility as English.

In the Australian context, as a representative of a distant European academic institution, there was potential for me to be regarded as an outsider. In conversations and interviews with administrators, teachers and parents, however, the fact that I am Australian and my background in teaching English as a second language lessened this distance. With adult informants at the Vietnamese school, as a researcher, I was welcomed as someone who was interested in the work they do at the community language school. Conversations and interviews proceeded with very little prompting and came to an end only because informants had other commitments, not because they ran out of things to say.

7.3.3 Analysing and drawing conclusions in ethnographic research

Balancing the different perspectives and positions of such a wide range of informants was not always easy during fieldwork or in analysis, but QSR NVivo 10 software was a practical help in the iterative process of sifting through and re-sorting data and categories. The member checking conducted with key informants is one way in which I tried to retain the emic perspective even after data had been viewed through theoretical and analytical lenses, disassembled and reassembled (Yin, 2011, p. 176). Ultimately, the results presented in this thesis are my attempt to unite the emic perspectives of my informants with theoretical and analytical concepts developed over years of research.

The questions asked in this project have no neat and easy answers that can be captured, compared and generalized, rather, "ethnographic studies assume and accept multiple interpretations and are not considered stories with a single "truth" valid to all participants and readers" (Heigham & Sakui, 2009, p. 104).

The rich data and detailed analysis that linguistic ethnographic approaches make possible have resulted in new contributions to the study of education in or drawing on immigrant languages. The results contribute to an important and on-going conversation about multilingual language development and the language education systems in which that takes place. Moreover, as the opportunities to the development of multilingual literacies are examples of "best practice", even if they cannot be directly transferred to other settings, they can certainly be considered and adapted.

The ecological perspective taken in this research project recognizes the role that the organization of education plays in creating opportunities for and challenges to the development of multilingual literacies, without ignoring the power of individuals, alone or collectively, to impact on and change them through actions and practices (Canagarajah, 2015). An ecological perspective also sheds light on the dialogical relationships within the context; where language ideologies inform approaches to organizing education and the language practices that are sanctioned, and how those language practices can then reshape spaces, sometimes even inspiring new ways of organizing educational contexts (cf. Blackledge, 2005; Milani, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

7.4 Future directions

One result of viewing the data collected in this study through the lens of the continua of biliteracy is that a wide range of factors which impact on the development of multilingual literacies come into focus. The analysis of linguistic ethnographic data and theoretical perspectives taken in this project have resulted in four studies or the telling of five stories (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 224; Heller, 2008, p. 250), but there are many stories left to tell, both in the settings that I visited and others.

In terms of contexts in which the development of biliteracy takes place, there is a wide range of models for community language education in different states in Australia (see Liddicoat, in press; Mercurio & Scarino, 2005; Scarino, 2014; Willoughby, 2006, 2014), some of which may reflect a more effective combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches and bring more insight into this form of language education. There are also Saturday schools in Sweden (see Bouakaz, 2012), but they are not nearly as widespread as in the Australian context. Neither of these alternatives were investigated in this thesis, but research in such environments could help identify other ways to create opportunities for the development of multilingual literacies. Not only that, in the 2016/17 academic year in Sweden, only 56.9% of those students eligible for mother tongue instruction elected to take the subject (Skolverket, 2017) (the corresponding percentage in Australia is not available). Identifying and talking to the students and caregivers who choose not to study their mother

tongue or a community language can bring important insights into the factors that influence their decision to refrain from formal instruction in the languages they speak.

The content of biliteracy encourages close examination of the oral and written texts in the spaces that multilinguals move through. This could include teaching and media resources as well as books, newspapers, music, films, in libraries at home and on social media. Recently arrived students have opportunities for developing multilingual literacies as long as they have access to multilingual study guidance (Study II), however, the use of textbooks in languages other than Swedish during multilingual study guidance was not observed, nor are they widely available (but see György Ullholm, 2017). Students in English medium classrooms in Sweden report valuing the access they have to textbooks in both Swedish and English (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014), indicating that incorporating textbooks in the languages that students speak during multilingual guidance could be valuable.

Previous research reports on textbooks used in mother tongue instruction deemed many inappropriate, either due to content or level (Enström, 1984; Garefalakis, 1994; Kostoulos-Makrakis, 1995; Sahaf, 1994; cf. Nygren-Junkin, 2008; Walldoff, 2013). This indicates that there is a need for development of appropriate resources for mother tongue instruction as well. The Turkish teacher in the Swedish case-study in this research project pointed out that he was explicitly opposed to community-run language schools in the Swedish context, as he was fearful that political ideologies would direct content and that anti-democratic values would be promoted. This echoes the situation described in complementary schools in the UK, where nation and nationalism emerged as robust themes (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 181). For the Turkish teacher in this study in Sweden, the school subject of mother tongue instruction, with a syllabus that aligned with the values of the Swedish school (Study I), was a safe space not for the development of the students' *Turkish* identities so much as their *transnational identities* and, principally, literacies in Turkish. More research into the content used in the investigated forms of language education would bring valuable insights into the ways the syllabus is and could be implemented.

The media of biliteracy, opens up for research into the varieties of languages spoken and taught in diasporic contexts, in relation to rather than opposed to those spoken in countries of origin, and those spoken in the local language ecology (cf. Lainio & Wande, 2015). This research would bring insights valuable for teaching those languages and the students who speak them. The implications of developing literacies in languages with divergent scripts, and dissimilar structures (including features of pronunciation) was raised by students and teachers in the contexts visited in this research. In the Swedish context, considerable emphasis was placed on learning and practising the letters and sounds unique to the languages being taught. In Australia, students

described how they avoided texting in Vietnamese due to the complicated procedures involved in accessing the correct Vietnamese letters on their phones, even though their parents had downloaded the tools for accessing this script. The principal commented that one of the most difficult linguistic features for Australian-born Vietnamese learners to learn was the (oral) production of tones. These are areas for research which would deepen our knowledge of issues which impact on the development of multilingual literacies in diasporic contexts.

The continua of individual development reminds us that multilinguals have different starting points and learning paths. In the Swedish context of mother tongue instruction, the heteroglossic nature of the groups where recently arrived students and students born in Sweden who speak the same language study together, was a source of tension for some (Study IV). In fact, the presence of new and emergent learners of languages in the same group reflects the reality that exists in all mainstream classrooms where recently arrived students are placed directly in mainstream classes. In mother tongue or community language classes, one might expect that recently arrived students hold the linguistic capital, being the more proficient speakers of the target languages in those classes. However an ecological perspective requires us to zoom out and be reminded that these classrooms are small islands in an ocean of majority language. As long as the time spent in spaces where immigrant languages are not regarded as resources significantly outweighs time spent in spaces where they are, it is likely that these languages will not be seen as resources by speakers. This reflects the inherent power imbalance between majority languages and minority languages that studies III (especially the use of the term *freshie*) and IV (cf. the term *import*) brought to light. Research which sheds light on how this power imbalance can be challenged is vital for speakers of minoritized languages in any context.

An incentive for continuing research in this field is the reminder that life as well as language is dynamic. During fieldwork in 2012, the four mother tongue teachers at Alpha School had at least two hours of multilingual study guidance with different groups of students each week. When I visited Alpha school again, four years later, the Kurdish teacher had no multilingual study guidance at all, and taught mathematics as well as mother tongue instruction. The principal of Alpha school described how she applied for multilingual study guidance for all the recently arrived students at the school, but added that it was also sometimes difficult to find teachers in some of the smaller languages. It was also explained that multilingual study guidance was only provided after students shifted to the mainstream class "in exceptional circumstances". In other words, the support that was regarded as most crucial, when recently arrived students shifted to the mainstream class, (Nilsson Folke, 2015) and was observed and analyzed in Study II, is only available in excep-

tional circumstances now at Alpha school. There is an on-going need for research into and work with schools and macro-level authorities responsible for the organization of language education, to ensure that the learning needs of recently arrived students and other multilingual students are met.

7.5 Closing comments

There is no simple way to end a thesis which has explored ideologies, organization and practices in three different forms of education drawing on or in five different languages, in case studies spanning two countries.

Or perhaps there is? At Alpha school, among other staff members, I spoke to the school nurse, who spoke Kurdish and Turkish as well as Swedish and had herself studied Turkish through mother tongue instruction in Sweden. She reported having a lot of use for both Kurdish and Turkish in her work with students and their parents, at Alpha school. When talking about the subject of mother tongue instruction with her, she compared the emergent multilingual literacies of students to seeds, and the educational option of mother tongue instruction to soil. In a response to a question about what her reaction would be if the subject of mother tongue instruction did not exist, she responded:

> Nurse: It's like taking away knowledge that is already there, ready to grow
> Anne: Mm huh
> Nurse: It's the choice between coving the seed with soil or taking the seed away, taking it away completely.
>
> (Interview. School nurse, Alpha school. 2012)

Soil is indeed crucial for all plants other than hydroponics. Moreover, for earth-bound plants, fertilizer and water and sunshine are also necessary if a seedling is to flourish and grow. While a form of education (soil) for studying the languages in question is crucial, this thesis has shown that multilingual educational practices in implementational spaces (fertilizer) plus reflexive development of educational approaches and responsive and flexible organization and implementation (water) and the active engagement of students, parents and schools (sunshine), are also necessary to create opportunities for the seeds of multilingual literacies to grow into trees of knowledge.

8 Summary in Swedish

Utvecklingen av flerspråkig litteracitet i Sverige och Australien: Möjligheter och utmaningar i modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledning på modersmål i Sverige och community language schools i Australien

Bakgrund

Denna avhandling handlar om de möjligheter och utmaningar som finns för att utveckla flerspråkig litteracitet i tre olika former av undervisning: modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledning på modersmål i Sverige och *community language schools* i Australien. I Sverige är modersmålsundervisning ett valbart ämne i grundskolan och gymnasiet. Dessutom har alla nyanlända elever, under begränsad tid, rätt till studiehandledning på sitt modersmål eller andra språk som eleven förstår, som en stöttning för kunskapsutvecklingen i olika ämnen. I Australien anordnas undervisning i olika modersmål (utöver engelska) för det mesta genom *community language schools* som organiseras och bildas av föräldrar och andra frivilliga i det lokala området. Vissa *community language schools* söker även bidrag från regeringen.

I dagens globaliserade värld är flerspråkighet en viktig fråga (Cenoz, 2009; Edwards, 2007; García 2009). Idag finns en ökad efterfrågan av kunskap om och relevanta pedagogiska strategier för att möta flerspråkiga elever i klassrum där undervisning brukar ske på ett språk, svenska. Det finns stor konsensus inom forskningen angående fördelar med utvecklingen av alla språk i flerspråkiga elevers repertoarer (Axelsson, 2013; Bialystok, 2001; Cummins, 1976, 1986, 2005, 2007; Fishman, 1991; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders & Christian, 2006; Hyltenstam, 2006; Hyltenstam & Österberg, 2010; Thomas, Wayne & Collier, Virginia, 2002). Även komplexiteten i den flerspråkiga repertoaren har varit i fokus under den senaste tiden. Viktigt för avhandlingen är kännedomen om att flerspråkiga individer använder sin språkrepertoar på ett annat sätt än enspråkiga individer talar sitt enda språk (Cook, 1999).

Trots att flerspråkigheten ökar i skolor i Sverige och Australien, finns det fortfarande en utbredd monoglossisk, enspråkig syn på undervisning i många skolor (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014; Nilsson, 2017),

där de flerspråkiga elevernas språkresurser ofta prioriteras lägre än utveckl-
ingen av majoritetsspråket (Eisenchlas, Schalley & Guillemin, 2013).

Denna avhandling vill bidra med kunskap kring olika utbildningsformer
som har som mål att utveckla flerspråkiga elevers modersmål samtidigt som
de lär sig majoritetsspråket. Definitionen av *tvåspråkig* har traditionellt varit
snäv med ett implicit antagande om att de två språken talas lika bra och på en
hög nivå (Dewaele, 2015). Flerspråkighet i denna avhandling definieras som
"användningen av två språk eller fler" (ibid., p. 2). Definitionen av flersprå-
kiga litteraciteter som tillämpas i denna avhandling är "bruket av flera språk
runt skrivprocessen" (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000, s. 97-98). Plu-
ralformen, litteraciteter, syftar på att aktiviteterna runt skrivandet tar sig en
mängd olika uttryck: digitalt, pappersbaserat samt genom andra semiotiska
uttryck (cf. Tusting, 2008). Fokus i avhandlingen är inte på texter eller text-
produktion i sig utan på de villkor och processer som finns och aktivt används
på väg mot eller i samband med skrivandet.

Avhandlingen består av en inledande kappa och fyra delstudier som ur
olika perspektiv undersöker möjligheter och utmaningar för utvecklingen av
de flerspråkiga litteraciteter som finns i dessa undervisningsformer. Tre forsk-
ningsfrågor har väglett studierna:

1. Vad karaktäriserar de språkliga ideologierna i de undersökta miljö-
   erna med avseende på användningen och utvecklingen av litteraciteter
   i invandrarspråken?
2. Hur erbjuder eller begränsar organisationen av undervisningen till-
   fällen till utveckling av invandrarspråken?
3. Hur använder eller rapporterar informanterna i de undersökta miljö-
   erna att de använder sina språk för lärande och i andra situationer?

Teori

Det övergripande teoretiska ramverk som använts i planering, analys och tolk-
ning i detta arbete är teorin om *continua of biliteracy* (Hornberger, 1989;
Hornberger & Skilton Sylvester, 2000). Transspråkande (García & Li, 2014),
ett relativt nytt begrepp inom språkdidaktisk forskning, har används i avhand-
lingen för att analysera och förstå de flerspråkiga praktiker som präglade
klassrum, skolor och andra miljöer som undersöktes i studien. Heteroglossi
(Bakhtin, 1986; Todorov, 1984) betraktar språk som ett fenomen som präglas
av spänningen mellan centrifugala (som strävar utåt, mot mångfald) och
centripetala (som strävar inåt, mot standardisering) krafter används också för
att analysera den språkliga heterogenitet som karakteriserar modersmålsäm-
net. Även teorier kring språkideologier (Blackledge, 2005; Piller, 2015;

Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004; Ruíz, 1984) och organisering av språkutbildning (Baldauf, 2005; Liddicaot & Curnow, 2014; Lo Bianco, 2004) har varit värdefulla för att förstå de olika faktorer som bidrar till utvecklingen av flerspråkiga litteraciteter i de undersökta kontexterna. Att förverkliga utbildningsmål som siktar mot att utveckla kompetenser i ett eller flera specifika språk kan vara mindre förenligt med elevernas flexibla språkliga praktiker idag. Därför är även Pennycooks konceptualisering av *den resursstarka talaren* (2012) intressant i tolkningen av det empiriska materialet.

Metod och data

Då undersökningens mål varit att öka förståelsen för olika faktorer som inverkar på utvecklingen av flerspråkiga litteraciteter valdes en lingvistisk etnografisk ansats. De klassrum och skolor som undersöktes mellan 2012–2014 betraktas som delar i en komplex språklig ekologi, där de olika delarna påverkar och påverkas av varandra. I Sverige observerade jag och gjorde ljudinspelningar under 58 lektioner där modersmålsundervisning i arabiska, kurdiska, turkiska och urdu bedrevs och 13 lektioner där studiehandledning på modersmål genomfördes på samma språk. De fyra modersmålslärare som genomförde lektionerna intervjuades både formellt och i en mängd informella (särskilt i anslutning till lektioner) sammanhang. Semistrukturerade intervjuer genomfördes med sex skol- eller administrativa ledare samt 11 ämneslärare. Vidare genomfördes fokusgruppsdiskussioner med sex grupper av elever (från åk 5-9). Jag skrev fältanteckningar, tog fotografier av klassrums- och skolmiljöer och samlade in klassrumsartefakter under hela fältarbetet. Den första pilotstudien gjordes januari – februari 2012 och de flesta lektionsobservationerna gjordes mellan september och december 2012. Förarbetet och intervjuerna genomfördes under månaderna där emellan. Undersökningen i Australien började i februari 2013 och fortsatte fram till juni 2014.

I Australien observerades ett betydligt mindre antal lektioner på den vietnamesiska *community language school* än i Sverige. Dels berodde det på att lektioner bara hölls på lördagar och dels på att det tog tid att närma sig skolan och få samtycke från alla deltagare. Totalt fyra lektioner i den vietnamesiska skolan observerades och spelades in. Dessutom intervjuades tre lärare (under fem tillfällen), sju administratörer eller skolledare och fyra fokusgruppsdiskussioner genomfördes med 19 elever samt tre fokusgruppsdiskussioner med föräldrar. Därtill deltog jag i aktiviteter som anordnades av den vietnamesiska skolan, som till exempel en middag med underhållning och en *Family Fun Day* där alla intresserade från det lokala samhället bjöds in i syfte att samla in pengar till skolan. Jag observerade och spelade även in särskilda sammankomster för hela skolan där en sångtävling (i den vietnamesiska nationalsången) hölls eller där olika akademiska priser delades ut. Utöver lördagarna

i skolan var jag även med på olika möten som hölls av stödgruppen för *Community language schools* i den besökta delstaten.

Resultat

I delstudie I analyserades läroplanen för modersmålsämnet (åk 7–9). Genom att spåra de lärandemål i modersmålsämnet som finns i övergripande mål och värderingar i grundskolans läroplan (Lgr11, 2011) kunde en god samstämmighet konstateras (Biggs & Tang, 2011). Ett andra steg i analysen var att utföra en tematisk analys av 58 lektionsinspelningar och av intervjuer med lärare och skolledare. En rad perspektiv utkristalliserades och kategoriserades enligt: struktur, attityd och klassrumspraktik. En dold läroplan (Ditchburn, 2012) framträdde, där lärare och elever hade svårt att realisera det ambitiösa mål som ställts för modersmålsämnet. I en tredje analysfas analyserades såväl en planering inför undervisning i kurdiska som flera lektioner där planeringen implementerades. I denna planering och dessa lektioner fanns det möjlighet att utmana den dolda läroplanen och nå de lärandemål som uppställts.

Delstudie II visar hur flerspråkiga praktiker under studiehandledning på modersmål uppfyller fem funktioner som bidrar till att hjälpa nyanlända elever att nå kursmålen i olika ämnen. Ett antal utdrag av flerspråkiga praktiker under 13 lektioner där studiehandledning på modersmål transkriberades, översattes och analyserades med hjälp av ett befintligt ramverk som använts i forskning i flerspråkiga miljöer (Fennema Bloom 2009/10; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). Flerspråkiga praktiker under studiehandledning på modersmål visade sig hjälpa elever att omformulera och förklara ord och begrepp; öka deras metalingvistiska medvetenhet, öka medvetenheten om övningsinnehållet och öka den sociokulturella medvetenheten. Slutsatsen i denna studie är att dessa flerspråkiga praktiker skapade ett tillfälligt utrymme för transspråkande i den svenska skolan. Då studiehandledning på modersmålet tas bort så snart eleven anses kunna ta till sig ämnesundervisning på svenska var dock den transspråkande potentialen begränsad i tid och rum, om inte eleven fortsatte med modersmålsundervisning. Dessutom angav lärare i intervjuer att studiehandledning ibland inte ordnades trots att det fanns både behov och efterfrågan.

Delstudie III behandlar det empiriska materialet från Australien. Huvudfokus var på 19 intervjuer med 34 elever (16–18 år), lärare och ledare i språkekologin kring den vietnamesiska skolan. Systematiska analyser av deiktiska former, direkt anföring och värderande uttryck genomfördes för att undersöka hur deltagarnas berättelser om språk och språkanvändning i andra sammanhang än vid intervjutillfällena påverkade och påverkades av den kringliggande sociokulturella kontexten. Forskning i Australien tar upp den *enspråkiga mentalitet* som präglar landet (Clyne, 2004) där en enspråkig syn på språk och

språkutveckling påverkar möjligheterna att använda och lära sig språk i landets skolor (Scarino, 2014). Analysen visar att det finns två parallella narrativer om språk i och kring den vietnamesiska skolan, en narrativ om *separat flerspråkighet* och en om *flexibel flerspråkighet*. I den förstnämnda förväntas en separat språkanvändning i olika kontexter utan språkblandning. I narrativen om flexibel flerspråkighet använder individerna hela sin språkliga repertoar för att kommunicera och lära. Medan narrativen om separat flerspråkighet fanns i alla dimensioner av kontexten, fanns narrativen om flexibel flerspråkighet bara i de delar av kontexten som låg närmast den vietnamesiska skolan. Då flerspråkiga praktiker användes i kontexter som var underförstått *engelska zoner*, utmanades den separata flerspråkiga narrativen, och kontexten omformades genom att skapa tillfälliga platser för flerspråkiga praktiker (Canagarajah, 2015).

Det sista studien (IV) fokuserar åter på modersmålsämnet i Sverige och analyserar den språkliga heterogenitet som karakteriserar ämnet. Genom att tillämpa en tolkning av heteroglossi (Bakhtin, 1986) där tre olika uttryck för språklig heterogenitet identifieras (Todorov, 1984; Busch, 2014) analyserades utdrag från intervjuer och inspelade lektioner i modersmålsundervisning. Dessa utdrag som i en tidigare tematisk klassificering kategoriserats som representativa för språklig heterogenitet, visade också i denna analys att ämnet genomsyrades av språklig heterogenitet. I skolorna fanns tydliga signaler på förekomsten av olika språk, genom skyltar, organisatoriska procedurer som ger plats för språkundervisning i över 20 språk. I individuella klassrum användes olika varieteter av samma språk sida vid sida. I vissa fall ansågs detta vara en svår utmaning, och vid andra tillfällen byggde lärare på den variation som fanns för att skapa lärandetillfällen. Även transspråkande försiggick i olika klassrum. Genom att tolka klassificeringen genom *continua of biliteracy*-modellen drogs slutsatsen att då eleverna tillåts använda och fick stöd i användning av alla sina språkliga resurser fanns det bättre förutsättningar för utvecklingen av flerspråkiga litteraciteter.

Slutsatser

Genom att tolka resultaten genom *continua of bilteracy*-modellen drogs följande slutsatser. Möjligheter till utvecklingen av flerspråkig litteracitet skapas genom likvärdig tillgång till undervisning i modersmål och studiehandledning på modersmål. Dessutom ökar möjligheterna att utveckla undervisningsorganisationen och de pedagogiska metoderna i de klassrum där språkideologier som heteroglossi ses som en resurs. Aktiva insatser på alla nivåer, från utformningen av undervisningsformer till implementeringen i klassrum och hemmiljö ökar också dessa möjligheter. Utmaningar för utvecklingen av flersprå-

kiga litteraciteter uppstår när tillgången på modersmålsundervisning är begränsad, när en monoglossisk syn på språk och språkutveckling präglar kontexten och när det aktiva engagemanget saknas någonstans i språkekologin.

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10 Appendices

Information letter and informed consent documents – Sweden

Information letter about the research project for all parents

Bästa föräldrar,   den 31 augusti 2012

Jag är doktorand, verksam vid Stockholms Universitet, och jag genomför en vetenskaplig undersökning om modersmålsundervisning. Syftet är att göra en djupbeskrivning av hur modersmålsundervisning bedrivs i en skolmiljö där det finns många flerspråkiga elever. I min studie undersöker jag hur vanliga arbetsdagar och -veckor kan se ut för modersmålslärare, hur modersmålsundervisningen organiseras i skolan och hur de flerspråkiga eleverna upplever sin användning och utveckling av modersmål i och utanför skolan. Det är min förhoppning att studien ska kunna belysa de förutsättningar för utveckling av modersmål som finns i de undersökta skolorna och kunna användas till att förbättra skolverksamheten för flerspråkiga barn och ungdomar i hela landet.

Efter ett noggrant urval har jag bestämt mig för att genomföra fältstudier på ditt barns skola under höstterminen 2012. De metoder jag kommer att använda för att samla in material är observationer av undervisningen, dokumentering av arbetet som görs på modersmålslektionerna, intervjuer med elever i åk 9 och lärare, enkät som besvaras av personalen och eleverna, analys av formella skoldokument samt "språkloggböcker" där vissa elever i åk 9 kommer att göra anteckningar kring sin användning av modersmål, svenska och andra språk.

Under undersökningen kommer jag att följa alla etiska principer om forskning som Vetenskapsrådet har antagit. Bland annat garanteras anonymiteten för elever, lärare och skolorna.

Om du har några frågor angående studien ber jag dig ta kontakt med mig:
Anne Reath Warren *email address removed / telephone number removed*
eller min handledare docent Monica Axelsson *telephone number removed*
Hälsningar
Anne

Informed consent letter students (under 15) for parents to sign

Bästa föräldrar,   den 15 maj 2012

Jag är doktorand, verksam vid Stockholms Universitet, och jag genomför en vetenskaplig undersökning om modersmålsundervisning. Syftet är att göra en djupbeskrivning av hur modersmålsundervisning bedrivs i en skolmiljö där det finns många flerspråkiga elever. I min studie undersöker jag hur vanliga arbetsdagar och -veckor kan se ut för modersmålslärare, hur modersmålsundervisningen–organiseras i skolan och hur de flerspråkiga eleverna upplever sin användning och utveckling av modersmål i och utanför skolan. Det är min förhoppning att studien ska kunna belysa de förutsättningar för utveckling av modersmål som finns i de undersökta skolorna och kunna användas till att förbättra skolverksamheten för flerspråkiga barn och ungdomar i hela landet.

Efter ett noggrant urval har jag bestämt mig för att genomföra fältstudier på ditt barns skola under höstterminen 2012. De metoder jag kommer att använda för att samla in material är observationer av undervisningen, intervjuer med elever och lärare, enkät som besvaras av personalen och eleverna, analys av formella skoldokument samt "språkloggböcker" där vissa elever kommer att göra anteckningar kring sin användning av modersmål, svenska och andra språk.

Under undersökningen kommer jag att följa alla etiska principer om forskning som Vetenskapsrådet har antagit. Bland annat garanteras anonymiteten för elever, lärare och skolorna. Eftersom det rör sig om minderåriga måste jag inhämta vårdnadshavarnas tillstånd, något som jag gör med detta brev. Därför skulle jag vilja be dig ta ställning till min förfrågan om att ditt barn medverkar i min studie. Att medverka betyder att jag får observera eleverna under undervisningen samt genomföra intervjuer och en enkätundersökning om hur de uppfattar sin skolsituation. Några elever kommer att utför språkbruksanteckningar i form av ett språk "loggbok". Ditt barn kan när som helst avbryta sin medverkan i studien.

Om du samtycker till ditt barns deltagande ber jag dig att skriva under detta brev och skicka brevet med barnet till den ansvariga modersmålsläraren så fort som möjligt.

Om du har några frågor angående studien eller ditt barns medverkan ber jag dig ta kontakt med mig: Doktorand Anne Reath Warren *email address removed*

Hälsningar
Anne

Jag samtycker att mitt barn medverkar i studien om modersmålsundervisning, HT 2012.

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Namn på elev   _____

Underskrift   _____

Namnförtydligande   _____

Datum   _____

Interview guides Sweden

Mother tongue teachers

- Hur länge har du jobbat som modersmålslärare?
- Underviser du i andra ämne?
- Vad har du för utbildning?
- Kan du beskriva varför du valde att jobba med modermålsundervisning?
- Vilka länder har du bott och jobbat i?
- Vilka språk talar, eller förstår du?
- Vad betyder ordet modersmål för dig?
- Vad betyder ordet flerspråkigt för dig?
- Vad tycker du är de viktigaste faktorer då man pratar om att ges möjlighet att utveckla modersmålet och då menar jag då man bor i ett land där modersmålet inte är det dominanta språket.
- Vad behöver man för att bedriva modersmålsundervisning?
- Brukar du samarbetar med andra lärare ibland? (Kan du ge exempel eller beskriva hur ni har jobbat?)
- Vilken betydelse har rum/miljöer/resurser för undervisning?
- Vad har studiehandledning för betydelse för utveckling av båda språk men även kunskap?

Introductory class teachers

- Hur länge har du jobbat som lärare / fb lärare?
- Vad har du för utbildning? Vilka ämne är du lärare i?
- Hur länge har du jobbat på denna skola?
- Kan du förklara lite kring varför du valde att jobba med fb klassen?
- Vilka språk talar eller förstår du?
- Vad tycker du om böckerna/andra resurser som ni i fb klassen jobbar med?

- Förekommer språk utöver svenska i böckerna?
- Har engelska språket någon plats/betydelse hos dina elever/i klass-rummet?
- Vad har du för tankar kring ordet "flerspråkig"? "modersmål"?
- Hur ser du på modersmålsämnet?
- Hur ser samarbetet med modersmålslärare ut för din del?
- Hur fungerar studiehandledning på modersmål i din klass? Får alla elever som behöver det tillgång?
- Hur, rent praktiskt, ordnas studiehandledningen på modersmål, både att "beställa" och att genomföra?
- Hur ser du på språkanvändning hos dina elever? Vilka språk använder de då de pratar på dig? Med sina kompisar? Med andra elever i korridorerna/matsalen?

Subject teachers

- Hur länge har du jobbat som lärare?
- Vad har du för utbildning? Vilka ämnen är du lärare i?
- Hur länge har du jobbat på denna skola?
- Kan du förklara lite kring varför du valde att jobba på denna skola?
- Vilka språk talar eller förstår du?
- Vad har du för tankar kring ordet "flerspråkig"? "modersmål"?
- Vet du vilka av dina elever har modersmålsundervisning? Vet du när? Var? Vilket språk?
- Hur ser du på modersmålsämnet?
- Finns det nu eller har du haft samarbete med modersmålslärare någon gång? Antigen som ett projekt med både modersmålsämnet och ditt ämne, eller som en del i studiehandledning. Beskriv! Om inte – skulle du vilja? Hur skulle det går till?
- Vad ser du som funktionerna på studiehandledning på modersmål?
- Förekommer språk utöver svenska i textböckerna? Muntligt, under dina lektioner?
- Har engelska språket någon plats/betydelse hos dina elever/i klass-rummet?
- Hur ser du på språkanvändning hos dina elever? Vilka språk använder de då de pratar med dig? Med sina kompisar? Med andra elever i korridorerna/matsalen?

Questions for school leadership about mother tongue tuition

- Hur organiseras/implementeras MMT på x-skolan? (t.ex. angående vilka språk som erbjuds, information till eleverna och föräldrar, schemaläggningen, rum och resurserna)

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- Hur organiseras studiehandledning på modersmål på x- skolan? (extension questions: vem rekommenderar det? Vem tar beslutet?)
- Hur ser situationen ut med studiehandledningen på modersmål med eleverna som talar mindre vanliga språk?
- Vad är de största utmaningar med implementeringen av MMT och SGMT?
- Vad ser du som syftet med MMT? SGMT?
- Finns det läxhjälp på modersmål?
- Vilken är din syn på flerspråkigheten i skolan? (resurs eller hinder?)
- Vilken nytta tycker du att barnen har av sitt modersmål som vuxna?
- Vilken nytta tycker du att Sverige/svenska samhället har av språken som lärs ut i modersmålsundervisning?
- X-skolan har många flerspråkiga elever. Hur involveras eller förberedas lärare och övrigt personal i bemötandet av flerspråkiga elever?
- Vilka slags information/fortbildning angående utbildning/bemötandet av flerspråkiga elever får lärare/personal personal?
- Har du synpunkter på kvalitet på undervisningen i MMT?
- Beskriv det du tycker är det bästa sättet att lyckas med modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledning på modersmål?
- Vad krävs för att uppnå detta?
- Hur ser modersmålsundervisning ut om tio år?

Questions for municipality mother tongue unit leadership

- Lite bakgrunds information – hur kom et sig att du jobbar som biträdanderektor på x-enheten?
- Din utbildning?
- Hur många år du har jobbat här?
- Är du flerspråkig? I så fall, vilka språk talar du? Vilka språk använder du i ditt jobb?
- Jag har förstått att I år 2010 omkring, det skedde en reform av organisationen av modersmålsundervisningen. Kan du förklara varför ni ville reformera modersmålsundervisning och vilka förändringar skedde?
- Hur organisera ni modersmålsundervisning/studiehandledning på modersmål i dagsläget (om inte svaret finns redan)?
- Vad har de största förändringar varit för modersmålslärare? Eleverna?
- Vad är nätverket för kompetenshöjning?
- Vilken sorters anställningskrav har ni på modersmålslärare?
- Ordnar ni fortbildning? kompletterande studier?

- På vilket sätt ser ni på enheten till att modersmålslärare får de resurserna (t.ex. rum; white eller smartboard; pennor, böcker (på grundskolan); dator) de behöver på alla utspridda skolor de jobbar på?
- Beskriv den kontakt ni har med föräldrar; elever; modersmålslärare?
- Prissättning? Är priset på modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledning det samma?
- Hur ser situationen ut med lärare i mindre vanliga språk?
- Vad är de största utmaningar med det arbetet specialist enheten gör med modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledningen på modersmål?
- Vad ser du som syftet med MMU? SHMM?
- Vilken nytta tycker du att barnen på skolorna i x har av sitt modersmål som vuxna?
- Vilken nytta tycker du att Sverige/svenska samhället har av språken som lärs ut i modersmålsundervisning?
- Vilka slags information/fortbildning angående det svenska skolsystemet får nybörjare modersmålslärare?
- Har du synpunkter på kvalitet på undervisningen i MMT?
- Beskriv det du tycker är det bästa sättet att lyckas med modersmålsundervisning och studiehandledning på modersmål?
- Vad krävs för att uppnå detta?
- Hur ser modersmålsundervisning i x kommun ut om tio år?

Focus group discussion instructions and questions – students

Frågorna kommer att vara på olika kort som eleverna tar upp ett i taget.
Jag kommer att ge följande instruktioner(muntligt och skriftligt) till gruppen innan de sätter igång:

"Första eleven tar upp ett kort från bordet. Eleven läser frågan högt så att alla får höra. Om man inte förstår så får man fråga Anne, eller varandra. Sedan ger eleven som tog upp kortet sitt svar/sina funderingar om frågan.
Sedan går det i turordning runt gruppen så att alla får chansen att säga sitt om frågan. Om det finns intresse för vidare diskussion efter alla har svarat är det öppet för alla att säga mer. Dock ska diskussionen inte fortsätta längre än 5 minuter. (Om det finns tid efter alla frågor har diskuterats får man ta upp tidigare frågor att diskutera vidare)"

- Du går på modersmålsundervisning på skolan. Vad anser du vara ditt modersmål och varför?
- Talar du andra språk än ditt modersmål? I så fall vilka?
- Vilka ord (från vilka språk) använder du då du talar med kompisar utanför lektionstid?

- Vilka ord (från vilka språk) använder du då du är hemma med familjen?
- Vilka ord (från vilka språk) använder du då du chattar på nätet eller använder Facebook?
- Finns det regler (som du själv känner till eller har kommit på) för hur man och när man använder olika ord från olika språk?
- Då du skriver SMS – vilka ord eller språk föredrar du att använda?
- Hur tycker du att det du läser på modersmålsundervisning hjälper dig i andra skolämnen?
  (Hur skulle det kännas att INTE kunna läsa modersmålsämnet i skolan?)
- Vilka ord/språk läser du mest på (böcker, tidningar, på nätet osv.)?
- Vilka ord/språk lyssnar du mest på (t.ex. då folk pratar med dig, då du lyssnar på musik/Youtube osv.)
- Vilka språk/ord föredrar du att skriva på?
- Om du är ledsen och vill prata med någon om det, vilka språk/ord brukar du ville använda?
- Vilka ord/språk brukar du skämtar på?
- I vilket språk eller med vilka ord är det lättast att beskriva kärlek?
- I vilket språk/med vilka ord är det lättast att beskriva matte?

Information letter and informed consent documents – Australia

Information about the research projects for all participants

<u>**INFORMATION LETTER TO PARTICIPANT**</u>

TITLE OF PROJECT: Multilingual Students and Language Development

PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR: Dr. Elizabeth Ellis, University of New England. *email address and telephone number removed*

DOCTORAL STUDENT: Anne Reath Warren, Stockholm University, Sweden. *email address and telephone number removed*

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are inviting you to participate in a research project. The aim of this research is to give a detailed description of the ways in which some multilingual

students in (name of state) use their languages and the support that multilingual students have for their language development at a selection of schools in (name of state), Australia.

Why is this research being done?

This research is important as language development is a key factor in academic success for all students. While the importance of developing English language skills in Australia is well-recognized and understood, development of the mother tongue and other languages spoken by the student is not as well understood and not much research has been conducted in the classrooms or schools where this takes place.

Are there any benefits/risks involved in this research?

Describing the ways in which multilingual students use their languages and understanding how these languages are supported through schools and other learning centres will bring valuable insights into the learning processes and needs of students who speak more than one language. It is hoped that the information gathered in this research will help develop teacher education programmes which will enhance the learning conditions for multilingual students in (name of state). There are no risks involved in participating in this project.

What would you have to do?

I would appreciate the opportunity to conduct semi-structured interviews with relevant administrators at the (name of state) Department of Education, Training and Employment. Questions I will be asking these officers focus on both administrative procedures concerning the After-Hours Ethnic Schooling programmes (or Saturday Schools) in (name of state), as well as any other resources available/used to enhance the language development of multilingual students, particularly in relation to their mother tongue, in (name of state). The interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Photographs may be taken of relevant resources, but not of people.

What are the benefits of the research to your Department?

It is hoped that the results of this study, in combination with other data from my Ph.D., can help inform teaching approaches with multilingual students in (name of state).

How will your confidentiality be protected?

To protect confidentiality, all the real names of participants will be changed to pseudonyms when the research is written up; no real names will be used.

The interviews and transcripts are available only to me, the researcher and my supervisor and will be stored on password-protected data storage systems throughout the research process. During my research I will operate under all the ethical principles on research adopted by the Swedish Research Council. This includes guaranteed anonymity for all those involved or interviewed, teacher, other staff members and students alike.

Your consent

By signing the consent form you are indicating your willingness to participate in the research project as it is explained in this letter. Participation is completely voluntary, and you are free to refuse consent altogether without having to justify that decision, or to withdraw your consent after first giving it and discontinue participation in the study at any time without giving a reason.

More questions?

Any questions regarding this project should be directed to me (Anne) or my supervisor, (Dr. Ellis) at the contact details given above.

Ethics

This study follows the ethical research recommendations stipulated by Stockholm University.

Complaints about the research

If you have a complaint or concern about the conduct of this research, or if you have any query, you may write to, or contact the principal supervisor of this project, Dr. Elizabeth Ellis, (contact details above).

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated.

What do you have to do?

Please read this Information Statement carefully and be sure you understand it. If you would like to participate, please complete the attached consent form and return it to the researcher. Keep this Information Statement for your own records.

Thank you for considering this invitation and we look forward to hearing from you.

Doctoral Student: Anne Reath Warren:…………………………………….

Principal Supervisor: Dr. Elizabeth Ellis:……………………………………..

Informed consent letter students (under 18) for parents to sign

Dear parent/caregiver,   17 July 2013

I am a doctoral student at Stockholm University who is conducting research on mother tongue tuition in Sweden and Australia. The aim of my research is to give a rich description of how mother tongue tuition is organized and implemented in the chosen research sites. Questions I will be addressing include the stated and perceived role of mother tongue tuition, how is it organized in the schools and the perceptions that multilingual students have of their use and development of the mother tongue both in and out of the classroom. With the description I aim to provide and the results generated, it is also my hope that the learning opportunities multilingual students in urban Australia access to maintain and develop their mother tongue can themselves be maintained and developed.

After careful consideration, I have decided to conduct field studies at a selection of the schools operating out of Ethnic Schools (name of state), After Hours Ethnic Schooling establishments (AHES) during the latter half of 2013. My primary methods of data collection include observations of lessons, interviews with students, teachers and others involved in the implementation of mother tongue tuition, analysis of school and policy documents, student work samples and student "language logbooks" in which selected students create their own record of their personal language use.

Since the students I am interested in talking to are under 18 years old, I am required to get the consent of their parents/caregivers before they can participate, and I do that now with this letter. To participate means that I can interview your child about their language use and ask them to write a "language log book" describing their language use over two days. Your child may withdraw from the project at any stage if he/she wants.

If you give your consent to your child's participation in this project, please sign at the bottom of this letter and send it back to the teacher at the Vietnamese school with your child as soon as possible.

During my research I will operate under all the ethical principles on research adopted by the Swedish Research Council and the Australian Research Council. This includes guaranteed anonymity for all those involved or interviewed, teacher, other staff members and students alike.

If you have any questions or concerns concerning my research, feel free to contact me:

Anne Reath Warren *email address and telephone number removed* or my supervisor,
Dr. Elizabeth Ellis (University of New England) *email address and telephone number removed*

Best regards
Anne

Name of student:
…………………………………………………………………………..
Grade/class and teacher at Vietnamese school:……………………………….
Parent/Caregiver signature:…………………………………………………...
Date:…………………………………..........
Place:……………………………………….

Informed consent – generic

To whom it may concern   15th March 2013

I am a doctoral student at Stockholm University who is conducting research on mother tongue tuition in Sweden and Australia. The aim of my research is to give a rich description of how mother tongue tuition is organized and implemented in the chosen research sites. Questions I will be addressing include the stated and perceived role of mother tongue tuition and how is it organized in the schools, the perceptions that multilingual students have of their use and development of the mother tongue both in and out of the classroom and how the school results of the multilingual students who have participated regularly in mother tongue tuition compare with those of students who have not.

After careful consideration, I have decided to conduct field studies at a selection of the schools operating out of x during the latter half of 2013. I hope that my research will draw attention to and shed light on the formal learning environments in which multilingual students in urban Australia maintain and develop their mother tongue. With the description I aim to provide and the results generated, it is also my hope that the learning opportunities multilingual students in urban Australia access to maintain and develop their mother tongue can themselves be maintained and developed.

My primary methods of data collection include observations of lessons, interviews with students, teachers and others involved in the implementation of mother tongue tuition, analysis of school and policy documents, student work samples and student "language logbooks" in which selected students create their own record of their personal language use.

During my research I will operate under all the ethical principles on research adopted by the Swedish Research Council and the Australian Research

Council. This includes guaranteed anonymity for all those involved or interviewed, teacher, other staff members and students alike.

I would appreciate your formal consent to participate in this project. Participation means that you give me permission to undertake and record interviews with you. You may withdraw from the project at any time.

If you consent to this, please write your name and signature below. If you have any questions or concerns concerning my research or your role in in, feel free to contact me:

Anne Reath Warren *email address and telephone number removed*

Best regards
Anne

I hereby formally consent to participate in Anne Reath Warren's PhD research project

Signature   _____

Printed Name   _____

Date   _____

Interview guides Australia

Questions for the teachers

- How long have you been involved with/taught at VCLS?
- Which country were you born in?
- (if a country other than Aust) When did you come to Australia?
- Where did you go to school/university?
- What is your usual occupation?
- What languages do you speak/understand?
- What are the main aims or purposes of the VCLS/your lessons?
- What resources are available for learning Vietnamese at this school? Is there anything you would like to have access to which you don't?
- Can you explain to me why you decided to work for VCLS?

- Are teachers paid anything? What is your opinion on that?
- Which languages are used in the classroom by teachers and students?
- Can you describe the role that English plays in the classroom/books?
- What thoughts come to your mind when I say the word "multilingual"?
- What thoughts come to your mind when I say the word "mother tongue"?
- What advantages/disadvantages do you think there are for students in being multilingual? In going to community language schools?
- Is there any kind of collaboration between mainstream schools and Viet-school? If so describe.
- Have you ever spoken with your students' mainstream teachers about their schooling? If that opportunity existed, would you take advantage of it? Why or why not?
- Do you offer students assistance with mainstream classroom work (e.g. in maths) in Vietnamese?
- Do you know how many students take the external exam in Viet each year?
- If Vietnamese (as a mother tongue not as a foreign language) was offered as a school subject in mainstream school, what would your feelings be about that?
- What does speaking Vietnamese mean to you?

Questions for the principal

- How long have you been the principal at the Vietnamese schools?
- Your educational/professional background?
- Which languages do you speak?
- Could you please describe and explain the organization of the VCLS?
- Where and when are lessons usually held? How long are they?
- Are there examinations?
- How are the schools funded? Is there a cost involved for the parents, if so is it regulated?
- Is Vietnamese also offered as a subject (LOTE) at school (Monday–Friday school)? If so, it is Vietnamese as a mother tongue or Vietnamese as a foreign language?
- How do parents and students get information about the VCLS?
- Could you describe any cooperation or collaboration VCLS has with the actual primary or high schools that students attend Monday-Friday (e.g. if students need support in understanding subject matter in their mother tongue/help with homework)?

- What resources are available to teachers and students? (textbooks? classroom materials? Computers? Projectors? etc.) Who provides them and how is that funded?
- What qualifications do the teachers in the VCLS have?
- Is there any kind of professional development offered to the teachers? If so, who provides it and what kinds of PD is it?
- How is the quality of the education provided at your schools regulated?
- What do you see as the biggest challenges in organizing language education in Vietnamese?
- What do you consider the purpose of the VCLS?
- What are your thoughts on the word "multilingual"?
- What advantages/disadvantages do you think multilingualism brings your students at school? In society?
- What use do you think your students have for their mother tongue as adults?
- What use do you think this state/Australia has for the Vietnamese language?
- Could you describe what you personally consider to be the best and most effective way (s) to succeed with community language education? What do you need to achieve that?
- What do you think VCLS schools will be doing in 10 years?

Questions for parents

- How long have you been involved with/taught at VCLS?
- Which country were you born in?
- (if a country other than Aust) When did you come to Australia?
- What language(s) were used in your schooling?
- What is your usual occupation?
- What languages do you speak/understand?
- What do you think are the main aims or purposes of the Viet school?
- Are you/the teachers paid anything to teach at this school? What is your opinion on that?
- What is the fee for attending the Viet school?
- In what ways do parents contribute to the work of the Viet school?
- What languages do you speak with your children? (if different langs are given, ask "In which situations do you speak V? E? Both together?)
- What thoughts come to your mind when I say the word "mother tongue"?
- What thoughts come to your mind when I say the word "multilingual"?

- What do you think are the best ways to pass on your mother tongue to your children?
- What advantages/disadvantages do you think there are in being multilingual?
- What advantages will going to Viet school bring your children?
- Have you ever spoken with your children's M-F teachers about the fact that your child speaks a LOTE? If that opportunity existed, would you take advantage of it? Why or why not?
- If your child could study Viet as a mother tongue (not a foreign language) at M-F school instead of on Saturdays at Viet School, what would your feelings be about that?
- Do you ever help your children with school work (e.g. in maths) in Vietnamese?
- Can you explain to me why you decided to work for/send your children to Viet school on Saturday mornings?
- What does speaking Vietnamese mean to you?

Questions for administrators at advocacy group (state advocacy group for community languages)

- Could you tell about your job at advocacy group; what are your responsibilities etc. (see questions below as well)?
- How long have you been working at advocacy group? Is your position paid? Full-time? Other jobs?
- What brought you to this job?
- Could you please give me a brief overview of your educational/professional background?
- Could you please describe and explain the organizational framework in which the advocacy group exists– e.g. the role that department; GRC; Department of Multiculturalism etc. play.
- How is the advocacy group funded?
- How many and which languages are offered though CL schools?
- Where and when are lessons usually held?
- Is there a cost involved, if so is it regulated?
- What resources are available to teachers and students? (like textbooks, classroom materials, computers, projectors etc) Who provides them and how is that funded?
- How do multilingual parents and students get information about the CL schools?

- Is there any cooperation or collaboration with the actual primary of high schools that students attend (e.g. if they need support in understanding subject matter in their mother tongue/help with homework)?
- How is the quality of the education provided at CL schools regulated?
- What do you see as the biggest challenges in organizing CL education in this state?
- What do you consider the purpose of CL education?
- Your thoughts on the word "multilingual"?
- From your work with the teachers (and students?) at CL schools, what advantages/disadvantages do you think their multilingualism brings them at school? In society?
- What use do you think students at CL schools have for their mother tongue as adults?
- What use do you think this state/Australia has for the languages that are taught?
- Could you describe what you personally consider to be the best and most effective way (s) to succeed with CL education? What do you need to achieve that?
- What changes have you seen in the languages offered through CL schools over the years you worked with advocacy group? Has the population of speakers of some languages grown and other language populations become smaller?
- What do you think advocacy group will be doing in 10 years?

Questions for administrators at GRC (government resource centre)

- Could you please describe and explain the organizational framework in which the CL education takes place and the role of the GRC in that?
- How are the CL schools and the advocacy group funded?
- How do parents and students get information about the schools?
- Could you explain any cooperation or collaboration with the actual primary of high schools that students attend (e.g. if they need support in understanding subject matter in their mother tongue/help with homework)?
- Has GRC ever been involved in working with teachers at schools where there are students who speak LOTE, e.g. professional development, developing awareness of and strategies for teaching children who speak LOTE? If so, could you describe?
- How many and which languages are offered though CL education in this state?
- Where and when are lessons usually held?
- Is there a cost involved, if so is it regulated?
- What resources are available to teachers and students? (like textbooks, classroom materials, computers, projectors etc) Who provides them and how is that funded?
- What do you see as the biggest challenges in organizing CL education in this state?
- What do you consider the purpose of CL education?
- Your thoughts on the word "multilingual"?
- From your work with the teachers (and students?) at CL schools, what advantages/disadvantages do you think their multilingualism brings them at school? In society?
- What use do you think students at CL schools have for their mother tongue as adults?
- What use do you think this state/Australia has for the languages that are taught?
- How is the quality of the education provided at AHES regulated?
- Could you describe what you personally consider to be the best and most effective way (s) to succeed with CL education? What do you need to achieve that?
- What changes did you see in the languages offered through CL education over the years you worked there?
- What do you think CL schools will be doing in 10 years?

Questions for administrators at department (state department of education)

- In what ways can students attending primary or high school in this state maintain and develop their mother tongue?
- What do you consider to be the purpose of mother tongue tuition? (is English enough?)
- Could you explain the administration processes which govern the Commonwealth/state funds designated to CL schools? (i.e. How do the schools get this funding? What is it used for?)
- How do parents and students at (name of state) primary and high schools get information about the CL schools?
- Could you explain any cooperation or collaboration between CL and primary or high schools that students attend during the week?
- In what ways do this state's primary and high schools work together with advocacy group; e.g. professional development of teachers working with multilingual students? Meetings to discuss individual students who attend both CL and the local primary/high school?
- (background for next questions: from state education authority's website: Language subjects: The [state] Languages senior syllabuses (Authority, Extension and External) are developed for second language learners. [State] legislation does not permit differentiation of syllabuses based on language proficiency, background or heritage. The syllabuses equate to the national designation of Continuers syllabuses, i.e. syllabuses for students who commenced learning a language in the compulsory years of schooling. Approved syllabuses are available for use by students who may be first or second language learners, or background or heritage speakers).
- Could you please explain to me how these two sentences are to be understood? Are there senior syllabuses for background or heritage speakers or not in this state?
- A question regarding what has been called "cooperative examination procedures" - 245 languages are available nationwide. Can high school students in this state take external examinations provided by the VCAA _ (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority) for example, if they speak Tamil and want to use that competence in gaining a high school certificate? Can students I this state do external languages interstate?
- In what ways are the languages taught through the CL schools relevant to the Australian Curriculum?
- Your thoughts on the word "multilingual"?

- What use do you think students at CL schools have for their mother tongue as adults?
- What use do you think this state/Australia has for the languages that are taught?
- What do you see as the biggest challenges in organizing mother tongue tuition in this state?
- How is the quality of the education provided at CL schools regulated?
- From your work with the teachers (and students?) at CL schools, what advantages/disadvantages do you think their multilingualism brings them at school? In society?
- What processes/procedures are in place to support language development of children of recently arrived refugee and immigrant families who are starting school in this state?
- Could you describe what you consider to be the best and most effective way (s) to succeed with CL education? What do you need to achieve that?
- What changes did you see in the languages offered through CL schools over the years you have worked with administration/ funding?
- How many and which languages are offered though CL schools in this state?
- Where and when are lessons usually held?
- Is there a cost involved, if so is it regulated?
- What resources are available to teachers and students? Who provides them and how is that funded?

Instructions and questions for the student focus group discussions

(questions cut out and placed face down on the table)

Everyone should have the opportunity to answer all the questions in this discussion! Read the instructions carefully!

The first student picks up the card on top of the pile. Read the question aloud so that everyone can hear. If you don't understand the question, please ask Anne for clarification. The student who picked up the card answers the question first, then go round the group clockwise, letting everyone answer.

If you want to discuss one particular question further, wait until everyone has given their answer to it, then make your point. You shouldn't discuss one question for more than 5 mins though.

When discussion of the first question is over, the next student takes the second card, and the whole procedure starts over!

If there is any time left over when all the questions have been discussed and you want to raise another point about the way you use language, please do so! (the cards were arranged so that the questions about the languages that the students speak came first).

What do you consider to be your "mother tongue". Why?	Do you speak any languages apart from your mother tongue? If so, which?	Do you think that studying Vietnamese helps you in any way in other subjects you study at school? If so, how?	Which languages/words do you use when you talk with friends outside of school time?
In which language/words do you prefer to write?	If you are unhappy and want to talk or write about it to someone, which language/words would you choose to use?	How would it feel to NOT have the opportunity to study Vietnamese on Saturday mornings?	Do you think that studying Vietnamese helps you in any way in other subjects you study at school? If so, how?
Which languages/words do you use when you chat online or use Facebook etc.	In which language is it easiest to describe or do maths?	In which languages/words do you tell jokes?	Do you have any 'rules' (that you have either made up yourself or just know about) for where and with whom you use different languages/words from different languages?
Which languages / words do you hear/listen to during a normal week (e.g. people talking to you, listening to music/Youtube/ TV etc.)	In which languages/words do you read (e.g. books, newspapers, text messages, online etc)	If you were able to study Vietnamese (as a mother tongue, not a foreign language) at school, how would that feel?	When you write text messages (SMS), which language/words do you prefer to use?