LANGUAGING AND SOCIAL POSITIONING IN MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL PRACTICES

STUDIES OF SWEDEN FINNISH MIDDLE SCHOOL YEARS

Annaliina Gynne

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MÄLARDALEN UNIVERSITY
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Abstract

The overall aim of the thesis is to examine young people's languaging, including literacy practices, and its relation to meaning-making and social positioning. Framed by sociocultural and dialogical perspectives, the thesis builds upon four studies that arise from (n)ethnographic fieldwork conducted in two different settings: an institutional educational setting where bilingualism and biculturalism are core values, and social media settings.

In the empirical studies, micro-level interactions, practices mediated by languaging and literacies, social positionings and meso-level discourses as well as their intertwinedness have been explored and discussed. The data, analysed through adapted conversational and discourse analytical methods, include video and audio recordings, field notes, pedagogic materials, policy documents, photographs as well as (n)ethnographic data.

Study I illuminates the doing of linguistic-cultural ideologies and policies in everyday pedagogical practices and focuses on situated and distributed social actions as nexuses of several practices where a number of locally and nationally relevant discourses circulate. In Study II, the focus is on everyday communicative practices on the micro and meso levels and the interrelations of different linguistic varieties and modalities in the bilingual-bicultural educational setting. Study III highlights young people's languaging, including literacies, in everyday learning practices that stretch across formal and informal learning spaces. Study IV examines social positioning and identity work in informal and heteroglossic literacy practices across the offline-online continuum. Consequently, the four studies map the kinds of languaging practices young people are engaged in both inside and outside of what are labelled as bilingual school settings. Furthermore, the studies highlight the kinds of social positions they perform and are oriented towards in the course of their everyday lives.

Overall, the findings of the thesis highlight issues of bilingualism as pedagogy and practice, the (un)problematicity of multilingualism across space and time and multilingual-multimodal languaging as a premise for social positioning. Together, the studies and the thesis form a descriptive-analytical illustration of "multilingual" young people's everyday lives in and out of school in late modern societies of the global North. Overall, the thesis provides insights concerning the education and lives of a large, yet sparsely documented minority group in Sweden, i.e. the Sweden Finns.

Adelelle ja Felicialle,
pikku kielelijöille.

Till Carl, med kärlek.

Villelle, sateekaaren taa.

List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following papers, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

I   Gynne, A., Bagga-Gupta, S., & Lainio, J. (in press). *Practiced linguistic-cultural ideologies and educational policies. A case study of a "bilingual Sweden Finnish school"*. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*.

II   Gynne, A., & Bagga-Gupta, S. (2013). Young people's languaging and social positioning. *Chaining* in "bilingual" educational settings in Sweden. *Linguistics and Education* 24 (4), 479–496.

III   Gynne, A., & Bagga-Gupta, S. (2015). Languaging in the twenty-first century: exploring varieties and modalities in literacies inside and outside learning spaces. *Language and Education* 29 (6), 509–526.

IV   Gynne, A. (in press). "Janne X was here". Portraying identities and negotiating being and belonging in informal literacy practices. In Bagga-Gupta, S., Lyngvær Hansen, A. & Feilberg, J. (Eds). *Identity (Re)visited and (Re)imagined. Empirical and Theoretical Contributions across Time and Space.* Rotterdam: Springer Publishers.

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Contents

Preface

Thank you, Kiitos, Tack!

To the members of "Sweden Finnish school" and Class 5/6 C, both young people, teachers and parents. Thank you for allowing me to be part of your lives, to intrude with my presence and questions both online and offline, to "hang out". This research would not exist without you. This thesis and the studies report on a very small part of your lives – my hope is that the stories emerging here make sense to you and other readers.

During my years as a PhD Candidate, I have had the pleasure of having not one, not two, not three, but four supervisors who have guided my work. Thank you Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta, Pirjo Lahdenperä, Jarmo Lainio and Marja-Terttu Tryggvason for guiding me patiently through postgraduate education. Kiitos Jarmo for introducing me to the fields of linguistic and cultural minority studies and Sweden Finnish issues – meillä on ollut pitkä yhteinen taival. Thank you Sangeeta for inspiration and having faith in me and my ideas at times when I was not sure of them myself. It has made all the difference. Lämmin kiitos Marja-Terttu for keeping things steady when the boat seemed to rock and kiitoksia Pirjo for jumping on the boat at a rather late stage of my doctorate and helping me in keeping the steering wheel in my hands all the way until I reached the harbour. Kiitos uskosta minuun!

A number of scholars have read my work at different stages of the process. Thank you Nigel Musk, Margaret Obondo and varmt tack till Eva Sundgren for insightful and guiding comments along some of the bigger milestones during this time. My deepest lämpimät kiitokset to Mia Halonen for her thorough reading of my "final" (which was nowhere near final) draft and for inspiring and energizing comments at my final seminar. I would also like to thank John Jones, for your detailed language check. Any errors remaining in the text are my own.

Jag vill även tacka mitt akademiska hem, Akademin för utbildning, kultur och kommunikation vid Mälardalens högskola för den stimulerande och trygga arbetsmiljö jag fått tillbringa mina år som doktorand i. Alla fantastiska kollegor på Avdelningen för språk och litteratur: tack! Några särskilt varma tack vill jag rikta till Karin S för alla inspirerande samtal under "kvack-åren", till Gerrit och Håkan för både trevliga samtal och stöd när det behövts, till Olof för alla stämningshöjande inlägg kring klurigheterna inom finsk grammatik och fonologi, till Marie N för stöd och lån av sommarstuga

kauempaa. Kiitos perspektiivistä, jota annoit työlleni – ikävä on ja tulee olemaan.

Sist men inte minst, min familj. Carl, du och jag har delat livets glädje-ämnen och sorger i över femton år nu. Lika länge har du levt med mina tankar och funderingar kring identitet och språkande, både privat och akademiskt, och kanske även influerats av dem. Jag vill tacka dig för din energi, din kärlek och din stabilitet. Utan dem och ditt tålamod hade jag inte skrivit detta idag.

Adele ja Felicia, äidin pikku muruset. Teidän kanssanne voi joskus tuntua siltä, että sanat eivät riitä. Niin on nytkin. Äidin kirja on vihdoin valmis, tänä kesänä olen ihan oikeasti läsnä – siellä "Thailandissakin"! Kiitos siitä, että täytitte nämä vuodet ilolla ja elolla ja näytitte, että upeinta monikielisyydessä on siinä eläminen yhdessä teidän kanssanne.

Västerås, June 9th 2016.

Annaliina Gynne

1 Introduction

Ethnographic accounts arise not from the facts accumulated during fieldwork but from ruminating about the meanings to be derived from the experience.

(Wolcott, 2008:13)

1.1 Entering the field – linguistic negotiations in situ

It is a crispy Monday morning in late January 2010, the start of yet another school week and the second day of what was to become a 20-month long period of ethnographic fieldwork at a formally bilingual-bicultural Swedish-Finnish school and among the young people who attended the school at the time. I have arrived here by public transport, a trip with complications, which has caused my missing the first lesson of the day. I am late for school! I have, however, notified the teacher who is my gatekeeper and contact at this point. When I rush into the school premises, a stream of students of different ages between 7 and 15 is just moving in through the doors after having spent the break out in the yard. I join the stream and enter the building together with some of the Class 5 C students that I am to follow these coming 20 months. The young people do not really know me yet, my position is still that of a stranger's – and they are nearly as unfamiliar to me, as I am still trying to remember their names, all 16 of them.

During those first few days of fieldwork, my mind was filled with questions dealing with what I assumed were bilingual young people's uses of both oral and written language in their everyday lives. How, when, with whom, why, what would they read and write? In what language varieties would their interaction take place in different settings? Their identities then, how would they engage in constructing them? By the end of my fieldwork, I would have found out more about my initial interests, but also discovered that these questions were both deepened and replaced by others, more analytical ones. Apart from answers to (some of) my questions, I learned much more than the names of students in Class 5 C (that would become Class 6 C) – large parts of their daily routines, social media practices, life stories and other ways-of-being.

But let us return to that January morning for a little while. Outside the classroom, coats, hats, gloves and shoes are hung in lockers in what appears to be an organised chaos, consisting of talk, teasing and laughter in both Swedish and Finnish. By now, even the most tired students are wide awake. Two of the girls listen to music from a mobile phone while sharing a headset, one earphone in each girl's ear. Some of the boys have gathered around a peer who is watching YouTube videos from his mobile phone screen. Soon, a male substitute teacher greets the students at the classroom door, where a lesson plan, written in Swedish, is displayed and signals a Social Science lesson. Upon entering the classroom, I greet the teacher, take off my coat and hat and choose a seat at the back of the room, a seat that would become "mine" over the course of my visits at the school. While the remaining students find their seats, still moving in and around the classroom in a mix of Swedish-Finnish chatter, I pick up my notebook. The lesson is about to start and it is supposed to deal with the Middle Ages, the teacher announces. However, the first ten minutes are spent discussing an upcoming test and the linguistic choices in it.

> Lektionen börjar med en diskussion om ändrade rutiner när klassens egen lärare kommer tillbaka veckan efter, och tar över undervisningen från denna vikarie. Eleverna ställer många frågor om provet som ska anordnas senare samma vecka. Framför allt vill de veta vilket språk svaren och frågorna ska vara. Lärarens utgångspunkt verkar vara att provet är på finska, men svaren får skrivas på svenska och på finska. Denna lösning verkar inte duga för eleverna; efter en lång diskussion och protester från flera olika elever genomförs en omröstning (handuppräckning), vars resultat leder till konsensus: båda språken används i både frågor och svar.

> (Field notes in Swedish, Jan 25, 2010)

As my field notes, this time written in Swedish, show, the lesson starts with a discussion concerning new routines the following week, when the regular History teacher is planning to come back and take over teaching from the substitute teacher. More importantly, students ask a lot of questions concerning a test that is to be taken later the same week. Above anything else, they want to know in which language the questions and answers are going to be. The teacher replies that he thinks the test is in Finnish, but that the answers may be written in Swedish and Finnish. This solution does not seem to satisfy the students: after a long discussion and protests from several students, the class votes on the issue of language choice by raising their hands. The result of the vote leads to an agreement; the teacher and the students agree that both languages can be used in both test questions and the answers. Many months later, I, no longer an unfamiliar face among the participants, would have recorded experiences of numerous occasions of similar negotiations; those concerning what linguistic variety to employ in different school prac-

tices involving literacy. These *strategic negotiations of bilingualism*, viewed especially from the perspective of the institutional educational setting, are one of the interests of this thesis.

Consequently, and contrary to the above example, I witnessed just as many occasions where no negotiation of language and what variety to use was needed in either formal learning tasks or social interactions beyond the institutional agenda. The school's official language varieties, Finnish and Swedish, along with other varieties, were employed flexibly and fluidly in everyday interactions, without participants' problematising or even acknowledging which variety was at play. This is exemplified by a short extract of interaction from a lesson that dealt with recycling and renewable natural resources. Janne and Klara[1], two students in the class, were however still discussing ideas from their previous lesson in Religion.

1	Klara	jag är inte kristen[2]
		I'm not a Christian
2	Janne	*mitä etsä oo kristitty ootsä muslimi*
		what aren't you a Christian are you a Muslim
3	Klara	nej jag tror bara inte på gud
		no I just don't believe in God

(Audio recording, Dec 15, 2010)

Klara's Swedish-variety statement of not being a Christian is met by surprise, when Janne wonders in Finnish whether her not being a Christian implies being a Muslim instead. Klara then answers, using Swedish, that she just does not believe in God. This quiet exchange occurs between class mates sitting next to each other at the same time as the teacher focuses on the formal teaching agenda first in Finnish, then in Swedish, framed within the subject of Natural Sciences. The interactions in the class illustrate the parallelism of both institutional and social *languaging* (highlighting the notion of language as "doing", "action", or "activity", and describing language in terms of a dynamic set of interconnecting language practices, cf. Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Linell, 2009; Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2014), and the smooth flow of "multilingual" interactions in these practices. This is what this thesis calls the *(un)problematicity of multilingualism*.

Finally, a third vignette is offered here as an illustration of the variety of identity work in which the young people engage in, in different settings. It highlights one popular spare-time activity among the young people at the time of the study: spending time and interacting on social media sites, such as Facebook. In April 2011, Anna, one of the girls in "Class 5/6 C", is pre-

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[1] All names of students and school staff appearing in this thesis, as well as the name of the school, are pseudonyms.

[2] In this transcription, plain text in original is Swedish and *italics* Finnish. My translations into English are below the original utterances. For a full transcription key, see Appendix E.

paring for a test in her Spanish class in the school. In what seems to be a frustrated outburst, she posts a status update on her Facebook site, writing "jäkla spanska prov!!" [Sw: "darn Spanish test!!"]. A few hours later, one of her big brothers responds with an encouraging "tu puedes hermanita!" [Sp: "you can do it sister!"]. Right after her status update concerning the Spanish test, Anna also posts a photo update. It depicts a cartoon image of a man standing in front of a woman who is sitting by a computer, saying "Jag är dyslektiker!" [Sw: "I am dyslexic!"]. The woman replies to the man: "Ohc?" ["Adn?"], the "and?" apparently intentionally misspelled (see Figure 1), thus highlighting being dyslexic as rather irrelevant or unproblematic.
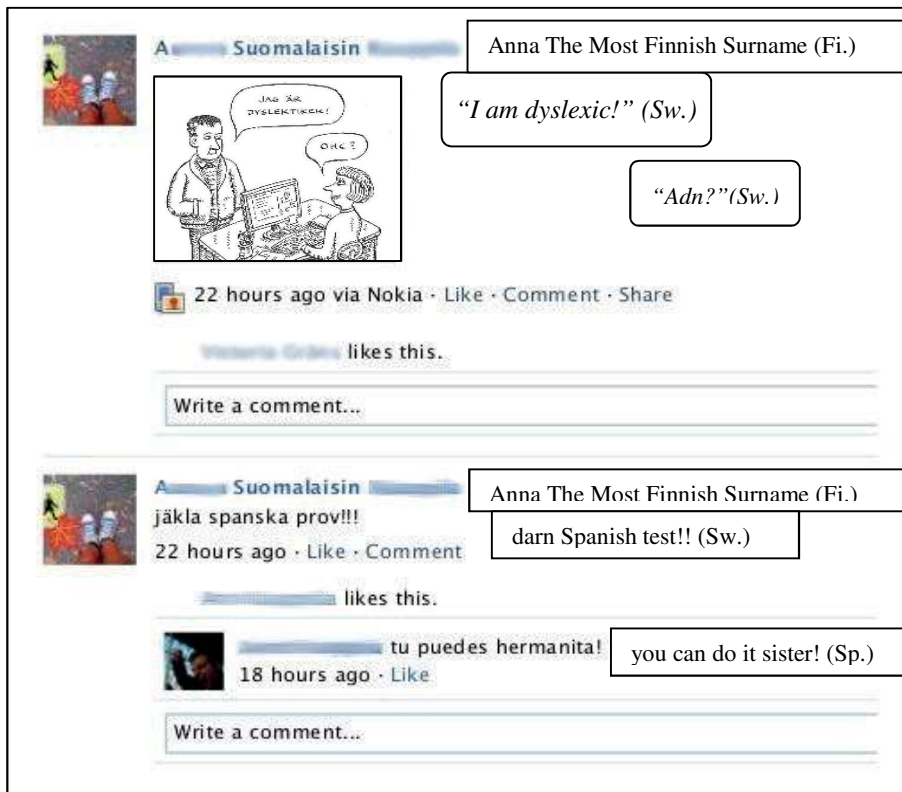
Figure 1. Anna's status updates on Facebook in April 2011.

The (inter)actions illustrated in Figure 1 can be interpreted from a perspective that highlights *languaging as a premise for social positioning*, which is also a key area of interest for this thesis. Anna's and other participants' engagements both in and out of social media, whether they took place on Facebook, blogs or Youtube, often indicated a high degree of heteroglossic and multisemiotic interactions, where the co-play of different linguistic varieties, texts, moving and still images, music and so on was fundamental for meaning-making and performing and highlighting different identity positions. In

the above example, first, Anna employs both writing in the Swedish variety and a cartoon image for communicating her frustration of dealing with (in this case, Spanish language) school tasks when affected by dyslexia – which she discussed with me privately in the classroom. Second, her chosen Facebook alias illustrates aspects of identity that highlight belonging to a specific national culture. Anna's adopted alias "Anna Suomalaisin Sukunimi" ["Anna The Most Finnish Surname"] emphasises portraying herself as "the most Finnish" (in relation to "what" being somewhat unclear). Third, Anna's brother's response to her frustrated update concerning the Spanish test highlights further aspects of Anna's linguistic self as a learner of Spanish. Potentially, it also emphasises multilingual family ties, as in an interview during the fieldwork pertaining to this thesis, Anna explicated her choice of wanting to learn Spanish as a way of getting closer to her family's Brazilian roots (in the absence of Portuguese lessons at school).

1.2 Some societal, academic and personal points of departure

The nature of multiculturalism and supposedly consequent multilingualism in late modern Northern societies has been the subject of many contemporary debates, political and academic as well as popular. In present-day Sweden, with its traditional self-image strongly affected by ideas of uniformity and homogeneity (Sjögren, 1997; Lahdenperä, 2000), the emergence of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversities has commonly (and questionably) been seen as a recent phenomenon, the result of migration movements of late modern times[3]. This *ethnolinguistic assumption* (Blommaert et. al., 2012:2), aligning language use with ethnic or cultural group identity in a linear monolingual-monocultural relationship, has lived a long life in a variety of versions, but has also received criticism particularly within sociolinguistic inquiry during the last two to three decades. This criticism, in turn, has given rise to enquiries addressing both the supposed transformation and heterogenisation of society at large, as well as changes in the identifications of groups and individuals at local and personal levels (e.g. Nordgren, 2006). Moreover, some critical voices have pointed out that multiculturalism and multilingualism are not just recent phenomena in e.g. Swedish society, but essential, yet often concealed historical facts (Lainio, 1996; Lidskog & Deniz, 2009). In general, it has been established that multiculturalism as well as multilingual-

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[3] See also Wingstedt (1998) for empirically based analyses concerning the co-existence of double linguistic ideologies in Sweden; the monolingualist, ethnocentric and assimilatory – and the pluralistic, tolerant and "official".

ism as societal phenomena are as old as civilisation itself – thus overpassing the idea of nation states.

The above-mentioned debates, and those focusing on equity and equality in formal education within what in Sweden has been labelled as "a school for all" (Lgr 80), form a wider societal framework for this thesis. In addition, its foci are based on scholarly interests dealing with so-called multilingual education, young people's participation, identification processes and agency in society, multilingualism as a collective societal phenomenon as well as human beings' languaging, including literacies (see e.g. Bagga-Gupta, 2014a; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Linell, 2009) in different contexts. From a more personal point of view, the present thesis is driven by an interest towards languaging and identity issues in general and a curiosity concerning what is labelled the Sweden Finnish minority specifically. Consequently, the research project "Doing Identity in and through Multilingual Literacy practices" (DIMuL, 2009-2016), was established in order to provide a framework for this thesis and the studies that constitute it. DIMuL was envisioned as a collaboration among junior and senior scholars who share interests in issues such as languaging, meaning-making, learning, identities and everyday practices within the framework of so-called linguistic and cultural minorities. Within the project framework, shared and individual activities have stretched from symposia and conference papers to published articles. This thesis and the published studies it builds upon, should be considered an independent work within the DIMuL research project[4].

Apart from the above points of departure, the research presented in this thesis can be characterised as multi-scalar and interdisciplinary – supported and integrated in the turns towards postmodernism, social constructionism and adhering to discourses across the social sciences, educational studies and linguistics (cf. Tusting & Maybin, 2007). Interdisciplinarity is reflected in both the theoretical and methodological scopes as well as empirical analyses presented in this thesis. It can be positioned within traditions of educational/classroom research and sociolinguistics including literacy studies, but also within studies focusing on the everyday lives of adolescents.

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[4] This thesis is also a part of two other research platforms, the Swedish national research school LIMCUL, "Young People's Literacies, Multilingualism and Cultural Practices in Everyday Society"(www.ju.se/ccd/limcul)s funded by the Swedish Research Council (project nr. 2007-26107-54848-66, Pl Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta; 2008-2015). It focused upon issues of culture, diversity, language (including multilingualism and new literacies), and identities (social, cultural, categorical and intersectional) inside and outside school arenas. The DIMuL project and the thesis are also associated with the CCD, "Communication, Culture and Diversity", (www.ju.se/ccd) interdisciplinary research group at Jönköping University and Örebro Univesity. Reseach in DIMuL is related to the on-going research and the theoretical-methodological work at CCD where issues of learning, identity and communication in diverse settings are central.

In a special issue of the Modern Language Journal, that focuses upon a multilingual approach in the study of multilingualism in school contexts, Cenoz and Gorter (2011) discuss the increasing need of studies that i) illustrate aspects of multilingual education in various geographical contexts, ii) direct attention to the interaction between languages and other modalities, iii) focus on out-of-school multilingual and multimodal practices, and iv) provide insights for developing teaching practices based on what they call "spontaneous multilingual practices" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011:444-445).

The research presented in this thesis is an attempt to provide insights into the following areas. First, it focuses on a fraction of so-called bilingual schooling in the geopolitical space of Sweden, the (educational) self-image of which has for long been monolingual and monocultural – but which has, on the other hand, recently acknowledged a cultural diversification within all sectors of society, including formal education. Second, the analyses in the four studies that form the backbone of this thesis are an attempt to focus attention to languaging practices of human beings in ways in which the interconnectedness of different linguistic varieties and modalities become central. Third, the research presented in this thesis strives to direct its analytical lens towards practices that override some traditional dichotomies (in/out-of-school, offline/online, formal/informal) and operate on several different scales (what have traditionally been called micro-meso-macro). Fourth and finally, the findings of this research can hopefully offer insights concerning the everyday lives of so-called multilingual youth and provide inspiration and means for developing pedagogies that better take students "multilingual-multimodal" resources, everyday practices, agency and identity positionings into consideration.

1.3 Purpose and objectives of the study

The overall aim of the thesis is to examine young people's languaging, including literacy practices, and its relation to meaning-making and identity work in different settings. In the thesis, micro-level interactions, mediated languaging practices (including literacies), social positions and meso-level discourses and policies as well as macro-level ideologies are explored and discussed in order to contribute to the knowledge base concerning the lives of so-called multilingual young people in late modern societies of the global North. The two focused settings include a formal educational setting where bilingualism and biculturalism are core values, and social media settings that have relevance to people's lives both locally and globally. Of these, the former is given a more prominent role in the thesis.

1.3.1 Research questions

Based on the overarching aim, the following issues are examined more specifically in this thesis:

A. How are the linguistic-cultural ideologies and educational policies in the focused "bilingual-bicultural" educational setting constituted by and through everyday interactions and discourses?
B. What kinds of communicative practices do "multilingual" young people engage with in the course of their everyday lives inside and outside educational settings and in what patterned ways are literacy, oracy, and other semiotic resources interrelated in these practices across time and space?
C. In what ways do young people's social positionings, agency and identity work, become salient as they emerge in and through languaging, including literacy practices?

The specific aims and research questions of the four studies that this thesis builds upon are subordinated to these issues. Furthermore, the four studies that constitute the backbone of the thesis are interconnected and have the following foci (the studies will be further summarised and described in Chapter 6):

Study I illuminates the doing of linguistic-cultural ideologies and policies in everyday pedagogical practices within a formal bilingual-bicultural school setting. It focuses on situated and distributed social actions as nexuses of practices where a range of locally and nationally relevant discourses circulate.

In Study II, the focus is on everyday communicative practices at the micro and meso levels and the interrelations of different linguistic varieties and modalities in the educational setting of the project. The chaining of linguistic and other semiotic resources and chaining as a practice are presented as the main analytic findings.

Study III highlights young people's languaging, including literacies, in everyday learning practices that stretch across formal and informal learning spaces. It focuses on knowledge production in academic "writing" genres and young people's agency in relation to educational goals.

Study IV examines social positioning and identity work in informal literacy practices across the offline-online continuum. Issues of being and belonging are highlighted here through a heteroglossic and multimodal analysis of languaging in different "writing spaces".

While focusing on different aspects of everyday life across time and space and in both in-school and out-of-school environments, an attempt is made in the thesis to describe, interpret and provide insights into processes that make up languaging, meaning-making and identity work with the above research

questions as points of departure. As one zooms in and out of the studies, a movement within and between different scales becomes relevant. Separately, the individual studies focus on micro-interaction and meso/macro scales of human practices and discourses, but together they form an illustration of some "multilingual" young people's everyday lives in postnational societies of the global North.

1.3.2 Disposition of the thesis

The thesis consists of two parts. The first part includes the introduction, and provides a space for elaboration of theories, the research setting and methodological approaches as well as a summary and discussion of the studies. The second part consists of the four studies that frame the research discussed here. Part I of the thesis comprises of the following chapters:

Chapter 1 presents the introduction, focuses the objectives and aims of the research and presents the overarching research questions that the thesis addresses. In Chapter 2, the wider research context and background issues are presented. Here, a brief description of formal education in the geopolitical space of Sweden, together with an outline of historical and present educational conditions for the cultural and linguistic minority of Sweden Finns are presented.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical foundations of the thesis. Relevant theoretical concepts stemming from sociocultural theory and dialogism are introduced and discussed, together with themes relating to a social view of language, literacies and identities. This chapter ends with a review of previous studies of relevance for the thesis.

Chapter 4 discusses the positioning of the thesis within the ethnographic tradition. It also presents the details of conducting fieldwork and performing analyses of several different data sets created through linguistic ethnography. The chapter ends with a reflection on ethical issues related to ethnographic research conducted among young people. This is followed by Chapter 5, where the local setting of the thesis as well as participants of the research are introduced, providing a contextualisation for the present research.

The final chapter of Part I, Chapter 6, provides first of all summaries of the four studies in the thesis. Thereafter, a discussion of the aims, key findings and the implications of the thesis as a whole is offered. Future research implications conclude Part I.

Part II presents the four empirical studies in their entirety.

2 Research context and background issues

> *I see schools, as concepts and real places with real people, as social arenas where the interplay of the rules and values of society are learned. This includes, of course, also language. The arena of education has a special role for Finnish speakers in Sweden and schools have functioned as battle grounds for the political rights for Finns in Sweden as well.*
>
> *(Weckström, 2008: 85)*

2.1 Formal education in Sweden

The Swedish school system is regulated through the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) which contains basic principles and provisions for compulsory and further education, pre-school, pre-school year, out-of-school care and adult education. Formally, this recently revised Education Act is said to promote greater oversight, freedom of choice and student safety and security. The Swedish curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the recreation centre (Lgr 11) states the following concerning the fundamental values and tasks of the schooling system:

> The task of the school is to promote learning by stimulating the individual to acquire and develop knowledge and values. In partnership with the home, the school should promote the all-round personal development of pupils into active, creative, competent and responsible individuals and citizens. […] In a deeper sense education and upbringing involve developing and passing on a cultural heritage – values, traditions, language, knowledge – from one generation to the next. (Swedish National Agency for Education 2011a:11)

> Language, learning, and the development of a personal identity are all closely related. By providing a wealth of opportunities for discussion, reading and writing, all pupils should be able to develop their ability to communicate and thus enhance confidence in their own language abilities. (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a:11)

The Swedish educational system is based on the principle that school attendance is compulsory and free of charge for all children who live in Sweden. The compulsory school is composed of nine school years and each school year consists of an autumn and spring term. Children are required to attend school, starting in the autumn term during the year they turn 7, and the compulsory school attendance ends in the spring term of the 9th school year (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011c).

2.1.1 Independent schools within the Swedish school system

A major change in Swedish educational policy took place as a result of reforms that were initiated in the 1970s and implemented during the late 1980s and early 1990s. This marked a transfer of state responsibilities for education to the local, municipal level from 1991 onwards (Lainio, 2015). As an effect of the reforms, the educational system in Sweden went from being one of the world's most unified and centralised to one with a high level of freedom of choice (Lundahl, 2002; Trumberg, 2011). Today, the vast majority of schools in Sweden are municipally run, which means that the municipality is the authority responsible for the school. Apart from municipal schools, since the reform of 1991, a number of independent schools have appeared (and disappeared) on the Swedish educational field, offering a broad range of educational choices in terms of profiles, aims and pedagogic methods. Independent schools are mainly run by parents, school staff and foundations consisting of these actors, and recently, also by companies that are profit-oriented. They are funded by municipalities through a voucher system and their funding is estimated according to the average cost per pupil in public schools – this is based on the number of pupils that are enrolled each academic year (Lainio, 2001b). Today, independent schools are open to all children and must be approved by the National Agency for Education. According to the Education Act, independent schools must follow the national curriculum (see above) and teaching in them must be based on objectives that are similar to those in municipal schools. They can, however, have an orientation that differs from that of municipal schools or denominational schools (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2015).

The number of independent compulsory schools in Sweden has more than doubled during the last 15 years. It was 741 during the academic year 2010/11, when major parts of the data creation took place in the project DIMuL. According to the latest available statistics, the number of independent compulsory schools had risen during the academic year 2015/16 to 827 schools. These constitute 17 % of all compulsory schools in Sweden. In 2010/11, 13 % of children who attended schools in Sweden were students in independent schools, as opposed to 87 % in municipal schools. In 2015/16, the figures were 15 % in independent schools and 85 % in municipal schools

(Swedish National Agency for Education, 2016). Critical research concerning Swedish choice-of-school policies (cf. Bunar, 2010; Trumberg, 2011), and OECD reports suggest that the freedom of choice in the educational sector has increased socioeconomic and ethnic segregation within both the educational system as a whole and in local settings like in bigger cities. In some ways, this can be seen to be related to the general urbanisation of Swedish society, which is illustrated by the fact that in 2011, 22 % of pupils in major cities attended an independent compulsory school: this is almost twice as much as compared to the share of pupils in independent school in the national average (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011b).

The great majority of independent compulsory schools in Sweden have a so-called "general orientation" (Sw. "allmän inriktning"), which also includes schools with particular profiles such as linguistic, pedagogic or subject matter profiles (Swedish Association of Independent Schools, 2015). Among these, and at the time of the fieldwork in project DIMuL during 2010-2011, seven schools offered what is formally labelled as bilingual Swedish-Finnish programmes, for approximately 1 000 students. The DIMuL project school is one of these (see also Chapter 5).

Sweden has witnessed an intensive societal debate concerning the "to be or not to be" and the benefits and shortcomings of independent schools during the last couple of decades. Here it should be noted that the aim of this thesis is not to contribute to the argumentation of either of the sides in this highly ideological and politicised debate (see e.g. Magnússon, 2015). Instead, the thesis highlights some aspects of the everyday lives of members, students and teachers of one of the independent schools, the existence of which has been central in the education of individuals who pay allegiance to the "Sweden Finnish linguistic minority" community.

2.1.2 Education of Sweden Finns as a cultural-linguistic minority

As noted above, the curriculum for the compulsory school aims to support the transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to the next. It does not, however, explicitly state which cultural heritage(s) this intention is directed towards. The Swedish Education Act (SFS 2010:800) establishes the right of students with foreign or minority backgrounds to receive education in the subjects "Mother tongue tuition" ("modersmålsundervisning") and "Swedish as a second language" ("svenska som andraspråk"). Furthermore, for the users of the five national minority languages (Finnish, Meänkieli ["Torne Valley Finnish"], Romani, Yiddish and Sami), this right receives a slightly better support – at least in a formal sense – by the Language Act (SFS 2009:600). In an overview of Swedish research on multilingualism, Hyltenstam et al. (2012) present socio-political, socio-cultural, ideological and pedagogical aspects related to e.g. mother tongue instruction and bilin-

gual instruction in Sweden[5]. Part I of the overview discusses the challenges and paradoxes of great political ambitions (as represented by the wording of the curriculum) and poor practical implementation concerning mother tongue instruction (particularly historically). On a more positive note, Hyltenstam and Milani (2012:74) highlight the (unexploited) potentials of mother tongue instruction for the creation of qualified bilingualism at a societal level.

The quotation presented at the beginning of this chapter is borrowed from Weckström's PhD dissertation (2008) that focuses upon the representations of Finnishness in Sweden. It illustrates some aspects of the importance of schooling for the group that is labelled as Sweden Finns. In both international and national research concerning cultural and linguistic minorities, it has often been stated that the field of education plays a central role for both linguistic, cultural and identity development and maintenance for minorities. García (2009:12) claims that while both states and particular ethnolinguistic groups may collectively benefit from bilingual education, the value of this kind of education can be grasped even more generally in societies. She argues for *transformative* school practices, contributing to the education of all children in ways that "stimulate and expand their intellect and imagination, as they gain ways of expression and access different ways of being in the world" (2009:12). I will return to some examples of these kinds of practices in Chapters 3 and 6.

In the Swedish educational system, there is no official curriculum concerning the organisation of bilingual education. Both official curricula that had an effect on the DIMuL project school setting during the fieldwork phase, i.e. LPO 94, and the curriculum that is currently valid, i.e. LGR 11, include formulations (see 2.1) that can be interpreted in terms of pupils having the right to develop and strengthen the languages they have knowledge of at the beginning of their education. However, in terms of individuals belonging to national minorities, no specific rights or obligations are stipulated for getting acquainted with one's minority background or language (through e.g. mother tongue instruction) in the curricula (Lainio et al., 2012:42). The Language Act (SFS 2009:600, 14 §) points out, however, that "persons belonging to a national minority are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use the minority language".

The Swedish Independent School Reform of 1992, supported by free school choice, enabled the establishment and maintenance of independent schools for different minorities in Sweden. For linguistic-cultural minorities such as the Sweden Finnish group, this opened up possibilities for establishing educational institutions that support the bilingualism and biculturalism of the minority (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Prior to the early 1990s, most

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[5] Parts I and III in this overview, by Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) and Axelsson and Magnusson (2012), in particular, constitute important frameworks for this thesis.

children of "Sweden Finnish backgrounds" participated in what was at the time called home language tuition, provided by municipal schools – an organisation that was poorly implemented and dependent on the willingness of municipal bureaucrats' "good will" as well as sufficient numbers of minority pupils in the schools (Lahdenperä, 2014; Lainio, 2001b; Tuomela, 2001). Critical voices, e.g. Huss (2003), Kangassalo (2003), Lainio (2001a, 2004) and Municio (1987, 1996), have described the deterioration of the thus-far existent infrastructure of mother tongue instruction at the turn of the decade (1980/90) and have pointed to the discrepancies between political aspirations and practical implementations within the educational system. Given the diminishing opportunities for receiving high-quality bilingual tuition within the regular educational system, the role of Swedish-Finnish independent schools has been significant for the minority; indeed from the perspective of revitalisation of Sweden Finnish language and culture its role has been very important (Huss, 2003; Lainio 2001a, 2015). However, the two-and-a-half-decade long existence of independent bilingual Sweden Finnish schools in the geopolitical spaces of Sweden has experienced different phases, characterised by bouts of enthusiasm and desolation for its advocates. In the mid-1990s, the number of independent schools that offer bilingual instruction in Finnish and Swedish was 14; today (2016) only six of them are in existence.

In the Swedish context, school-supported bilingualism or multilingualism that aims to preserve the linguistic rights of minorities or maintain linguistic diversity in society is a fairly recent phenomenon. Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) note that the political agenda of the 1970s was ideologically oriented towards pluralism, progressivism and internationalism, which also allowed for the establishment of "home language tuition" and later mother tongue tuition. The 1990s saw a dismantling of these systems, but at least formally, further steps towards improved bilingual-bicultural educational possibilities for linguistic and cultural minorities were taken in 2000, when Sweden ratified the Council of Europe's two main documents, The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (Lainio, 2004; SÖ 2000:2). These agreements function as a formal support for providing societal conditions in which linguistic and cultural minorities have a chance to establish and run their own educational institutions, given that they follow the national curriculum and syllabi.

From the perspective of national policies it can be noted that in 2008, the Swedish government decided that education in the national minority languages (lessons in comprehensive school and in upper secondary school) is at par with the education offered in the mother tongue of Swedish. This means that any municipality, in which a pupil speaking one of the five minority languages lives, has to, under certain conditions, arrange lessons in the minority language in question. Moreover, the minority language is not required to be in everyday usage in the pupil's home. The municipality also

has to offer education even though there is only one pupil who wishes to be tutored. These governmental decisions were made in order to fulfil the demands of the above mentioned European Charter and Framework Convention (SÖ 2000:3). Despite these aspirations, The Council of Europe's Advisory committee on the Framework convention for the protection of national minorities has noted that there is a clear demand for bilingual education among Sweden's national minorities and that the independent schools have played a central role in e.g. offering education in Finnish as a minority language. Thus, in 2008, the Committee of Experts advised Sweden to both support initiatives within bilingual education and consider introducing obligatory statutes for the municipalities to arrange bilingual education for those who applied for it.

The above mentioned aspects of historical and current, national and international, ideological and political issues make the study of bilingual-bicultural education for the Finnish-origin population in Sweden an interesting endeavour. The "Sweden Finnish minority" in the geopolitical space of Sweden is estimated to be approximately $712,000$ people constituted of three generations of Finnish descent (SCB, 2013). Of these, approximately $200–250,000$ are estimated speakers of Finnish (RUAB, 2005). It has been argued that many municipalities have played a significant role in weakening the support for Sweden Finnish within the educational system, which in turn has speeded up the language shift among the members of the minority (cf. Lainio, 2001b). However, recent changes in national policy (e.g. giving Sweden Finnish an official minority language status and offering municipal services in Finnish particularly within the Administrative area for Finnish) have entailed some shifts towards a more positive direction. Moreover, in a more recent, comparative international study of minority school leadership in Sweden, Finland and Spain, Lahdenperä (2014) highlights the crucial role of minority school principals for the promotion of bilingual and multicultural schools in society. The study serves as an illustrative example of the exposure and even vulnerability of minority schools in majority societies.

The Swedish Schools Inspectorate, an authority responsible for monitoring and scrutinizing schools, concludes in a relatively recent report that the independent schools seem to be better equipped and suited for creating a base for active bilingualism as compared to the municipal schools (Swedish Schools Inspectorate, 2012:2). Lainio et al (2012:54) discuss the extensive language shift that has taken place within the Sweden Finnish community. Here homes and private spheres are reported as the strongest remaining domains of Finnish language use. On the other hand, they also note that from the perspective of the Finnish-speaking youth, the Sweden Finnish independent schools constitute "the utmost bilingual sanctuary" for the use of their bilingual resources.

3 Theoretical paths and previous research

The challenge of negotiating across multiple languages, cultures and identities is a very real one in classrooms all over the world, one not to be lightly dismissed. Yet, on the whole, educational policy and practice continues blithely to disregard the presence of multiple languages, cultures and identities in today's classrooms.

(Hornberger, 2003a: 330)

In this chapter, first of all, two postmodernist orientations are introduced as a background to the theoretical perspectives central to this thesis. Thereafter, the key theoretical elements of the thesis, a sociocultural approach and dialogism, are discussed in the light of their epistemologies. In the latter part of the chapter, a social view of language, represented by the concept of languaging, is offered as a main theme to which issues of literacies, identity studies and previous studies within the fields of bi- and multilingual studies are connected.

3.1 A postmodernist-poststructuralist view of the world

Bauman (1973, 1992, 2000) has written extensively about the foundation of postmodernist thinking since the 1970s. In these texts, he has discussed the conditions of postmodernity in a sense that has relevance for the theoretical canvas of the present thesis. What I would particularly like to highlight here, are the premises of our being as understood in a postmodern mind-set. Bauman (1992: 189) formulates this in the following manner: "Our social condition is kaleidoscopic, and is the outcome of lots of very varied and momentary interactions", and furthermore: "Plurality, variety, contingency and ambivalence aren't just deviant – they're fundamental to our social condition" (p. 187). While not postmodernist in a strict sense, the present thesis is embedded in a scholarly tradition which believes that the realities humans experience are socially and culturally constructed and as such variable; they are

dependent on kaleidoscopic contexts conditioned by time and space (see e.g. Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Potter, 1996). Our life worlds[6], plural and relative, are not only social constructs, but our experience of them is also socially and culturally mediated through communicative, discursive practices. As opposed to cognitivist, modernist and structuralist perspectives which emphasize static categories of knowing and the known, this postmodernist perspective focuses on relations and interdependence between people and realities. It also aims at deconstructing assumptions and knowledge systems that were formerly considered stable and static.

Critical theories of education, on the other hand, question the ways in which power works through discursive practices and performances of schooling. They furthermore discuss the impact of social conditions and historical relations in which schooling is positioned (Popkewitz, 1999). They are thus related to sociohistorical and sociocultural theories which will be discussed in the next section. Both poststructuralist and critical theories on learning and multilingualism take a point of departure in human beings' embeddedness in larger, social, political, economic and cultural systems, which reflect, interplay and are (re)created by their linguistic practices. Inspired by these perspectives, the thesis draws on sociocultural theory and postmodern constructivist theories in which the locus of knowledge is based on social interaction (Prawat, 1996) and humans interacting with mental and material tools. Furthermore, dialogism comprises an important epistemological and ontological viewpoint in the thesis.

3.1.1 Sociocultural theories – our mediated minds and worlds

A sociocultural approach, originating from the theories of the Soviet psychologist and literary scholar L.S. Vygotsky (1962/1986, 1978) and further developed by Wertsch (1991) and Säljö (2000, 2005), among others, constitutes the main theoretical framework this thesis draws upon. The sociocultural approach has been extensively employed in many disciplines and disciplinary strands, including education, linguistics and literacy studies. In this section, an overview of this theoretical framework and some of its key concepts are introduced.

Sociocultural theory draws heavily on the notion of the social origins of human mental functioning and learning. This idea highlights the fact that any individual features of human beings' development are first and foremost socially derived and that interaction with other human beings is essential for

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[6] The concept of life-world originates from the German philosopher and phenomenologist Edmund Husserl's thinking and was further developed by Schutz (1962). My rationale and understanding of life worlds amounts to resituating the concept within the space of communicative practices, thus focusing on the humans' praxis-oriented activities and configurations of language (cf. Schrag, 1991:133).

these (Vygotsky, 1978). Another key idea in sociocultural theory is the notion of *mediation* as fundamentally transformative for human action, altering "the entire flow and structure of mental functioning" (Vygotsky, 1981:137). Wertsch (1991), in particular, has developed this line of thought and suggests a reconsideration of the functioning of human mind in and through action that employs mediational means such as tools and language, which in this circumstance can be defined as *socially agreed upon, variable and changing structural systems of linguistic signs*. "Individuals-acting-with-mediational-means" (Wertsch, 1991: 12) are therefore considered the core interest and starting point for many socioculturally oriented studies, including the present thesis.

The overarching theoretical framework that contributes to the thesis is thus influenced by epistemologies that challenge structuralist and static interpretations of the world that we human beings live in. For instance, and as pointed out by Pietikäinen and Dufva (2014:64), many researchers in (critical) applied linguistics, discourse studies and sociolinguistics understand "multilingual practices – whether in communities or in classrooms – in terms of contesting the traditional, often monolingual and monological conceptualisations of language, languages and language users". Acknowledging that phenomena such as "multilingualism", "literacies" and "identities" are sociocultural constructs imply refocusing the study of them in the emergence of these phenomena in situated practices as is evidenced in studies I, II, III and IV that constitute this thesis (see also Bagga-Gupta, 2012; Heller, 2007). This also applies for the concept of *culture*.

In sociocultural theory, culture is defined as a collective noun for the resources human beings employ, the social interaction they participate in as well as the material world surrounding them; in this sense culture becomes a representation of ideas, values, attitudes and other resources that are acquired and employed through interacting with others (Säljö, 2000). Furthermore, studying human thinking and acting as socially situated phenomena includes taking the co-play of different components, individuals, practices and artefacts into consideration. The central unit of analysis thus becomes human beings acting in some form of situated practice, using different kinds of artefacts (Wertsch, 1991). From this point of view, languaging and literacy practices can be seen as situated in historical, cultural and political contexts – which also means that e.g. "multilingualism" is considered as more than just the existence of parallel linguistic systems, it is seen as a culturally situated social practice. These issues are highlighted in different ways in the studies the thesis builds upon.

Knowledge and *learning* are two foundational interests and themes in sociocultural theory. These are relevant for the present thesis as well. In its simplest sense, knowledge can be considered to be an outcome of sociocultural practices in which people use mental and material tools. As Lankshear and Knobel (2011:211) argue, we humans acquire and employ skills and

draw on forms of existing understanding, knowledge and beliefs, in order to undertake tasks and pursue particular purposes and goals. A sociocultural perspective advocates that learning is a complex, reciprocal process dependent on constructive, culturally relevant interactions between learners and their social ecologies (Barron, 2004). These social ecologies vary across temporal, contextual, and cultural spaces. Moreover, this view holds that all contexts of learning, both physical and virtual, are centres of multifaceted and complex activities. They are places where social, cognitive, and cultural mediation occur as knowledge and subjectivities meet, cross, and resist each other (Kumpulainen & Sefton-Green, 2014; Rex et al., 2006). From this point of view, learning to read and write, or to act in our textually mediated world, is first and foremost a social practice, rather than just an individual skill. As Warschauer (1997) has pointed out, individuals who are considered literate in any community are in fact those who have been apprenticed into certain social practices.

Here, one of Vygotsky's key notions in learning theories, the concept of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) is central. In short, ZPD stands for the distance between what learners have the possibility to achieve by themselves and what they can achieve when assisted by others (in social practices). Warschauer (1997:89) states: "In this view, learning, whether by children or adults, is not an isolated act of cognition, but rather a process of gaining entry to a discourse of practitioners via apprenticeship assistance from peers and teachers." (cf. Lave & Wenger, 1991). Furthermore, he points out that putting the concepts of social learning and mediation together allows scholars to adopt a text-mediational perspective of apprenticeship, which in turn highlights the significance of literacies as "thinking devices" (Lotman, 1988). He furthermore emphasises the ways in which learners participate together to socially construct knowledge (Warschauer, 1997). These epistemological ideas have a bearing on the analytical stances taken in studies II and III in particular.

By now it should be clear that adopting a sociocultural point of departure entails seeing languaging, literacies and identities as something social and contextualised. Moreover, human beings are seen as always interacting with something in and of their temporal, spatial and social context. This interaction forms the ground for future interactional experiences that entail knowledge and learning (Säljö, 2000; Wertsch, 1991). These views of knowledge and learning can also be connected to a dialogical view on interaction; this views learning as a process that takes place together with other individuals in a communicative and social context (Dysthe, 1995; Linell, 1998) and forms the main topic of the next section.

3.1.2 Dialogism – a social interactionist perspective

Dialogism, or "a theorisation of *human sense-making as action-based, inter-actional and contextual in nature*" (Linell, 2009: xxviii, italics in the original) is the second of two key theoretical orientations in this thesis. Dialogism is a transdisciplinary and poststructuralist approach, with repercussions on several scientific disciplines. It can be considered a counter-theory to dominant theories in psychology, social science, linguistics and elsewhere – most of which are considered as "monological", assuming a model of cognition that sees it as information processing, focusing on the transfer model of communication and the code model of language (Linell, 2009:xxviii). A dialogical view of the world is special in that it conceptualizes communication as neither something enclosed in the human mind, nor existing exclusively in the world outside, but in the nexus of these (Lourenço et al., 2013). In a similar manner, dialogism emphasises both the constructive role of actual interactional events and stresses the reciprocal relationship of human behaviours and various established routines and practices that affect these.

The view of the *human mind as a socially constructed meaning-making system* can be called the first of five dialogical principles that a dialogical theory embraces. It considers knowledge as derived from interaction with others and with the world and sees reality as created from social, material and subjective worlds (Linell, 2009; cf. the above presented idea of life worlds). This, in turn, has bearings for how we can understand meaning and knowledge.

The second theoretical principle of a dialogical theory is *intersubjectivity,* or the role of the other in the acquisition of knowledge. This other-orientation is strongly opposed to what Linell (2009:13) calls the "mainstream paradigm in the human and behavioral sciences": monologism. This assumes that humans experience and understand the world from their "monological" (singular) perspectives. The assumption of intersubjectivity, or other-orientedness, highlights both our commonalities with and alterity from others (Linell, 2009: 81). It is through others we become who we are, Linell states, and continues: "In particular, we learn to use language. In languaging we use each other's words" (Linell, 2009:76). These notions refer to Bakhtin's (1981:293–294) famous ideas of our words being half someone else's.

The third theoretical principle of dialogism relates to *interactionism.* This sees the construction of meaning as dependent on an interconnection with others, in much a similar sense as noted above in terms of the sociocultural approach, and situates both communication and cognition as interactional processes. Interactionism is also tied to *contextualism*, the fourth principle, which reflects the ways in which knowledge is acquired and its interdependence of the context in which it operates.

The fifth theoretical principle that reinforces the others, is that of *communicative constructionism.* This refers to the consideration of reality existing

outside the individual but also being built through communication with others. Finally, Linell (2009:62) argues that a scholarly analysis of dialogism must integrate both perspectives of situated interaction and situation-transcending (sociocultural) practices. This is what he calls "double dialogicality" (2009:63).

In addition to the above discussed understandings of dialogism, the present thesis has been influenced by what has been labelled as *Bakhtinian dialogism* (St John, 2014). It takes its genesis from the following view on dialogue:

> Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue, to ask questions, to agree and so forth. In this dialogue a person participates wholly and throughout his whole life: with his eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his whole body and deeds. He invests his entire self in discourse, and this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world symposium. (Bakhtin, 1984: 293).

With his dialogism rooted in sociocultural thinking (Säljö, 2005; Wertsch, 1991), Bakhtin emphasises the view of language as a deeply social phenomenon. Furthermore, many of the ideas represented by his thinking apply well for the practice of studying the dialogic nature of everyday interaction, and for a dialogical understanding of learning processes – both in and out of institutional educational settings. From the rich conceptual toolkit[7] provided by Bakhtin, this thesis draws on the concepts of *heteroglossia* and *polyphony/multivoicedness*, in order to pursue a deeper understanding of languaging, learning and identity work in "multilingual" settings. In particular, the concept of heteroglossia is employed when embracing the multi-faceted and multi-layered plurality which according to Bakthin is inherent to living language. I will return to these topics shortly.

A sociocultural and dialogical perspective emphasises the potentials of transforming knowledge in and between different contexts. In practice, this is enabled by hybrid, heteroglossic and polyphonic languaging, connected with cognitive, social and affective processes. This is the topic of the next section.

3.2 Languaging: a social view of language

In terms of how "languages" are perceived within the sociocultural and sociohistorical perspectives, it has been concluded that all varieties of language

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[7] For a review of Bakhtinian dialogism, key logics and concepts such as utterance, addressivity, appropriation, counter word and illumination, as well as empirical studies relating to the Bakhtinian dialogic perspective, see St John (2014).

are by-products of what Fishman (2010:xxv) refers to as "historical fortunes, misfortunes or happenstances", acknowledging the ideological and political dimensions of what languages are laden with. Furthermore, within *linguistic ethnography,* which is related to the sociocultural approach in the present thesis, Rampton et al. (2004: 2) point out that language and social life are considered 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". Conjointly, Garcia (2009:32) claims that languages are not fixed codes by themselves, but unsolidified codes that are framed within social practices. In a similar line of thought, Risager (2009) suggests that we should speak of global and local linguascapes or landscapes of language that cover both actual practices and people's representations of languages. These are some of the issues that frame this section.

The thesis and the Studies I – IV are all rooted in the concept of languaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Møller & Jørgensen, 2009; Linell, 2009), referring to the ways in which many analysts in the 21st century have highlighted the fluidity of language use. In a view supported by e.g. Yngve (1996) and Shohamy (2006), "languaging" refers to the use of languages or language varieties in discursive practices, or human beings' *ways-with-words* (Heath, 1983) or indeed *ways-of-being-with-words* (Bagga-Gupta, 2010, 2014a). This highlights the notion of languaging as truly social, in ways that cannot be defined without reference to people as *languagers* and the contexts in which linguistic varieties are used (Garcia, 2009; Heller, 2007). These notions can be understood against the backdrop of mainstream views in those parts of 20th century linguistic theory, which (drawing upon Saussurean and structuralist traditions) perceived language as a *system* of different kinds of forms, a *code,* an *object*, or even a *bounded territorial entity* (i.e. national language). This tradition focuses its analysis on invariance rather than on situated and varying usages (cf. Dufva, 2014). In sociolinguistics, however, linguistic variation and change has been a focal point of interest for more than five decades now.

Makoni and Pennycook (2007) call our attention to the processes of languages (as nouns) having been *invented* in historical performative acts, in processes that "called the languages into being" (p.10). Furthermore, they highlight the similarities between the notion of "invention of languages" and the concept of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1991). Both of these point to the ways in which nations (in which languages are presumably used) are imagined and narrated into being, and these scholars stress the role of language, literacy and social institutions in the languaging processes. Some related issues of national, cultural and linguistic ideologies are illustrated by Study I, in particular. Spotti and Kroon explicate their reassessment of languages as sociocultural constructs through the concept of polylanguaging and suggest language being:

but one of the vehicles through which meaning is made and communicated through the strategic employment of multiple semiotic resources. In interaction, speakers first and foremost use linguistic resources rather than languages understood as coherent packages. Somewhere along the way, speakers learn that some of these resources are thought to belong together in "languages". (Spotti & Kroon, 2015:6)

During the end of the 20th century, we have witnessed a movement from monological (Blommaert et al., 2012; Linell, 2009) and static understandings of codes and languages (as nouns) towards more hybrid views, highlighting *bilingual*, *multilingual*, *polylingual, plurilingual* or *heteroglossic* perspectives of language, and finally a focus on *language-in-use* in a manner that sees *languaging* as fundamentally social in its nature (for further discussion of these terms and their validity for the present research, see section 3.2.1). Reconceptualizing language as languaging entails focusing on human beings' engagement in communicative activities and practices and on the *doing of language* in a dialogical manner. Swain (2006: 98) concludes: "Languaging, as I am using the term, refers to the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language. It is part of what constitutes learning… In languaging, we see learning taking place." García (2010:519) goes as far as to talk about languaging, ethnifying and identifying, thus bringing into focus the work that individuals and groups do while using "discursive and ethnic practices" in their identity performing (see section 3.3 for further notes on identity). She also calls for attention to the experiences of scholars who work in multilingual communities.

However, it can be noted here that conceptualizing human communication in academic reporting – such as this thesis and the studies that it builds upon – requires that we categorize and label language varieties in order to be able to communicate. It is therefore a central challenge in the thesis to address the view of language as both concrete and dialogical, plural and hybrid. Consequently, the Bakhtinian notion of *heteroglossia*, taken most often as indicative of diversity, but also pointing to the tension-filled interaction where centrifugal and centripetal forces affect human languaging practices, becomes relevant here. The centripetal forces of language, according to Bakhtin, "*serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological worlds*" (Bakhtin, 1981:270, emphasis in original). This means that a unitary language gravitates towards linguistic "correctness" and uniformity. On the other hand, the centrifugal forces pull language towards heteroglossic disunification and decentralisation (Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2014). Thus, heteroglossia refers to the hybrid ways in which linguistic forms and features are interconnected and can be considered the "social diversity of speech types", which also includes uniformity (Bakhtin 1981: 263). More importantly, it relates to dialogism and dialogic interaction through three different, yet interrelated notions, namely those of multidiscursivity, multivoicedness (or polyphony) and

linguistic diversity (cf. Bakthin, 1981; Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Busch, 2011).

From these points of departure, the present work considers and (re)conceptualises "language" from two distinctive perspectives. The first of them highlights the multiplicity and intertwinedness of linguistic resources and modalities in action in everyday language use. The second perspective emphasises the fluidity and continuity of this languaging across time and space. Both of these aspects have been generative and fruitful in the four studies included in the thesis. In particular in two of them, the analytical concept of *chaining* (further explicated in 3.2.1) has proven to be particularly helpful in exploring the interconnectedness of different semiotic elements and practices in human meaning-making (Cf. Studies II and III).

Apart from heteroglossia, languaging and chaining, the concept of *translanguaging,* or "the acts performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages" (García, 2009: 141) is drawn upon in the thesis. This view goes beyond what has often been termed as code-switching, directing the focus to the multiple discursive practices that people engage in in their meaning-making (García, 2009). In the present thesis, translanguaging is helpful in highlighting particularly students' and teachers' engagement in complex discursive practices in order to make sense of and communicate in multilingual classrooms (García & Sylvan, 2011). Translanguaging builds on the concept of languaging as social practices and takes into account the numerous ways in which "multilingual" students make sense and perform in classrooms through engaging in discussing, reading, writing, drawing – in other words, in languaging.

3.2.1 Notes on terms and concepts

One of the rationales of this thesis is to shed light upon processes through which traditional concepts related to language, culture and identities, such as "bilingualism", "multilingualism", "biculturalism" and "multiculturalism" can be critically examined from a perspective that highlights language and literacies in-use (or people's ways-of-being-with-words). However, in order to do this one has to take departure from glossed concepts. Before moving on, a few additional notes on concepts and terminology employed in the thesis and the studies it builds upon need to be in place.

By now, it should be clear that this thesis identifies with and draws on epistemological points of departure that consider the "multis" rather than the "monos" as default settings both societally and academically. In the thesis and the studies that it builds upon, "multilingualism", "multiculturalism" and "multimodality" (Kress, 2010) are considered natural aspects of being and languaging. How then, does this thesis relate to the array of these and other

concepts available within the approach that has sometimes been labelled as the *sociolinguistics of multilingualism* (Clark, 2012)?

In the literature, a number of concepts have been proposed to account for languagers' fusion of what have been considered as different linguistic codes, ranging from code-mixing (Grosjean, 1982; Heller 1988), code-crossing (Rampton, 2006), translanguaging (Garcia, 2009; García & Wei, 2014), polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008; Møller & Jørgensen, 2009), flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), to metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), to mention some of the most frequently used ones. In this thesis and the studies that it builds upon, two central concepts have been used in a number of different ways. These are *bilingual/bilingualism* and *multilingual/multilingualism*. In this section, I will shortly present some general definitions of these interrelated concepts and then discuss some of the ways in which they have been employed in Studies I–IV. Additionally, the concept of *heteroglossic/heteroglossia*, used in two of the studies, is discussed here. The "counterparts" of these concepts that highlight aspects of diversity in linguistic use are presented at the end of the section where the concepts *monolingual/monolingualism* are focused upon. Finally, the empirically grounded concept of *chaining*, which is gaining ground among other established notions illustrating multiple uses of linguistic and semiotic resources, will be critically discussed.

To begin with, *multilingualism* has traditionally been considered a term for the phenomenon of several linguistic varieties interacting either in individuals' minds and practices, within communities of languagers or within nation-states. *Multilingual* as an adjective has been defined in a traditional sense as "of, having or expressed in several linguistic varieties". As pointed out by Kytölä (2013; see also Lainio, forthc.) among others, much of the early research into multilingualism has dealt with *bilingualism*. While many scholars have abandoned this term due to its limitations ("bi-", derived from Latin, indicating "two"), it still continues to be used in many circumstances (e.g. Heller, 2007), as a way of expressing both individual and societal conditions where two (or more) linguistic varieties coexist. The epistemological shift during the recent decades, moving forward from the "bis" towards the "multis" (or "polys") is, however, reflected both in the increasing diversification of terms and concepts and how they are applied in modern sociolinguistics. With these epistemological and conceptual understandings as the general canvas, I will now describe the uses of *bi-/multilingualism* and *bi-/multilingual* that are significant for this thesis.

In the studies, the exploration of alternative understandings of languaging[8] and going beyond bounded and formal concepts of language has been dealt

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[8] From here on, terms in *italics* refer to concepts as they are used Studies I–IV. "Hyphenated" concepts are hyphenated in the studies and in this text. **Bold** concepts highlight my analytical labels that summarise the meanings mediated by the concepts in the four studies.

with in a number of ways that can be considered both rhetorical and episte-mological. Employing hyphenation or uses of markers such as *so-called*, *labelled as*, *formally labelled*, *characterises itself*, highlights the fact that terms used are social constructs or markers that have a formal meaning but are not always necessarily feasible as a researcher's analytical labels. Fur-thermore, recognizing the social constructivity of concepts and labels, when choosing "multi" rather than "bi" - in the title of this thesis, for instance – the present thesis highlights the multiplicity of linguistic experiences among the languagers studied, but also that of everyone. Table 1 summarises the ways in which the concepts of multilingual/ism, heteroglossic/a, bilin-gual/ism and monolingual/ism have been employed in the studies.

Table 1. Summary of the four key concepts and their uses in Studies I–IV.

Multilingual/ism	Heteroglossic/a	Bilingual/ism	Monolingual/ism
multilingual daily classroom interaction (I)	heteroglossic lan-guaging practices (II, III)	"bilingual instruc-tional activities" (I)	monolingualism as a value of society (II)
multilingual interaction and social positioning (I)	heteroglossic texts and working methods (III)	"bilingual didactic practices" (I)	monolingual bias (II, III)
multilingual languaging (I)	heteroglossia charac-terizes the Youtube video (III)	"bilingual-bicultural" educa-tion as an institu-tional field (I)	monolingually-based, modally flat, book-centric litera-cies (III)
multilingual-multimodal social order (I) / points of depar-ture for ethnog-raphy (III) / identity work (IV)	Heteroglossic space (IV)	pedagogical default mode is "bilingual" (II)	monolingual learning practices and out-comes (III)
multilingual ways of being (I)		"bilingual" school setting (II) /school classroom (IV)	
multilingual literacy practices (I, IV)		functional bilingual-ism (I)	
doing of multi-lingualism (II)		bilingual as well as bicultural Swedish-Finnish skills (III)	

A large number of concepts related to multilingualism in the studies high-lights the **doing of multilingualism**, bringing attention to e.g. the *multilingual daily classroom interaction/languaging* and *multilingual ways of being.* As noted in Table 1, multilingualism is often associated with interaction, multimodality and literacies in the studies. Study III, in particular, spells out multilingualism and multimodality as important points of departure for ethnography. Moreover, the studies have taken a somewhat sceptical stance towards calling the members of the school community "multilingual" and in most cases I have thus chosen to use a hyphenated term "multilingual" or *so-called multilingual people*, or even *teachers who are considered multilingual.*

Heteroglossia is a related concept which has become more central for the thesis during the last stages of writing Part I. In the previous literature, the concept of heteroglossia has often been paired together with multilingualism, the latter being an umbrella term for the former. In this thesis and the studies it builds upon, both classroom interaction and students' working methods are considered as *heteroglossic languaging practices.* Moreover, some of the student texts are considered *heteroglossic*. Study IV employs the concept in some depth, focusing on the classroom as a *heteroglossic space* and examines the multidiscursivity and multivoicedness that are characteristic of heteroglossia (see Table 1). It is noted that despite the concept of heteroglossia being omitted in Study I, the realms of the concept are connected to the empirical findings and analyses in the study.

In the studies, many references to bilingualism deal with **formal institutional practices** or **formal institutional framings** such as *"bilingual-bicultural" education as an institutional field* in Study I or *educational settings that are labelled as bilingual* in Study III. We have, however, employed the terms "bilingual" and "bilingualism" as they have been used in original policy documents pertaining to the DIMuL project school where the fieldwork was conducted, e.g. *functional bilingualism* and *bilingual as well as bicultural Swedish-Finnish skills* (see Table 1).

As discussed earlier, the thesis questions the idea of "monolingualism" as the default state of affairs, a perspective which is also reflected in the conceptual choices made in the studies. Studies I–III take a critical view of *monolingualism as a value of society* and highlight the persistent *monolingual bias* within both linguistic studies as well as the educational field in different ways. Study I, in particular, suggests that research on language policing in the school milieu should go beyond a view of languages as codes or categories such as mono/bi/multilingual. Study III highlights the challenges of "multilingual" young people participating in educational practices where *monolingually-based, modally flat, book-centric literacies* are considered one form of *monolingual learning practices and outcomes.*

From the perspective adopted in the thesis, *monolingualism* is considered a social construction of unity, shared values and practices in societies that might not have been "singular" in any sense (cf. Heller, 2006). In other words, while monolingualism might exist *de jure* (as in the case of some nation-states), its existence as a *de facto* phenomenon in late modern societies can be questioned and analytically examined, based on empirically oriented research. This questioning is one of the contributions of the present thesis. For the greater part of the late 20th century, monolingualism was considered an ideal both theoretically and empirically (at least in the global North), for both societal order and linguistic research (Blommaert, 2005; Kytölä, 2013). Bagga-Gupta (2014a) argues powerfully for the critical scrutiny of the dominating *mono*lingual-*mono*modal positions and perspectives that continue to shape our understandings of language in general and the relationships between language, communities and geopolitical spaces in particular. Her previous work (Bagga-Gupta, 2004, 2012, 2014b), as does the work in Studies I–IV, highlights analytical engagement in people's ways-of-being-with-words.

From this perspective, action-oriented concepts such as languaging, translanguaging and *chaining* can be considered particularly useful. As pointed out earlier, the studies and the thesis employ chaining as an empirically grounded notion in the analysis of multilingual-multimodal languaging. Sometimes interchangeably termed "linking", chaining can be defined as a "technique for connecting texts such as a sign, a printed or a written word, or a fingerspelled word" and calls attention to equivalencies between linguistic resources (Humphries & MacDougall, 2000:90). In addition to the field of Deaf Studies, where it can be said to have originated[9], as a term chaining has also become relevant in the fields of literacy studies and studies into multilingualism (see also Bagga-Gupta & St John, 2015; Messina Dahlberg & Bagga-Gupta, 2013; Tapio, 2013; Vuorenpää 2016), including the empirical studies II and III in the thesis.

In the studies, chaining in multilingual-multimodal settings has been observed as emically occurring at at least three different levels, considered as *local-chaining*, *event* or *activity chaining* and *simultaneous/synchronised chaining* (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2000, 2002, 2004; Hansen, 2005). An analytical-descriptive use of the concept of chaining at these different levels facilitates the illustration of i) interconnectedness of oral, written and other semiotic resources locally, and ii) trajectories of human (inter)action across time and space. Furthermore, Study II also presents a new dimension of chaining, *layered chaining*, which brings these aspects together. By and large, these perspectives nuance and contribute to previously known analytical approaches to everyday multilingualism and multimodality. Furthermore, chaining appears to have the potential to highlight the fluid and linked nature

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[9] However, see also Bagga-Gupta (1995).

of identities-in-action at the micro level (see 3.3). Thus, by employing both chaining and languaging as analytical concepts, this thesis attempts to contribute to (re)conceptualisations within discourses in the academic domains of what is glossed as bi/multilingual research.

3.2.2 Literacies as subsets of languaging

In concert with a sociocultural approach that guides this thesis on the whole, I argue that *literacies can and need to be accounted for as subsets of languaging*. A proper understanding of this takes into account the broader social, cultural, and historic trends related to the significance of reading and writing for learning and communication (cf. Warschauer, 1997). Since the early 1980s, the field of Literacy Studies has undergone a radical shift both theoretically and methodologically in part due to a "social turn" (see e.g. Gee, 1992). This has meant an increasing focus on the cultural and social differences of languaging and literacy practices in different communities. Among pioneering scholars, Scribner and Cole (1981), Heath (1983) and Street (1984) can be considered amongst the first to talk about *literacies as situated in time and space*. In later works, Gee (2008) has discussed connections between discourses and literacies, claiming that both comprise of group-specific representations (social languages), which in their turn shape the multiple identities of individuals.

Multilingual literacies, then, can be seen as based on these assumptions regarding the socially situated lives and actions of human beings who come into contact with several linguistic resources (Bagga-Gupta, 1995; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000). In concert with Macedo (1991), Street (1995) and Gee (2008), who argue for the employment of the concept of literacies as the adherent social and cultural practices as a starting point, this thesis navigates towards a more "ideological" view of literacies, focusing on the social experiences surrounding the events and activities of languaging where literacy plays a role. The strict division between autonomous, "literacies as skills", and ideological views on literacies has been challenged by Christie (2005:6) who argues for a more integrated view that emphasises the role of language in human meaning-making. In the present thesis, some attempts to bridge this dichotomisation are made, as it focuses on literacies as subsets of languaging from an ethnographic and analytical starting point and employs chaining as an analytical means.

Utilizing *literacy practices* as a unit of investigation in research means examining *literacy events*[10] and activity patterns and exploring their connections within wider cultural and social perspectives as well as individuals'

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[10] Literacy event is defined by Heath (1983:93) as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes".

specific ways of acting and thinking in terms of texts. Barton and Hamilton describe literacy practices as the "basic unit of a social theory of literacy" (2000:7) and point out that they are best understood as existing in the *relations between* people, instead of as a set of properties within the individual. The challenge for any researcher is the fact that these practices are not directly observable as they involve attitudes, values, feelings, constructions, discourses, social relations, shared cognitions – processes both internal to the individual but also social. These issues have been addressed in the thesis through focusing on social practices from a perspective that sees literacies and languaging as intertwined, as well as connected with people's other engagements, social positionings and greater societal contexts (cf. Street, 2000)

Starting from the early 2000s, a rise of yet another "turn" within what is often referred to as "New Literacy Studies" (or NLS) has taken place, namely the study of *digital literacies* (Kress, 2003; Coiro et al., 2008). This shift highlights the conceptual, social, and epistemological consequences of digitalisation, or virtualisation, if you like, of literacies in our life worlds. Focusing on digital literacies as social practices (in accordance with socio-cultural approach and dialogism) entails directing one's analytical gaze towards ways of creating content and making meaning through the medium of encoded texts in (but not solely) a digital milieux, as has been the case in Studies III and IV. What is it then that is considered "new" in these kinds of literacies – if compared with traditional ones? Though previous scholars offer us somewhat divergent views, at least some issues are considered common. First, there is an agreement on the fact that with novel communication practices induced by the internet, mobile phones and other digital technology, new literacies have emerged. They are embodied in innovative social practices, and even perhaps new forms of identity and personality, as suggested by Cope and Kalantzis (2009:167). Second, the emergence of digital literacies has entailed a change in the centuries-long dominance of writing over image, placing other modalities than text (image in particular) in the foreground (cf. Kress, 2003). This shift in mode is particularly well illustrated in a shift that can be considered a third issue here: our social practices related to literacies are increasingly moving away from texts in books and papers to "texts" (of all kinds) on screens of different kinds (Kress, 2003). Fourth, by examining the changing role of texts within new literacies, it has been suggested that we have the possibility of uncovering tensions of contemporary change in terms of access to knowledge, creativity and individuals' agency (Barton, 2009:39). Many of these issues related to digital literacies are touched upon in studies III and IV in particular.

Riding on these waves of literacies as "social", "new" and "digital", the interests of the thesis deal with literacies as multiple and socially constructed, thus engaging people to participation in spaces both inside and outside of formal learning sites and virtual worlds. Consequently, inspired by the approaches in current literacy research, described above, embracing the con-

cept of "languaging, including litera*cies*" means working with a broad perspective on human languaging, including her engagement with "texts". Embracing a broader view of literacy also equals fostering an interest towards *multiliteracies* (New London Group, 1996; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000), and the *continua of biliteracy* (Hornberger, 1989, 2003a, 2003b).

3.2.3 The multiliteracies perspective and the continua of biliteracy

As noted above, two "turns" within literacy studies bear importance for this thesis. Many of the "social" studies of literacy during the last 30 years have steered the focus from educational settings to community practices, as expressed in the following quote highlighting the *ecology of literacy* perspective:

> The most common views of literacy start out from the educational settings in which literacy is typically taught, that is, the school classroom. The dominant definitions in society, then, are school-based definitions of literacy. These views of what literacy is are often at odds with what people experience in their everyday lives. (Barton 2007: 4, see also Bagga-Gupta, 1995)

Barton's criticism is acknowledged in the thesis. That having been said, school-based literacies are in focus in studies I and II, while studies III and IV relate these to out-of-school literacies, mostly in "new", digital, contexts. On the other hand, Study III, in particular, highlights the discrepancies between school-based "bookish" literacies (Bialostok, 2014) and digital literacies. The examination of the connections between the two is one of the seminal issues in the thesis.

A related perspective within literacy studies is the multiliteracies perspective, initiated by the New London Group (1996) and further developed by Cope and Kalantzis (2000, 2009), among others. The origin of this thinking lies in the growing significance of two "multi" dimensions that affect literacies, not just at the heart of the research this thesis builds upon, but at the realms of our changing world: multilingualism and multimodality (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009:166). First, the multiliteracies perspective directs our attention to the increasing local diversity in our societies (at least in the global North), as well as global connectedness. Linguistic variation and subcultural diversity being a factual state of our present life worlds, participation in society now requires that we interact effectively and creatively. This may often mean using multiple languages and communication patterns that more frequently cross cultural, community, and national boundaries. Second, the increasing multiplicity and integration of significant modes and channels of meaning-making of what once was called "new communications media" (see

above) are reshaping the ways in which humans language. The advocates of the multiliteracies perspective therefore argue that dealing with changing technologies, linguistic and cultural differences has profoundly changed the pragmatics of our working, civic and private lives (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000:6).

What follows from here is a pedagogical view, directed mainly towards formal educational settings, but addressing the flow of in-school and out-of-school practices, that both challenges traditional literacy pedagogy and supplements it by highlighting aspects of multilingualism and multimodality in literacies. Considering the rapid changes of technologies of meaning, the pedagogy of multiliteracies argues that literacy learning in schools cannot only be taught through simplistic (traditional) views of what literacy skills are. A multiliteracies perspective, it is argued, creates a kind of pedagogy where language, along with other modes of meaning, are considered "dynamic representational resources, constantly being remade by their users as they work to achieve their various cultural purposes" (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000:5). In fact, as the programmatic manifesto of the New London group stated two decades ago, if the proximity of cultural and linguistic diversity and changing technologies of communication are two key facts of our time, the very nature of language learning – or at least language teaching – has changed. (New London Group, 1996).

The *continua of biliteracy* model is described as a comprehensive, ecological model for situating research, teaching and language planning in multilingual settings. Resonating with the integrated view of languaging that includes literacies, and which is employed in this thesis, biliteracy is defined as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (Hornberger, 1990:213). The notion of continua, on the other hand, implies four nested sets of intersecting continua, characterizing the contexts, media, content and development of biliteracy. The model suggests that multilingual learners **develop** biliteracy along reciprocally intersecting first language-second language, receptive-productive, and oral-written language skills continua; through the **medium** of two or more languages and literacies whose structures vary from similar to dissimilar, whose scripts range from convergent to divergent, and to which the developing biliterate individual's exposure varies from simultaneous to successive. This takes place in **contexts** which encompass micro and macro levels and are characterised by varying mixes along the monolingual-bilingual and oral-literate continua; and with **content** ranging from majority to minority perspectives and experiences, literary to vernacular styles and genres and decontextualised to contextualised language texts (Hornberger, 2003a; Hornberger & Link, 2012)[11].

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[11] For a more comprehensive description of the continua of biliteracy model and its implementations in both research and pedagogy, see e.g. Hornberger (2003b).

While the continua of biliteracy model is not applied in the thesis as such, it highlights and reinforces many of the central aspects brought about by the findings in Studies I–IV and the thesis as a whole. For instance, the model resonates with a view of multilingualism as a resource – a perspective strongly advocated by the research presented in this thesis. Furthermore, the model situates biliteracy (which has been illustrated in many ways in Studies I–IV) in relation to the contexts, media and content in and through which it develops – which echoes the aspirations in the individual studies. (Studies II, III and IV in particular). Third, the continua of biliteracy model provides what is described as "a heuristic for addressing the unequal balance of power across languages and literacies" (Hornberger, 2003:326), which partly responds to some of the issues brought about by the broader framework of this thesis, namely education of linguistic minorities. At the same time, the unequal balance of power across languages and literacies is empirically highlighted in e.g. Study III, which illustrates the discrepancies between school-based "bookish" and virtually shaped literacies.

In the above, I have reviewed and discussed some of the key tenets in the historical and recent works on what has sometimes been termed as sociolinguistics of globalisation (Coupland, 2003; Blommaert, 2010) and Literacy Studies. In the following, I will now move on to discuss another key concept in the thesis, namely identities in interaction.

3.3 Identities in interaction

Questions of human identity have intrigued human beings in scholarly and non-scholarly contexts for centuries – and are not likely to cease fascinating our minds in the future. A myriad of aspects of identities and identifications have been highlighted by anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists and linguists, who all represent disciplines which are drawn towards a focus on the relationship of language and identity (Riley, 2007). In a review of social constructionist and poststructuralist scholarship on identity, Block (2007) outlines a number of key constructs associated with identity. These range from *subjectivity* (in a Lacanian sense), *performativity* and *presentation of self* (Butler, 1999; Goffman, 1990) to *positioning* (Davies & Harré, 1990) and from *hybridity* (Bauman, 1999), to *d/Discourse* (Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 1996), from *power* and *recognition* (Foucault, 1986) to *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991), highlighting a number of perspectives that a scholar interested in identity can take as a point of departure for her study. In the present context, my focus will be on selected scholars and studies that have taken an interest towards identities mostly in so-called multilingual and educational settings. What this thesis shares with this scholarship, is an interest in social identities and the social processes through which

they are established, attributed, performed, negotiated and manifested – a kind of poststructuralist approach to identity that questions essentialist positions (Block, 2007). Moreover, in concert with these studies, I have taken on a view of identity positionings that treats them with reference to the social settings in which they emerge and become meaningful.

In a social constructionist perspective, identities have been conceptualised as an interactional accomplishment, produced and negotiated in discourse (Davies & Harré, 1990, see also Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In continuation, poststructuralist views on identities have emphasised the role of power in the processes of identification and categorisation (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). The framework of this thesis and the studies that constitute its backbone draw from both these perspectives, highlighting the discursive construction of identities and power relations in play that involves a focus upon discourses. So, while exploring the role of language in the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, of multiple identifications and subject positions, the Bakhtinian understanding of a Self becomes central. It is not determined by socially and ideologically constructed worlds, but as developing in a dialogical response to them (Busch, 2011). Therefore, the present research sees *identity as social positioning* (see Bagga-Gupta, in press; Bagga-Gupta et al, in press).

Furthermore, apart from its focus on spatially, temporally, locally and dialogically emerging identity positionings, the present research also sees the concept of identity as a multi-layered construct. It has previously been related by theorists and researchers to particular positions and domains such as ethnicity, nationality, migration, gender, social class and linguistic identities (Block, 2007). In the societal and institutional setting that the present research is conducted in, it draws on perspectives highlighting aspects of what have been formally defined as ethnolinguistic, national and minority identities. Nevertheless, its empirical focus is mainly on individuals' identity work and social positioning in local contexts provided by institutional educational settings and virtual spaces (see Studies I–IV). For instance, *national* or *minority identities*, or preassumed senses of belonging or having allegiance to a particular group (usually recognised as a state or a minority group) may be (re)defined, symbolised, negotiated, or resisted at both the personal and the group levels in actions where languaging plays a significant role and ethnolinguistic identity positionings become relevant.

Pietikäinen and Dufva (2006) argue against both the cognitively based and essentialist views of identity and the views which see it as exclusively socially constructed. They suggest that seeing identity as individual-cum-social echoes with dialogism. They also emphasize the importance of exploring identity as reciprocally social and individual that is in a constant dialogical inclusion with one another. This perspective is fruitful for the present thesis in the sense that it allows for the inherent interest of our life worlds as interactional, while still including aspects of individual voices which reflect

the life histories (Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2006), or indeed the participants' historical bodies (Scollon & Scollon Wong, 2004, see also Study I).

Viewed through a Bakhtinian lens, identities can be seen as being transmitted mainly through words or texts – but they can also be viewed as represented, performed (Butler, 1999) or felt through a range of signifying practices where the linguistic, textual and multimodal are at the core of these social practices. Bagga-Gupta (2013a) suggests that as sociocultural creatures, the ways-of-being and ways-with-words of human beings are what constitutes culture, as well as our possible identification processes. In her view, issues related to fluidity of these processes "are intimately related to the mundane processes of learning and socialisation that take place in everyday life" (ibid: 31, see also Bagga-Gupta 2014b). Consequently, Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2007) view identities as products of linguistic and semiotic practices and as such a social and cultural phenomenon. More importantly, from a sociocultural linguistic perspective, their work offers the present thesis a useful framework for the analysis of identity as an interactionally emerging intersubjective accomplishment.

This framework consists of five principles that highlight the following aspects:

1. *The emergence principle*: identities are emerging, built, maintained and altered on a social ground and discursively produced in everyday situations which call forth identity positionings.
2. *The positionality principle*: identities encompass macro-level categories, local cultural positions and temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant positionings.
3. *The indexicality principle*: identities may be linguistically indexed through several related processes such as labels, stances, styles or linguistic structures and systems.
4. *The relationality principle*: identities are relationally constructed through several overlapping aspects of selves and others.
5. *The partialness principle*: all representations of identities are partial accounts; because identity is inherently relational, it is always partial – in part deliberate or intentional, in part habitual, and often less than fully conscious. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005)

In addition to providing the thesis with the above summarised analytical framework, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) argument for ethnography as an analytical-methodological approach and its extraordinary ability to highlight identity relations that arise in local contexts, is specifically relevant for this thesis. Furthermore, linguistic ethnography as a research enterprise motivates a discursive focus on being and belonging in the following manner: "since social identities are themselves extensively (re)produced in language, the analysis of interactional and institutional discourse can reveal a great deal about them" (Rampton et al., 2004:6).

In the four studies that are a part of this thesis, issues of identity are viewed through at least three different lenses. The first of these is that of cultural and linguistic ideologies as connected to identities (Study I) and the second upfronts identities as social positionings (Study II). The third lens focuses on identity-as-agency in languaging, including literacy practices (Studies III and IV). What is common to all these studies is that they examine and highlight identity mainly as "doing" and reconceptualize identity as people's "ways-of-being-with-words".

3.4 Multilingual education in heteroglossic societies

In the age of globalisation and what has sometimes been called superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Vertovec, 2007), providing societies and citizens with education that reflects these societal changes (in European settings at least) is becoming increasingly important. More than a decade ago, UNESCO made the following statement concerning education in a globalizing world: "The requirements of global and national participation, and the specific needs of particular, culturally and linguistically distinct communities can only be addressed by multilingual education." (2003: 17–18), thus highlighting the growing need of taking diversity into consideration within the educational sector. Apart from *multilingual education*, another related field of research with relevance to the present thesis deals with *intercultural education*. "Intercultural" in this context, as defined by Lahdenperä (2000:202), refers to "interaction process with mutual contacts between persons from different cultural backgrounds". Furthermore, the idea of interculturality here points to the presence of individuals from various cultural backgrounds and different ethnic cultures. Today, it can easily be argued that almost any kind of educational setting in the societies of the global North – and in Sweden particularly – is "multicultural" or "intercultural" due to the students' diverse backgrounds. Scholars have, however, also highlighted the dominant existence of monocultural-monolingual perspectives adopted and transmitted by educators (Bagga-Gupta, 2004, 2014a; Lahdenperä, 1997, 2000; Lainio, 2001a, 2015). Moreover, many studies have empirically confirmed that multilingualism and multiculturalism are not always considered an asset by educators and that the experiences and resources of minority language students are not necessarily acknowledged and valued in formal education (Haglund, 2005; Lindberg, 2011; Otterup, 2005, see also section 3.5).

In many parts of the world, education already takes place in multilingual contexts. In these contexts, bilingualism or multilingualism, as well as practices related to these phenomena are "natural" ways of being. Bilingual and multilingual education commonly refer to the use of two or more languages as mediums of instruction (UNESCO, 2003: 17). As noted in practice and in

literature, there are several ways of doing this. One is providing minority language students with mother tongue instruction as a means of improving their learning and educational quality (as was the case for most Sweden Finnish minority students in the 1980s), another is establishing bi- or multilingual educational institutions (such as the DIMuL project school). Apart from these, a whole range of both "weak" and "strong" forms of education for bilingualism can be detected (for a more comprehensive typology of bilingual educational models, cf. Baker, 2001; Hornberger, 1991). García (2009:5) highlights the interaction of sociohistorical positionings, geopolitical forces and language ideologies for sustaining different kinds of bilingual education policies all over the world. She points out that a distinct feature of bilingual education (as opposed to foreign or second-language education) is the use of two languages to "educate generally, meaningfully, equitably, and for tolerance and appreciation of diversity" (García, 2009:6). Ideally, bilingual education[12] is characterised by a *heteroglossic* ideology that considers multiple language practices in an interdependent relationship to one another, she continues, and highlights the importance of focusing on language practices that are "firmly rooted in the multilingual and multimodal language and literacy practices of children in schools of the 21st century" (García, 2009:7-8).

One of the main sites of investigation in the studies this thesis builds upon is a formally bilingual–bicultural educational setting that can be characterised as following the principles of *Maintenance/Heritage language programmes* or *Two-way/Dual language programmes* (cf. Baker, 2001: 194). More specifically, and referring to another kind of typology (García, 2009), the programme at the DIMuL project school can be defined as falling into the category of *Developmental Bilingual Education*, where the use of the so-called minority language is more outspread in the lower grades of education, and where the use of the majority language increases as the students progress higher up in the educational system. An important goal in this model and the DIMuL project school is to develop the students' proficiency in language and literacy in both languages throughout their education.

The present thesis draws on Garcia's ideas concerning bilingual education, but I have chosen to use the concept *multilingual education* in order to highlight the sometimes far-from-reality aspects of focusing on dualisms by using quotation marks around the term "bilingual" or calling the focused education "so-called bilingual", as seen in Studies I, II, III and IV (see also 3.2.1 above). In concert with García, on the other hand, a key principle here is to challenge the dualisms of "multilingual education". This brings the

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[12] García, both in accordance with and unlike many other scholars, refers consistently to "bilingual education" instead of "multilingual education", for what she describes is for the sake of brevity and continuity with past research, practice, scholarship and policies. In García's definition (2009:9), *bilingual education* is used to refer to education that uses more than one language, and/or language varieties, in whatever combination.

focus on heteroglossic languaging practices within emergent "multilingualism" or of "multilingual" students – contrasting them with the two standard "languages" in isolation that schools often use and promote (García, 2009:23, 2014:100).

Apart from providing the field with concepts and theorizing concerning bilingual education, García's extensive body of research has also contributed to the development of translanguaging as a part of multilingual pedagogy (see also 3.2 above). Referring to Cen Williams (as cited in Baker, 2001), García defines translanguaging as pedagogical practices that switch the language mode in bilingual classrooms, or more specifically:

> Translanguaging in classrooms is an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on the acquisition and development of languages, as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilingual students and their teachers that are readily observable and that are different from our traditional conceptions of autonomous languages. (García & Wei, 2014:52)

García and Sylvan further argue that a translanguaging perspective should be viewed as the complex "discursive practices that enable bilingual students to also develop and enact standard academic ways of languaging" (García & Sylvan, 2011:389). Furthermore, they point out that (implicitly: at best?), educational institutions that adopt a dynamic plurilingual approach with translanguaging as their core strategy take a point of departure that stresses the individual student's languages as resources for learning. A key idea here is that the language practices are described from the perspective of languagers themselves – as has been the endeavour of the studies in this thesis. In analysing these practices, moving between and interconnecting both linguistic varieties and modalities needs to be acknowledged. Furthermore, the concept of translanguaging, García (2009:47) notes, "makes obvious that there are no clear-cut boundaries between languages of bilinguals". Instead, a languaging continuum is accessed in a translanguaging space (García & Wei, 2014). An interesting contradictory aspect here is that translanguaging as a pedagogical method challenges previous research concerning so-called bilingual programmes where the separation of language varieties in pedagogy has been deemed a key to success (García & Baker, 1995). Indeed, it has been suggested that translanguaging helps in sustaining a minority languages (García, 2011).

3.5 Previous studies of languaging and literacy in and out of multilingual educational settings

There is an extensive body of research, both inside and outside Sweden, concerning young people's language practices in institutional educational

settings. The first part of this section reviews some of this research with relevance for the present thesis. Simultaneously, we have witnessed an increase in the number of studies that attempt to bridge the above described separation of domains, in scholarly work that focuses young people's lives and practices *across* the institutional-informal continuum. Some examples of these studies are presented in the second part of this section.

3.5.1 Studies of learning, languaging and life in multilingual educational settings

There exists a wealth of research on multilingual language practices that focuses on the use of different languages by multilingual speakers in the classroom. Some international examples include Bagga-Gupta (1995, 2014b); Creese and Blackledge (2010), García (2009), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) and Rampton (2006). This research has explored different aspects of multilingual interaction, not forgetting its effect on several aspects of learning and learners' everyday lives, including the development of creativity, identities, and criticality. In general terms, the findings within this strand of research indicate that the possibilities of using different languages in the classroom provide an important communicative support for participants in different kinds of educational settings. However, as Cenoz and Gorter (2011) point out, large parts of the research focusing on multilingual education has taken place either in the English-speaking world, focusing on immigrant students, or in postcolonial countries in Asia. The need of new studies in other geographical contexts, involving other linguistic varieties and situations is thus urgent. Through being located in the geopolitical space of Sweden and among a minority population that has globally "small" languages as its main tools of interaction, the present thesis responds to these requests.

In the Swedish context, a longitudinal study by Parszyk (1999) followed eight minority children from pre-school class and onwards until they completed compulsory school. Stemming from analyses of student's narratives and national evaluations, the study highlighted the students' existential conditions in their school life, and came to the conclusion that what is supposedly "a school for everyone" rather functions as "a school for others", leaving minority students in a marginalised position. Gröning (2006) investigated language, interaction and learning in the fourth and fifth grades in what are called "diverse schools". Her study attended to student cooperation, bilingualism and second language acquisition as well as learning through interaction in multilingual classrooms. Musk (2006, 2010), on the other hand, studied how Welsh bilingualism is being practised and performed both discursively by various players in various sites, and in everyday bilingual practic-

es, by e.g. young people in bilingual education. The studies of both Gröning and Musk have employed both discourse and conversation analytical (CA) approaches. In a recently completed doctoral work, Avery (2011, 2016) reports on a newly introduced bilingual instruction model in Arabic and Swedish in a number of Swedish classrooms that focus on teachers' language practices. Her findings show that despite ambitions of employing bilingual instruction, Swedish still appeared as the dominant school language. Among other recent studies St John (2014), dealing with multilingual educational settings in Sweden, can be mentioned. His study stems from ethnographic fieldwork in an independent secondary school, located in Sweden, flagging the bilingual educational profile of Swedish and English. Employing CA, the thesis approaches classroom interaction from a Bakhtinian perspective, highlighting dialogical aspects of interactional encounters between the students and the teachers.

Nygård Larsson's (2011) doctoral work focused on language and learning in a linguistically heterogeneous upper secondary class in Sweden. The dissertation, based on field notes, audio recordings, textual data and interviews, adopted a perspective that highlighted language and second language didactics, as well as multimodality. The results indicate discrepancies in achievement between the two groups of what are labelled as first and second language students. Sellgren (2011) studied classroom practices in a multilingual student group in year 6, and focused on genre-based teaching and learning in Social Sciences. Based on theories in a sociocultural approach, second language learning and systemic-functional linguistics, Sellgren's study illustrated how students engage in interaction in small groups and move between everyday language and a more abstract academic register in discourse. Muhonen (2012) and Jonsson (2012) report on multilingual approaches to teaching English in two different bilingual educational settings in Sweden. Their studies illustrated the potential of translanguaging in engaging students and validating their multilingual repertoires while also pointing to potential challenges that teachers and students faced. Both Muhonen and Jonssons' accounts derive from a larger European project, Investigating Discourses of Inheritance and Identities in Four Multilingual European Settings.

Additionally, two summative reports need to be mentioned here. Sahlström (2008) provides an overview of the past four decades' developments in mainly Swedish and Nordic classroom research, focusing specifically on interaction-oriented classroom research from the early 1990s onwards. His report considered recent trends within classroom research and noted that one dominant change over time has been the emerging view of central phenomena, such as learning and identity, as situated and constituted in interaction. Axelsson and Magnusson (2012), on the other hand, summarized a wealth of both international and Swedish research related to the learning of multilingual pupils in the subject called Swedish as a second language and in their first languages, and the support provided in schools for linguistic develop-

ment. They point to findings of numerous studies, when arguing for the benefits of multilingualism being integrated as a natural part of everyday schooling.

In the Finnish context, Slotte Lüttge (2005) has studied classroom discourse in Swedish language schools in southern Finland. Her study builds on CA and illustrates the mutual construction of a monolingual Swedish discourse in the classroom, which is surrounded by societal bilingualism (Swedish-Finnish) and gets affected by bilingual conditions in the pupils' homes. Slotte Lüttge's findings point to practices where the teacher-led *language culture* of the classroom points to monolingualism, while student-student discourses may be bilingual. In a series of studies that focused on educational settings mainly inhabited by speakers of Swedish (or people who identified themselves as Finland Swedes), Sahlström et al. (2012) illustrate aspects of learning, interaction inside and outside of the school setting as well as a focus on diversity, identity construction and multilingualism within the school setting. Studies within the project FLIS, referred to by Sahlström et al. (2012) are both ethnographic and employ CA as a tool. Finally, a recent PhD thesis by Lehtonen (2015) examines languaging (Fi. *kieleily*) in interaction among multiethnic adolescents in two junior high schools in Eastern Helsinki, the capital of Finland. In Lehtonen's study, the ways in which the adolescents position themselves and each other with regard to social categories related to ethnicity, gender, and style are analysed. The analyses focus on the linguistic resources used in the positioning, as well as their attitudes vis-a-vis linguistic diversity and asymmetry. Analyses of the data, consisting of field notes, interviews, audio and video recordings of spontaneous interaction, illustrate the ways in which adolescents orientate to the categories of ethnicity, gender and enregistered styles. In particular, the study highlights the ways in which so-called social indexicals are employed in stylised performances of selves and others.

Jørgensen et al. (2011; cf. Jørgensen & Møller, 2014) have published extensively from a longitudinal project on urban multilingualism in multiethnic Copenhagen schools. These studies highlight *polylanguaging* as the multimodal, multi-lingual and multi-semiotic engine of meaning-making processes. Finally, Gogolin (2005) reviews bilingual education in Germany in the light of societal debates and what she calls rather limited empirical research. Focusing on macro- or meso-scales of policies and organisation of bilingual education, she discusses contextual factors in language education for migrant children and some recent research on bilingual education programmes. She comes to the conclusion that pragmatism is needed instead of ideological debates, if multilingualism in schools and society is to be considered an asset for the future.

3.5.2 Studies of (in)formal lives of young people in present-day societies of the global North

There has been a common focus for some time in research on "multilingual-multicultural" young people, as much of the scholarly work has concentrated on primarily on educational settings. However, in the Swedish context, some studies that transgress the formal-informal institutional continuum can be mentioned. Among these, Haglund's (2005) doctoral dissertation focused on social interaction and identification among adolescents in multilingual sub-urban Sweden. The thesis is based on ethnographic fieldwork among a group of adolescents inside and outside school settings. Furthermore, e.g. Schmidt's (2013) and Svensson's (2014) ethnographic studies (also associated with the research school LIMCUL) focused on the same age cohort (10 to 13 year olds) that is highlighted in the present thesis, and analysed the participants' literacy practices (as well as identity processes, cf. Schmidt 2013) in both school and free time activities. However, none of these two studies takes an explicit stance on multilingualism and multiculturalism. Another relatively recent example of Swedish scholarship interested in young people's everyday interaction both inside and outside institutional educational settings is Bellander's (2010) sociolinguistic study of adolescents' use of speech, writing and interactive media at home and during leisure time activities. Moreover, a recently published anthology (Bagga-Gupta et al. 2013) on literacy practices inside and outside school settings highlights the relations between formal governance in educational settings, educational practices and people's everyday lives outside the educational spheres. In this anthology, Bagga-Gupta (2013b) illustrates in her study the ways in which different kinds of literacy tools are employed in young people's and adults' multilingual-multimodal interaction.

In international contexts, from a wide range of studies, some inspirational sources are mentioned here. For instance, focusing on everyday languaging and linguistic ideologies, Karrebæk et al (2015) and Madsen et al. (2015) highlight the discrepancies of (national) linguistic ideologies and local multilingual practices in school and home settings. Through providing both examples from societal discourses and micro-analyses of locally occurring interaction, the authors illustrate how the latter elucidate both the participants' creative uses of available resources and awareness of linguistic norms.

The present thesis wishes to contribute to the strand of research that highlights the bridging and interconnectedness of two divides; the first being that of formal and informal settings such as schools and spare time activities and the second the assumedly separate online and offline TimeSpaces (Lefebvre, 1991). Here, focusing on the concept of young people's *life worlds*, originally associated with the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl, tallies with the view of socially constructed realities as introduced in section 3.1 (cf. Berger

& Luckmann 1966). The concept of life-world can be considered as "the reservoir of implicitly known traditions, the background assumptions that are embedded in language and culture and drawn upon by individuals in every-day life" (Cohen & Arato 1992: 428). Furthermore, it deals with human be-ings positioned in the landscape of experiences in their everyday lives and thus embraces their engagements in any setting, be it formally organised and educational or informal and spare-time related. The task of following the trajectories of young people's communicative, social and cultural practices across both inside and outside school settings and across the offline-online - continuum is in the present thesis completed by focusing on languaging practices as "borderless" (cf. Bagga-Gupta, et al., forthc.).

4 Methodological approaches and data sets

Joining people where they live has both a literal and a figurative meaning: we stay with them in long houses or skyscrapers, classrooms or spirit shrines; and we try through observant interaction to grasp what is meaningful in their lives – the projects, problems, values, and hopes at the heart of what they are doing. The method for this kind of data creation, participant observation, also entails critical reflection, not just upon what they are doing, but upon what we are doing in our engagement with them.

(Whyte, 1999:235)

This chapter deals with the methodological considerations and research procedures employed in the DIMuL research project. The main methodological approach is inspired by ethnography, which will be discussed in-depth here. Furthermore, the chosen research procedures, created data sets and analytical methods are presented and evaluated in this chapter. Finally, some ethical issues relating to ethnographic research are addressed.

4.1 Ethnography

Traditionally, ethnography as an approach has been associated with the fields of cultural and social anthropology, but it has been used as a research methodology in a number of other fields as well. For a long time before the sociologists of the early 20th century "Chicago school" began studying local communities in nearby urban areas, "doing ethnography" usually meant engaging in fieldwork in a distant place within a culture that differed as dramatically as possible from one's own, the "where" of ethnography overshadowing the "what" of it. The research presented in this thesis builds upon studying local communities in the vicinity of the DIMuL research team. In the age of late modern ethnography, the emphasis has shifted towards a problem focus, theoretical links and even meeting the needs of the subject(s) in the study, as many authors conclude (e.g. Agar, 1980; Heath et al., 2008; Wolcott, 2008). Moreover, the locations of where a large part of ethnography is conducted today have emerged closer to individual researchers' eve-

ryday lives, as is the case in the research presented in this thesis. During a 20-month period ranging from February 2010 to September 2011, I did not embark on a boat or a plane that would take me to a distant and exotic location, but on a journey that consisted of trips, facilitated by public transport, to a nearby city and to the school and homes of (some of) my research subjects. Furthermore, my travels to and within the fieldwork entailed making virtual journeys through logging onto a computer and having encounters with the research subjects' virtual aliases in an online milieu.

In a popular allegory, ethnography is called "a way of seeing" (Wolcott, 2008). It takes different shapes and forms depending on the discipline and research area where the researcher/s are situated and may be difficult to conceptualize. However, some criteria can be highlighted. First, being an ethnographer means relying on oneself as the primary research instrument and embracing multiple techniques (Wolcott, 2008: 45-46). The individual dimension of ethnography is thus connected to any ethnographer's personal style of doing research. What becomes of this endeavour is at its best described as an ethnography; a theory of collective cultural behaviour in a particular society, about groups of people who engage in customary forms of social interaction, or a description of a culture, if you like (ibid; 33). The enterprise Wolcott describes may seem rather extensive – and in fact, for my aspirations, a more relevant aim has instead been to describe "what the people in some particular place or status ordinarily do, and the *meanings* they ascribe to the doing" (Wolcott, 2008:72-73, italics in original).

Second, while establishing what ethnography is, it is equally important to consider what it is not. Ethnography is not only a method, but also connected with certain theoretical assumptions that in turn are closely associated with the researcher's perception and view of society, individuals, identities, learning and language (Blommaert, 2006; Garsten, 2004; Lillis, 2008). Accordingly, the previous chapters have highlighted the specific epistemological and theoretical understandings that have influenced the ethnographic enterprise presented here. All these factors bring with them meanings that become visible in how one chooses to work with ethnography, whether it be *doing ethnography*, *adopting an ethnographic perspective*, or *using ethnographic tools*, related to the tripartite taxonomy by Heath et al. (2008:121). The fieldwork in the DIMuL project certainly began as "ethnographically inspired or informed" (see Wolcott 2008: 29 and 181), then gradually transformed into "ethnography" at a deeper level as the days, weeks and months passed and my relations with both people and institutions in the field deepened (and as my doctoral studies progressed). In the present research, ethnography has often been as much about *being* as it is has been about *doing* (cf. Holmström, 2013). My being in the field consisted of the most obvious identity positions of them all, "being a researcher", but also of other kinds of positions such as being "a Finnish and Swedish-speaking person", "a grownup", "a friend", "a female role model", "an assistant teacher", and so on.

Thus, the ways of doing fieldwork as well as my relationship with the people I have studied have varied in both time and space, and some of the challenges this entailed in terms of research ethics are discussed further below.

Connected to the notion of ethnography being tied to a particular set of theoretical assumptions, lies an important epistemological belief I have carried with me throughout the process of doing fieldwork. This has to do with the *creation* of data instead of *collection* of data. In choosing the term create, I join Whyte (1999) and other scholars, including my senior and junior colleagues at the CCD research group, (cf. Aspers, 2007: 111; Brinkmann, 2014; Holmström, 2013; Rosén, 2013) who emphasize the *mutual* craftsmanship, production and construction of the data in a process between the scholar and the community studied. Brinkmann (2014:721) goes as far as to suggest that we talk about *creata* instead of *data*, emphasizing the nature of data as taken, constructed and selected – rather than given. Thus for me, these views are also connected with the belief that without the community, this research would not exist, and furthermore, without the people giving me permission to enter their lives, observe and participate in them, there would not be anything that in research terms, is called "data" (Cf. Bagga-Gupta, et al. forthc.). Such an idea is highlighted by Goodwin et al. (2003) who point out that the process of creation of the data is most often a symbiotic one, including both the researcher and the community studied. Furthermore, Aspers (2007) describes the same situation from a relational point of view, concluding that fieldwork is *interpersonal*, and as such, it poses many challenges for the researcher both personally and ethically. Yet another extension of this interpersonal view is the acknowledgement of the fact that an individual researcher is an extension of a community of practices s/he belongs to – both the community she studies as well as the research community she is situated within.

Being clear about one's involvement in ethnographic research means recognizing that the researcher's person and presence has an effect on every phase of planning, conducting and reporting the study. Or as Wolcott (2008: 126) concludes about the uniqueness of any ethnographic research: "We put our unique imprint on everything we do as individuals, and that certainly includes how we go about writing up an inquiry". In the present research, fieldwork consisted of both tactically and systematically planned dimensions of data creation such as video recording, writing field notes and collecting texts, but also of less deliberate "working methods", where getting involved, overhearing conversations, casual chatting, participating in activities and so on are acknowledged. These also included the work in the DIMuL project, the progression of the individual studies that make up this thesis, the research activities of the different research environments I participated in. Before going into the details of these research practices, I will shortly dwell on a few particular extensions of ethnography that have had an effect on the trajectory of the present research.

4.2 The many faces of language-oriented ethnography

From empirical and epistemological points of departure, the interplay between language and the social are at the nexus of the present thesis. Important inspirational sources upon preparing fieldwork have therefore been linguistic ethnography and linguistic anthropology, with their slightly different foci on discursive practices in social contexts and the merging points of societal and interactive forces on the one hand and the concept of "culture" as a nexus of study on the other (cf. Creese, 2008). In general, the current research has been inspired by an approach that, in concert with a poststructuralist orientation, takes a critical stance towards "essentialist accounts of social life" (Creese, 2008), namely linguistic ethnography. Stemming from strands of linguistic anthropology[13] and a relative of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968, 1974) as well as interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982), linguistic ethnography holds an interest in language and social life as mutually shaped (Rampton et al., 2004). Such a focus on the dynamic nature of this interplay coincides with a sociocultural and dialogical framing and the research interests of the DIMuL project. Linguistic ethnography is furthermore said to have at least two distinct aims and characteristics: 1) refocusing the vast enterprise of ethnography by "tying it down" through focused analyses of clearly delimitable processes and increasing the amount of reported data, and 2) "opening up linguistics" through challenging its (historical) focus on language as an autonomous system, and its aims of producing standardised and generalizable knowledge concerning people's language use (Rampton et al., 2004, cf. chapters 1-3).

Furthermore, the thesis draws from the transdisciplinary field of educational linguistics (Hornberger, 2001; Hult 2008), which can be seen as an extension of the broad field of applied linguistics. As a problem-oriented, theme-based intellectual activity, educational linguistics focuses on the role of language in learning and teaching (Hornberger, 2001: 19) and attempts to understand the relationship between "how people mean" and "how people learn" (Hult, 2010:21, referring to Halliday, 2007). Nested in this kind of thinking is an open-mindedness and creativity in relation to potential contexts of study, uses of theories and methodological approaches – which in the case of this thesis has meant e.g. paying attention to linguistic practices that take place in both formal and informal settings and employing both ethnographic and netnographic[14] methods. Moreover, the transdisciplinary na-

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[13] For a more comprehensive discussion on the commonalities and differences between (North American) linguistic anthropology and (UK) linguistic ethnography, see Rampton et al., (2004).

[14] In choosing the spelling "netnography", instead of "nethnography", I follow the norm established by Kozinets (2010) and widely employed in recent academic writings.

ture of educational linguistics has demanded critical thinking when focusing on a problem-oriented research topic.

4.3 Conducting fieldwork

4.3.1 Identifying and entering the field

In the DIMuL project, a school with an official bilingual/bicultural Sweden Finnish profile was chosen as the main site of investigation for several different reasons. First, the role of any school as a socially, culturally and linguistically organised institution could be considered important in terms of exploring young people's languaging, learning and identity processes from a sociocultural and dialogical point of view. Second, schools like the project school are among the few institutions in the geopolitical spaces of Sweden that allow fairly easy access to young people who at least potentially have bilingual/bicultural resources in both the Swedish and Finnish language varieties and cultures, which was an area deemed especially interesting prior to fieldwork. Third, gaining access to the lives of multilingual young people via "natural" coexistence at school allowed for the extension of ethnographic fieldwork to other settings as well where the members of Class 5/6 C were present.

Initial contacts with the field were taken during the autumn of 2009, when a member of the School Board at the project school was contacted. This person, who was also a parent of one of the young people in Class 5/6 C, introduced my research idea to the School Board who were positively attuned to it. She also contacted some individual teachers, one of whom became my gatekeeper (see e.g. Agar, 1980, Wolcott, 2008). The latter assisted in making those important first visits at the school and introduced me to other staff, including the school's headmaster, whom I encountered during the first visit to the school and whose positive response increased the legitimacy of the fieldwork. The role of these gatekeepers has been influential in gaining access and legitimacy at the school and continued to be so throughout the fieldwork, even though my dependency of them diminished as the fieldwork progressed during the academic year of 2010-2011.

Initially, I was given a chance to visit two different classes in years 4 and 5 through one of the gatekeepers, a teacher responsible for Swedish language teaching. After these visits and discussions with both school personnel and the senior members of the DIMuL team, I decided to follow Class 5/6 C during this initial phase of my fieldwork. This decision was based partly on the framework offered by the national LIMCUL research school profile, including my own interests, and partly on local conditions at the school. For instance, the fourth-grade class had notably fewer pupils than Class 5/6 C,

and this might have affected the research project negatively, especially in terms of potential loss of participants further on during the fieldwork and the possibilities of recruiting new ones. Class 5/6 C as a group was also rather heterogeneous in terms of children's linguistic backgrounds (see section 5), which was one of criteria that was deemed significant in the project. A key factor for the selection of engaging with Class 5/6 C was the willingness of the teachers and the young people for participating in the study, which was signalled by the members of Class 5/6 C from the beginning and can be seen as an essential principle of ethnographic fieldwork. This kind of subjective selection can naturally be criticised from several (normatively related) points of view, both in terms of initial selection of the school and the class, as well as a further selection of a smaller number of individuals who were followed more closely during the fieldwork and what was to become the different studies that have been selected to become part of this thesis. Nevertheless, in terms of my research interests and the profile of the DIMuL project it can be argued that the selection has proven to be highly relevant.

4.3.2 Being in the field – doing fieldwork

The data in Studies I–IV and in this thesis come from phases of ethnographic fieldwork inside and outside the project school which spanned over a period of twenty months. Fieldwork visits at both physical and virtual "locations" were spread out between different intervals over three academic terms. These included a total of 36 days at the school site and even more, but brief-er, visits on virtual sites and an additional two visits at informants' homes. Figures 2a and 2b depict the timeline of fieldwork in 2010 and 2011.

Prior to initiating the main study, a two-part pilot study was conducted during the spring and summer of 2010. The first part included seven day-long field visits to the project Sweden Finnish School (see Fig. 2a & 2b). A variety of artefacts and data that were potentially interesting for the main project were identified and created: field notes, originals and copies of stu-dent-authored texts and text and work book pages, notes on and printed cop-ies of web pages that the young people used during the school days, photos of the classroom and questionnaire data. During the second part of the pilot study (see Fig. 2a), a two-day visit at the Sweden Finnish School a video camera was introduced in the fieldwork, and the activities during those two days were recorded and the recordings were then transcribed. This is a com-mon practice of initiating the processes of establishing new projects in the CCD research group where my project is situated. The recording and tran-scription processes gave me further insights into what sorts of events and practices could be documented through video recording, which then became a central feature of the data creation in the project school during the main study. The pilot study also accounted for a slightly revised definition of the aims of the project as well as more focused data creation. The frameworks

provided by the CCD research group and the DIMuL as a project were help-ful in this phase.

Moreover, a decision to engage with the research persons in online mi-lieux and thus create bonds beyond the school setting also matured during the pilot and a "researcher profile" on Facebook was established during the summer of 2010 (see Fig. 2a). The fieldwork then continued both at school and in the virtual environments from the autumn of 2010 onwards and was completed in September 2011 (see Fig. 2b). The data sets created throughout the pilot study as well as insights gained during the pilot were later im-mersed into the data of the project as a whole, which is also why the timeline of fieldwork is presented as flow charts running through the entire 20-month period from January 2010 through September 2011 (see Figs. 2a & 2b). Dur-ing this period, a flow of activities ran through the days, months and weeks of data creation, which at times meant intensive periods of presence at the project school and/or online milieux and participants' homes. This also in-cluded periods of absence when I was engaged with e.g. working with or-ganisation and preliminary analyses of the data, my doctoral course work and other academic duties. This tension between *involvement* and *detach-ment* as noted in the literature (see Bagga-Gupta, 1995; Powdermaker, 1966) – getting familiar, or at times even friendly, while keeping a professional stranger's view (Agar, 1980) on the fieldwork – was one of the core features of my ethnography.

As noted above, the instances of presence in what I call the physical field – the school and/or participants' homes – were spread our over intervals of three terms and a total of 38 days. Apart from being present and meeting the participants in the physical world, we encountered one another in the virtual milieux, mainly the social media site Facebook, but also through some of the young people's blogs and at times through text messages and e-mails. This was particularly the case during the latter part of the fieldwork, a 12-month period from September 2010 to September 2011. The tension between in-volvement and detachment mentioned above was typical for this virtual fieldwork as well that is described in more detail in section 4.5, Netnogra-phy, below. Finally, it should be noted that the processes of data creation and analysis in Study II were parallel during the latter half of the fieldwork (see Fig. 2b), which also shaped the rest of the fieldwork conducted in the DIM-uL project.
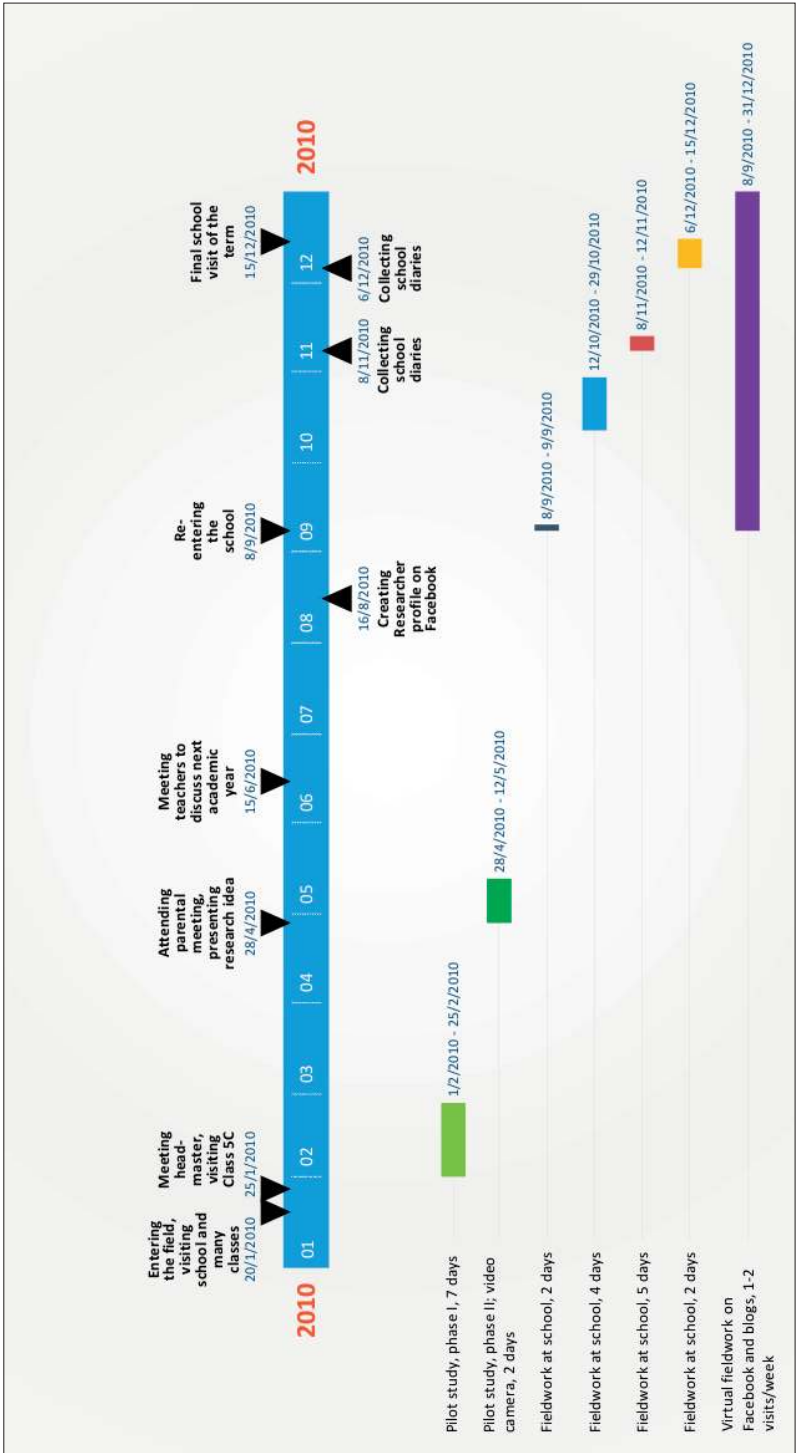
Figure 2a. Fieldwork during 2010.
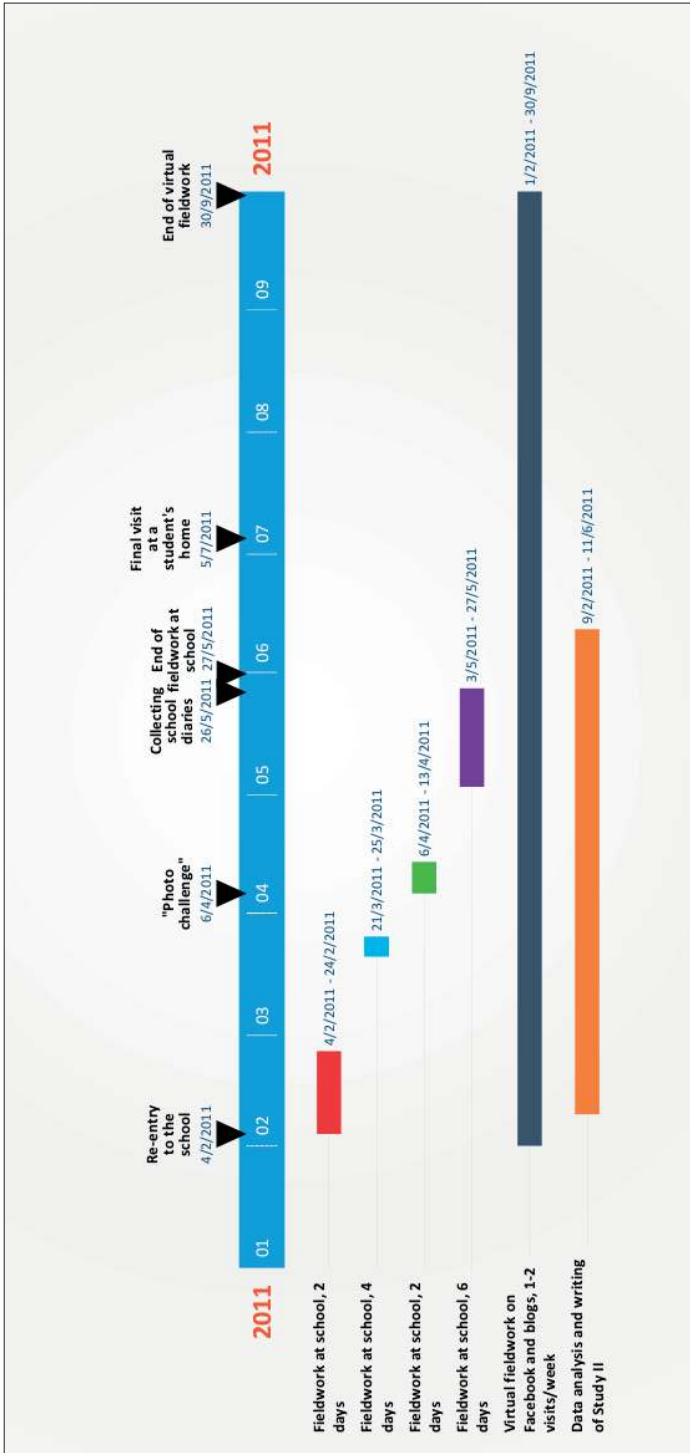
Figure 2b. Fieldwork during 2011.

4.3.3 A day in the (physical) field

When doing ethnographic research, a typical day in the field is just as often an atypical day in the field. Soon after entering the school, I learned that the printed weekly timetable (see Appendix E) for Class 5/6 C, displayed on the classroom door, was at times followed without exception, and at times it represented only a rough sketch of what the school day might be like. Apart from following timetabled activities, participating in the class entailed following any of the breaches that occurred in this planning. This could range from visits to a nearby library, "Sports day" at a local sports hall, teachers falling ill and substitutes coming in, with subsequent changes in lesson planning, and so on. Considering this, Figure 3 illustrates an "ethnographic day in the field".

Most of the time, the formal day at school started at 8.30 a.m., and my entry into school occurred at the same time, sometimes a bit later. The students in the class came from different parts of the city, using different kinds of transportation and thus arrived at different times, most of them immediately prior to the start of the first lesson. The door to the classroom was always locked in the morning, which meant that the students had to wait for their teacher or a neighbouring class's teacher to open the door before entering the classroom. As is quite common in schools in Sweden, all the students had their own lockers in the hallway right outside the classroom, where they could hang their clothes and store their shoes during times of cold weather.

As illustrated in the first vignette in the introduction to this thesis, upon entering the classroom I typically found a seat somewhere at the back of the room, where I then set up my video camera and picked up an A5 notebook to write field notes in, while paying attention to the introductory activities initiated by the teacher (see Chapter 1). At the same time I was mapping which, if any, of the students were not present in the classroom that morning, and taking notes of e.g. new seating arrangements, new textual and visual materials that might have appeared on the whiteboard and walls since my last visit, and so on, before I started into video recording and jotting down notes regarding the activities in the classroom (cf. Aspers, 2007: 117; Emerson et al., 1995). The students and the teacher usually acknowledged my presence, especially at the beginning of the fieldwork phase, but rather soon the class seemed to be "living their lives as usual", despite the presence of "a professional stranger" (Agar, 1980; see also Holmström, 2013; St John, 2014; Tapio, 2013). During the lessons, I would at times move from my initial position at the back of the class (or from the sofa at the side of the classroom, see illustrations in appendices A and B of the classroom layout), take a closer look at the books and assignments the students were working with, ask if I could borrow and document them through photography, and sometimes be asked to assist someone when they were working with a task. Even though my goal was to avoid "disturbing" the institutional activities, there

were times when the data creation could be considered an extra-curricular activity occurring during curricular practices. A few examples that represent this include conducting a survey during a Finnish lesson, being allowed to use lesson time in order to introduce a "photo challenge" for the students, and taking students out of the classroom to be interviewed.

Time	Activity	Participants	Place	Typical data created
8.30	Entering the school, 1st lesson: Finnish	Students, head teacher of the class, AG	Hallway, classroom	Field notes, video/audio recordings, literacy data
9.30	Break	Students, AG	Hallway, school yard	Field notes
9.50	2nd lesson: Natural science	Students, head teacher of the class, AG	Classroom	Field notes, video/audio recordings, literacy data
10.50	Lunch break	Students, teachers, other personnel, AG	Lunch room, school yard, hallway	Photos, field notes
11.40	3rd lesson: Social sciences	Students, Social Sciences teacher, AG		Field notes, video/audio recordings, literacy data
12.40	Break	Students, AG	Hallway, school yard	Organizing and making sense of data
12.50	4th lesson: Swedish	Students, Swedish teacher, AG	Classroom	Field notes, video/audio recordings, literacy data
13.50	Break	Students, AG	Hallway, school yard	Organizing and making sense of data
14.00	5th lesson: Mathematics - Finnish	Students, head teacher of the class, AG	Classroom	Field notes, video/audio recordings, literacy data
15.00	End of school day	Students, AG	Hallway	
16.00	Return from the physical field, rewriting field notes, netnography	Students, AG	On my way home/at work/at home/ internet	Field notes, screen grabs of Facebook/blog sites

Figure 3. An ethnographic day in the field. AG = Annaliina Gynne

Despite variation in both the institutional framing of the school day and its contents, a routine day consisted of a flow of activities focused around formal learning during lessons that were arranged according to a daily lesson plan (see Appendix E), as well as informal activities among the young people both during some classes, but above all during breaks. I used the school breaks during my fieldwork in mainly three different ways: 1) I joined the students in their activities, whether they be playing basketball, listening to music via mobile phones, or just "hanging out" in the school yard or in the hallway 2) I took advantage of the break in order to write and make sense of field notes of events that had occurred during the previous lesson and/or I photographed literacy materials 3) I engaged in discussions with the teaching staff. In many ways, my ethnographic practices and being in the field resembled practices familiar from previous research, e.g. Jonsson's (2006) ethnographic study among multicultural male pupils at a secondary school in Sweden, Haglund's (2005) ethnographic work among a group of adolescents inside and outside school in suburban Sweden (including the projects at the CCD research group). However, some distinct variations can be noted in my fieldwork, particularly in terms of my netnographic fieldwork.

At the end of the school day, I collected my equipment and left the classroom together with the students, some of whom at times stayed behind to talk to me or spend time with their friends in other classes. Apart from a few days when I visited two of the young people's homes after school, I usually made my way home at around 4–5 p.m., taking the opportunity to rewrite my field notes and write down ideas and reflections concerning my fieldwork experiences. During the academic year 2010-2011, I would sometimes end "a day in the field" by logging on to Facebook and reading the participants' blogs – a practice I found arduous after a while, and thus moved on to conducting virtual fieldwork on days when I was *not* present in the physical field (see section 4.5, Netnography).

4.4 Data creation and data sets

In this section, an overview and the framework of the data creation within the DIMuL project is provided. During the fieldwork, my ambition was to create an ethnographic data that was as rich as possible (Wolcott, 2008). Following this ambition led to employing several methodological approaches. The data created inside and outside the institutional setting within the project are summarised in Figure 4. Apart from the summative illustration in Figure 4, this section presents and discusses different data sets from their specific characteristics.

The main methodological point of departure throughout the data creation phase in the DIMuL project has been participant observations and video recordings in the school setting, complemented by visual documentation of the school surroundings through photography and documenting texts used and created by members of Class 5/6 C as well as institutional texts pertaining to the Sweden Finnish school. The empirical data also contains data gathered through a small-scale survey among students in the class during the pilot phase of the project, which was then complemented through "mini-interviews" based on the survey during the main study (see Chapter 5). In settings outside the school the focus was on participant observations as well as visual documentation of social networking sites (SNS), blogs and activities that transpired in virtual spaces where some members of Class 5/6 C were active, and to some extent, videotaping and taking photographs in the homes of two of the participants. The research has thus employed a wide range of ethnographic tools and settings for data creation.
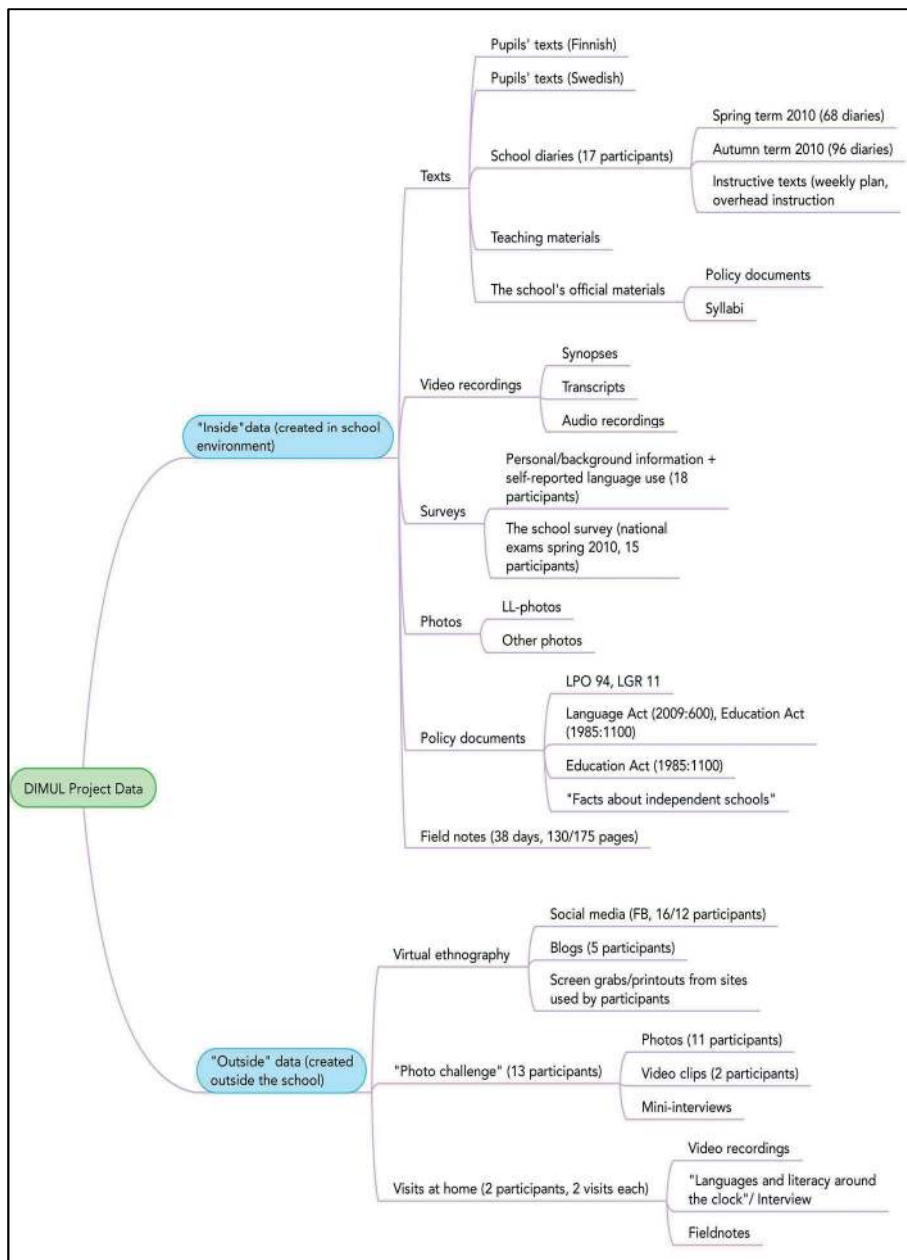
Figure 4. An overview of the data sets in the DIMuL project.

4.4.1 Field notes as ethnographic data

As noted above, ethnographic fieldwork at the school began as participant observations, where writing field notes was an integral part of the process. Emerson et al. (1995) illustrate the process of working with ethnographic

field notes from making jottings through writing detailed notes to extended entries and finally to employing field notes as a part of one's thematic analysis of the data from the field. My own process with writing field notes evolved notably during the data creation. A common procedure was to begin by describing the context in short (date, time, place, institutional framework in terms of lesson/other relevant frameworks such as break or other activity) and then moving on to a description of the current activity. When needed, the field notes were complemented with illustrations of e.g. classroom layout with the current seating plan as well as other visual observations (see e.g. Figure 5). Sometimes I stayed behind in the classroom during breaks to finish writing down my impressions and preanalytical interpretations of the events that I had observed during the lesson. During the months that followed, and not least on the account of data-sessions with co-authors, colleagues or in my doctoral courses, I noticed my observational skills developing. This led to my analytical focus narrowing down towards events and practices that focused on languaging involving literacies, "multilingualism" and "identity work". Both of these processes were supported by continuous dialogue with research colleagues both within and beyond CCD, LIMCUL and within the SOLD research environment[15] at Mälardalen University. Taking field notes was also a parallel activity with video recording, as having access to pen and paper was often an essential aid for my memory (not least when observing things that were outside the camera focus), but also at times a practical problem when I was working with a handheld camera. As the fieldwork progressed, I found myself complementing my field notes with photos – I jotted down notes related to photos that I had taken with the camera. Field notes were also an essential tool for researcher reflexivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007*),* as making notes of events and practices that took place in the class also entailed making notes of my interpretations of them and of my role as a researcher (see e.g. Figure 6). Reflexivity is further discussed in section 4.7.

A distinctive feature for the practice of writing field notes was that I later on became aware that throughout the fieldwork phase, I was jotting down notes in both Finnish and Swedish language varieties – and jotting down brief "transcriptions" of members using those and other language varieties, most often English. In this sense, the heteroglossic and *chained* practices of the participants also translated into heteroglossic (and multimodal) research practices, which became a naturalistic feature in the fieldwork (see e.g. Figure 6). Allowing oneself to flexibly move between linguistic varieties in writing field notes also entailed a practical advantage of being able to take notes faster (cf. Bagga-Gupta et al., forthcoming).

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[15] SOLD stands for Språk- och litteraturdidaktik (Sw.), Language and literature didactics, and is a part of the School of Education, Culture and Communication at Mälardalen University.

Figure 5. Example of field notes; the whiteboard and other literacy materials on classroom walls (27 January, 2010, my first field visit at the project school).

Translation: WB, whiteboard. The small square in the lower left hand corner is a sketch of the classroom layout and the numbers 1 to 7 refer to numbered items "seinällä" = "on the wall" in the bottom half of the paper. 1. History-timeline, (Sw), 2. Word classes (Fi), 3. Mathematical methods (Sw & Fi), 4. Ideas for the class council (Sw), 5. Map (Europe, Sw.), 6. Moomin poster in frame, 7. Class photos.

The field notes created during the fieldwork account for approximately 130 typed A4-pages (or 175 hand-written A5 -pages) of text and illustrations. During the analyses, field notes have often been used as both the core data set and complementary to other types of data (see Studies I, II, III and IV). Often, analyses have arisen at the intersection of field notes, video recordings, textual data and other data sets (see also section 4.6 on analysis methods). Last but not least, field notes have also been crucial when navigating among other data sets, and exploring and examining the chains of events and practices (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 1995).

9 September, 2010. 8.30-

Finnish lesson – discussion about yesterday, Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs were visiting. Teacher tells the class about the ministers and heads of states he has met. Transformation to a lesson in Biology: the participants go through yesterday's assignments on the theme forest/trees and wishes are expressed concerning a visit to the forest the following week. P and M (M not present yesterday) are working with M's exercises in the study book; quite a mechanical procedure, but **collaborative writing** going on. The same as yesterday; I am surprised by the amount of Finnish language teaching – perhaps in relation to the fact that both the books and the teaching are in Finnish. Compare with Maths, for instance, where the books are in Swedish. How does this affect my analysis? *Social practices – a description*.

Figure 6ab. Example of multilingual field notes from a Finnish-turned-into-a-Biology lesson on 9 Sept, 2010.

Key: Finnish language, *Swedish language* and **English language** varieties. My translations from Finnish and Swedish to English.

4.4.2 Video recordings as ethnographic data

Another distinct feature of the ethnographic fieldwork conducted within the project DIMuL is video recording. Pink (2007) and many other scholars highlight that visual ethnography is becoming increasingly incorporated into the work of many ethnographers. Beyond noting the rising popularity of (audio)visual documentation in ethnography, Pink urges us to reflect upon the suitability of using visual methods in research. Important questions researchers need to ask themselves deal with the mutual compatibility of research questions, the chosen method, research ethical perspectives as well as the local culture studied. Furthermore, a visual ethnographer needs to develop a reflexive approach to her own beliefs and consider the epistemological concerns of her academic discipline (Pink, 2007: 49–50). In line with the above, Melander notes that "using a video camera to document everyday practices is not simply documenting what people are doing, rather, the researcher's interests can be seen already in the resulting recordings" (Melander, 2009:36). The DIMuL project is no exception in this sense. When planning the fieldwork, I saw it as a necessity to turn to visual ethnography, as people generally, and adolescents more specifically, currently lead lives that are visually and multimodally dominated (Dicks et al., 2011). In this aspect, the presence of modern technology, not least the internet and mobile phones, but also other practical-technical devices, plays an important role. As Garsten (2004) points out, interaction occurring on an electronic platform enables us to switch perspectives beyond the limitations of time and space that face-to-face interaction suffers from. The concepts of the local and the global switch meanings and intertwine, making the visual elements of life and thus ethnography even more interesting (see also Messina Dahlberg, 2015). Furthermore, using a video camera allows a greater scope for documentation and memorisation than what can be achieved through the sole writing of field notes or audio recordings.

Employing video recordings as an essential part of the data creation did mean that I had to deal with many technical, practical and ethical challenges. During the recordings, I worked interchangeably with a handheld and a stationary camera; the first of these allowed me to change positions and camera angles in the classroom with ease, but sometimes at the expense of film quality ("shaky"/unstable picture). Having a stationary camera on a stand or placed on a bookshelf allowed for better film quality, but also limited camera angles and shifts in focus. The majority of the video recordings were therefore conducted with a handheld camera from using different angles during the school day. As anyone who has ever conducted audiovisual documentation in a classroom full of 11–13-year-old students will have experienced, I also encountered practical problems in terms of the students' physical mobility (students disappearing and reappearing in the camera angle) as well as the audio quality (several people talking at the same time, distracting noises

from the hallway or from within the classroom). Some of the latter were dealt with by using a separate MP3 audio recording device right next to the student or a student group who was in focus at a specific moment during the fieldwork. Another important strategy was to turn towards both video and complementary audio recordings as well as fieldnotes during the transcription phase of the analysis work. Approximately one third of the video recorded data has been complemented with audio recordings.

Yet another challenge a researcher faces when working with video-recorded materials, as pointed out by Melander (2009) is the profound difference between participating during the recording and looking at the recording as a product. A few steps further in the process, the difficult tasks of transcribing and transforming one's data into a research report pose other challenges for the researcher. Of these, transcriptions and the craft of transcribing are therefore discussed below under a separate heading in 4.6.1.

Against the backdrop of approximately 220 hours in the school during the fieldwork phase, video recordings in the classroom account for approximately 45 hours of recorded data. The latter has been treated in the following manner: all recordings, ranging from short sequences (5–10 seconds) to full lessons (55 minutes), have been first coded with date, number, time and length in minutes and seconds as well as given a code name, which often clarified something about the contents of that particular recording. Within the DIMuL project framework it was deemed impossible to transcribe and analyse all materials created through video and audio recording. This led to the second step during which all 257 video recordings, synopses/summaries were written. In the synopses, events that transpired and individuals who appeared in the recording were described, and some parts of the dialogue were preliminary transcribed. After summarizing all the video recordings, a preliminary coding of the themes identified and the overall value of each recording was noted. This screening (Häggblom & Sahlström, 2003) then facilitated making informed choices, against the backdrop of the aims in project DIMuL, regarding which themes and recordings were interesting for creating theme based mini-databases, for being transcribed more thoroughly and focusing analyses on.

4.4.3 Miscellaneous texts as ethnographic data

In literacy studies that rely on ethnography as a research approach, collecting texts is a common way of creating ethnographic data. For instance, Lillis (2008) presents "text-oriented ethnography"; combining ethnographic data around the processes of text production and interpretation, with detailed (linguistic) analyses of textual data (see also Bagga-Gupta, 1995, 2004 for ethnographic research projects that have combined multilingualism and literacies). In the DIMuL research project, texts constitute a substantial part of the data set as a whole. Textual data are represented in both artefacts in

which linguistic, textual, visual and other multimodal features emerge, but also in data types that have become essential in informing and enriching the analyses of social practices circulating around literacies (see Studies I, II and III in particular). The data sets pertaining to "texts" created within the ethnographic fieldwork include the following types of data:

A. student texts (related to formal learning)
   - school diaries
   - stories
   - reports
B. student texts (related to other practices than those of formal learning)
   - handwritten notes
   - drawings, e.g. comics
   - screen grabs of texts written on the whiteboard
   - student-created videos
C. pedagogical texts (created and provided by teachers, incl. substitutes)
   - instructions, both printed and written on the whiteboard and on the overhead projector
   - test templates
D. text book texts (printed texts)
   - copies of textbook and study book pages
   - photos of textbook and study book pages
E. policy texts (both formal and informal; policy documents and information materials)
   - school language policy
   - school profile description
   - syllabi
   - timetables

The wealth of textual data in any school classroom can be overwhelming for a researcher, and early during the fieldwork I realised that getting hold of all the textual data I noted during a school day was impossible and even unnecessary for many practical reasons. As is characteristic for ethnography, the collection of textual data is fragmentary, even though some parts of the collection (e.g. a corpus of 164 school diaries from the autumn term 2010 and spring term 2011)[16] are more complete than others. Furthermore, the text types described above could be collected and created as data in their own-

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[16] In Study II (Gynne & Bagga-Gupta, 2013), the school diary data corpus consists of 98 diaries. The discrepancy between figures in Study I and here are explained by the fact that data creation was continuing after Study II had been reported. On the other hand, the analysis also informed the ongoing fieldwork, see Figs. 2a and 2b.

right, but are also immersed in other data categories such as photographs as data and screen grabs of video-recorded data. In other words, this data category (as we have seen in other data categories discussed in this section) is inexhaustible and many of the corpuses have the possibility to grow, based on textual data that emerge in video-recorded materials. Most texts, when considered relevant for analyses in the studies, were treated and analysed as textual artefacts in relation to languaging practices. This is illustrated e.g. by the treatment of pedagogical texts and school diary data in studies II and III as well as the treatment of policy texts in Study I.

4.4.4 Other ethnographic data

In addition to the three main types of data – field notes, video recordings and textual data discussed above – a few other data types deserve to be mentioned here. First of all, the survey data, as reported in Chapter 5, were collected at the beginning of the fieldwork (during the spring term 2010) and complimented with interviews at a later stage. Other survey data, though not yet analysed in any publications, includes a school survey collected parallel to national exams during the spring 2010, in which the students reported on their use of Swedish[17]. Second, given that multimodal features in meaning-making is one of the interests of the thesis, visual ethnography (in this case, photography, and video data) was also a relevant feature of the ethnographic fieldwork. Pink (2007:65-67) points out that there are no fixed criteria that determine what photographs are ethnographic; rather, the meanings of photographs are arbitrary and subjective, connected with the ethnographer's understandings of the culture and the society where the fieldwork is conducted as well as discourses in it.

In the early stages of the fieldwork, my plan was to conduct a traditional Linguistic Landscaping (LL) study in the settings the participants were active in (see e.g. Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). This ambition also worked as an initial guideline when taking photographs and screen grabs of physical and virtual environments. Over time, my analytical interests moved from LLs to trying to gain an understanding of other kinds of social practices, following in one sense the recent expansions within LL studies (cf. Blommaert & Maly, 2015; Waksman & Shohamy, 2016). Considering the research focus on dynamics and dialogisms of languaging, video recording the participants' daily practices thus became a task of greater importance to me. However, as the fieldwork progressed, I also experimented with the co-creation of photographic data through engaging participants in collaborative photography through a "photo challenge" task. In this task, conducted during the latter part of March 2011, the young people were challenged to take three-five photos or videos on the theme "Me and languages" and send their creations

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[17] This data set has not been analysed and reported in any DIMuL publication (as yet).

to me. As the task was conducted on a voluntary basis, and 14 out of 18 young people in Class 5/6 C participated. As a result of this activity, I received 40 photos and two videos. Later on, interviews based on the photos were conducted, employing a mixed-methods approach in the knowledge production process (cf. Pink, 2007:88). The photos and the interviews that throw light on them have not yet been analysed or discussed in any project publications, but insights provided by them have been employed in gaining an understanding of the participants' life worlds. Third, visits to two of the participants' homes provided the DIMuL project with video recordings and photographical data, and also interview data collected in an experimental manner where a "clock face" was used. Here the participants were asked to explain their use of languages throughout the day (a method inspired by Martin-Jones et al., 2009). The analyses of these data have not been reported in published studies as yet.

A final method of data creation and kinds of data sets used in the DIMuL project needs to be presented before moving on to the analysis methods.

4.5 Netnography

In late modern ethnographic research, what is routinely called the "field" may also be something other than a physical field. In fact, Aspers (2007) talks about several fields in one. In the DIMuL project, this has been the case, as the non-physical field of virtual communication has constituted a noteworthy part of the research. In traditional ethnography this might have been controversial, but living in the age of technology and change has altered the premises for doing ethnography. This is acknowledged by many researchers. Wolcott concludes:

> as long as there is human interaction, there will be opportunity for ethnographic inquiry, and proponents for electronic forms of communication raise a good question by asking why should certain forms of communication be privileged over others? (Wolcott, 2008:30).

Netnography, or virtual ethnography, can at its simplest be described as "conduct of ethnography over the internet" and may be used to investigate many different phenomena from online advertising to learning and identity issues (Kozinets, 2010:1). As pointed out by Garsten (2004), ethnography as a method is well suited for studying for instance, social networks and communities in late modern societies. However, the realities of late modern societies and communities present new kind of challenges for contemporary (n)ethnographers (Garsten 2004:145). The focus of the virtual ethnography in this thesis has been the social and linguistic practices of participants on a popular social networking site, Facebook, as well as some of the partici-

pants' activities in terms of writing blogs and/or maintaining personal home pages. The data creation in these settings has occurred through a demeanour that could be called participant observation; on Facebook, I "befriended" some of the participants in the school based project and others "befriended" me[18]. This allowed me to get access to their personal profiles (and them to access mine; my research account had been created solely for research purposes with the intent of avoiding the disclosure of their identities to others in my personal life network). Access to blogs was provided through discussing them "IRL" and getting informed about the addresses, or getting links to blogs posted via Facebook. Participant observations, assisted by jot-like field notes, but above all so-called screen grabs of interaction that occurred on the social networking site/blog/home page constitute the main part of the netnographic data. This data set is presented and analysed in part in Studies III and IV. Further discussions on issues of privacy, closeness and distance in relation to social networking sites are also available in Studies III and IV.

After an initial process of getting acquainted with the participants' profiles and sites, a more focused period of data creation followed. Here, I visited the profiles and blogs approximately twice a week on a regular basis between September 2010 and September 2011, in order to document potentially interesting social and linguistic practices. As a part of maintaining an ethically acceptable position in relation to this virtual field and its participants, I strived to send signals of my online presence by posting comments on the profiles as well as encouraging interaction on my own profile, in addition to discussing the activities that occurred online during my fieldwork at the young people's school setting. All in all, one of the main challenges in conducting ethnographic research in virtual milieux seemed often to relate to the fact that when engaging in netnography, the field is fragmentary both in time and space, offering little continuity and stability in comparison with traditional physical fields of ethnographic study (cf. Messina Dahlberg, 2015). In the present thesis, the connections made and maintained with the participants in the physical world (and vice versa) helped overcome this challenge.

4.6 Analytical procedures

Due to the scope of the data as well as the long-term process of data creation, the practices of creation and – at least preliminary – analyses of data often took place simultaneously in the DIMuL research project this thesis reports from. For instance, Study II was reported at the same time as I was conducting my final "official" data creation visits at the school and participants' homes during the spring of 2011; the work on Study I started while finishing netnography in the autumn of 2011 (see Figures 2a and 2b). This

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[18] While some decided not to "be friends" with me on Facebook.

section summarises the analytical-methodological choices related to each of the studies that this thesis builds upon (I–IV) and presents the analytical approaches adopted in the thesis as a whole. Finally, the art of transcribing is discussed under a separate heading.

As noted earlier, the thesis as a whole is based on four studies that have each focused on varied themes related to languaging, including literacies and social positioning inside and outside institutionalised educational settings. As such, the studies have benefited from a variation of analytical methodologies, which can all be seen as related and based on tenets of linguistic ethnography and that stem from sociocultural and dialogical perspectives. Firstly, Study I has employed Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) and specifically, Nexus Analysis (NA). What is characteristic for NA is that it takes human action, rather than language or culture as its unit of analysis; it furthermore focuses on nexus points where multiple discourse cycles, historical trajectories of people, places, ideas and practices and interaction order meet and become intertwined (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 2007). The analytical process of NA consists of three stages: engaging the nexus, navigating the nexus and changing the nexus, of which the first two are focused on in Study I. The third stage, changing the nexus, can be completed when the implications of both Study I, and the thesis as a whole are made public with the professional field(s), and furthermore, brought into a dialogue with actors within the field of minority education.

Figure 7, following the original illustration of Scollon and Scollon (2004), highlights the key elements of NA. In addition to NA, which deals with mediated discourses and ties together both micro, meso and macro level discourses, Study I also employs a conversation analytical approach in the analysis of talk-in-interaction (Schegloff 1997).

In Studies II and III also, both micro-analytical/conversation analytical (CA) and discourse analytical (DA) methods have been employed, but in somewhat different ways as compared to those used in Study I. CA, primarily originating from the works of Sacks (1992a, 1992b) and Sacks and Schegloff (1973), focuses on micro-emic analysis of the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction, meaning detailed analyses arising from the participants' perspective that emphasises the systematicity of structures of talk (e.g. turn-taking, adjacency pairs, repair and so on). In its early stages, CA analyses were based on audio recordings (of telephone conversations), but later on, its many extensions have employed video recordings of naturally occurring social interaction (e.g. Melander & Sahlström, 2009; St John, 2014). In the present thesis, employing adapted CA in order to show the *multilingual* and distributed flow of interaction has been an important endeavour. Moreover, extending traditional CA to *multimodal* analyses of recorded interaction has been an important scholarly task. In Study II, in particular, an analytical point has been made about the fact that the sequentiality of talk in classroom does not solely rely on the oral mode – but that *chaining* of different oral,

visual and textual elements is a prerequisite for meaning-making which thus needs to be accounted for both in transcription and analytically (see 4.6.1 below for more details concerning how to represent talk and other elements in human interaction).

Figure 7. Three elements of social action in Nexus Analysis – historical body, interaction order and discourses in place (freely after Scollon & Scollon Wong 2004).

As for discourse analytical methods in Studies II and III, the focus has varied

Historical body

Social action

Interaction order

Discourses in place
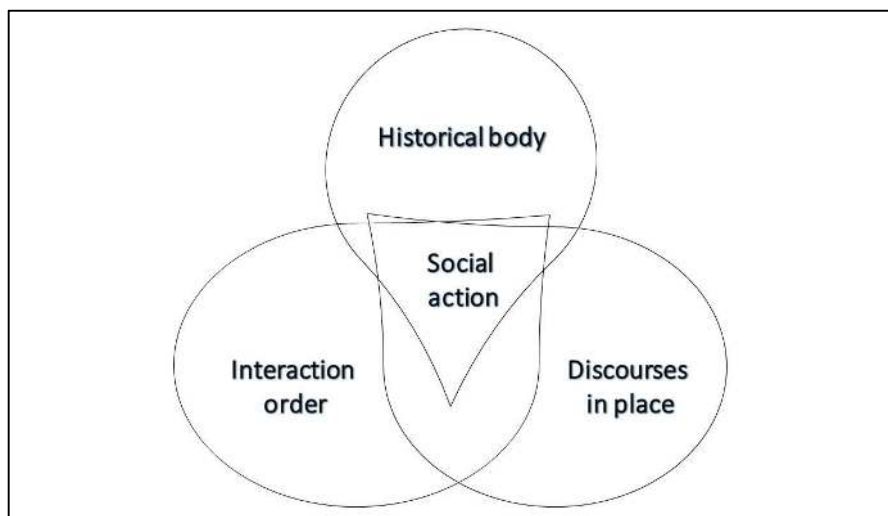
from what in previous literature has been named *conditions of the discourse practice* (Fairclough, 1992), i.e. the social practices of the "production and consumption" associated with texts and discourses to what can be called the *interdiscursive nature of languaging* as inseparable from the practices it occurs in (Bakhtin, 1981). Texts analysed in these studies – school diaries and instructions pertaining to them in Study I and student texts (including video), pedagogical instructions and extracts of internet sites in Studies II and III – can be considered to represent and (re)form discourses of languaging and learning in the institutional setting they are a part of. In Study IV, a DA approach has been adopted in order to represent and discuss multilingual and multimodal aspects of identity work in literacy practices across space and time. Here, a visual analysis based on the mapping of semiotic resources in data sets was an analytical point of departure. This was followed by an analytical procedure which considered the interplay of actors, resources and actions represented in the data sets and the practices related to them. In Study IV, as well as in Study III, an analytical challenge was to make sense of data which represented interactions in online settings, such as written-multimodal interaction on a Facebook "wall" in Study IV and multimodal YouTube video in Study III. The data types and analytical methods in each of the studies are summarised in Table 2. The inclusion of different data

types and analytical methods was a conscious choice, considering the oral language bias in many available classroom studies that focus solely on CA methodology. This builds upon, and also contributes to, the established work at the CCD research group since the end of the 1990s.

Table 2. Data types and analysis methods in Studies I, II, III and IV.

Study	Data types focused	Analysis methods used
I	Formal policy materials, field notes, video recordings, transcriptions	Nexus analysis (NA), adaptation of conversation analysis (CA)
II	Video recordings, transcriptions, school diaries	CA adaptation, DA adaptation, textual analysis
III	Video recordings, transcriptions, field notes, pedagogical instructions, student texts, extracts of internet sites and study books, Youtube video	CA adaptation, multimodal DA adaptation, textual and visual analysis
IV	Photographs, video recordings, screen grabs of Facebook site	Multimodal DA adaptation, visual and textual analysis

All four studies, dealing with the multitude of complex ethnographic data entailed both pre-analytical and analytical processes. In short, the first of these can be described as follows: in order to make sense of the data created, the different data sets were organised and pre-coded according to a temporal and situational coding system so that navigating between the data sets (in particular field notes, video and audio recordings and photos) would be facilitated. Moreover, data from different data sets were also coded and organised thematically according to specific analytical categories such as "multilingual languaging", "multimodal languaging", "literacy practices", "linguistic/cultural ideologies", "teacher-led languaging", "presence of English variety", "extra-curricular practice", "identity talk", and so on. Zooming into data created in specific practices entailed deepening initial interpretations made during data creation and pre-analysis, which at times meant that analytical threads emerged, needed to be revised or sometimes entirely abandoned. In addition to these two main categorisation methods, I initially strived to organise data sets according to which individual participants were central in them, but abandoned this categorisation system as the research progressed and its interests were refocused around social practices rather than the individuals in them. While I led the work in this manner, data sessions and joint discussions with my co-author/s and the CCD environment were instrumental for the analysis process.

In the individual studies, I initially worked inductively through studying the data with an open mind, allowing for specific themes and ideas to emerge from juxtaposing the different data sets, both audio, video, and tex-

tual. As the scope of audio- and video-recorded data in the project was so vast, a key feature in the pre-analytical processes was viewing and listening to recordings and writing summative synopses of them. During this process, coding of themes could occur both simultaneously with the synopsis writing and afterwards, when revisiting the synopses and recordings and identifying sequences, decisions were made concerning what data needed to be transcribed in further detail (see 4.6.1). In hindsight, the data creation and analytical processes might have benefited from a more systematic approach, e.g. directed towards either setting, individual participants or particular content areas (see e.g. Rusk et al., 2015), but on the other hand a more eclectic approach allowed for a an explorative and inclusive stance in relation to the different data sets and analyses.

The first steps of the analysis were a solitary endeavour, but the analytical processes also entailed collaborative work with research colleagues who shared an interest in the central issues of the research. This collaborative work could take the form of so-called data sessions, in which selected parts of data were studied together with colleagues, keeping an open mind in terms of new themes or categories that might arise from them, or data sessions in which my preliminary analyses were presented and subjected to constructive collegial criticism. From these themes, thematic categories emerged, which catered to the next step of the analytical work: making connections between different types of data sets in which the focused phenomena occurred, e.g. video and audio recordings, documented pedagogic instructions and student texts, photographs, and so on. This data triangulation was once again a more solitary endeavour, while representational issues and final analyses arising from triangulated data were discussed in data-sessions, at seminars and international conferences with both co-authors of articles and other colleagues (Studies I–IV). In the final phase of reporting on the individual studies, dialogue with editors and reviewers was an essential key feature.

4.6.1 The craft of transcribing

Reproducing audio- and video-recorded data in transcription is a crucial procedure within interaction-oriented analyses. A transcript functions as a representation of data (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), a representational means that mediates (selected) aspects of recorded events of the phenomenon the analyst is keen to understand. The process of transcribing is therefore a way of interpreting the data, while reducing it from several modes to one (when text is concerned), and as such, indeed an important step in the analysis. As noted by Norris (2002), within fields of research that share an interest in human interaction, a rather conventional, and standardised way of producing transcriptions has emerged over the course of decades (see also Bagga-Gupta & St John, 2015). As scholars, we are thus used to reducing spoken language

to the written mode. This does not mean, however, that one should be content with conventional ways of representing multimodal dimensions of human life in a "monomodal" manner, a dilemma that was highlighted by Goodwin as early as the mid-1990s:

> the rich record of complicated vocal and visual elements moving through time provided by a videotape must be transformed into something that can silently inhabit the printed page (Goodwin, 1994:607).

Today, many scholars working with visual data recorded in classrooms are using conventional transcription methods, while adding images that show gestures, gaze or longer descriptions to portions of a transcript (Norris, 2002:105), thus challenging the mono-modal habitus of transcripts (see e.g. Goodwin, 2007; Hansen, 2005; Melander, 2009; Melander & Sahlström, 2009). In addition to the emerging interactionally framed research from the Deaf Studies field, other recent adaptations of combining CA style transcription and visual extracts of video data include Holmström et al. (2013), Bagga-Gupta and St John (2015), Messina Dahlberg (2015) and St John (2013). In the present thesis, working with data that comprised both audio- and video-recordings with a multitude of visual, textual and oral elements entailed also some experimenting with transcription. A starting point was a rather traditional CA transcription system, which enabled a sequential representation of what was going on in verbal interaction. At the same time, an important analytical endeavour was to point to synchronicity of talk and other semiotic resources: texts, gestures, screens that participated in meaning-making. In practice, this was done through employing screen grabs from video recordings, which in turn were embedded in the transcription. Furthermore, their temporal or otherwise relevant placement in the extracts were referred to by using pointers or arrows that connect the transcribed text and image (this is illustrated by Figure 8 that draws upon analysis presented in Study II). Figure 9, derived from Study III, on the other hand illustrates a representation of video narration transcript, combined with visual images that highlight the intertextual relationships between so-called edutainment tv series, a student-created animation film on YouTube and a school book page. The transcription conventions used in the separate studies are provided in Appendix F, along with explanations regarding some incongruences between the transcriptions in the different studies.

35	Teacher:	vi hade ju lite **sausage** idag
		we had some **sausage** today didn't we
36	Sofia:	mm ((raises her hand))
37	Nicole:	((raises her hand))
38	Teacher:	och (.) men **flavour** va ä de för nånting då
		and (.) but **flavor** what is that then
39	Many studs:	((raise their hands))
40	Teacher:	ee (.) Hans
41	Hans:	smak
		flavor
42	Teacher:	de va smak (.) å sen ska ja fråga (.) sen ska ja fråga Hugo (.) vad **sausage** ä
		that was flavor (.) and then I'm going to ask (.) then I'm going to ask Hugo (.) what **sausage** is
43		både på finska [och på svenska om du kommer ihåg de]
		both in Finnish [and in Swedish if you remember that]
44	Many studs:	[mikä on toi **sausage** suomeksi]
		[what is that **sausage** in Finnish]
45	Janne:	korv
		sausage
46	Filippa:	säg ingenting han ska inte (xxx)
		don't say anything he should not (xxx)
47	Teacher:	kommer du ihåg (.) **in finnish sausage**
		do you remember (.) **in Finnish sausage**
48	Hugo:	*makkara*
		sausage
49	Teacher:	maakkara (.) **and in swedish**
		saausage (.) **and in Swedish**
50	Many studs:	((laughter))
51	Felicia:	maakkara ((imitating the teacher))

Figure 8. Example of transcription that uses embedded images and arrows to highlight local chaining of verbal Swedish-Finnish-English varieties, text and numbers (Study II).

Figure 9. Example of transcription which connects transcription of narrator voice from a YouTube video with still images from the same video and images from a text book in Biology (Study III).

Both the above examples and Studies I–IV together illustrate the ways in which the *visual or multimodal turn* (Jewitt, 2009: 4) has come to challenge the ways in which talk-in-interaction is represented. Many modern class-

room studies use CA conventions for representing and studying talk, and combine these with other representational means such as screen shots, photos and diagrams, in order to illuminate how interactions emerge in the intersection of several modes.

In addition to the challenges introduced by multimodal aspects, another issue that affects representation of interactions through transcription was the co-play of several linguistic resources in the interactions that have been studied. The linguistic varieties used in the data that were analysed in the studies were Swedish, Finnish and English – and the studies were reported in journal articles in English language journals and books (this is similar to the reporting in this thesis). Distinguishing between the different linguistic elements in the representation of data through using plain or **bold** style or *italics* in typesetting and making the original languages available in the transcripts has been an important endeavour throughout the research task. I share this interest with colleagues at the CCD research group and endeavour to make visible the interplay of different linguistic and semiotic resources in languaging. Moreover, a translation of transcripts and other data from original varieties to English has been necessary. Melander (2009:53) discusses matters of representation and translation of transcripts and notes that even though her analyses of interactions are based on original transcripts, translations can be regarded as yet another dimension of the analytical work. This has also been the case in the present thesis and the studies that constitute it.

4.7 Ethical considerations

4.7.1 Researcher position – being in the "space in between"

One of the greatest challenges for a researcher is finding an ethically sound working position in relation to the fields one studies. As concluded earlier, a notable part of the fieldwork in this project has consisted of some form of participant observation. This is described by Garsten (2004:151) as a period of "in between" space, when the ethnographer is a stranger in relation to the people she is studying, even though her physical presence is accepted and anticipated; a position comparable to that of Agar's (1980) "professional stranger". Garsten (2004) raises another perspective of being in between, which means alienating oneself from the self-evident truths of one's own social and cultural background. Being in a position where one's old attachments are not as natural as they used to be can help the ethnographer in opening her eyes and obtaining new realisations. Any preconceptions an ethnographer has of her field are both an advantage and a limitation when

she engages in ethnography. In the following, I reflect upon my relation to the fields I have studied from different perspectives.

In any kind of research, ethical issues are important due to the long-term implications of research for society (Swedish Research Council, 2009). A standard procedure concerning any research where human beings are involved usually covers issues such as informed consent, covert research, confidentiality, possible harm to informants, exploitation, ownership of data and protection of informants (Pink, 2007). Since ethnography as an approach includes employing methods that often demand close presence, and at times even cooperation from the researched people, ethics was and is an important issue that has been considered within the DIMuL project. Issues of anonymity and confidentiality as well as privacy and exploitation are something that any researcher needs to take into consideration when planning, conducting and evaluating ethnographic research.

Goodwin et al. (2003) remind us that in addition to ethical issues that at least to some extent can be predicted and averted, there are a number of unanticipated ethical dilemmas that the researcher is likely to be faced with. A standard approach to ethical issues in research is to try to take the ruling codes of ethical practice into consideration and apply them in planning the research, research practice and dissemination of results. The Swedish Research Council provides scholars with a guideline of principles for ethics in research (2011), which can function as an initial aid. However, it is also clear that ethics is a matter of continuously creating, promoting and maintaining awareness and dialogue about how one should act as a researcher. In a similar line of thought, Goodwin et al.'s conclusion (2003) is that ethical dilemmas are often unique and can thus only be resolved individually, taking the specific research context into account. What is considered ethics in research is also affected by changes in time and space (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001). Any researcher's demeanour when faced with an ethical dilemma should be considered in relation to the current research climate, which is ever-changing. The DIMuL project was scrutinised by the regional ethical vetting board in Uppsala prior to initializing the empirical study in 2010, and approved by the board within the framework provided by the Ethical Review Act (SFS 2003:460). Beyond the mere official assessment of the ethical treatment of participants and data within the project, the vetting process highlighted the importance of considering ethical issues throughout the duration of the project.

At a practical-ethical level, the formal issues of ethics have been dealt with in the DIMuL project in the following ways: prior to initiating data creation, the participants (both preadolescents and adults) were informed about the scope and purposes of the research both orally during meetings at the project school and in writing. To gain informed consent from the members of Class 5/6 C as well as their parents, I participated in a parental meeting at the school, informing them about the research project. I also sent in-

formation letters together with consent forms to the preadolescents' homes. Both the preadolescents and at least one of their guardians signed the forms before returning them back to me; none of the guardians who were approached had any objections to their child's participation in the project. The above-mentioned procedure was repeated when new students arrived in the class. All materials collected during the data creation were coded and made anonymous, so that no real names appear in any of the materials. All other details or facts that could potentially jeopardize the anonymisation process have also been changed or removed. This also applies for the data created within the netnographic part of the research, where the participants' Facebook and YouTube aliases and profile photos have been anonymised. The participants were offered a possibility of withdrawing their consent of participation if they did not want to share some of their materials with me or be video recorded. In practice, this often happened when I asked whether it was all right for me to use the camera or take a copy or a photo of a document. Only at a handful of occasions during the entire period of fieldwork did participants decline participation in some specific situations. Other ways of ensuring an ethically sustainable research process included co-analysis and co-authoring of papers, articles including conference presentations, as well as collegial scrutiny during data sessions. Regular discussions with my supervisors were also relevant ways of ensuring that the project sustained an ethical stance.

In addition to dealing with issues of anonymity and confidentiality, a reoccurring question I have needed to explore in this project relates to the ethnographer's dilemma of being both an insider and an outsider at the same time (cf. Aguilar, 1981; Goodwin et al. 2003). Wolcott (2008) challenges the ethnographer-in-the-making to consider whether it is possible to do ethnography among one's own people. This question has been relevant for me in terms of the fact that there are a sufficient number of common denominators between me and the individuals I have studied: cultural, linguistic and social. I was born and raised in a Finnish-speaking community in Finland, but moved to Sweden in my early 20s. Thus my own sociohistorical background – or my historical body – brings with it a number of connections to the Sweden Finnish minority. This has actualised questions of being and belonging at least for me, and most likely for the individuals and the community I have studied as well. On the other hand, the experiences I lived through during my youth and early adulthood were those of a member of a majority society – i.e. when I lived as a Finnish-speaking Finn in a culturally and linguistically dualist nation-state of Finland. My personal trajectory, that of moving to Sweden at an adult age and establishing a life in Sweden was thus quite different from the trajectories of most of the members in the school community. I will return to these issues in Chapter 6. Additionally, there was an aspect of asymmetry between most of the participants in project DIMuL and me. This had to do with our roles as grown-ups and adolescents. Being aware of this, I

strived to attain what Christensen and Prout (2002) call "ethical symmetry" in research with children. This entailed seeing the young people as social actors with their own experiences and understandings, pursuing research practices that were in line with their experiences, interests and everyday routines and perceiving the ethical relationship between the young people and me as if I was conducting research with adults.

So, both similarities and differences between the research participants and me – sometimes presupposed, sometimes "real" – actualised questions of doing ethnography among one's "own people". Therefore, attempting to fulfil Agar's (1980) premise of the ethnographically inspired researcher as one who is striving to be "a professional stranger" has been an important endeavour. Moreover, rather than having the dualist positioning as an insider or an outsider as a point of departure, I suggest that in the very enterprise of doing ethnographic research in a community, there are different scales of "insider/outsider-ness" that the researcher moves between throughout and even after completing the fieldwork.

5 The local context of the study – Class 5/6 C

Classrooms with an ever growing plethora of languages have become education's daily bread, and sociolinguistic research across the previous and present century has tried to make a point about regular classrooms being loci for and of identity construction.

(Spotti & Kroon, 2015:5)

From the conceptual and theoretical points of departure discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and in the spirit of ethnography as it has been described in Chapter 4, specific attention is paid in the thesis to a formal bilingual-bicultural school setting and classrooms as cultural contexts; these have their own sites of struggle and local institutional imperatives and affordances for particular kinds of learning, communicating and being (cf. Maybin 2003). This chapter explicates dimensions of the local context of the thesis in terms of the school and the class communities, paving the way for the summaries of the empirical studies in the following chapter.

5.1 The bilingual-bicultural Sweden Finnish school

While often at the margins of the mainstream national educational field, the role of minority schools can be central for the support of bilingualism in society. As one of seven bilingual Sweden Finnish schools at the time of the fieldwork, the DIMuL project school characterised itself as "offering education from primary to secondary levels with high educational standards and learning objectives with the aim of developing the students' bilingual as well as bicultural Swedish-Finnish skills"[19]. Its main profile is bilingualism and biculturalism, which also makes it rather unique in the Swedish educational landscape, even though there are a handful of schools with Swedish-Finnish profiles and a number of other independent schools with bilingual profiles in other language combinations (English-Swedish, Spanish-Swedish, and so on).

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[19] I have translated the school's publicity materials presented in this chapter.

As mentioned above in Chapter 3.4, the bilingual-bicultural programme in the project school can be characterised as corresponding in part to the so-called Two-Way or Dual Language Immersion programmes (see eg. Thomas & Collier, 1997) and in part to what is more generally called Maintenance programmes (see eg. Baker & Jones, 1998; Hornberger, 1991). In principle, approximately half of the subjects are taught mainly in Swedish and the other half are taught mainly in Finnish; the proportion of Swedish gradually growing, and the proportion of Finnish gradually shrinking towards the end of year 9, the final school year. Similar to all independent schools in Sweden, the project school follows the Swedish national curriculum and syllabi. This means, among other things, that English as a subject is included in the curriculum from year 3 onwards, and that students are allowed to choose to study a foreign language – French, German or Spanish – or Study support in Swedish or English[20] from the autumn term of year 6 onwards. Furthermore, the students also have a right to mother-tongue instruction in other languages than the ones mentioned here.

What is specific for the project school is, however, that it caters for the educational needs of one of Sweden's largest linguistic minorities, Sweden Finns, as it provides bilingual instruction across the curriculum in both Finnish and Swedish. In addition to serving the historical Sweden Finnish linguistic minority, the school also provides education for children of e.g. Finnish expatriates employed on one- or two-year working contracts in Sweden. During the time of the fieldwork, the number of students in the project school was approximately 370, across grades 1 to 9 (students between 7 and 16 years of age). The school had approximately 50 staff. In the premises of the school there was also a bilingual-bicultural Sweden Finnish kindergarten; this proximity was accounted for in terms of ensuring a smooth transition from pre-school to primary school.

The formal practices of the school were steered by, apart from the national curriculum and syllabi, three official policy documents: *The School's Basic Values* [Sw. Skolans värdegrund], *Language Policy* [Sw. Språkpolicy] and *Goals in Bilingualism* [Sw. Mål i tvåspråkighet]. All of these highlight the fact that the school valued language and language development in both the Finnish and Swedish language varieties and strived to support students towards "active and functional bilingualism". Further aspects of both formal and informal policy making and linguistic-cultural ideologies at the school are illustrated and discussed in Study I (Gynne, Bagga-Gupta & Lainio in press).

I had not visited this school prior to entering the premises with the purpose of establishing a space for empirical research. Nor did I have any personal contacts with the members of the staff or the students – our relationships began there and then, and evolved throughout (and with some, beyond)

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[20] This was the case during the fieldwork phase.

the fieldwork phase of the project. During the fieldwork, I learned a lot about this school's distinctive institutional features, language policy, local culture and practices. I also learned that this was a school with good achievement results, and a school where many of the participants took pride in belonging to the school community. One fraction of this community is focused in the following.

5.2 Class 5/6 C – a community?

During the fieldwork, "Class 5/6 C", a group of young people and teachers in the Sweden Finnish school were followed. The class consisted of 18 students, ten girls and eight boys, between 11 and 13 years of age. During the fieldwork, some movement in and out of the class occurred: one student moved to another school with a German-Swedish profile, another one moved out of the country after year 5. On the other hand, one student who had previously participated in the class returned to Sweden and the class in year 6, two totally new students entered the class in year 6 and one of the students changed schools during the autumn of year 6. He returned, however, to the class after a two-month period in another school setting. The students in the class came from other parts of the city and not where the school was situated in: Many of them used the public transport to get to and from the school.

Within the school setting, Class 5/6 C was known as "a good class" among the teachers. This implied that the students were generally relatively hard-working and ambitious and that so-called social problems were few in the class. On the other hand, like any class, Class 5/6 C students also struggled at times with learning, challenged teacher authority and one another and got into conflicts. Towards the end of my school-based fieldwork, when the spring term and 6th grade were coming to an end and a new era for the students was only a summer holiday away, the head teacher of the class discussed the students' characteristics with me. Perhaps in a whim of impending nostalgia, he described the class as "great students", explaining his belief that some of them in particular could "go far in their lives".

5.2.1 The young people

The individuals studied in the project DIMuL and who were members of Class 5/6 C were widely characterised by what is commonly described as "multiculturalism" in terms of their heritage and cultural backgrounds. All the students have at least one parent of Finnish origin and thus come from predominantly multilingual home settings (Swedish-Finnish, but also other language variety combinations such as German-Swedish-Finnish, Spanish-Swedish-Finnish, and Chinese-Swedish-Finnish). The sampling of this group of participants was based on my interest in multilingual educational settings

in general and the Sweden Finnish minority group in particular, as well as the aim of investigating identifications, language including literacy practices of preadolescents in a certain age cohort (ages 10-13, "the forgotten middle-school years"). The project school, being one of only seven formally designated bilingual Swedish-Finnish schools in Sweden at the time, together with Class 5/6 C in which all members agreed to participate, therefore provided an excellent site of investigation for the DIMuL project.

To gain some insight and information concerning the linguistic and social backgrounds of the pupils in Class 5/6 C, a mini-survey was conducted during the early stages of the fieldwork (see 4.4.4). A three-page questionnaire (see Appendix C), available in Finnish and Swedish language varieties, included approximately 30 questions, divided into four main groups of "questions about you/your family/ languages/spare time" and was answered by all 18 pupils who participated in the project. Later on during the first phase of the fieldwork, the questionnaire was complemented with mini-interviews where the "blank spots" of interpretation after an initial analysis of the survey data were covered. The purpose of the questionnaire was to complete early insights from the field and gain a better understanding of the multiple cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the pupils, in order to identify potentially interesting analytical themes as well as individuals for a further study. More importantly, the survey provided me with important insights concerning the discrepancy of the formal bilingualism-biculturalism of the school setting and the multiple and diverse backgrounds of the students who were a part of the setting. This in turn led to a revision of research aims and had effects on data creation and selection, analyses of the data and final topics of the research as well as in the thesis.

The questionnaire should not by any terms be seen as an attempt to grasp a complete picture of the young people and their backgrounds or its results as valid statistical data about Class 5/6 C. However, some general remarks concerning the results of the questionnaire are presented here, which hopefully will also give a fuller portrait of the studied *imagined* community[21] (Anderson, 1991) as a whole. In Table 3, members of Class 5/6 C are summarised in terms of their code names, places of birth and parents' background. Here it should be noted that the information presented in the tables derive from the young people themselves and I have not questioned the details unless there has been any obvious reason to do so. Furthermore, in presenting and interpreting such "factual data" regarding any individual, one should be careful when dealing with the kinds of structuralist descriptions or labellings that are used.

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[21] Anderson's (1991) *imagined communities* referred originally to the concept of a "nation". The definition can, however, be also applied to any kind of collective (political) identity that is considered as limited, such as a class or a team.

Table 3. Participants' code names, reported places of birth and parents' backgrounds.

Code name	Place of birth	Mother's background	Father's background
Anna	Finland	Born in Finland	Born in Brazil
Aron	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Bolivia
August	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Iran
Felicia	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Peru
Filippa	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Greece
Hannes	Finland	Born in China	Born in Finland
Hans	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Finland
Hugo	Finland	Born and lives in Finland	Born in Finland
Iris	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Morocco
Janne	Finland	Born in Finland	Born in Finland
Jonas	Finland	Born in Finland	Born in Finland
Klara	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Sweden
Lina	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born and lives in Finland
Marika	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Iran
Nicole	Sweden	Born in Sweden	Born in Iran
Sofia	Sweden	Born in Finland	Born in Sweden
Tom	Sweden	Born in Sweden	Born in Sweden
Vivi	Finland	Born in Finland	Born in Germany

As seen in Table 3, the majority (12) of the 18 young people were born in Sweden. Most of these participants' parents had moved to Sweden between the 1970s and 1980s. Of the six young people who were born in Finland, three (Hugo, Janne and Jonas), entered the class either right before or during my fieldwork at their school. Their parents had come to the country for contract-based work assignments. What was significant for the entire group of young people was that they all had at least one parent, most commonly the mother, who was born in the geopolitical space of Finland (even if Tom's and Nicole's Finnish-speaking mothers were born in Sweden). Another distinctive feature for the members of Class 5/6 C was that many (nine out of 18) had fathers who had migrated to Sweden from country other than Finland, and only six of the fathers, compared to 15 of the mothers, were born in Finland. Many of the young people had thus, at least potentially, access to other linguistic varieties than Swedish and Finnish in their home environments.

Another section of the questionnaire dealt with questions about the participants' language usage with their mothers/fathers/siblings, and also their preferred choice of language use with friends (see Appendix E). In Table 4, the participants' reported language use with different people in their lives, as they themselves described it in the questionnaire, as well as the subsequent mini-interviews, is summarised. The young people's reported language use

with their parents seemed to vary from one individual to another. A common feature seems to be that the young people would speak mostly Finnish or both Finnish and Swedish with their mothers (with one exception where the common languages are Chinese and Swedish) and mostly Swedish, but in some cases also Swedish and another variety (Persian, Spanish, German) or both Swedish and Finnish with their fathers. All participants had either one or more siblings. The use of linguistic varieties between the informants and their siblings, as reported by the participants, varied from only Swedish (five participants) or only Finnish (seven participants), to both Swedish and Finnish (five participants) and Swedish, Finnish and another language variety (one participant). Some participants reported using different varieties depending on which sibling they were interacting with, revealing rather interesting linguistic patterns. As for the preferred variety used during their interaction with friends, the great majority of the participants (11) reported preferring Swedish, while four participants reported that they preferred the Finnish variety. The remaining three participants reported that they preferred using both Finnish and Swedish when interacting with friends. Table 4 summarises these findings.

Table 4. Participants' reported language use with mother, father, siblings and friends[22].

Code name	Language with mother	Language with father	Language with siblings (no of siblings)	Language with friends
Anna	Fi	Sw	Sw & Fi (5)	Sw
Aron	Sw, Fi	Sw	Sw (1)	Sw
August	Fi, Sw	Sw, Persian	Fi	Fi, Sw
Felicia	Fi	Sw, Spanish	Fi, Sw (2)	Sw
Filippa	Fi, Sw	Sw	Sw (2)	Sw
Hannes	Sw, Chinese	Fi, Sw	Fi, Sw, Chinese (2)	Fi, Sw
Hans	Fi	Fi	Fi (1)	Fi
Hugo	Fi	Fi	Fi, Sw (4)	Fi
Iris	Fi, Sw	Sw	Sw (2)	Sw
Janne	Fi	Fi	Fi (1)	Fi
Jonas	Fi	Fi	Fi (3)	Fi
Klara	Fi, Sw	Sw	Sw (1)	Sw
Lina	Fi	-	Sw, Fi (2)	Sw
Marika	Fi, Sw	Sw	Fi (1)	Sw
Nicole	Sw, Fi	Sw	Sw (2)	Sw
Sofia	Fi	Sw	Fi (1)	Sw
Tom	Fi	Sw	Sw, Fi (2)	Sw, Fi
Vivi	Fi	German	Fi (2)	Sw

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[22] The linguistic varieties named are coded as follows: Fi = Finnish, Sw = Swedish, other linguistic varieties spelled out. The order of linguistic varieties follows the order in which the participants named them in the questionnaire.

I was also interested in finding out if the young people could name situations where they preferred the use of Finnish and Swedish, as well as what linguistic varieties they preferred to write and read in. Table 5 summarises the findings in terms of the participants' reported preferences in the usage of the Swedish and Finnish linguistic varieties in different situations as well as related to activities most commonly associated with literacies: reading and writing. Though somewhat imprecise and rough indicators of the participants' backgrounds and linguistic practices within some of their social spheres, the survey findings point to general directions that are concerned with their perceptions and ideas of their language use. Both pointers of individual diversity and homogeneity could be observed (see also Table 6 in Appendix D and the analysis below). The majority of the young people (12/18) reported that they preferred to write and read in Swedish, while a few of them (Hans, Klara, Tom, Sofia, Vivi) also reported that they preferred reading or writing in both Swedish and Finnish – or in Swedish and German, as in Vivi's case. The most common pattern seemed to be, however, that the same participant preferred reading and writing in the same variety, either Swedish or Finnish (Table 4).

Table 5. Participants' reported preferences vis-á-vis writing, reading and using Finnish and Swedish[23].

Code name	Prefers to write in	Prefers to read in	Prefers to use Finnish…	Prefers to use Swedish…
Anna	Fi	Sw	"With my mother" (so that father will not understand)	With friends
Aron	Sw	Sw	When meeting grand-father	At school and at home
August	Fi	Fi	When writing, "big-ger vocabulary in Finnish"	With relatives and friends
Felicia	Sw	Sw	With relatives	With my brother
Filippa	Sw	Sw	When discussing secrets with friends	With both friends and family
Hannes	Sw	Sw	-	-
Hans	Fi	Fi/Sw	At home when dis-cussing	When training ("nobody else understands Finn-ish")
Hugo	Fi	Fi	In all situations	
Iris	Sw	Fi	When with relatives	"I'm used to the lan-guage"
Janne	Fi	Fi	"It's my strongest language"	At Swedish lessons, "because I have to"
Jonas	Fi	Fi	Everywhere, at home, "I know it best"	At Swedish lessons, "because I have to"
Klara	Sw, Fi	Sw	"During Finnish lessons because I want a good grade"	With friends and rela-tives, "easier"
Lina	Sw	Sw	With friends from Finland	When watching tv-programs
Marika	Sw	Sw	When meeting grandparents	With friends
Nicole	Sw	Sw	When meeting rela-tives	At school, "my Swedish is stronger"
Sofia	Sw	Fi/Sw	When meeting rela-tives	When with friends and training
Tom	Sw	Sw/Fi	During lessons	-
Vivi	Sw, German	German	With teachers	With friends

As for preferred situations where one would use the two varieties focused here, many answers dealt with either people or situations. On the basis of the

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[23] Statements in citation marks in columns 4 and 5 are direct quotations of the young people's own words.

reported answers summarised in Table 5, it seems that many of the participants preferred to use the Finnish variety with their relatives, the answers perhaps implying connections with their relatives in Finland. The use of the Swedish variety, on the other hand, seems to be closely associated with building and maintaining friendships, but also for educational purposes – either voluntarily (e.g. Nicole, Aron) or by obligation (e.g. Janne, Jonas).

Many of the results from the survey, as can be seen in Tables 3-5, deal specifically with the participants use and relation to the Finnish and Swedish linguistic varieties, reflecting both the form of the survey (some questions steered towards Finnish/Swedish) and their expectations as to which languages to highlight[24]. In the interviews, I had the opportunity to request further information on reported language use which provided a more complex picture. Table 6, presented in Appendix D, provides further nuances in this categorised summary of aspects of the participants' linguistic life worlds. It summarises the participants' reported free time activities, reported cultural origins of their friends and some aspects of their reported media use as sorted by form or genre of media and language variety. In terms of media use in general, all but one participant reported being on the internet ("Internet", "Facebook" and "Communities") during their spare time, and the same applied for watching television. 15 out of 18 participants reported playing games and 14 out of 18 reported listening to music during their free time. These activities were the most commonly reported ones. In terms of language use, the results bring to light other aspects than what the previous tables have presented. For instance, contacts with other linguistic varieties than Finnish and Swedish become more prominent. English seems to be a language variety that is often employed when playing video and computer games ("Games"), when surfing on the internet, watching television ("TV") and listening to music (Table 6). Also, some participants report on using linguistic varieties other than Finnish, Swedish and English – Felicia reports employing the Spanish variety in during chat and Vivi chooses German in many different activities. The results also indicate that some participants see their media use as mostly "monolingual" (cf. Hugo: mostly Finnish and Klara: mostly Swedish), while others report on "balanced" linguistic diversity in their practices (cf. Filippa and Lina: Finnish, Swedish and English, see Appendix D).

The summative categorised and demographic indicators of the participants presented above should be considered as a point of departure – a kind of generalised summary against which the more detailed descriptions and analyses of everyday actions and interactions of the same participants can be seen in the empirical studies (I, II, III and IV) presented in this thesis. Here, it should also be noted that not all young people are focused in the empirical studies, but rather that my relations with the participants evolved during the

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[24] The survey was presented in Finnish and Swedish, and certain expectations were signalled.

fieldwork (see section 4) so that closer relationships were developed with some while others remained more peripheral. Table 7 summarises the participants who appear in the four empirical studies. Altogether, 13 out of 18 students in the class appear in the four empirical studies, some appear in more detail or more often as compared to others.

Table 7. Summary of participants focused in the empirical studies I, II, III and IV.

Study	Participants (young people) focused
I	Hans, Janne
II	Felicia, Filippa, Hannes, Hugo, Iris, Janne, Jonas, Nicole, Sofia
III	August, Jonas, Lina, Marika
IV	August, Filippa, Iris, Jonas, Sofia

5.2.2 The teaching staff and the bilingual pedagogy

Prior to entering the field, my aim was to focus solely on the young people and their practices, but both analytically and in reality this proved to be unrealistic as all participants, their languaging and learning practices were intertwined in everyday life. This section therefore discusses a few issues related to the teaching staff and to the bilingual pedagogy of the setting in focus.

The main teacher of the class was a Finnish-born male in his 50s. He was assisted by a number of other teachers in subjects such as History, Social Sciences, Swedish, English, Physical Education, Modern Languages and Arts and Crafts. It should be noted that a certain variation of teachers in a range of subjects was common at the school, but that in Class 5/6 C some special arrangements had been made due to the main teacher's other responsibilities including school administration. This left him with responsibility for approximately 50 procent of the class' lessons. He was, however, responsible for many of the "core" subjects in the educational setting; Finnish, Mathematics and Natural Sciences, as well as for duties specifically related to the class. The head teacher, here named Teacher 1, appears in all four studies to varying degrees. Other teachers who appear in some of the studies are the Swedish language teacher, a Swedish-born male in his late 30s–early 40s, and the Social Sciences teacher, a Finnish-born female in her 40s. Table 8 summarises the teaching staff based upon their presence in the empirical studies.

Table 8. Summary of teachers appearing in the empirical studies I, II, III and IV.

Study	Teachers focused
I	Teacher 1 (head teacher)
II	Teacher 1 (head teacher), Teacher 2 (Swedish teacher)
III	Teacher 1 (head teacher), Teacher 3 (Social sciences teacher)
IV	Teacher 1 (head teacher)

As could be expected in terms of the school's bilingual profile and pedagogical goals, the majority of the teaching materials as well as student books were in both Swedish and in Finnish. Observations from the fieldwork (see section 4) confirm that in some subjects such as Physics/Chemistry, Biology and Geography (Sw. "NO") and Finnish, books in the Finnish variety were used more often and in others such as Mathematics, History and Swedish, books in the Swedish variety were used more often. This is a routine that at first seemed rather random, but that was later clarified in a private discussion with Teacher 1. This had to do with his own use of language during teaching. What the ethnographic fieldwork in the class revealed were didactic principles where the language of instruction most often differs from the language of the learning materials. For instance, if the pupils' books and the teaching materials were in Finnish, the language of oral instruction was Swedish and vice versa. The view of Teacher 1 was that this strategy was consciously chosen and it was not necessarily an orthodox one (cf. translanguaging as pedagogy in sections 3.2 and 3.4 and chaining in 3.2.1 and in Study II). In general, both the Finnish and Swedish linguistic varieties seemed to "flow" naturally in the classroom, even though one could assume a norm behind the teachers' behaviour, which at times encouraged the children to use whichever variety they were considered to be performing weaker at. This was most often Finnish and can be illustrated by the following extract from the field notes:

> Eleverna ges beröm när de visar tvåspråkig kompetens; läraren berömmer när en "mer svenskspråkig" elev använt finska "spontant" och vice versa. T.ex. uppmuntras Janne till att använda svenska och Aron finska.

> [Students are praised when they illustrate bilingual competencies; the teacher praises students when a "more Swedish-speaking" student uses Finnish "spontaneously" and vice versa. For instance, Janne is encouraged to use Swedish and Aron Finnish.]
>
> **Field notes, 25 Jan 2010**

The above are some indicative details of the school and its pedagogical atmosphere, and of Class 5/6 C students and their teachers. What about the cultural atmosphere, then? Some impressionistic observations from the fieldwork can be reported at this point. First of all, and relevant to the Swedish societal debates of independent schools' pedagogic quality, the DIMuL project school had a reputation of being a well-functioning institution for formal education both within the Sweden Finnish minority educational field and within the urban space it is located in. Perhaps reflecting the aspirations and self-image of the school as a Swedish-Finnish establishment, it seemed that the school staff took pride in the success of the Finnish educational system in Finland – and made efforts to transmit "success factors" into their

own organisation and pedagogy (cf. Study I). Second, the bilingual pedagogy (as highlighted above and in Studies I, II and III in particular) seemed indeed to be something that all the staff were committed to. The school was not just an "island of Finnishness" in a Swedish-dominated society, but ambitious about its focus on offering the students elements of both Swedish and Finnish languages and cultures. On the other hand, the teachers' (and perhaps even the students') awareness of the dominance of the majority language was clearly visible. Usage of Swedish was specifically encouraged primarily when it came to pupils who had spent only a short time in Sweden and at the school, while on the other hand, use of Finnish was stimulated on many occasions. Third, Class 5/6 C was considered, by both the head teacher of the class and other teachers, as a "good class" – which itself is a confirmation that not all classes were considered as good. In an informal discussion I had with Teacher 1 towards the end of the fieldwork, he concluded that to his "trained eye" after many years in the profession, there are many students in the class who had the potential to succeed in life (see 5.2). At the same time, a heterogeneity existed among the students in terms of study motivation and "results" as measured by formal testing.

5.2.3 Physical and temporal sites of study

Many of my initial impressions from the field had to do with the physical environment of the school. Spatio-temporal observations provided me with important knowledge in terms of both possibilities and limitations for the members' interactional practices and orientation towards their social surroundings. The classroom of Class 5/6 C was located on the second floor of the school, an old four-storey building, centrally located in an urban neighbourhood. The seating plan and organisation of furniture in the classroom was rather traditional, but changed during the fieldwork (see Appendices A and B). In the classroom, the students sat on their own, in pairs or groups of four or five, but moved relatively freely in the classroom during lessons and switched places at times. The teacher's desk remained at the front of the class in a classic panopticon layout.

The official bilingual profile of the school was visible in many spatial locations in the school building and in the classroom as the walls were covered with different kinds of posters, information boards, drawings and such in either Finnish or Swedish or in both languages (see cover image). Similar phenomena related to the formal bilingualism of the school setting could be observed in physical spaces outside the classroom but within the school building, e.g. materials hanging on the walls in hallways and in areas of the school where only grown-ups are allowed. Inside the classroom, the whiteboard was frequently used both as an information board where information

regarding reoccurring or ongoing events in the class were presented; it was also used as a teaching aid. Simultaneous occurrence of three linguistic varieties (Swedish, Finnish and English) on the whiteboard was also a common phenomenon, as illustrated by analysis presented in e.g. Studies II and IV.

As for other spatio-temporal aspects of relevance for the present research, some of the participants' homes, and above all virtual sites that have been visited, created and used by the students constitute sites of study. During the second phase of the fieldwork (see section 4.3.2), I made altogether four visits to two of the students' homes, with the purpose of observing their languaging, including literacy practices during their free time. The visits illustrated that i)"shadowing" a number students in this manner inside and outside the school setting would become very demanding both temporally, spatially and would pose challenges from an ethical perspective, and that ii) much of their free time was spent in online settings, which then steered the extended fieldwork towards virtual ethnography.

The second main physical and temporal site of study is then the social media, comprising the social networking site Facebook where many of the pupils in Class 5/6 C were members, and some of the participants' (August, Filippa, Lina, Nicole, Sofia) blogs and YouTube accounts (cf. Studies III and IV). In addition to these, I gathered information concerning internet sites that were employed during formal classroom work. Fluidity in movement between the world of formal education and informal virtual spaces soon became a specific point of interest for the research in the DIMuL project. In spatial and temporal senses, virtual spaces differ from the physical setting of formal education. First, they are not restricted by physical limitations such as the school building and classroom walls – but rather by members' or participants' access to artefacts such as computers and mobile phones that mediate human beings' interaction with the virtual. Second, young people's (or any user's) interactions in and with virtual spaces are not temporarily limited by formal timetables or school schedules, as logistical issues related to access are increasingly solved by portable technologies, i.e. mobile phones and applications that allow for "being online" from wherever and whenever one has access to the internet (Messina Dahlberg, 2015).

6 Languaging and social positioning in multilingual (school) practices

Our conceptualisation of language is often limiting and does not reflect the complex ways in which people language. As far as bilingual education is concerned, it is essential that efforts be made to incorporate these features of people's languaging in policy, curriculum, and instructional planning.

(García, 2009:39)

In this final chapter, I will first describe and summarize the four studies that constitute the thesis. After the summaries, the interrelations of the studies will be discussed and their findings treated as a whole in the section that follows, where the key findings are synthesised and discussed. Finally, Part 1 of the thesis ends with a discussion regarding the implications that the thesis has given rise to and suggestions for future research.

6.1 Overview of the studies

Study I presents a multi-scalar analysis that stretches across micro, meso and macro scales. By focusing on the local practices in the classroom, institutional policy conditions and cultural phenomena that stem from the surrounding societies and cultures, the analyses highlight the interplay of various discursive elements in practised ideologies and policies of education. In short, the study highlights how macro/national issues become visible and integrated into local practices. Study I provides a more global framework for next three studies, which are more clearly located at the micro and meso levels inside and outside the classroom setting.

Studies II, III and IV deal with the everyday lives and practices of the research participants, both young people and teachers. Study II focuses on micro-interaction and meso-level literacy practices, and highlights in particular the local chaining of different linguistic and multimodal elements in stu-

dent-teacher interactions as well as activity chaining in the school diary literacy practice. Here, we stay inside the classroom walls in terms of the practices studied. Study III is empirically located in a formal educational setting, but the practices revolving around project-based thematical tasks in different subject matters entail young people's engagement with virtual tools and literacies. Furthermore, the implications of the study challenge educators to take student agency into serious consideration by suggesting that young people's own practices, resources and capabilities should be allowed to penetrate formally defined learning.

Study IV is empirically located in two different but interconnected settings; a formal educational site and an informal virtual milieu that consists of a social networking site. The analyses in this study centre around the ways young people express themselves, communicate and interact with available linguistic and multimodal resources and with other participants in what are called "writing spaces". These actions and interactions are then viewed through a lens that focuses on identity work as a local and temporal accomplishment. While in Studies II and III, identity can be examined as social positioning and agency of young people when participating in institutionally defined learning activities, Study IV takes a more explicit stance on identity-as-agency and as both individual and collaborative. What all the studies share are sociocultural and ethnographic perspectives as points of departure and interpretative frameworks. Analytically, features of both extensions of conversational analysis and discourse analysis are employed in the studies.

6.2 Summaries of the Studies I – IV

Study I: *Practiced* linguistic-cultural ideologies and educational policies. A case study of a bilingual Sweden Finnish school.
Gynne, A., Bagga-Gupta, S. & Lainio, J. (in press 2016). Journal of Language, Identity and Education. (accepted April 22, 2015).

The main aim of Study I is to examine and illustrate the ways in which linguistic-cultural ideologies and educational policies are constituted as they emerge in practices and discourses within an educational setting that is characterised as being "bilingual and bicultural". Aiming at providing new aspects through descriptive-analytical understandings of "bilingual-bicultural" education as an institutional field, the study focuses on teachers and students' languaging and literacy practices in the classroom, and brings forth an integrated analysis of formal policies. The research questions in this study focus on three aspects. First, the study aims at exploring the ways in which ideologies and policies are realised in everyday educational practices. Sec-

ond, the empirical queries of the study are directed towards examining the relation between the formal policy of the school and everyday life. Third, the study makes queries concerning the role of everyday languaging in reconstituting and (re/dis)inventing the varieties and cultures that are a part of the formal pedagogy.

From a sociocultural perspective and by employing a discourse analytical and in particular a nexus analytical approach, three different kinds of ethnographic data sets are analysed in the study. These comprise extracts of field notes, multimodal transcriptions of a video recording of classroom interaction (see Fig. 10) and central extracts of the school's three policy documents (see Fig. 11).

Figure 10. Languaging at the start of a lesson: "About the Finnish school" (Cropped image from Study I).

"The staff should function as bi- and multilingual role models and support the students in using both languages and in being proud of their languages and identities"

(The school's *Language Policy* document)

"We aim at utilizing the pupils' cultural heritage and getting to know both the Finnish and Swedish culture."

(The school's *Goals for Bilingualism* document)

Figure 11. Citations that illustrate the formal linguistic-cultural policy at the project school (Study I author translations).

The data are analysed by drawing upon elements of nexus analysis. This means focusing on social actions as nexus points where multiple discourse cycles, historical trajectories of people and institutions and interactional practices are intertwined (Scollon & Scollon Wong, 2004). Through the procedural steps of engaging and navigating the social actions in the nexus of practice, the study provides the thesis with understandings that highlight the inter-scalarity and interdiscursivity of everyday practices in at least three ways.

First, by simultaneously highlighting the situated and distributed nature of social practices and the multi-faceted nature of discourses and trajectories that circulate through the nexus in social actions, the analysis is focused on linguistic-cultural ideologies and educational policies as they are constructed and acted out in everyday educational practices. Second, the findings throw light upon the reciprocal relationship between formal language policies (Fig. 11) and everyday life in the classroom (Fig. 10). Third, the study provides new insights concerning the reconstitution and (re/dis)invention of language and culture in formal pedagogies and practices.

Furthermore, the study indicates that refocusing ideology and policy research from the lens of a *practised* perspective (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012; Rosén, 2013) allows the situated and distributed nature of everyday life to inform issues related to bilingualism as well as to its relations with wider societal discourses. In particular, the analysis highlights the crucial role of educators in (re)locating bilingual education in its societal contexts as well as making these connections visible in classrooms. Finally, bilingual didactic practices and various prerequisites for social positioning in everyday interactions that are partly focused in this study, constitute a key area of interest in the other studies (II, III and IV).

Study II: Young people's languaging and social positioning. *Chaining* in "bilingual" educational settings in Sweden

Gynne, A. & Bagga-Gupta, S. (2013). Linguistics & Education 24 (4), 479–496.

Study II explores the participants' use of communicative resources (including literacy) in everyday social practices and the ways in which these interconnected practices invoke a variety of locally emerging linguistic-cultural social positions. It contributes to the thesis by highlighting and illustrating the *doing of* multilingualism inside and outside school arenas. This is accomplished by means of focusing on languaging, multilingual literacy practices and social positioning. The first of the three research questions of the study addresses the types of communicative resources that young people employ in different school practices in a "bilingual educational setting".

Second, the study examines the interrelations between different kinds of communicative repertoires such as oracy, literacy and other semiotic resources in communicative practices. Third, the study asks in what patterned ways social positionings become salient in everyday oral and written interactions in educational settings where more than one language variety is commonly used.

The theoretical point of departure for Study II is a sociocultural perspective, based on Vygotskian theoretical principles, that focuses on human beings' communication and learning in terms of agency and active participation in social practices. Furthermore, the study is aligned with (New) Literacy Studies and sees literacy practices as an element of languaging. From these perspectives, communication and learning, individual and collective agency in participation in social practices, and the doing of multilingualism through an engagement in languaging and literacy practices are focused. Finally, identity is viewed as a social accomplishment.

The study (like the other three in this thesis) builds upon ethnographic fieldwork in the DIMuL project school and examines two extracts of video recordings of classroom activities and school diaries as a literacy practice. In the analysis of these, a combination of adapted CA methods and discourse analytical approach inspired by Fairclough (1992) are employed. These focus on the conditions of the discourse practices as well as the interdiscursive and intertextual chains within those practices. The combined analyses of these data sets provide insights into how young people's written and oral language resources, which include a range of linguistic varieties and other semiotic devices, connect and intertwine within educational settings.

The main analytical findings of Study II relate to the *chained* nature of languaging, or the interconnected use of oral, written and other semiotic resources, including at least two or more linguistic varieties that are available to the participants in the institutional learning environments. We argue that the concept of chaining allows for the (re)examination and (re)interpretation of human beings' participation in various kinds of communicative activities in which literacy, aside of other modalities, plays an important role. Chaining as a phenomenon is studied at a number of scales: first *local chaining*, related to micro-interactions occurring during a "Swedish lesson", where linking between oral varieties of English, Finnish and Swedish as well as written (English) words and numbers (on, for instance, a whiteboard) are highlighted in two sequences. These illustrate both peer interactions and an IRE/IRF-structure of didactic interaction (See Fig. 12). Second, the analysis illustrates *layered chaining* in a multilingual-multimodal literacy practice. Here, the local chaining of linguistic and multimodal elements such as written text and drawings in the diary entries authored by students as well as in instructions provided by teachers, becomes intertwined with a *cyclic chaining* of activities within the practice, and occurs repeatedly across time (Fig. 13).

35	Teacher:	vi hade ju lite **sausage** idag
		we had some **sausage** today didn't we
36	Sofia:	mm ((raises her hand))
37	Nicole:	((raises her hand))
38	Teacher:	och (.) men **flavour** va ä de för nånting då
		and (.) but **flavor** what is that then
39	Many studs:	((raise their hands))
40	Teacher:	ee (.) Hans
41	Hans:	smak
		flavor
42	Teacher:	de va smak (.) å sen ska ja fråga (.) sen ska ja fråga Hugo (.) vad **sausage** ä
		that was flavor (.) and then I'm going to ask (.) then I'm going to ask Hugo (.) what **sausage** is
43		både på finska [och på svenska om du kommer ihåg de]
		both in Finnish [and in Swedish if you remember that]
44	Many studs:	[*mikä on toi **sausage** suomeksi*]
		[*what is that **sausage** in Finnish*]
45	Janne:	korv
		sausage
46	Filippa:	säg ingenting han ska inte (xxx)
		don't say anything he should not (xxx)
47	Teacher:	kommer du ihåg **in finnish sausage**
		do you remember **in Finnish sausage**
48	Hugo:	*makkara*
		sausage
49	Teacher:	*maakkara* (.) **and in swedish**
		saausage (.) **and in Swedish**
50	Many studs:	((laughter))
51	Felicia:	*maakkara* ((imitating the teacher))
		saausage

1. fried
2. sausage
3. cover
4. dish
5. fridge
6. gravy
7. bowl
8. flavour
9. crowd
10. dry
11. dull
12. stomach

Fig. 1. Text displayed on whiteboard

Figure 12. Local chaining of oral (English-Swedish-Finnish), written and numeral resources in classroom interaction (Study II).

Feedback (Teacher/Parent)

Weekly plan (Teacher)

Individual diary entries and planning/instructive texts

School diary (Student)

Overhead instruction/Set of questions (Teacher)
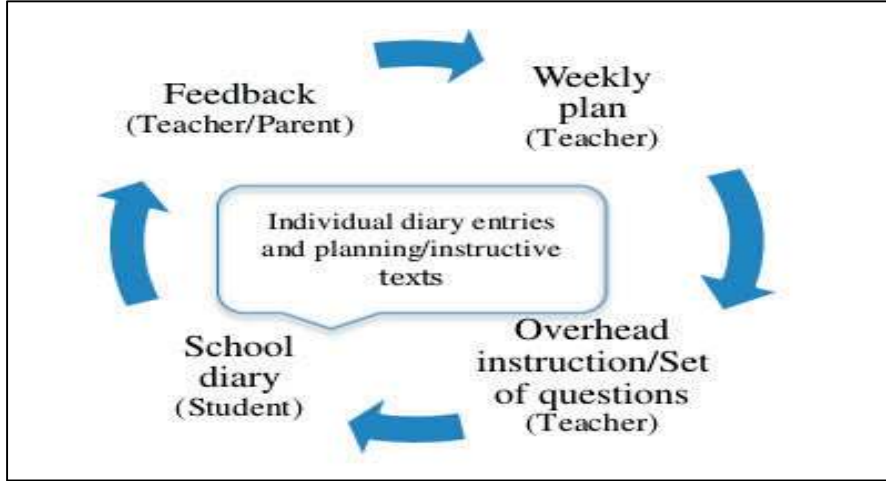
Figure 13. Layered chaining in the school diary literacy practice (Study II).

In Study II, it is argued that the interconnectedness of different language varieties and modalities, as well as dealing with overarching scales of analysis, allows for the examination of social positioning and identity work from a novel perspective. For participants, involvement in both micro-interactions and meso-level literacy practices allow for constructing local and temporary (institutionally framed) social positionings, such as "being a learner of Swe-

dish or English" or "being a good/dissatisfied student". Thus, "being bilingual" is understood here as "doing of" and being able to participate in (institutional) multilingual contexts in a manner that highlights the multisemiotic ways-of-being in the world.

Study III: Languaging in the twenty-first century: exploring varieties and modalities in literacies inside and outside learning spaces

Gynne, A. & Bagga-Gupta, S. (2015). Language and Education, 29 (6), 509-526

In Study III, the focus is on young people's ways-with-words in everyday literacy practices that stretch across formal and informal learning spaces. At the intersection of this study are the challenges that the schooling systems in late modern societies face in terms of educating their students for future societies while at the same time "being stuck" in traditional forms of dealing with knowledge and representation (Kress & Bezemer, 2009). A key interest is how the informal and virtual intertwine with formal educational practices that stem from institutional educational settings that are labelled bilingual-bicultural. From a perspective that highlights languaging, multimodality and multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000), the empirical focus of the study is on three cases of project-based thematical tasks related to the subjects of Natural Science and Geography (see Table 8). While representing learning practices in "subject matters", the practices explored in these cases also illustrate general aspects of language and literacy learning in educational settings.

Study III has two main purposes. The first is to investigate languaging and the intertwinedness of young people's contextualised ways of engaging with "multilingual-multimodal" literacies in knowledge production in academic "writing" genres. The second is to explore how young people's agency is negotiated in these literacy practices. From these aims, three research questions arise: first, what kinds of languaging resources (including literacies) do young people have access to and deploy in different arenas – institutional school practices and in the realm of social media? Second, what are the ways in which aspects of communicative repertoires and modalities are related in these social practices across time and space? Third, how are conditions for learner agency affected and negotiated in relation to adult/teacher intervention in these practices?

The empirical data focused in this study include field notes, video and audio recordings, photographs, pedagogical instructions and nethographic data from internet sites (see Table 8), related to the project-based thematical tasks of the students. The variation and complexity in the data allows for the em-

ployment of different kinds of analytical methods ranging from patterned coding and micro-analyses of social interaction to discourse analytical approaches that focus on the process, nature and composition of the "texts" studied. Focusing on languaging, including literacies, three analytical themes are identified: i) employment of oral, written and embodied resources in languaging, including literacy practices; ii) "copy-and-paste" languaging, and iii) learner agency and adult participation in multimodal learning practices.

Table 8. Description of the three cases in Study III.

	Case 1: Asian countries/China	Case 2: Human body/Digestion	Case 3: Space
Project-based activity, time length	Approx. 2-3 weeks, 1-2 lessons per week + optional home work.	Approx. 2-3 weeks (presumably lessons + optional home work).	Approx. 2 weeks, 1-2 lessons per week + optional home work.
Data	Field notes, extracts of internet sites and study books, video recordings, pedagogical instructions.	Field notes, video recordings, Youtube video.	Field notes, extracts of internet sites, student texts, written pedagogical instructions.
Teachers' instructions	Oral Finnish and instruction sheet in Finnish and Swedish.	No data.	Oral Finnish and Swedish and Finnish written text on the whiteboard.
Pupils' project related activities	Two students use a computer during a few whole lessons seeking information in several language varieties and author a multimodal text on 'China' (primarily Finnish variety); teacher participates in the process.	One student works at home with a special project on 'digestion' and creates a stop motion clay animation video on the theme using several language varieties, records it and posts it on Youtube.	Students independently take turns in class and use the internet for 5-10 minutes at a time seeking information, printing out texts, studying and rewriting them into fact texts that the teacher collects and assesses.
Nature of pupils' final project presentations	*Monolingual-multimodal* multi-page fact text on China (data set of one single fact text)	*Heteroglossic-multimodal*, 3.45 mins long stop motion clay animation video on 'digestion', posted on Youtube and presented in class.	*Monolingual-multimodal* 100-200 words long fact texts on different objects in space (data set of 13 texts, 11 in Swedish and 2 in Finnish varieties)

The findings of Study III highlight issues related to understanding the integration of the virtual, the multilingual and the multimodal in educational settings. These issues deal with three main concerns. First, the findings give enable arguing for a re-definition of scholars' analytical engagement with complexities in human communication and learning. It is suggested that our analytical energies should refocus on different dimensions and interrelations of linguistic varieties and modalities in human languaging. Second, the findings indicate that student agency needs to be recognised as central in contributing to shaping the nature of their literacy practices both inside and out-

side institutional educational settings. Taking young people's literacy practices as points of departure in formal learning might also have the potential to make language and literacy learning more enjoyable for participants. Third and consequently, we suggest that the analyses have implications for how frameworks for pedagogical practices could be re-examined and transformed. Placing student agency centre stage in pedagogical endeavours is offered as a suggestion for how educators could attempt to meet the current and future challenges. This is also connected to the analytical implications of Study II, suggesting a creation of diverse and creative learning environments.

Study IV: "Janne X was here". Portraying identities and negotiating being and belonging in informal literacy practices

Gynne, A. (in press, 2016). In Bagga-Gupta, S., Lyngvær Hansen, A. & Feilberg, J. (Eds). *Identity (Re)visited and (Re)imagined. Empirical and Theoretical Contributions across Time and Space.* **Springer Publishers.**

Study IV examines young people's identity work through their engagement in informal literacy practices in two separate, but intertwined settings: in the bilingual-bicultural educational setting focused in studies I–III and on Facebook, a social networking media site. The study takes a focused stance towards investigating locally and temporarily emerging identities in and through languaging in what are defined as *writing spaces* – spaces in which a textually mediated world is formed and reformed through human (inter)action (Barton & Lee, 2013, cf. school diaries as dialogic spaces in Study II). The main aim of the study is to contribute to and expand understandings related to identity work in settings where chained and heteroglossic languaging practices arise. The following research questions are focused in the study: first, how do "multilingual" young people engage in informal literacy practices in different writing spaces across the online-offline continuum? Second, in what ways are the young people's identities negotiated, performed and portrayed in and through informal literacy practices? Third, in what ways does this identity work contribute to creating a sense of (dis)engagement and belonging among the young people?

The study draws on sociocultural perspectives on communication, identity and learning. It relies on ethnography, including videotaping and virtual ethnography as methodological points of departure. Drawing on perspectives familiar from the previous studies in the thesis, and Studies II and III in particular, Study IV refocuses on the concepts of mediated communication and the multiplicity and interconnectedness of different linguistic and semiotic resources. The main points of interest here are young people's self-chosen activities and identity work in some fragments of their textually mediated

social world. Going beyond practices of formal learning that have been either the main or partial focus of the previous studies, this exploratory study highlights chaining as a kind of multisemiotic languaging in different kinds of writing spaces. The re-invention and recycling of social, textual and linguistic materials is considered an important feature here.

Extracts from two data sets are scrutinised in the study. The first of them consists of photos and video recordings of participants' informal (beyond the institutional agenda) literacy activities during the school day (see Fig. 14).

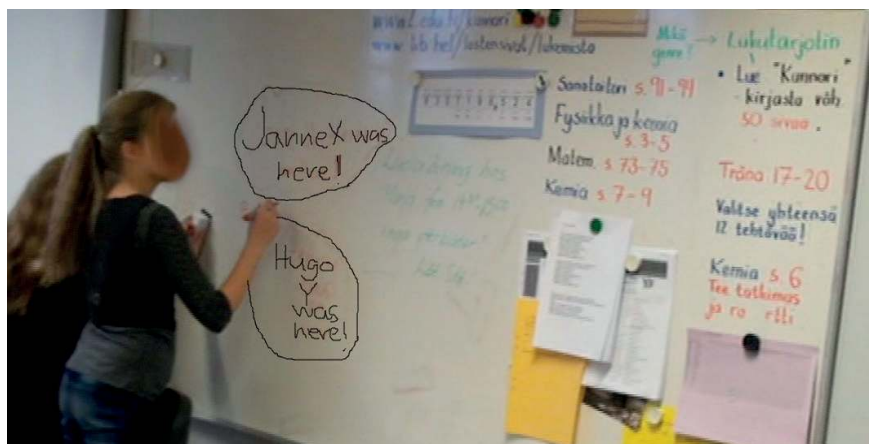Figure 14. Whiteboard as a space for identity work and languaging (Study IV).

The second data set comprises a corpus of posted status updates, both text and images, on Facebook (see Fig. 15). Keeping to the dimensions of visual (n)ethnography, the study employs discourse analytical approaches when mapping and discussing the interplay of actors, linguistic-semiotic resources and actions in the focused practices.

Figure 15. Facebook photo update "Moomin figures" with tags (Study IV).

In addition to aspects of languaging, the study has an intrinsic focus on social positioning in literacy practices both at the individual and group levels. In the study, identity is considered as agency, attributable to both individuals and groups and intrinsically related to individuals-operating-with-mediational-means. Taking this perspective, the analyses of informal literacy practices illustrate both conventional and creative solutions for portraying and negotiating identity positions. Moreover, the practices of portraying identity-as-agency are both individual and collaborative, and contribute to the sense of community as well as boundaries within and beyond the class community studied. The findings of Study IV illustrate the ways in which young people contribute to identity work through languaging, in different writing spaces across time and space.

6.3 Synthesis of studies and discussion

In this section, I will bring the aims of the thesis together with the analyses and the results of the empirical studies in order to discuss them. In this discussion, I will zoom out of the studies and engage with the theoretical and methodological starting points presented in Chapters 1–4 as a tool for discussion. The section consists of two parts. First, the aims and research questions of the thesis will be revisited, followed by a thematically organised overarching discussion. Second, after providing some conclusions, I will discuss some of the remaining challenges related to the research presented in the thesis, my own research journey, and finally I will offer some suggestions regarding future research.

6.3.1 Addressing thesis aims

The agenda of the thesis has been to examine young people's languaging and its relation to meaning-making and identity work in different settings across time and space. The four empirical studies that the thesis builds upon have focused on micro-level interactions, practices mediated by languaging, including literacies, social positionings and meso- and macro-level issues concerning language policy and educational discourses. Together, the studies have illustrated both "small" and "big" pictures (cf. Muhonen, 2014) and one of the ambitions of bringing them together in this chapter is to allow us to zoom in and out of practices and discourses on different scales. Together, the studies and the thesis form a descriptive-analytical illustration of "multilingual" young people's everyday lives in post-national societies in the global North.

As mentioned in section 1.3.1, the thesis examines three distinct issues:

A. How are the linguistic-cultural ideologies and educational policies in the focused "bilingual-bicultural" educational setting constituted in and through everyday interactions and discourses?
B. What kinds of communicative practices do "multilingual" young people engage with in the course of their everyday lives inside and outside educational settings and in what patterned ways are literacy, oracy, and other semiotic resources interrelated in these practices across time and space?
C. In what ways do young people's social positionings, agency and identity work, become salient as they emerge in and through languaging, including literacy practices?

These overarching foci are primary to the aims and research questions of the individual studies. The discussion of these issues will follow three thematical lines, which respond to the issues presented above and briefly outlined in the introduction chapter of this thesis. The thematical lines include *strategic bilingualism as pedagogy and practice*, *(un)problematicity of multilingualism?* and *languaging as a premise for social positioning.*

Strategic bilingualism as pedagogy and practice

Many of the empirical analyses carried out in the four studies presented in this thesis have illuminated practices and events that take place in the everyday life of a school setting that has adopted a formal bilingual-bicultural profile. In particular, a class community, consisting of 18 students (who have been followed from the age of 11 until the age of 13), and their teachers, has been examined. The thesis has presented a multi-scalar analysis by focusing on local events in the classroom, and on the institutional conditions and ideas stemming from societies and cultures that interplay with the institutional educational setting. As highlighted by the analyses in Study I in particular, the school and its pedagogic staff have set themselves ambitious aims of providing a formal instructional design, which fosters the students' (assumed) bilingualism and biculturalism. In the light of findings in the studies, this strategic bilingualism of the school is here viewed from two perspectives: as a pedagogy and as a practice.

In order to be able to scrutinize the pedagogical aspects of the strategic bilingualism of the school, the first step is to zoom out of the school context and take a look at the main surrounding factors that affect the school. What is the greater societal setting and what are its values concerning education as an enterprise? How are alternative pedagogic frameworks (such as bilingual education) perceived in Swedish society? What does – in times of "marketisation of education" – the target group of bilingual and bicultural schooling that focuses on Swedish and Finnish cultures and languages consist of?

"The school is a part of society" is a popular saying in political discourses within the geopolitical spaces of Sweden. If indeed this is the case, the diversity of present-day Swedish society should be something emblematic for Swedish formal education as well. As pointed out by Lindberg (2011) and a host of others, research has revealed systematic mismatches between intended policies and everyday classroom practices in both international and Swedish contexts. Both centripetal and centrifugal powers (Bakhtin, 1981), working simultaneously towards diversity on the one hand and uniformity on the other, point to an unresolved tension between official "inclusive" policies and local "exclusive" practices at municipal, school and classroom levels. Previous research has also highlighted some of the challenges that minorities face in Swedish society. Peura (1994), as well as other projects at the CCD research group have repeatedly pointed out that the position of the majority – unlike that of the minorities – is characterised by privileges, including access to education that is more likely to fulfil its needs than the needs of minorities. Furthermore, Lahdenperä (2000) has discussed the prevailing Swedish monocultural perspective, which might relate to the identity formation of minority children, the control of language, school success or the practical-pedagogical work in the school, as the norm against which educational issues are usually compared. These are important issues within a wider socio-historical and sociocultural perspective, that highlight the social contexts in which the educational setting focused in the present thesis operates.

In terms of meeting the needs of migrant and minority background students in formal education, Lindberg (2011:167) argues 1) against seeking "universal remedies" and 2) for the need to find localised answers for acknowledging and building on the full linguistic potentials of non-dominant language students within the mainstream curriculum. When the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of children of Finnish origin have not been sufficiently taken into account within regular formal education, one such solution that has emerged can be found within the framework of independent schools offering bilingual-bicultural Swedish-Finnish education. Resisting the prevailing monolingual and monocultural discourses among policy-makers, institutions, teachers and society at large, schools such as the Sweden Finnish school focused in the present thesis prove to be examples of educational settings that seek to value diversity and student equity by taking into account the varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the students (and the teachers). In the everyday life of the school, this task is both a joyful and a challenging one, as the studies and the thesis indicate.

The second step of examining strategic bilingualism as a pedagogy is illustrated in the empirical studies of the thesis, Studies I, II and III in particular. This comprises observable and analysable pedagogic solutions in everyday practice. The nexus analytical scrutiny of teacher-student interactions in Study I highlights in many ways the active discursive work of the teacher, when establishing the school setting as something bilingual and bicultural.

While making use of a Swedish newspaper article and using his own (stand-ard Finnish) languaging as mediational means, the teacher brings the linguistic-cultural ideologies of the outside world into the classroom, emphasizing the school's and the students' belonging to two cultural and linguistic spheres. This short snippet of interaction serves as a nexus that indexes not only locally relevant contextual factors, but policies and discourses that extend both spatially and temporally beyond the classroom walls. It also illustrates the work of *practiced* policy that emphasizes strategic bilingualism, This is in line with and goes beyond formal policy, which in turn underlines the responsibility of the staff as bilingual role models. Finally, it is also at least in some ways at odds with a traditional view of schooling, which most often sees education as a national and rather "monolingual" and "monocultural" enterprise, as noted above.

Further aspects of practices of strategic bilingualism are scrutinised in studies II and III, where the analytical focus has been on languaging in pedagogic practices. The teacher-student interactions in Study II illustrate the ways in which other linguistic and semiotic resources can be employed in supporting bilingualism, when a Swedish language teacher, whose own linguistic resources in Finnish are limited, employs English writing and talk when he attempts to engage two "Finnish monolingual" boys, who are also newcomers in the community, into the classroom (Swedish lesson) dialogue. Apart from these chained and dialogical (Linell, 2009) translanguaging practices (García, 2009), the linguistic conventions associated with the school diary practice are illustrative of strategic bilingualism, when both instructive texts and individual diaries employ Swedish and Finnish varieties either through chaining these in a single piece of text or through layered chaining across the activity. This reinforces the potentials of employing chaining across different scales of analysis. In Study III, illustrating parts of the pedagogic practice of the Social Sciences teacher in the classroom setting, the instructions in two of three scrutinised cases follow similar "bilingual" and chained Swedish-Finnish patterns as we have observed in Study II. In addition to employing both Finnish and Swedish varieties, intertwining oral and written instructions seems to be an important feature of the bilingual pedagogic practices employed in the class. Chaining thus proves its potential in linguistically and multimodally rich learning environments, and helps in creating what Wei (2011) has called a *translanguaging space*. What is notable, on the other hand, is that the constraints of mainstream educational practices and ideologies seem to have an effect on educational outcomes (as seen in the light of students' written reports), which primarily reflect monolingualism and monomodal thinking and "bookish" literacies. Therefore, the translanguaging routines (systematically varied input in different linguistic varieties) across students' practices do not always seem to result in transliteracies (heteroglossic and multimodal outputs/learning outcomes, Baker, 2003). On the other hand, one can discuss the place of canonical genres in

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educational contexts – and come to the conclusion that it is in the interplay of dynamic, creative and traditional languaging, including literacies, that multivoicedness and heteroglossia emerge.

The present thesis has highlighted aspects of everyday life in a bilingual-bicultural school setting, which can be seen as representing a "first step" on a continuum towards education that could be considered dialogic, translingual and heteroglossic. This continuum, at least in Swedish society, is rather heavy on the end where "monolingual" educational ideals can be placed (see also the work in other projects at the CCD research environment). Bilingual schools, such as the one focused in DIMuL project, represent "multilingualism" in their essence. A question that can be asked here is what possibilities do they open for young people for the development of their multilingualism beyond the two given/chosen linguistic varieties? Furthermore, and from the perspective of young individuals with access to several linguistic resources, what spaces to they provide for meaning-making that support the development of their linguistic and cultural identities? These perspectives are tied to the other themes I will discuss below.

(Un)problematicity of multilingualism?

As discussed above, formal and strategic bilingualism and biculturalism are fundamental prerequisites for the educational setting across its formal policies, pedagogies and everyday practices focused in the thesis. The relations and interactions of the school and what can be glossed as Swedish and Finnish language varieties and cultures can be related to the aims of the curriculum and formal policies – passing on a cultural heritage, including values, traditions, language and knowledge, from one generation to the next (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a:11; School's language policy). The importance of the school's specific profile for the participants' life worlds is also highlighted in the school choice per se, as selecting to educate oneself or one's children at a bilingual-bicultural independent school against the backdrop of a wide selection of "mainstream" schools that are available often closer to the home, can be considered a very strategic choice from the students' and their parents' position.

At the same time, ethnographically based findings from the analyses in project DIMuL (so far) suggest that there is a diversity in participants' cultural backgrounds and linguistic resources that stretches beyond the Finnish and Swedish cultures and language varieties (see Chapter 5 and Appendix D). After all, more than half of the students in Class 5/6 C have one parent with an "origin" other than Swedish/Finnish and many of them reported that they had friends of diverse "origins" and engaged in e.g. media use in different language varieties. Thus, while the school setting can be considered formally bilingual-bicultural, in practice it is (at least its student body is) more

"multi" than "bi" and the linguistic experiences of many of the participants are more "pluri" than "bi" or "mono". In the light of Studies I-IV, however, it seems that the aspects of students' diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and potential uses of other linguistic resources are in many ways to be absorbed by the formal bilingualism of the school. In most pedagogic practices, with few exceptions, the focus is strongly on establishing and maintaining the school and the classroom as a bilingual space, where the two linguistic varieties are at times kept separate (so-called double monolingualism), at times flexibly mixed in a chaining/translanguaging manner (Bagga-Gupta 2000, 2002; García, 2009; Wei, 2011). As a consequence, it appears that possible other linguistic resources gain little visibility in learning practices. This makes "multilingualism" within the focused educational setting a somewhat problematic issue – in a similar sense that is reflected in realities of many mainstream schools in Sweden. Viewing the school from this perspective leads to further queries concerning the budding multilingual potentials that could be more extensively employed in formal learning settings.

On the other hand, one can argue that despite its limitations, the bilingual policy of the formal educational setting opens up for participants' multiple linguistic resources to a much greater extent that what would be the case in most mainstream ideologically "monolingual" Swedish educational settings. Furthermore, "limiting" their heteroglossic practices to two linguistic varieties did not appear unproblematic for the participants, who had access to other TimeSpaces (Lefebvre, 1991) or domains where aspects of their linguistic-cultural resources and identities beyond Swedish and Finnish were actively performed. The findings of Studies III and IV give us glimpses of these spaces. In Study III, August's heteroglossic and multimodal YouTube video, while prompted by a school assignment, highlights issues of chained and heteroglossic languaging across time and space and the ways in which students may have possibilities of bringing aspects of their linguistic life worlds, including other varieties than Swedish and Finnish, into formal schooling tasks. Complexity, creativity and elements of entextualisation and resemiotisation seem significant here. In Study IV, similar phenomena are observed beyond school assignments, in informal literacy practices. These practices take place during breaks and in the context of social media and allow for creative uses of a wide spectrum of linguistic and semiotic resources.

Each of the studies, that forms the basis of this thesis, to varying degrees, testifies to the unproblematicity of multilingualism in the participants' lives. In the studies and in the thesis, aspects of this are illustrated through those analyses of participants' languaging, where heteroglossia between Swedish, Finnish and English varieties seems to occur routinely. The prominent role of English in the lives of 21st century youth at least in the global North (at times labelled as "hegemonic", see e.g. Mtana, 2013) is seen in e.g. Study II where the Swedish language teacher flexibly employs English when engag-

ing students in classroom discourse and in Study III where two students employ English language search terms when "Googling" information for their school report on China.

As considered earlier, the thesis draws on sociocultural and dialogical theoretical perspectives on communication and learning. In line with these, it is here argued that the analytical concept of chaining (Bagga-Gupta, 1995; 2004; Hansen, 2005; Humphries & MacDougall, 2000) has relevance for attempting to understand human beings' languaging practices that are dialogic, multilingual and multisemiotic. In Study II, in particular, chaining focuses on micro-interaction and meso-level literacy practices – and highlights the local chaining of different oral, written and other semiotic resources in heteroglossic interaction as well as activity chaining in the school diary literacy practice. In Study III, the chained languaging practices revolving around project-based thematical tasks in different subject matters entail young people's engagement with virtual tools and out-of-school literacies.

The analysis of interactional and literacy data across studies provides glimpses that illustrate aspects of the multimodal fabric (Kress, 2010) of languaging. The young people employ a broad spectrum of semiotic elements and voices borrowed from popular culture (such as the emblematic "X was here" and Moomin characters in Study IV, or music and animated edutainment material in Study III) in their interactions and literacy practices in the classroom and in peer discourses. These examples point to the students' engagements with resources quite apart from those of the official (bilingual, formal learning) discourses in the classroom. Studies III and IV together highlight the interconnectivity and intertwinedness of young people's languaging, including literacy, practices across space and time; both institutional learning spaces and informal virtual milieux are relevant in and for young people's languaging and agency. The analyses in Study IV, in particular, centre on the ways in which young people express themselves, communicate and interact with available linguistic and multimodal resources and with other participants. The findings suggest that virtual spaces may offer participants wider possibilities for heteroglossic languaging, a perspective which opens up for interesting scenarios for future studies of languaging across physical and online spaces. One conclusion to be drawn in the light of the research presented in this thesis is that the (un)problematicity of multilingualism needs to be seen as context-dependent. However, this is also dependent on the affordances and practices in and through which it occurs.

Languaging as a premise for social positioning

In the thesis, exploring different aspects of languaging stands out as a principal focus and it is thus extensively highlighted in the four studies that it builds upon, including the two sections above. Languaging is also inherently tied to the final analytical theme discussed here, as people's ways-of-being-

with-words (Bagga-Gupta 2010, 2014a) are seen as a founding premise for their social positioning. It is in and through our interactions that we become who we are, while engaging in dialogical relationships with ourselves and our socially and ideologically constructed worlds (Bakhtin, 1981; Busch, 2011; Linell, 2009; Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2006). The four studies that constitute the thesis frame identity in a somewhat varying manner. In the following, three lines of reflection are offered as perspectives that highlight the ways in which identity work and social positioning become salient in and through languaging.

First, the thesis and the studies draw on a perspective on identities that considers them as socially emerging and discursively produced (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2007). This is best illustrated by the analyses in Study II, in that it deals with identities as locally emerging social positionings. In Study II, it is argued that participation in micro-interactions in the classroom and meso-level literacy practices allows for constructing social positionings such as "a learner of Swedish/English", "a good student", or "a dissatisfied student" by means of either oral or written languaging, or through engaging in languaging where both of these, and other semiotic resources interact. Similar identity positionings and ways of performing or negotiating identities can be brought into being in other studies as well. The fact that identities sometimes emerge as by-products of activities with other primary goals, highlights on the other hand, their partial and unconscious character (Bagga-Gupta et al., in press 2016; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Second, and building upon the perspective that emphasises the discursive production of identities, the thesis and in particular two of its studies (III and IV), conceptualise identity as positional and relational (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), which is related to agency. This is an important point from a sociocultural perspective, which sees agency as a contextually enacted way of being in the world and doing identity work. It also emphasises the involvements of mediational means, such as signs and tools, in shaping human agency (Wertsch et al., 1993). While Study III focuses on learner agency in contexts of institutional learning and changing learner roles (or identity positions) across genres, modes and practices (and in relation to educators' agency), in Study IV, young people's informal literacy practices are highlighted as arenas for agency both inside and outside institutional educational settings. Some aspects of the analysis here illustrate the relationality and intricate ways in which the social positionings and identities of both selves and others are crafted and portrayed through engagement in languaging, including literacies in "free" temporal spaces during the school day. At the same time, others focus on how the creation of a sense of community or a group identity in literacy practices takes place across the offline-online continuum. Based on these findings, it is here argued that identity is both individual and social, heteroglossic and polyphonic, and dialogically and socioculturally anchored. Interacting with one another and with writing spaces habitually designed for

purposes of formal learning (whiteboard and classroom computer), but also for purposes of entertainment and social networking (Facebook), the participants employ a wide spectrum of dialogical and mediational means for identity work. One can argue that these playful and creative identity positionings of selves and others are possible at least partly because the participants are able to activate a broader spectrum of their linguistic and multimodal resources than as compared to what is possible in institutionally defined learning practices.

A third perspective on identity work is reflected in its indexical nature. It is in and through languaging, by bringing into life different kinds of indexical labels that our connections to power relations, communities and macro-level categories such as nations and cultures become visible. In Study I, while identity is not the central locus of investigation, aspects of identity can be considered from an indexical point of departure. In teacher talk – or in practiced policy actions – "traditional" and national identity labelings related to "Swedish and Finnish languages" and "Swedish and Finnish cultures" are emphasised. Furthermore, these issues are intrinsically tied to the strategic bilingualism and biculturalism that was the topic of the first theme of this section. In some ways, the emblematic and traditionalistic labels could have received even more attention across the DIMuL project, as ethnographic observations beyond the four studies that the thesis builds upon suggest that they were at times brought into classroom discourses (see 6.3.2). Nevertheless, my analytical gaze in the thesis has been directed towards identity positionings as locally emerging, dialogical and interactional accomplishments. As such, they are not seen as solely bound to assumptions of nationality or culture, even though these aspects are made relevant in the school setting.

All in all, the thesis has made attempts to adopt a number of different analytical lenses through which young people's late modern identity positionings can be examined. What these lenses share, though, is a focus on identity work and social positionings as local and temporal accomplishments, and an understanding that in the scrutiny of these accomplishments, focusing on the intricate interrelationships of linguistic and other semiotic (inter)actions are of the utmost importance.

6.3.2 Overarching discussion and conclusions

The agenda of the thesis can be characterised as descriptive-analytical (cf. Bagga-Gupta 2012). As such, it has strived towards expanding understandings of various dimensions of the present-day linguistic and cultural landscapes that young people are members of in the global North. Thus, the thesis has studied and analysed everyday life and communicative practices inside and outside classroom settings within bilingual and bicultural education. What all four studies and the thesis share are sociocultural, dialogical and ethnographic perspectives as points of departure and interpretative frame-

works. Features of extensions of both conversational analysis and discourse analysis have been employed in the studies.

Analytically, the focus has been on everyday interactions and social practices – and in particular on the ways in which different linguistic varieties and modalities are employed in the educational and social media settings studied. Recognizing and making visible the numerous uses of "languages", literacies and other semiotic resources in meaning-making can be seen as contributing to understanding the complexities in and beyond formal educational settings.

The educational implications of this thesis entail novel perspectives in terms of theories of learning and didactics when it comes to bi-/multilingual and bi/multicultural education in particular. For instance, the analyses presented in the thesis and in particular in two of its studies (II and III) promote the adoption of a multicultural and heteroglossic/translanguaging pedagogical stance, where the agency of learners as languagers and designers could be the starting point of all considerations in (all) education. In a recent research article, which tallies with some of the findings of the present thesis, Spotti and Kroon highlight the unequal power positions that students still continue to face:

> …students are engaged in meaning making activities by using all the resources and features available in their linguistic repertoires. More often than not, however, the products of their polylingual languaging practices are disqualified by teachers because they are considered to be totally at odds with national educational language norms. (Spotti & Kroon, 2015:8)

In line with the above, the present thesis i) argues for the promotion of polyphonic discourses in classrooms in any educational setting and ii) challenges educators everywhere to take student agency into a deeper consideration. This is done through suggesting that young people's own – heteroglossic, multimodal and extra-curricular – practices could be allowed to penetrate formal learning to a higher degree. Extending this line of thought, it is argued that theories and designs of learning have the potential to be refocused and reoriented towards understanding and employing this agency for meaningful purposes – a view that promotes more inclusive and student-focused perspectives in education. For teachers and teacher educators, a crucial question is how the predominantly normative perspective with regards to language and language education be altered, towards a vision of language as languaging and people as languagers, where participants can use all their available linguistic resources.

From an identity point of view, the thesis contributes to highlighting young people's identity positionings as locally and temporarily constructed and relevant in the contexts in which they emerge. It thus joins other critical scholarship that has suggested that traditional, essentialist identity categori-

sations might have played out their role in the everyday lives of human be-
ings. There is, however reason to ask how these temporal and local identity
positionings relate to more static and formal categories, such as "Sweden
Finnishness"? The findings provided by the studies in this thesis do not offer
straightforward answers to this question, so a future prospect of research
should include an exploration of these aspects of identity work (see below).

As my writing in this thesis nears its end, I am inclined to contemplate on
how its findings and analyses could be related to the lives and formal educa-
tion of "mainstream youth". It appears to me, that at least in many urban
settings of the global North, issues of languaging, identity negotiations and
engagement in social practices across the offline-online continuum can be
considered aspects that seem to become more universal than specific for
certain groups of young people. For instance, the widespread position of
English(es) and the effect it has on many (young) people's languaging is a
"fact" across many parts of the globe. A consideration of the everyday prac-
tices of the individuals focused in the present thesis gives reason to argue
that their life worlds can be seen as consisting of "cosmopolitan" compo-
nents (Lahdenperä, 2010), and as such related to the societal changes that
have been induced by both historical and late modern migration movements
and by globalisation and the digitalisation of our world.

On the other hand, there is reason to argue that while some of the issues
encountered in the thesis seem to be universal, other aspects are truly unique
for the group and the educational setting that has been in the spotlight in this
thesis. As considered earlier, multilingual and multicultural schools where
these issues permeate both pedagogies and practices still continue to be a
rarity in the Swedish educational field and are perhaps even rarer in the con-
text of Sweden Finnish schools. The thesis highlights aspects of minority
education in Swedish, Northern and global perspectives, and provides signif-
icant information concerning the formal education and everyday lives of
young members of what is labelled a historical and national minority group,
the Sweden Finns. This group has been characterised as being "invisible"
despite its size and official minority status in Swedish society (SOU
2005:40; Ylikiiskilä, 2006), which also gives reason to argue for further
research beyond this thesis.

Beyond the thesis, there continues to exist an urgent need for research in-
to and development of pedagogy for multilingual education (in Swedish,
European and global settings), which according to García (2009:8) needs to
be "adaptive, able to expand and contract, as the communicative situations
shift and as the terrain changes". Recently, at least in the academic spaces of
Sweden, a certain interest towards translanguaging as a pedagogical means
has been observable (cf. Rosén & Wedin, 2015). Furthermore, the findings
of the present thesis give reason to argue for further research on i) classroom
language ecologies in order to show the hows and whys of pedagogic bilin-
gual and multilingual practices (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010) and ii) lan-

guaging practices beyond and across formal-informal interactional spaces, into virtual worlds.

On a more personal note, this thesis is the result of research endeavours which are closely tied to my becoming and being a researcher – which itself is an identity position in constant transition. The dialogical relationships between myself and my research interests, research field and participants, theory and data, co-researchers, reviewers and other readers have been crucial in shaping my doctoral journey and what is presented in this thesis. Furthermore, the thesis has explored multilingualism multilingually and multimodally. The design, research practices and reporting of the studies have taken place in a multilingual-multimodal manner (both in articles and in conference presentations that have emerged from the project DIMuL). Additionally, both the individual studies and the thesis have drawn on previous literature and a body of research that is multilingual and multimodal. None of this would have been possible without my access to the linguistic repertoires that have enabled both studying and doing "multilingual languaging" in the research processes, and my intentionally choosing to look at issues of languaging through "multimodal glasses". Culturally speaking, this research has been a journey as well, and in some ways, it has set me free. Previous scholars have suggested that a similarity of background can be beneficial in reducing barriers between researcher and researchees, arguing for a positive approach to ethnography "at home" (cf. Goodwin et al., 2003). On the other hand, a closeness of whatever kind with the community studied also implies a potential blindness for characteristics and attributes that might bear some important meanings (Aguilar, 1981). I have attempted to overcome this blindness by engaging in analytical discussions with research colleagues and engaging in reflexive contemplations along the way.

As I complete my thesis, three new studies are already underway in the DIMuL project, all based on its empirical data. The first study examines classroom practices of both teachers and students and the doing of what can be considered as aspects of traditional and emblematic "Finnishness" or "Swedishness" in multimodal practices and everyday interactions (Gynne, forthcoming). The second study focuses on school diaries and blogs as spaces of languaging and learning, and explores young people's situated and distributed ways of engaging in dialogical self-reporting and identity work (Gynne & Bagga-Gupta, 2016). Bridging the offline-online continuum, and continuing on the analytical discussion of languaging, meaning-making and identity work, this study highlights a multidimensional analysis of individuals' language learning across contexts. In a third study, both methodological and representational issues, as well as reflections related to the very doing of research arising from the DIMuL project and two related projects within the Communication, Culture and Diversity research environment (CCD), are dealt with (Bagga-Gupta, Messina Dahlberg & Gynne, forthcoming).

Svensk sammanfattning

Denna avhandling studerar hur 11–13 år gamla ungdomar som går i en tvåspråkig och bikulturell sverigefinsk skola använder olika språkliga resurser och engagerar sig i meningsskapande och identitetsarbete, samt hur skolans vardagliga praktiker byggs upp av språkandet. Utgångspunkten för studien är begreppet språkande (*languaging*, se t.ex. Jørgensen, 2008), som betonar människans användning av olika språkliga resurser istället för enskilda språk. En utgångspunkt och analytisk målsättning är att dekonstruera statiska och essentialistiska uppfattningar om språk som separata enheter och rikta forskningens uppmärksamhet på de språkandepraktiker som människor deltar i och bidrar till (Linell, 2009). Avhandlingen intresserar sig även för social positionering, alltså hur språk kan användas för att skapa identitetspositioner (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2007) i relation till tid och rum – såväl den fysiska skolmiljön som nationella och kulturella fenomen och virtuella sociala media.

Studiens huvudsyfte är att undersöka ungdomars språkande, inklusive literacy-praktiker (Barton & Hamilton, 2000) samt språkandet i relation till menings- och identitetsskapande. I avhandlingen studeras dessa teman genom att analysera i) medierad interaktion och sociala positioneringar på mikronivå samt genom att relatera dessa till ii) diskurser och policies på mesonivå och iii) ideologiska diskurser på makronivå. Avhandlingen ger ny kunskap genom en deskriptiv-analytisk illustration av "flerspråkiga" ungdomars vardag i och utanför skolan i ett senmodernt nordiskt samhälle. Vidare bidrar avhandlingen till kunskapsbasen gällande utbildningsfrågor och vardagen för en av Sveriges nationella minoriteter, sverigefinländare.

Avhandlingens målsättningar summeras i tre övergripande forskningsfrågor. Dessa frågor är: 1. Hur konstitueras språkliga och kulturella ideologier och utbildningspolicies i vardagliga interaktioner och diskurser i den studerade tvåspråkiga och bikulturella skolan? 2. I vilka slags kommunikativa praktiker deltar "flerspråkiga" ungdomar i sin vardag, i och utanför skolan och på vilka sätt är literacy, muntligt språkande och andra semiotiska resurser sammanvävda i dessa praktiker i tid och rum? 3. På vilka sätt blir ungdomars sociala positioneringar, agency och identitetsarbete manifesta i språkandet, inklusive literacy?

Avhandlingen består av fyra separata studier och en inledande och sammanfattande kappa.

Kappan

Kappan består av två kapitel som presenterar bakgrunden till studien (1–2), ett teorikapitel (3), ett metodkapitel där den etnografiska metoden och studiens material beskrivs (4), ett kapitel som målar upp en bild av den lokala kontexten för studien (5) samt slutkapitel (6) som sammanfattar och presenterar resultaten från de empiriska studierna samt diskuterar slutsatser för hela avhandlingen inklusive de fyra separata studierna.

I kapitel 1 introduceras läsaren kort till fältetarbetet med ett antal ögonblicksbilder från studien. Vidare presenteras avhandlingens samhälleliga, akademiska och personliga utgångspunkter. I detta kapitel presenteras även avhandlingens huvudsyfte och dess övergripande forskningsfrågor (se ovan). I kapitel 2 fördjupas avhandlingens kontext genom att det behandlar formell utbildning i Sverige samt beskriver aspekter av friskolefältet inom det svenska skolväsendet. Vidare presenteras kort den sverigefinska minoritetens utbildningsmässiga väg genom det svenska samhället.

I det tredje kapitlet definieras avhandlingens centrala begrepp och teoretiska ramverk. Avhandlingen tar avstamp i sociokulturell och dialogisk teoribildning (Bakhtin, 1981; Säljö, 2000; Linell, 2009), vilka beskrivs i avsnitt 3.1. Därefter introduceras såväl det "nyare" begreppet språkande som delar av den mer klassiska begreppsapparaten inom flerspråkighetsforskningen – i relation till kappan och studierna (3.2). Kapitlet diskuterar även aspekter av identitet som social positionering (3.3) samt aspekter av flerspråkig utbildning i vad som benämns heteroglossiska samhällen (3.4). I slutet av kapitlet behandlas tidigare forskning inom relevanta fält (3.5).

Kapitel 4 består av två huvuddelar: det tecknar en bild av etnografi och lingvistisk etnografi som sätt att närma sig språkande, meningsskapande och identitetsskapande i flerspråkiga sammanhang (Agar, 1980; Wolcott, 2008; Rampton m.fl. 2004). Vidare presenteras avhandlingens etnografiska angreppssätt och data. Avsnitt 4.4 presenterar de olika datatyperna: fältanteckningar, video- och audioinspelningar, texter samt andra typer av data, och avsnitt 4.5 fördjupar beskrivningen av den netnografiska ansatsen i studierna. I avsnitt 4.6. diskuteras analytiska procedurer och kapitlet avslutas med reflektioner kring forskningsetik och forskarens roll i 4.7.

I det femte kapitlet bekantar vi oss med avhandlingens lokala kontext. Först presenteras den tvåspråkiga och bikulturella skolan och "Klass 5/6 C" som studien tar avstamp ifrån, samt dess medlemmar. Kapitlet avslutas med korta resonemang om skolans tvåspråkiga pedagogik och studiens fysiska och temporala placering.

I slutkapitlet summeras först de empiriska studierna i sin helhet tillsammans med de teorier, material, analyser och huvudsakliga resultat som återfinns i dessa. I avsnitt 6.3 diskuteras hela avhandlingens stora frågor och resultat tematiskt. Temana behandlar tvåspråkighet i skolans värld som både pedagogik och praktik, diskuterar flerspråkighet som både problematisk och

oproblematisk för ungdomarna och för skolan samt resonerar kring språkandets karaktär som flerspråkig och multimodal och dess centrala roll för social positionering. Kapitlet utmynnar i reflektioner kring relationer mellan material, metod, teorier och resultat och diskuterar avhandlingens implikationer. Till sist diskuterar jag min egen väg som forskare genom detta avhandlingsarbete och blickar mot framtida studier.

Studierna

Avhandlingen bygger på fyra empiriska studier som alla belyser ungdomars och vuxnas vardagliga språkande, sociala positionering och flerspråkiga praktiker från olika infallsvinklar, med det sociokulturella ramverket och etnografin som utgångspunkt. Två av studierna har publicerats i vetenskapliga tidskrifter (II och III), två har accepterats för publikation och har status "in press" (I och IV). Studierna I–III har förverkligats i samarbete med antingen Bagga-Gupta (II och III) eller Bagga-Gupta och Lainio (I). Studie IV är ett självständigt arbete som publiceras som ett kapitel i en antologi som genomgått en review –process.

I Studie I undersöks hur lingvistisk-kulturella ideologier och policies görs i vardagliga pedagogiska praktiker. Den fokuserar på situerade och distribuerade sociala handlingar som praktiknexus där flera lokalt och nationellt relevanta diskurser om t.ex. finskhet, svenskhet och sverigefinskhet cirkulerar.

Studie II intresserar sig för ungdomars och deras lärares vardagliga kommunikativa praktiker på mikro- och meso-nivåer i både klassrumsinteraktion och i literacy-praktiker som knyter an till skoldagbokspraxis. Samspelet mellan språkliga varieteter och modaliteter i sociala positioneringar utgör ett viktigt resultat.

I Studie III studeras ungdomars språkande, inklusive literacies, i vardagliga lärandepraktiker som sträcker sig över tid och rum i formella och informella lärandemiljöer. Denna studie diskuterar kontrasterna mellan traditionella och moderna literacypraktiker och betonar elevernas agency.

Studie IV fokuserar på social positionering och identitetsarbete i informella literacy-praktiker både offline och online. Mångfacetterat, heteroglossiskt och multimodalt språkande ses här som ett medel för positionering av både aktörer själva och andra deltagare.

Tillsammans skapar de fyra studierna en helhet som illustrerar olika slags språkandepraktiker som s.k. flerspråkiga och multikulturella ungdomar deltar i och bidrar till både inom och utanför sina tvåspråkiga skolsammanhang. Vidare kastar studierna ljus på vardagslivets språkliga görande av sociala positioneringar och identitetsperformanser.

Suomenkielinen tiivistelmä

Väitöskirjassa tutkitaan sitä, miten kaksikielistä ruotsinsuomalaista koulua käyvät 11–13-vuotiaat nuoret käyttävät erilaisia kielellisiä resursseja ja luovat identiteettipositioita vuorovaikutuksessaan, sekä miten koulun käytännöt rakentuvat. Tutkimuksen lähtökohtana on kieleilyn (languaging) käsite, jolla korostetaan sitä, etteivät ihmiset vuorovaikutuksessa käytä kokonaisia erillisiä kieliä vaan erilaisia kielellisiä resursseja (Jørgensen, 2008). Yksi tutkimuksen lähestymistavoista ja analyysin tavoitteista on purkaa staattista ja essentialistista käsitystä erillisistä kielistä ja kiinnittää lukijan huomio niihin kieleilyn käytänteisiin, joihin kieleilijät osallistuvat ja joita he yhdessä luovat (Linell, 2009). Tutkimus on myös kiinnostunut sosiaalisesta asemoinnista (social positioning), eli siitä, miten kieltä voidaan käyttää identiteetin luomisen keinona (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2007) suhteessa ajallisiin ja paikallisiin tiloihin – niin fyysiseen kouluympäristöön, kansallisiin ja kulttuurisiin ilmiöihin kuin virtuaaliseen sosiaaliseen mediaankin.

Tutkimuksen päätavoitteena on tarkastella nuorten kieleilyä, joka sisältää myös ns. tekstikäytänteitä (literacy practices, Barton & Hamilton, 2000) sekä kieleilyn suhdetta merkitysten ja identiteettien luomiseen (meaning-making, identity work). Väitöskirjassa hahmotetaan näitä teemoja analysoimalla i) mikrotason interaktiota ja sosiaalista asemointia ns. välitteisen viestinnän (mediation) kautta. Näitä suhteutetaan ii) mesotason diskursseihin ja poliittisiin ilmiöihin (policies) sekä iii) makrotason ideologioihin. Tutkimus tuo uutta tietoa nuorten monikielisyydestä, kaksikielisestä koulutuksesta ja ruotsinsuomalaisen kansallisen vähemmistön nuorison piirteistä ruotsalaisessa myöhäismodernissa globalisaation muokkaamassa yhteiskunnassa.

Tutkimuksen tavoitteet on tiivistetty kolmeen pääkysymykseen. Ensimmäinen kysymys koskee sitä, kuinka kielellis-kulttuuriset ideologiat ja kielikoulutuspoliittiset tavoitteet toteutuvat arkisissa interaktioissa ja diskursseissa kaksikielisen ja -kulttuurisen koulun sisällä. Toinen kysymys liittyy ns. monikielisten nuorten kielellisiin käytänteisiin. Millaisiin kielikäytänteisiin he osallistuvat koulussa ja koulun ulkopuolella, ja millä tavoin puhutun kielen ja kirjoitetun kielen käytänteet nivoutuvat muihin semioottisiin resursseihin? Kolmas kysymys keskittyy identiteettien luomiseen ja pohtii sitä, millä tavoin nuorten sosiaalinen asemointi ja toimijuus (agency) tulevat näkyviksi heidän kieleilyssään. Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä erillisestä osatutkimuksesta sekä yhteenveto-osasta.

Yhteenveto-osa

Yhteenveto-osa koostuu kahdesta taustoittavasta luvusta (1-2), teorialuvusta (3), etnografista metodia ja aineistoa kuvaavasta luvusta (4), paikallista kontekstia hahmottavasta luvusta (5) sekä loppuluvusta (6), joka tiivistää ja esittelee empiiristen artikkeleiden päätuloksia sekä keskustelee tutkimuksen johtopäätöksistä.

Luvussa 1 lukija pääsee tutustumaan tutkimukseni paikalliseen kenttään sekä saa kuvan tutkimuksen yhteiskunnallisista, tieteellisistä ja henkilökohtaisista puitteista. Tämä luku esittelee myös väitöstyön päätavoitteet ja yhteenveto-osalle olennaiset tutkimuskysymykset (ks. yllä). Luku 2 laajentaa tutkimuksen kontekstia institutionaalisen koulutuksen piiriin ruotsalaisessa kansallisessa ympäristössä sekä kuvaa peruskoulutuskentän kahta osa-aluetta; vapaakouluja sekä ruotsinsuomalaisen vähemmistön polkua ruotsalaisessa koulumaailmassa.

Kolmannessa luvussa määritellään tutkimuksen keskeiset käsitteet ja teoreettiset viitekehykset. Tutkimukseni kytkeytyminen sosiokulttuuriseen ja dialogiseen teoriatraditiooon (Bakhtin, 1981; Säljö, 2000; Linell, 2009) kuvataan alaluvussa 3.1, jonka jälkeen syvennytään tarkastelemaan niin "uudempaa" kieleilyn käsitettä kuin perinteisempääkin monikielisyyden tutkimuksen käsitteistöä sekä yhteenveto-osan että artikkeleiden valossa luvussa 3.2. Luvussa käydään läpi myös ihmisten väliseen kanssakäymiseen perustuvaa identiteettiä, sosiaalista asemointia kieleilyn avulla (3.3) sekä monikielisen ja -kulttuurisen koulutuksen piirteitä länsimaisissa yhteiskunnissa (3.4). Luvun päätteeksi esittelen aiempaa tutkimusta (3.5).

Luku 4 koostuu kahdesta pääelementistä: se hahmottaa etnografiaa yleensä ja lingvististä etnografiaa erityisesti (Agar, 1980; Wolcott, 2008; Rampton ym., 2004), kuvaa tutkimuksen etnografista lähestymistapaa ja esittelee tutkimuksessa luodun ja käytetyn moninaisen tutkimusaineiston. Aineiston pääluokat, eli kenttämuistiinpanot, video- ja ääninauhoitteet sekä erilaiset tekstit käydään läpi muiden aineistojen lisäksi. Alaluku 4.5. syventyy tutkimuksen netnografiseen osuuteen, ja alaluku 4.6. esittelee analyysimenetelmät artikkeleiden näkökulmasta. Luku päättyy tutkimusetiikan ja tutkijan aseman pohdintaan.

Viidennessä luvussa tutustutaan tutkimuksen paikalliseen kontekstiin syvemmin. Esittelen tutkimuksen lähtökohtana olleen ns. kaksikielisen ja kaksikulttuurisen ruotsinsuomalaisen koulun, "luokan 5/6 C" sekä luokkaan kuuluneet oppilaat ja opettajat. Luku käsittelee myös koulun kaksikielistä pedagogiikkaa sekä paikallistaa osatutkimusten sijaintia ajassa ja paikassa.

Loppuluvussa 6 tiivistän aluksi empiiriset artikkelit kokonaisuudessaan ja esittelen lyhyesti niissä käytetyt teoriat, aineistot ja niiden analyysit sekä artikkeleiden päätulokset. Alaluku 6.3 käsittelee koko tutkimuksen suuria linjoja ja tuloksia; siinä pohditaan tuloksia suhteessa tutkimuskysymyksiin temaattisesti. Teemat käsittelevät strategista kaksikielisyyttä pedagogiikkana ja arjen käytänteinä, monikielisyyden ongelmallisuutta ja ongelmattomuutta

niin tutkimuksen keskiössä olevan koulun kuin nuortenkin kannalta, sekä kieleilyä sosiaalisen asemoinnin lähtökohtana. Luku sisältää myös pohdintaa aineistojen, metodien, teorioiden ja tutkimustulosten yhteyksistä. Tämä yhteenvedon viimeinen luku käsittelee myös tutkimuksen implikaatioita, toteutumassa olevien ja mahdollisten jatkotutkimusten aiheita sekä omaa polkuani tutkijana väitöskirjatyön päättyessä.

Artikkelit

Väitöskirja sisältää neljä empiiristä osatutkimusta, joista jokainen tarkastelee nuorten ja aikuisten arkipäiväistä kieleilyä, sosiaalista asemointia ja monikielisiä käytänteitä hieman eri näkökulmista, kuitenkin sosiokulttuurista teoriapohjaa sekä etnografiaa hyödyntäen. Tutkimuksista kaksi on julkaistu (II ja III), kaksi hyväksytty julkaistavaksi ja painossa (I ja IV). Artikkelit I-III on toteutettu yhteistyössä joko Bagga-Guptan (II ja III) tai Bagga-Guptan ja Lainion (I) kanssa. Osatutkimus IV on kokonaan omaa tuotantoani, ja se julkaistaan ns. peer reviewed-antologiassa yhtenä sen luvuista.

Artikkelissa I tarkastellaan, kuinka kielellis-kulttuuriset ideologiat ja kielipolitiikka syntyvät arkisissa pedagogisissa käytänteissä luokkahuoneen sisällä. Tutkimus kohdistuu paikallisiin ja osallistujien kesken jakautuviin sosiaalisiin käytänteisiin ja tarkastelee yhtä niistä syntyvää toimintatilaa (nexus of practices), jossa erilaiset diskurssit mm. suomalaisuudesta, ruotsalaisuudesta ja ruotsinsuomalaisuudesta kohtaavat.

Toisessa artikkelissa tutkin nuorten ja heidän opettajiensa kielellisiä käytänteitä mikro- ja meso-tasoilla niin luokkahuoneviestinnässä kuin koulupäiväkirjoihin liittyvissä tekstikäytänteissäkin. Kieleilyn moninaisuus ja sen yhteys sosiaaliseen asemointiin ovat tutkimuksen tärkeä löydös.

Artikkeli III tutkii nuorten kieleilyä (sisältäen literacy) oppimiskäytänteissä, jotka ulottuvat koulusta virtuaalimaailmaan ja sosiaaliseen mediaan. Tämä osatutkimus tarkastelee kontrastia perinteisten ja modernien tekstikäytänteiden välillä sekä painottaa oppilaiden toimijuutta kieleilijöinä ja oppijoina.

Neljäs osatutkimus keskittyy sosiaaliseen asemointiin ja identiteettien luomiseen ns. epämuodollisissa tekstikäytänteissä niin online- kuin offline-ympäristöissäkin. Monisyinen, monikielinen ja monimodaalinen kieleily näyttäytyy keinona positioida itsensä suhteessa muihin ja maailmaan.

Yhdessä nämä neljä osatutkimusta muodostavat kokonaisuuden, jolla hahmotetaan monikulttuuristen ja -kielisten nuorten arkista kielenkäyttöä muodollisesti kaksikielisessä ruotsinsuomalaisessa kouluympäristössä sekä vapaa-ajalla, ennen kaikkea sosiaalisen median piirissä. Lisäksi tutkimukset antavat näköaloja kieleilyyn sosiaalisen positioinnin ja identiteetin luomisen välineenä.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Layout of the classroom, "Class 5 C", Spring 2010
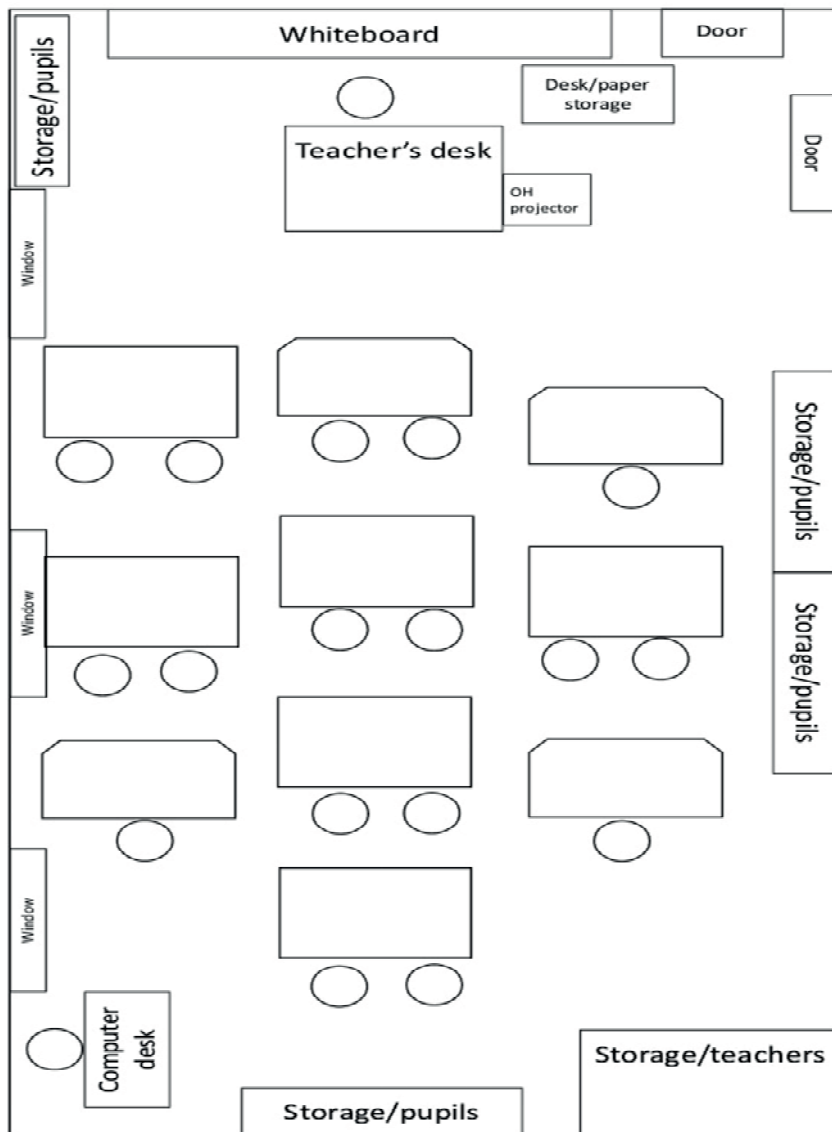
Appendix B. Layout of the classroom, "Class 6 C" Autumn 2010
- Spring 2011
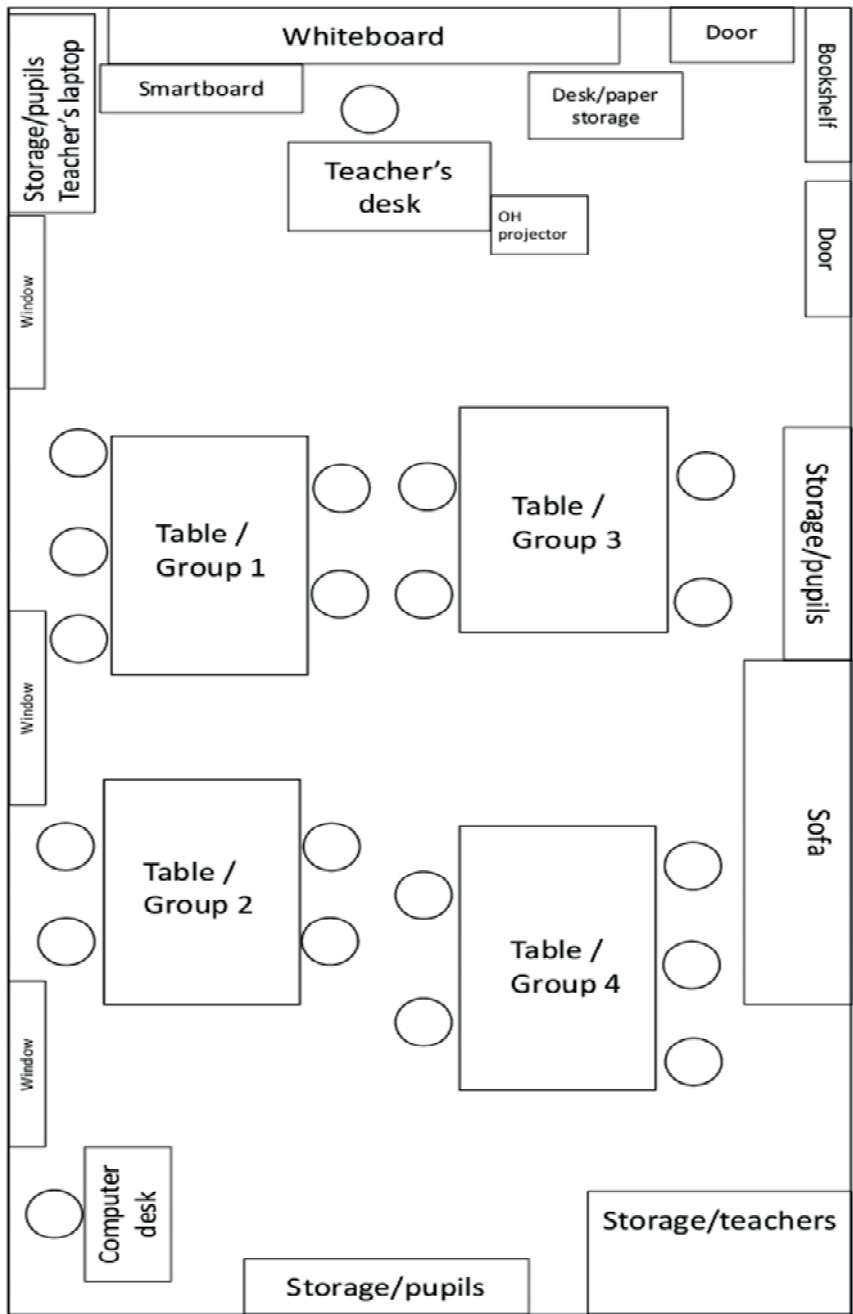
Appendix C. Questionnaires for the students (Swedish and Finnish originals)

Hej!

Här kommer ett antal frågor som jag ber dig att svara på utifrån dig själv. På de flesta frågor kan du sätta ett enda kryss, på andra frågor kan du skriva på raden bredvid eller under. Om någon fråga är svår att förstå eller svara på kan du fråga dina föräldrar om hjälp. När du har svarat klart på frågorna lämnas enkäten till läraren eller mig, Annaliina, i det kuvert som följer med. Senast måndagen den 22 februari behöver jag ha enkäten tillbaka.

Tack på förhand för dina svar!

Vänliga hälsningar
Annaliina

FRÅGOR OM DIG

1. Namn _____

2. Var är du född?
   ☐ i Sverige   ☐ i Finland   ☐ i något annat land, var? _____

3. I vilken stadsdel/kommun bor du? _____

4. Vilket medborgarskap har du? (t.ex. finskt, svenskt, dubbelt, något annat) _____

FRÅGOR OM DIN FAMILJ

5. Är din mamma född i Sverige?   ☐ Ja   ☐ Nej
   (Vid ja-svar, gå vidare till fråga 8)

6. Om inte, ange var (land), så noga du kan _____

7. Om du vet vilket år hon kom till Sverige, ange år: _____

8. Vilket medborgarskap har din mamma? _____

9. Är din pappa född i Sverige?   ☐ Ja   ☐ Nej
   (Vid ja-svar, gå vidare till fråga 12)

10. Om inte, ange var (land), så noga du kan _____

11. Om du vet vilket år han kom till Sverige, ange år: _____

12. Vilket medborgarskap har din pappa? _____

FRÅGOR OM SPRÅK

13. Vilket/vilka språk talar du med din mamma? _____

14. Vilket/vilka språk talar du med din pappa? _____

15. Om du har syskon, vilket/vilka språk talar du med dina syskon?
    (Börja med äldsta syskonet)
    Syskon 1: _____   Syskon 2: _____   Syskon 3: _____
    Med ev. andra syskon: _____

16. Språkval i olika situationer: Välj det alternativ som bäst stämmer med den nuvarande situationen (du kan välja flera alternativ om det stämmer bäst)

Jag pratar…	mest finska	mest svenska	båda lika mycket	annat språk
Hemma	☐	☐	☐	☐
I skolan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Inom fritidsaktiviteter	☐	☐	☐	☐
Med släktingar	☐	☐	☐	☐
Med kompisar	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. Nämn några situationer då du helst vill använda finska! Varför? _____

18. Nämn några situationer då du helst vill använda svenska! Varför? _____

19. Nämn några situationer då du helst vill använda något annat språk än svenska eller finska. Vilket språk, vilken situation? (t.ex. "engelska när jag spelar dataspel, persiska när jag pratar med min pappa") _____

20. Vilket/vilka språk använder du helst när du skriver? _____

21. Vilket/vilka språk använder du helst när du läser? _____

FRÅGOR OM DIN FRITID

22. Vad gör du helst på fritiden?

23. Kryssa för det alternativ som bäst stämmer med dina vanor på fritiden.

	Ja	Nej	På vilket/vilka sätt gör du detta?
Jag lyssnar på musik	☐	☐	
Jag tittar på TV	☐	☐	
Jag läser tidningar	☐	☐	
Jag läser böcker	☐	☐	
Jag läser serier	☐	☐	
Jag surfar på internet	☐	☐	
Jag spelar dataspel/videospel	☐	☐	
Jag är med i sk. communities (t.ex. Bilddagboken, Facebook, Playahead, Lunarstorm)	☐	☐	
Jag chattar (t.ex. MSN, IRC)	☐	☐	
Jag skriver och läser sms	☐	☐	
Jag skriver eller läser e-mail	☐	☐	
Jag skriver t.ex. historier/dikter	☐	☐	

24. Kryssa för det eller de alternativ som stämmer för dig.

Jag har ☐ sverigefinska ☐ svenska ☐ finska kompisar.

☐ Jag har kompisar med annan bakgrund, vilken/vilka?

25. I vilket land vill du helst bo i framtiden?

☐ Sverige ☐ Finland ☐ Något annat land, vilket?

26. Om du har några kommentarer om denna enkät eller någon fråga, skriv dem här:

Tack för dina svar!

Hei!

Tässä on joitakin kysymyksiä, joihin toivon sinun vastaavan. Suurimpaan osaan kysymyksistä voit vastata laittamalla rastin ruutuun, mutta joihinkin kysymyksiin vastaus kirjoitetaan oheiselle viivalle. Mikäli jokin kysymys on vaikea ymmärtää tai vastata, voit kysyä vanhemmiltasi apua. Kun olet täyttänyt kysymyslomakkeen, voit palauttaa sen joko opettajalle tai minulle (Annaliinalle) saamassasi kirjekuoressa. Kysely palautetaan viimeistään maanantaina 22. helmikuuta.

Kiitos jo etukäteen vastauksistasi!

Ystävällisin terveisin
Annaliina

KYSYMYKSIÄ SINUSTA

1. Nimi

2. Missä olet syntynyt?
   ☐ Ruotsissa ☐ Suomessa ☐ jossain muussa maassa, missä?

3. Missä kaupunginosassa / kunnassa asut juuri nyt?

4. Minkä maan kansalainen olet? (esim. Suomen, Ruotsin, molempien, jonkin muun maan)

KYSYMYKSIÄ PERHEESTÄSI

5. Onko äitisi syntynyt Ruotsissa? ☐ Kyllä ☐ Ei
   (Jos kyllä, mene edelleen kysymykseen 8)

6. Jos ei, mikä on hänen syntymäpaikkakansa (maa, kaupunki)?

7. Jos tiedät minä vuonna hän tuli Ruotsiin, kirjoita tähän vuosi:

8. Minkä maan kansalainen äitisi on?

9. Onko isäsi syntynyt Ruotsissa? ☐ Kyllä ☐ Ei
   (Jos kyllä, mene edelleen kysymykseen 12)

10. Jos ei, mikä on hänen syntymäpaikkakansa (maa, kaupunki)?

11. Jos tiedät minä vuonna hän tuli Ruotsiin, kirjoita tähän vuosi:

12. Minkä maan kansalainen äitisi on?

KYSYMYKSIÄ KIELISTÄ

13. Mitä kieltä tai mitä kieliä puhut äitisi kanssa?

14. Mitä kieltä tai mitä kieliä puhut isäsi kanssa?

15. Jos sinulla on sisaruksia, mitä kieliä puhut heidän kanssaan?
(Aloita vanhimmasta sisaruksesta)
Sisarus 1: _____   Sisarus 2: _____   Sisarus 3: _____
Muiden sisarusten kanssa:

16. Kielenkäyttö eri tilanteissa: Valitse se vaihtoehto joka parhaiten sopii nykyiseen tilanteeseesi (voit valita myös useamman vaihtoehdon)

Mitä puhun...	enimmäkseen suomea	enimmäkseen ruotsia	yhtä paljon molempia	jotain muuta kieltä
Kotona	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vapaa-ajalla	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sukulaisten kanssa	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kavereiden kanssa	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. Mainitse joitain tilanteita, jolloin käytät mieluiten suomea? Miksi?

18. Mainitse joitain tilanteita, jolloin käytät mieluiten ruotsia? Miksi?

19. Mainitse joitain tilanteita, jolloin käytät mieluiten jotain muuta kieltä kuin suomea tai ruotsia. Mitä kieltä, missä tilanteessa? (esim. "englantia kun pelaan tietokoneella, persiaa kun puhun isän kanssa ")

20. Mitä kieltä/kieliä käytät mieluiten kirjoittaessasi?

21. Mitä kieltä/kieliä käytät mieluiten lukiessasi?

KYSYMYKSIÄ VAPAA-AJASTA

22. Mitä teet mieluiten vapaa-ajallasi?

23. Rastita se vaihtoehto, mikä parhaiten vastaa vapaa-ajan harrastuksiasi.

	Kyllä	Ei	Millä kielellä teet tätä?
Kuuntelen musiikkia	☐	☐	
Katson televisiota	☐	☐	
Luen lehtiä	☐	☐	
Luen kirjoja	☐	☐	
Luen sarjakuvia	☐	☐	
Surffaan internetissä	☐	☐	
Pelaan tietokone-/videopelejä	☐	☐	
Olen mukana ns. communityissä (esim. Bilddagboken, Facebook, Playahead, Lunarstorm)	☐	☐	
Chattailen (esim. MSN, IRC)	☐	☐	
Kirjoitan ja luen tekstareita	☐	☐	
Kirjoitan ja luen sähköposteja	☐	☐	
Kirjoitan esim. tarinoita/runoja	☐	☐	

24. Rastita yksi tai useampi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista,
Minulla on... ☐ ruotsinsuomalaisia ☐ ruotsalaisia ☐ suomalaisia kavereita.
☐ Kavereillani on jokin muu tausta, mikä?

25. Missä maassa haluaisit asua tulevaisuudessa?
☐ Ruotsissa ☐ Suomessa ☐ Jossain muussa maassa, miksi?

26. Jos sinulla on kommentteja tästä kyselystä tai jostain kysymyksestä, kirjoita tähän:

Kiitos vastauksista si!

Appendix D. Table 6. Participants' reported linguistic and cultural backgrounds of friends, free time activities and media use by language.

Code name	Linguistic/ cultural back-grounds of friends	Free time activities	Reported media use…	…by language
Anna	Swedish	Basketball, playing piano	Facebook Music Tv	Fi – Sw En Fi – Sw – En
Aron	Sweden Finnish	Karate	Books Comics Games Internet Magazines Music Writing Tv	Sw Sw En Sw – En Sw En Sw Sw – En
Au-gust	Swedish, Finnish, Philippine	Computer games, spend-ing time with cats	Chat Comics Games Internet Magazines Music Text messaging Tv	Sw – Fi – En Sw – En En En Sw En Sw Sw
Felicia	Sweden Finnish, Swedish, Finnish, Spanish	Being with friends and brother, work-ing out, "chilling"	Books Chat Comics Communities E-mails Games Internet Magazines Music Tv Writing	Fi – Sw Fi – Sw – En – Sp Sw Sw – En Sw En Sw Sw En Sw – En Fi – Sw
Filip-pa	Sweden Finnish	Listening to music, read-ing, being with friends and family	Books Chat Communities Games Internet Music Text messaging Tv	Fi – Sw Fi – Sw Sw – Fi – En En Sw En – Fi – Sw Sw Sw – En
Han-nes	Sweden Finnish, Swedish, Chinese	Playing com-puter or video games	Books Comics E-mail Games Internet Magazines Text messaging Tv	Sw – Fi Sw – Fi Sw – Fi – En Sw – En Sw – En Sw – Fi Sw – Fi Sw – Fi

Code name	Linguistic/cultural backgrounds of friends	Free time activities	Reported media use…	…by language
Hans	Swedish, Finnish	-	Books Comics Games Internet E-mail Magazines Text messaging Tv	Fi – Sw Fi En Fi – Sw – En Fi Fi Fi Fi – Sw
Hugo	Sweden Finnish, Finnish	Being with friends	Books Chat Comics Internet E-mail Games Magazines Music Text messaging Tv Writing	Fi Fi Fi Fi – En Fi En Fi Fi – En Fi Fi Fi
Iris	Sweden Finnish	Working out	Books Comics Communities Internet Magazines Text messaging Tv Writing	Sw – Fi Sw Sw Sw Sw Sw Sw – En Sw
Janne	Sweden Finnish, Finnish	Playing computer games	Comics Communities Internet Games Music Tv	Fi Fi En En En Fi – En
Jonas	Sweden Finnish, Finnish, English, Sri Lankan, American	Being with family	Chat Comics Games Internet Music Tv	En Fi Fi Fi – En Fi Fi
Klara	Sweden Finnish, Swedish, Finnish	Being with friends, shopping	Chat Communities Internet Magazines Music Text messaging	Sw Sw Sw Sw En Sw

Code name	Linguistic/ cultural back- grounds of friends	Free time activi- ties	Reported media use…	…by language
Lina	Sweden Finnish	Go out with dogs, playing outside	Books Chat Communities Internet E-mail Games Magazines Music Text messaging Tv Writing	Sw – Fi Sw En Sw – Fi – En Fi Fi - En Sw En Sw Sw – En Sw – Fi
Mari-ka	Sweden Finnish, Swedish	Being with friends, swim-ming, movies, play with pet rabbit	Books E-mail Games Magazines Music Text messaging Tv Writing	Sw Sw Sw – En Sw Sw – En Sw Sw Sw
Nicole	Sweden Finnish	Being with friends or hanging by the computer	Books Chat Communities E-mail Games Internet Magazines Music Text messaging Tv	Sw Sw Sw Sw Sw – En Sw Sw Sw Sw Sw – En
Sofia	Sweden Finnish	Playing floorball and being with friends	Books Chat Communities E-mail Internet Games Text messaging Tv	Sw Sw Sw Sw Sw – En Sw Sw Sw – En
Tom	Sweden Finnish	-	Books Chat E-mail Facebook Games Internet Magazines Music Text messaging Tv	Sw – Fi Sw Sw Sw En Sw – En Sw – Fi En Sw En

Code name	Linguistic/cultural backgrounds of friends	Free time activities	Reported media use…	…by language
Vivi	Swedish	Watching TV, playing games	Games Internet Magazines Music Text messaging Tv	En - Ger Ger - En Ger En Ger - Fi En - Ger

Appendix E. Weekly timetable of Class 5/6 C during the academic year 2010/11

SCHEMA
Period: ht
Utskriftsdatum: 2010-08-26 /

Klass: 6.

Time	Måndag	Tisdag	Onsdag	Torsdag	Fredag
08.00					
09.00	EV 226	SO 226	Fi 226	Fi 226	Sprv fr / Sprv sp 226	Sprv sv / Sprv ty
10.00	En 226	En 226	NO 226	Bl 226	SO 315 / 226
11.00	Lunch MS	Lunch MS	Lunch MS	Lunch MS	Lunch MS
12.00	Ma 226	Sv 226	SO 226	Ma 226	Ma 226
13.00	Sv 226	Idh	Sv 226	Sprv en / Sprv fr 226	Sprv sp / Sprv ty	Fi 226
14.00	Slm a) 107 / Slx b) 429		Fi 226 / Ma 226	NO 226	
15.00					

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Appendix F. Transcription keys in Studies I, II, III and IV.

Transcription key for school diaries (in Study II)

bold	original text in English
italics	original text in Finnish
regular	original text in Swedish
#you#	vernacular
[name]	author commentary

Transcription key for interaction material (Excerpts in Study II)

bold	original utterance in English
italics	original utterance in Finnish
regular	original utterance in Swedish
<u>Hello</u>	stress
* *	denotates smiley voice
(xxx)	inaudible
(here)	unsure transcription
((looks up))	non-verbal action
[look]	overlapping utterances
(.)	pause less than 1 second
(1.0)	pause longer than 1 second

Along the lines of the final work of reporting the studies in articles, some deviations from the above have however occurred. In Study III, <u>underlining</u> has been employed in Excerpt 1 in order to highlight the English variety used by one of the participants and the rest of the Finnish variety utterances are in *italics*, with translations to English in regular font. In Study I, original utterances in Finnish – which was the dominant variety in the extract – were transcribed in plain text, while Swedish utterances were transcribed in **bold**. <u>Underlining</u> was here used in order to indicate emphasis, just as in Study II (see transcription key above).

Furthermore, the most common procedure in the articles in which the Studies I-IV were reported, was to employ transcription in original linguistic varieties on the first, numbered, line, followed by an English variety translation on the second line. In Study I, however, the entire Excerpt 1 transpires in English due to its length and for improved readability, with the transcription in original Finnish and Swedish varieties provided in the appendix.