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Janne Kontio

Auto Mechanics in English

Language Use and Classroom
Identity Work



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Abstract

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This is a compilation thesis consisting of three different articles with the purpose to explore the relationships between language practices, identity construction and learning in the context of the Vehicle Program, a vocational program in Swedish upper secondary schools. A feature of the particular setting studied here that sets it apart from the general education of auto mechanics in Sweden is that it was carried out in English.

The study focuses on language practices within a community of practice where the norms for second language use, gender arrangements and identity work are negotiated in conversations between students and between students and teachers. The language practices are considered as talk-in-interaction, and identity construction and learning are understood as processes in socially situated activities.

The study was conducted through an ethnographic approach, including observation, field notes, approximately 200 hours of video recorded interactions, and interviews with students and teachers. The recorded interactions were analysed using tools from conversational analysis and methods focusing on linguistic activities and interactional patterns. An eclectic approach combining linguistic ethnography, ethnomethodological conversation analysis and socio-cultural theory of learning, in particular the concept of communities of practice, form the basis of the theoretical framework.

The findings in study I highlight that language alternations are repeatedly used in the workshop as a meta-language to play around with language, which relates to emerging communicative strategies that also produces – and helps contest – local language norms. Study III suggests that teasing in students' peer relations are not only disruptive, off-task behavior, thereby rendering them important only from a classroom management perspective. Teasing, this study proposes, should rather be seen as an organizing principle by which the students are able to position themselves in relation to an institutionally established language ideology. Study II focuses on how participants invoke and renegotiate conventional forms of masculinity tied to the ability of handling tools. Such micro-processes illuminate how gender is a constantly shifting social category that is done, redone and possibly undone. The findings suggest that new forms of auto mechanic student identities are formed that challenge current dominant discourses about what a mechanic should be.

Keywords: Classroom Discourse, English Medium Instruction, Ethnomethodology, Identity Work, Linguistic Ethnography, Social Interaction, Vocational Education

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To Marie, Edith & Essi

List of Papers

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

- I Kontio, J., Sylvén, L-K. (2015) Language Alternation and Language Norm in Vocational Content and Language Integrated Learning. *The Language Learning Journal*, 43 (3): 271–285
- II Kontio, J., Evaldsson, A-C. (2015) ‘Last year we used to call it a Man’s Hammer’ – (un)Making Gender and Materiality Relevant in Vocational Education. *Norma*, 10 (1): 20–38
- III Kontio, J. (submitted) Making Fun of Language Use: Teasing Practices and hybrid language forms in auto mechanic student peer interactions.

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Acknowledgements

*Jag är i skogen födder
bland berg och sjöar blå.
Sedan så blev jag nödder
att bo vid Fyris å.
Må kornet, rågen
på slätten frodas än så väl!
Till skogen, vågen
och bergen trår min själ*

Thank yous in order of appearance (sort of):

The first time I applied for a position as doctoral student in 2008 my application was read, assessed and graded by two associate professors. The first one gave me nines and tens all over my application and wrote that “it will be a pleasure to work with Kontio, this is the strongest application I have read in years”. The other one gave me rotten tomatoes – ones and twos – and put it along the lines of “Konto (sic!) wants to do and accomplish too much and his research plan lacks focus”. I disregarded the first reader and contacted the second one, Liss Kerstin Sylvé, and told her that I needed help to rewrite my application. With her arms crossed and with a stern gaze she agreed to meet me in her office. This was the starting point of a friendship that has, without exaggerating, lead me to this point in my career.

After having tried to get a job as a doctoral student (yes mom, this is a job) sixteen times I finally got to go to an interview at Uppsala University. Among 68 applicants, ten were sorted out and faced with tough questions. I knew in forehand whom I were to meet and so I googled them. Knowing what their research interests were, I obviously played my cards so that it would seem that I would fit in their research teams. “Oh sure, I am interested in doing some kind of micro-studies”, I told Ann-Carita Evaldsson, without really knowing what I said or to what kind of a supreme expert I was talking to. To be honest, I would have agreed to sweep the stairways if only I would get the job. They called me a week later and told me that I had to move to the east coast. Ann-Carita was appointed my main supervisor and she has

been the North Star to me; I have been able to guide my academic ship by her bright and shining light.

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Doctoral studies is often a practice of navel-gazing, so much at times that one thinks that what one does is more important than the work done by others, which in my case is far from the truth. My work is obviously inferior to those tremendously gifted persons working nearest to me and I will here try to mention those close colleagues who have been most influential for my studies. Many doctoral students have passed me by during the years but few were friendlier than Adriana Velasques. Even though she was on her home stretch with a massive workload when I first met her, she always found time to ask me, the new kid, how things were going. For me at that point, being the insecure newcomer, this was very important and I am very thankful for it.

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Sätra, April 2016

Chapter 1: Introduction and aims

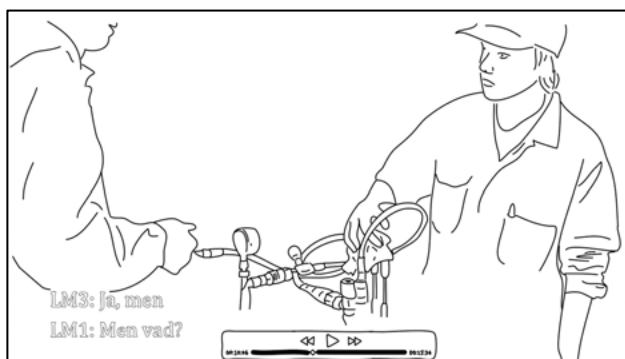


Image #1

(LG 1103 6:35-6:41)

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Rob | ° Men ° | <i>But</i> |
| 2. Ken | Men | <i>But</i> |
| 3. Ben | < Ja (.) men > | <i>Yeah, but</i> |
| 4. Rob | Men vad? | <i>But, what?</i> |
| 5. Ken | \$ <i>Men in blue</i> \$ | |

See appendix A for transcription key.

Men in blue

This is a study of students of auto mechanics in Sweden who take most of their courses in their first year in English. The studied education is preparing students for a vocation within the vehicle industry simultaneously as it teaches the students English. The school's ambition to combine language teaching and vocational training has repeatedly been evaluated as a successful practice by both teachers and students at the school. Representatives for the industry have over and over again hailed the initiative for preparing students for work in a globalized arena where English has become lingua franca, often mentioning the school and its creativity of integrating content and language teaching as a good role model for other schools to look up to.

Since the Swedish students in these studies are taking the courses at the Vehicle Program in English, it is regarded as a content and language inte-

grated learning and teaching school. *Content and Language Integrated Learning* is often used as an umbrella term for any kind of education that has this “dual-focussed” educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning of both content and language (Dalton-Puffer, 2007).

As I sat down and observed the students at the Vehicle Program for the first time I was amazed at how much these students actually spoke English. The studies that I had come across concerning content and language integrated learning in Sweden reported findings of silent classrooms, teacher- and text oriented teaching and of students making their assignments at the upper secondary programs preparing for higher studies without developing much oral skills. However, no study, except for the initial study made by Tom Åseskog (1982) who experimented with the instruction form of teaching a content matter (at the electricity and energy program) in English with teenagers in the late 70’s, had been carried out on language use in vocational programs taught in a foreign language. What I saw and heard in the content and language integrated learning auto mechanic workshop, while recording with my camera, climbing on top of lorries and cars, and listening to these students was a very playful approach towards a foreign language that the students were conquering.

The extract above is firstly an example of this, of how three boys enrolled in the Vehicle Program at a Swedish upper secondary school play with language while trying to figure out how to connect multiple pipes, getting a flywheel to move by pulling levers and using the distribution of power that is hydraulics. They have tried many different combinations but with very little success. When the three guys seem to be out of ideas this sequence occurs concerning the Swedish conjunction “men”, which translates into the English equivalent “but” and is pronounced in the same manner as the English word “men” (plural of “man”).

This tiny piece of interaction may tell us something about how these students see themselves; it opens up for an interest of understanding these students’ identity producing language practices, how they language and identify and position themselves as male mechanic students dressed in blue overalls as they speak English. This environment is especially interesting to put a light on in regards to the fact that the educational practice of the Vehicle Program is seeing many changes at the present, both when it comes to putting a greater focus on foreign language learning within vocational education; and when it comes to the increase of female students applying to the specific program during the last decade.

And perhaps most importantly, this is an example of what is in focus in my thesis: language use (here, the switching and mixing of different languages) in this kind of environment and how particular classroom identities are talked into being through language.

In most of Western society today, the use of English language indexes success, prestige and competition and is an emblem for the mobile, global

citizen (Blommaert, 2007; Pennycook, 2007). It is more or less everywhere; some 380 million people speak it as their first language and perhaps two-thirds as many again as their second. A billion are learning it and about a third of the world's population are in some sense exposed to it (Johnson, 2009). The massive spread of English in popular youth culture, social media, gaming, internet talk etc. (what is often referred to in education research as *extramural* or *out-of-school English*) has perpetuated its role as an integrated part of language use amongst youths in Sweden, even having positive effects on student results in school (Sundqvist, 2009).

All this stands in stark contrast to the auto mechanic student who has up to now not been considered a mobile student, who does not apply for higher studies, and who traditionally has not learned additional languages voluntarily or with great interest (Korp, 2011; Malmgren, 1992; Nehls, 2003; Rosvall, 2011). But the auto mechanic student is not who we used to think, the Swedish upper secondary Vehicle Program is going through many major changes simultaneously at the moment, and it has become very interesting to study what happens with the identity construction of the auto mechanic student when he (or now recently, much more often than before: *she*) is forced to learn and use this very prestigious language. When computer software, manuals and instructions and the overall business know-how are produced in English, creating a demand for language savvy auto mechanics, what happens then to the auto mechanic student position in everyday school interactions? What is at stake in these practices when they undergo these changes?

Studying language use and identity work in vocational education practices

The thesis you hold in your hands (or read on a digital tablet or what have you) is a compilation of three ethnographic papers, which focus on everyday language use in a Vehicle Program with content and language integrated learning and teaching. A wide range of issues is at stake for the participants in this setting; concerning language use and issues of identity work, particularly gender, among others, making it a very interesting site to explore indeed. It is a setting that could be approached scientifically in a variety of ways; nevertheless I have chosen a bottom-up perspective, taking the vantage point of the participants of the practice and their actual doings.

During two years, on a daily basis during weekly periods throughout the years, I collected empirical data using different ethnographic methods documenting students' and teachers' language use within workshops and classroom activities (Cekaite, 2006; Christensen & James, 2008; Heath et al, 2010; Melander, 2012), using primarily participant observation and video recordings but also interviews.

The fact that the dual focus of the study is to look at the practice from a members' local perspective and simultaneously also bringing in a socio-historic perspective to get a wider understanding of the identity work and language use in practice, paved the way to a more eclectic approach, which is why I decided to combine video recordings with ethnographic work (compare with Evaldsson, 2005; Goodwin, 2006; Heath et al, 2010; Rampton, 2010). This gave me an opportunity to open up for a broader analysis of the more overall situation of the on-going events (Duranti 1997; Rampton, 2010)¹. In conclusion, the data consist of approximately 200 hours of video recordings complemented with interviews of lessons given (mostly) in English for vocational upper secondary school learners studying their first year out of three at the vehicle mechanics program.

This is a study of classroom discourse, and within the related research dominant educational language policies have often been studied in patterns of interaction (Markee, 2015). This view is consistent with research that has explored teachers' and students' expressions regarding language use and actual language practices and language ideologies (Åhlund, 2015; Milani & Jonsson, 2012). The studies found in this thesis also adds to a number of recent studies that have examined adolescents' implicit stances toward language ideologies, focusing on identity work in interaction as performances in plurilingual settings (cf. Jonsson, 2007; Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Rampton, 1995, 2006).

One important aspect of identity research is to look closer at the way in which identities are accomplished in interaction. How participants use language is crucial to identity production, seeing identity as the product rather than the source of interaction, as a cultural and social phenomenon interactionally produced by members of a community rather than an internal one that is psychologically constructed (see Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Eckert & Rickford 2001; Ochs, 1993; Silverstein, 1979).

When I started out looking at my data, I immediately became aware of two aspects of the practice studied that stood out when looking closer at the interaction undertaken. At first, I noticed to what great extents the students and teachers in their everyday language use invoked and playfully negotiated local language norms that were related to the use of English as a foreign language (in a broader context), in turn indexing particular linguistic educational identities. How language ideologies are managed and accomplished in and by language alternation practices and humorous language are hence in focus in two of the articles in this compilation thesis (see study I & III).

When studying language use and identity forming practices in vocational education, though, I could not turn my eyes away from the larger project at hand that is being and becoming an 'auto mechanic student' (out of which language use obviously is a great part). This project entailed many gendered

¹ For more details on the data collected and the data collection process see chapter 5.

aspects that were displayed in the daily interactions between teachers and students that called for my attention. The educational practice of mechanics education, in this case the Vehicle Program in Swedish upper secondary school, has historically as well as culturally been characterized as an institution dominated by men and as an education with a large focus on technology (Korp, 2011; Nehls, 2003; Rosvall, 2011). The site from which I draw the data to the articles in this thesis is no exception. In this institution the use of tools and mechanics, and the values and language use at hand have reproduced a male norm where women have been continuously produced as a deviant other (this is what became the focus for study II). Some have even stated that masculine behaviour and practices has been taught and learned to such extent that the educational practice can be seen as a ‘monoculture’ (cf. Maruszka, 1997), a notion that is challenged to a degree by the results of the studies compiled in this thesis.

A dialogical approach integrating ethnomethodology and social interactional approaches (see below, chapter 2), as in my research, is well suited in order to understand what it means to become an ‘auto mechanic student’ in respect both to the linguistic and gendered orders at hand in this practice. Given that the practice historically has been seen as informed by a homogeneous masculine culture, consisting mainly of boys with working class backgrounds, it becomes interesting to look closer at what this practice actually looks like today when the students simultaneously are expected to learn English as well as mechanics; and when at the same time when the amount of girls entering the practice is increasing rapidly.

Aims and research questions

The overall purpose of the thesis is to contribute to, and broaden the knowledge of, how students learn how to use a foreign language, here English, in a vocational education program where language related identity processes are in focus. For this purpose, I analyse the everyday classroom practices in classrooms and workshop interaction in a content and language integrated vocational education context which I as a researcher, in a social constructionist tradition, regard as something that the participants construct and constantly position themselves within (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In line with Auer (1998), I argue for the need of ethnographies focusing on local cultural (linguistic) practice, in order to understand how identities are accomplished and used in practical actions, and how social structures are brought into being within everyday interactions.

Specifically I am concerned with the ways in which individuals use language to co-construct their everyday worlds and in particular their own social identities and those of others. Building on social interactional approaches combined with ethnomethodology, the articles in the thesis assume that

identities are multiple individual constructions, accomplished in interaction, which embody certain social histories that are co-created and recreated continuously in one's everyday experience, and moreover that individuals belong to different groups and take on a variety of identities defined by the membership in these communities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). These identities are not fixed but rather "multifaceted in complex and contradictory ways; tied to social practice and interaction as flexible and contextually contingent resources; and tied to processes of differentiation from other identified groups" (Miller 2000:72). In addition to this I focus on how the participants in their interactions orient to normatively defined language codes and boundaries in their (co-) creation of linguistic norms concerning what language to speak and to what purposes (Markee, 2015). The social construction of norms for language use also tells us something about what counts as good language and accepted language use indexical of particular linguistic ideologies (Jaffe, 2007). There is a reciprocal relationship between norms concerned with what one considers being good language or accepted language use and what forms of identity and position one occupies that becomes co-constructed in talk in interaction. Central research questions are therefore:

- what characterises the language practices and language ideologies co-created among students and teachers in content and language integrated vocational classroom interactions?
- what forms of classroom identities are co-constructed and made relevant in everyday interactions and how are these related to the use of language and learning of auto mechanics?

Both of these interests – language use and identity work – are present in the analyses in all of the three studies presented in this compilation thesis. Sometimes one is more foregrounded than the other, in two of the articles the interest for linguistic features, language and norms in interaction are concentrated (studies I and III), while identity issues are more highlighted in study II, giving me an opportunity to look closer at how gender and gendered expectations are made relevant in classroom interaction. The three studies closely examine different aspects of the overall focus of the thesis: The first study (study I) deals with language choice as communicative strategies and aims to explore and present the organisation and functions of language alternations produced by students of auto mechanics in an upper secondary school in Sweden. The second study's overarching aim is to analyse and document how gendered orders and masculinity is oriented to in everyday auto mechanic student-teacher interactions where both female and male students are learning how to use working tools. The third and final study in this compilation thesis has a primary overall aim of studying how students at the Vehicle Program make use of and orient to language varieties and language choice in teasing activities in everyday interactions.

A brief outline of the thesis

The introductory part of the thesis is divided into seven chapters. In order to set the stage for the thesis, Chapter 2 presents the thesis' relationships to three fields of research; social interactional approaches; communities of practice, and ethnomethodological studies of talk-in-interaction. In this chapter, I elaborate upon the theoretical and analytical framework the thesis rests upon, what fields of research the thesis contributes to, and with what approaches the data have been analysed. Chapter 3 then outlines the core principals studied here, namely the dual focus on teaching and learning English as well as mechanics. The chapter takes its vantage point in the school studied and discusses English as a lingua franca in education globally and in a specific teaching and learning approach taken known as content and language integrated learning (CLIL). The chapter also briefly touches upon a number of studies with a focus on language use in vocational education. In chapter 4, I draw a larger picture of the local setting in which the selected class and school is situated, focusing on vocational education and content and language integrated learning in relations to language ideology and identity work I then present the methodological approach and the methods by which the data were collected and how I went along to select and analyse the data in chapter 5. The sixth chapter summarizes the empirical articles from which the thesis is compiled. Finally in chapter 7, I bring the findings of the articles together and discuss their contributions, in English and Swedish respectively.

Chapter 2 : Theoretical framework - language and identities in practice

Social interactional approaches to identities and language use in practice

This compilation thesis consists of ethnographic work that focus on the different forms of linguistic and social identities are made relevant and how these are managed and produced in everyday language use in classroom interactions. Learning how to become an auto mechanic in and through English in an education practice that is going through a number of changes is, as mentioned in the introductory parts, an endeavour filled with tensions; the identity of the auto mechanic student is produced, contested and negotiated through language throughout all the classroom data at hand. In order to get a fuller understanding of how the students' identity work is related to issues of how to learn to use a second language in expected and culturally appropriate ways and in turn how this invokes certain forms of local language ideologies and language norms; it was deemed necessary to work with multiple theoretical approaches.

This chapter presents the social interactional approaches through which the research questions of this study have been advanced. By outlining a few conceptual frameworks, the aim of the chapter is to present how a view on language and identity as socially situated and contingently constructed (see Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Ochs, 1993) can be used for understanding language use and identity work in a vocational education practice. I will here present the theoretical framework and central concepts used in the empirical studies. In the following chapters the focus then will shift towards how the theoretical tools and vantage points presented below are linked to the methodological approach and used in the empirical work.

The social interactional approaches taken in this thesis towards language use and identity construction are: *linguistic ethnography* as an umbrella framework for the study of language use (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Rampton, 2004; 2007); *ethnomethodological conversation analysis* on members' perspective on identities (Gafaranga, 2001; Garfinkel, 1967; Stokoe 2012); and the concept of *communities of practice* (Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). A focus of interest that unites the chosen

approaches is an overall aim to understand language use and identities as both locally accomplished and situated in interaction and socio-historically coded, in continuous dialogue with one another.

In order to approach and focus on what participants do in interaction through talk and what is made relevant and understood by interlocutors in specific conversational contexts in a particular sociocultural setting, I have adopted a *dialogical* or a *dialogist* approach towards language, thus approaching language as social action (Linell, 1998). Dialogism is not one coherent school, or philosophical theory, not even anything that "dialogists" of different backgrounds would agree upon (Linell, 2009). Nevertheless, I have treated it here as a fairly coherent theoretical framework, as a starting point for theoretical and epistemological assumptions about human action, communication and cognition.

Within linguistics there has been, and to a certain degree still is, a dominating formalistic, monologicistic view on language. The dialogical approach taken here builds on the works, on language developed by, among others, Linell (1998; 2009) and Marková (2003), traceable back to theorists such as Bakhtin and Vygotsky. The monologicistic views on language are based on the assumption that essential parts of the language systems are internalized by individuals constituting their 'linguistic competence' (Linell 1998:26). Language accordingly provides the speaker with the words and structures he or she deploys in communication. In this view language is largely seen as a set of rules that precedes linguistic practice, thereby overriding context and seeing categories as stable rather than changing. An orientation towards the individual leads to a comprehension of communication as an exchange of actions between individuals. Communication is considered as a transmission of information taken place as soon as a sender A has expressed a message and recipient B has understood it (in accordance with A's intentions)" (Linell 1998:24).

A dialogical approach on the other hand, as adopted in this thesis, finds itself situated within a framework where language is viewed upon as discourse, practice and communication. Dialogical approaches inform various discursive and interactional approaches such as microsociology, ethnomethodological conversation analysis, linguistic ethnography, linguistic anthropology and discursive psychology. An emphasis is set upon discursive aspects of language in use, such as meaning-making as co-constructed, interpretation, context in use, situated understanding, response-work, etc. Language structure is not irrelevant but can never, in a dialogical approach, be isolated or prioritized over the communicative actions and activities in which it is a part. Unlike the dichotomies in monological approaches, Linell (2011) suggests a "conceptual intertwinement" where relationships between context-discourse or speaker-hearer are seen dialectically, as dependent of each other rather than separated from one another, very much in line with the theoretical approaches used in the present framework.

Linguistic Ethnography as an umbrella framework

Linguistic ethnography, can be seen as a relatively open discursive space where researchers who are committed to ethnographic modes of enquiry with a special interest in language use and identities turn their analytic attention to language and communication in practice (cf. Blackledge, 2011; Creese, 2005; 2010; Rampton, 2007; 2010). The way in which one should read this thesis in relations to Linguistic Ethnography (henceforth LE) is to view all the three articles as reliant on the ideas that come together in a particular view on language use in situated context that pays particular interest to linguistic forms. Study I, for instance, does this by examining identity work in relations to language alternation practices and negotiations and production of language norms. What has fascinated me more and more throughout working on the thesis is the fact that individuals only have partial control over these linguistic forms and strategies, such as language alternation, and the work which is put into the interaction in which participants collaboratively construct shared meanings in the community at hand.

Linguistic ethnography is obviously the compound made out of the two words 'linguistics' and 'ethnography', but what is there to be gained by joining the two? Linguistic ethnographers argue that the two can benefit from one another; Rampton et al. (2004) claim that LE is 'tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up' (p.4), meaning that ethnography gets tied down by the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics benefit from the process of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography.

Linguistic ethnography is something of an umbrella term and there are many different research traditions that take part in the discursive space provided by the LE umbrella (for an overview see Rampton, 2007; Rampton et al, 2004). Although there are differences among the different research traditions often mentioned within LE, a couple of methodological interests and views are shared:

- I The contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning making takes place within specific parameters, such as certain social relations or institutional settings.
- II The linguistic fine-grain is to be investigated since meaning is not only expressions of ideas, far more lies within and is situated in for instance the stances taken and the nuances in interactions.

If we want to explain the way in which people make sense socially, in real environments, Blommaert notes, we need to understand the context in which such sense-making practices develop (cf. 2005:43). Linguistic ethnography's approach fits well with this study since it pays attention to both the wider

context while also approaching the very fine-grained realities of actual meaning making in everyday interaction. Linguistic ethnography is here applied as an umbrella for the eclectic theoretical framework that is working on both these levels simultaneously. There is also an assumption shared among researchers working within LE that persons (their physical bodies, the resources they have at their disposal: their category membership etc.) situated encounters (events, activity type etc.) and institutions (or networks, communities of practice etc.) are profoundly inter-linked and very much of the research conducted within LE is concerned with the nature of these linkages.

Communication is thus something that is organized and constituted between interactants rather than in a more static from-to-process (cf. Blommaert, 2005:36). The aim to escape from polar views on language or discourse, as independent or given priority to in front of the other, is adopted in the three articles in this thesis. Within a dialogical perspective *bilingualism*, for instance, is not viewed as a mental state, and not as something you are, but as something you do (see Slotte-Lüttge 2005; 2007). To be able to take part in a social practice in a meaningful way in bilingual contexts is what constitutes bilingualism, writes Cromdal and Evaldsson (2003). From this perspective, social meaning is the result of joint work. Meaning, then, is not something that precedes an action that can be easily encoded through language; meaning-making is both an on-going process and a result of social interaction. Key themes within these traditions are also the interplay and dynamics between language ideology, linguistic structures and language use in the form of *linguaging* (Swain, 2006) and the identities at play, all of which are issues that are examined in the different studies in this compilation thesis.

Language ideologies and languaging

The individual's use of the language or languages available to him or her may be viewed as regulated by norms influenced by strong ideologies about language (or language ideologies). Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defines linguistic ideology as a set of "beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". With a greater emphasis on the social facet, language ideology has also been defined as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath 1989:53)

A research focus on language ideology makes for a promising bridge between linguistic and social theory, it allows us to relate the microculture of communicative action to political considerations of power and social inequality, to confront macrosocial constraints on language behavior, and to

connect discourse with lived experiences (Briggs 1993:207). In sum, language ideologies are beliefs that represent ideological interests and may become generally accepted as “truths” about language (see further discussions on language politics related to the setting studied in chapter 3).

In the studies compiled here, the analyses of social construction of language use also reflect the ideology-loaded constitution of language itself. As I as a researcher make a distinction between speaking Swedish and speaking English, I also make a choice between two normatively defined codes (cf. Schieffelin et al, 1998). The assumption that language systems exist in a describable and analysable way is problematic, a point well worth acknowledging put forward by Reagan (2004), Makoni and Pennycook (2007) and others; see also related socio-linguistic terms such as ‘translanguaging’ (García, 2009), ‘crossing’ (Rampton, 1995), ‘linguaging’ (Swain 2006) and ‘heteroglossia’ (Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010; Kyratzis et al, 2010; see also Bachtin 1986: 270 for the origins of the term). The related terms refer to the fact that languages are not countable codes that exist independently. The concept of language as separable into distinct “languages” is increasingly rejected by current sociolinguistics (Ag & Jørgensen, 2013; Jørgensen, 2010; Madsen et.al. 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) as a valid representation of real life language use. As expected in this setting studied, language ideology is often oriented towards when students must deal with language choice or second language use, where their linguistic skills, or lack thereof, are at display (for further descriptions of the school’s monolingual language norm, see chapter 4). If we were to return to the example briefly outlined in the introduction, where the three boys jokingly comment on their language use as they connect pipes, it can in line with a dialogical approach be seen as an example of how normative meanings of language use is collaboratively produced and commented on.

Speakers do not use “languages”; they use linguistic features, which are in turn associated with “languages”. Speakers are *linguagers* and what they do is *linguaging* (Jørgensen, 2010). The male students are involved in sense-making actions – the process of switching between languages is not an exception, it is the normal state of linguaging in these classroom interactions. In this thesis, however, I use the arbitrary expressions ‘languages’ or ‘the language’ and so on, in order to refer to the collections of idiolects and linguistic varieties and codes culturally recognised in the environment studied, mostly by the teachers when monitoring and correcting students’ language use, as Swedish, English, German, and so on. Certain languages are charged with normative expectations connected to the status of the language as well as to what language to use in specific contexts and how.

A related feature studied, which also relates to language ideology, is the use of heteroglossic linguistic hybrid forms such *Swenglish* among these students (see studies I and III, and to some extent study II). *Swenglish* is here used to describe a hybrid use of English and Swedish, or a mock Eng-

lish with linguistic elements from Swedish that are used as a linguistic resource in languaging. Swenglish is in this study sometimes closely related to the terms “linguistic sabotage” (Jaspers, 2005), or “silly talk” (Charalambous, 2012) where the concept of doing ridiculous is crucial, involving play-acting creating ambiguity and feigning enthusiasm for schoolish activities. Thereby creating an interactional space that bends larger discourses and ideologies, indexing a diversity of issues, and used in different settings with a number of differing purposes.

The students’ use of Swenglish does not only contest and challenge monolingual language ideologies, at times it may also (re)establishes monolingual language norms when used as a disciplining feature in peer interactions (which is further developed in study III). The use of Swenglish helps the students both to shape and negotiate their participation at school and to play with and subvert stereotyping identities related to that being an auto mechanic student is not the same as being good at English.

Ethnomethodological and conversation analytical approaches to identity work

Furthermore, I also use an ethnomethodological approach to study how identities are accomplished through the social categories invoked in classroom interaction and how normative expectations on language use are oriented to and negotiated by the participants in everyday educational practices (Hester & Francis, 2000).

The articles in this compilation thesis take their starting points in a dialogical perspective on language and interaction that is integrated with an ethnomethodological approach (Mehan, 1993; Mehan et al., 1986). Within this perspective the local aspects of interaction are in focus, as well as the larger contexts made relevant in the teacher-students interaction, which reconfigures the different identities that are at stake. More specifically, the ethnomethodological approach opens up the studies of how identities are negotiated in auto mechanic students’ interactions based in an understanding of membership categories as meaning making resources embedded in and as fundamental parts of educational practices (Hester & Francis, 2000). In an ethnomethodological perspective a central point is that however temporary and coincidental everyday life may seem, it can be studied in its own rights. Central for ethnomethodological studies is also that social categories are not seen as something naturally given or pre-defined, but rather the focus is on how categories are established by the members in particular institutional practices (Stokoe, 2012).

According to Garfinkel (1967), the founding father of ethnomethodology, one of its most important objectives is to look into the methods members use

to create and uphold meaning in social life. Consequently language as talk-in-interaction plays a fundamental role in human life (Hester & Francis, 2000). Ethnomethodology views the individual as an active participant in social reality and the society as the result of individuals' actions and interaction. The perspective considers social interaction, in line with a dialogical approach, to be collaboratively produced as part of meaning-making in interaction. Ethnomethodology highlights specific aspects of human interaction by focusing on subtle processes of meaning-making. Language use here is seen as a medium by which members in certain communities of practice establish common understandings.

As an ethnomethodologically informed researcher, I try to immerse myself into the members' perspective on their everyday life in order to understand the methods they use, and the common sense knowledge they inhabit, as they accomplish the local business at hand (Heritage, 2001). As a consequence, I assume that the common sense knowledge oriented to by the participants in their everyday interactions is also accessible for me as a researcher and thereby possible to study (see chapter 5 for a more detailed description of how this was carried out).

This study of classroom talk in a school environment contributes to the growing number of ethnomethodological conversation analytical studies on institutional talk, where research has identified a number of recurrent features that characterize institutional talk, and by extension, identities in institutional contexts (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Benwell, 1999; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Hester & Francis, 2000). Among others it is noted that in educational settings the institutional representative normatively has the right to ask questions (eg. Teacher – Student) (Freebody & Freiburg, 2000; 2011; Hester & Francis, 2000) and that the use of personal pronoun (eg. 'we' and 'us') is common to index an institutional rather than a personal identity (Drew & Sorjonen, 1997). This implies also asymmetrical roles between teachers and students, experts with authority ruling over the apprentices who must adjust and orient to norms set up by the institution (Agar, 1986; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Hester & Francis, 2000; Lundmark & Normark, 2014). The types of classroom conversation linked to educational settings, and in contrast to ordinary talk, have been the topic for analysts over several decades (cf. Hester & Francis, 2000). Participants in institutional talk often orient towards an assignment or an identity related to the environment (Lid-dicoat, 2007), though institutional identities cannot be assumed to be relevant or present simply by virtue of the setting, Stokoe (2000) shows, speakers may move in and out of institutional and ordinary talk continuously (see also Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004).

Although not being a study of institutional talk per se, documentation of the talk produced in the classroom and workshop practices as institutional provides here for analyses of the interactions as saturated in the normative expectations produced by the school itself.

An ethnomethodological, conversation analytical approach to *Membership Categorization Analysis* (cf. Sacks, 1972; Stokoe, 2012) has especially been used in studies II and III. This approach focuses on the local management of speakers' categorisations of themselves and others (Hester & Eglin, 1997). Building on prior research, I have focussed on how social categories are made relevant and accomplished in classroom interactions "that both constitute and reflect conventional expectations of normative behaviours within a specific group and setting, including gender along with other social identities" (Evaldsson, 2005:768). In study II, the video recordings offered rich data to look into the specifics of how gender was made relevant, as a constantly shifting social category that was done, redone and possibly undone in interaction. The study contributes to a view on how gender is both embodied and materialised in sequences of action where the participants learn how to use mechanic tools (see study II). Social identity is, according to West & Zimmerman (2009), something that is done and made visible in and through members' actions in relation to what constitutes socially acceptable behaviour in a certain practice. The way in which members categorize themselves and others (as language savvy or language failures, as ladies or men, as idiots or retards – see studies I, II and III respectively) are thus part of the normative order that is accomplished through social interaction (see Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Sacks, 1992). An ethnomethodological approach is used to give insights into language and identity production by, for instance, looking closer at the collaboratively produced moral work of being and becoming accountable for different categories here (Evaldsson, 2007). How a student may become categorized through language use in peer interactions of classroom talk is in focus in the different studies; for instance as a gendered auto mechanic student (study II) or as an incompetent student in automechanics or in English cast as either an idiot or retard (study III).

Approaching everyday identity work in a gendered community of practice in vocational education

The students and teachers present in my data are obviously forming their interactions, relations and identity practices in a specific environment. In their everyday life in the workshop, they form certain linguistic, social, educational and gendered practices (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992; 2003). Such practices have traditionally been approached in research with different speech community approaches (Gumperz, 1968; Hymes, 1972), though more recently the concept *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991) has become more prominent when analysing how student and professional identities are accomplished in everyday multiparty classroom interactions (for a recent overview, see for instance Åhlund, 2015).

In this thesis, I have adopted the concept communities of practice in order to analyse how student and professional identities are accomplished in everyday classroom interactions. A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour, in my case it is a number of students engaged in learning auto mechanics as a future profession through a foreign language. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour. A community of practice is different as a social construct from the traditional notion of community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership is produced. The individual constructs his or her identity through participation in a variety of communities of practice, and in forms of participation in each of those communities (Eckert, 1998). Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour.

In addition to the codified and disciplinary knowledge that are central to school institutions, vocational education students have to engage with complex forms of work-based knowledge that include conceptual, procedural and dispositional dimensions (Billett, 2001). This affects not only knowledge acquisition, but also the ways students position themselves in the social practices they engage in. Educational anthropologists like Lave and Wenger (1991) have, for instance, long stressed the idea that vocational learning 'implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by these systems of relations' (p. 52). Consequently, identity issues are key components of transitions from school to work. Apprentices do not only have to master new knowledge and skills, they are also expected to become members of new communities of practice and to position themselves in a complex network of relations involving other apprentices, teachers, trainers and co-workers (Wenger, 1998). Learning in this sense is not a separate activity, Wenger notes, it is not something we do when we do nothing else or stop doing when we do something else – learning is an integrated part of our everyday life (Wenger, 2000).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992; 2003) call attention to how language and identities are integrated in communities of practice and can be studied in its own rights by sociolinguistic attentiveness to, for instance, gendered practices. Such a conceptual practice that the students in my studies partake in, prevailing throughout the data collected, which both teachers and students often refer to is *teamwork* (see study II). Learning to become an auto mechanic is also learning how to be a part of a team. It is often noted in the setting studied that no mechanic knows everything; they all need to share their knowledge and be able to work with others to solve tasks and assignments. Teamwork, it turns out, has formerly in this setting been a class-related, homosocial constellation, with gendered arrangements. What hap-

pens now then, when the number of girls applying to the Vehicle Program in the last decade has seen a fivefold increase? How do teachers and students adapt to this rapid change? It turns out that those who have the hardest time figuring out what to do are the teachers, trying to orient towards a gender equal masculinity discourse they often overdo it and end up pointing out distinction, marking female students as deviant (see study II). The ethnomethodological approach taken to the doing and undoing of gendered identities through membership categorization practices, especially in teamwork activities, is an important contribution of this thesis to further broaden our understanding of the undergoing changes in the gendered community of practice that is the content and language integrated Vehicle Program in Sweden.

The purpose of combining the concepts of community of practice with social interactional and ethnomethodological approaches is to relate ways of speaking to ways in which individuals use language to co-construct their everyday worlds and in particular their own social identities and those of others. This is not simply a question of discovering how linguistic form correlates with social structure or activity, but of how social meaning is made in the course of local social practice and conventionalized on the basis of shared experience and understanding (McConnell-Ginet, 1989).

As noted above, the importance of the concept of community of practice lies in the recognition that identity is not fixed, that convention does not pre-exist use, and that language use is a crucial and continual process of learning. The community of practice is a prime space of this process of identity and linguistic construction. Communities of practice emerge in response to common interest or position, and play an important role in forming their members' participation in, and orientation to, the world around them.

In conclusion, it should be clear that the social interactional, ethnomethodological and the socio-cultural approaches are all necessary and complementary, providing the analyses with a continuous feedback between the setting and its participants, between the socio-historically coded context and what is locally accomplished, between macro and micro (Zimmerman, 1998). This eclectic approach builds a framework that helps to better understand the life worlds of my study objects, the different approaches rely on a common dialogical ground and reinforce each other by turning attention to different parts of the practices studied, they provide with tools to study and help me interpret how language use and the auto mechanic student identity is put at stake when the practice undergoes radical changes.

This view on language use and identity work leaves us with a far more complex definition of how social identities are accomplished, as opposed to a more traditional understanding of language users as unitary and internally motivated individuals (Hall, 2012). Through involvement in the workshop activities, for example, the students and teachers in my studies accomplish shifting forms of social identities and use these to navigate their involvement

in their practices. These identities are both locally situated and historically constituted and are thus 'precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time they think or speak' (Weedon, 1997: 32).

Here the integrated use of socio-linguistic approaches with an ethnomethodological approach enhances our understanding of the ongoing negotiation of an auto mechanical student identity in interaction. In particular, it provides an understanding of how auto mechanic student' identities are shaped both locally as well as by the dominant discourse or idea about what a mechanic student 'should be'. The thesis draws on recorded interactions of mechanics to consider how the students position themselves and become positioned interactionally in practice in such a way as to highlight a mechanical identity based on being for instance 'masculine' or 'resilient towards language learning' while simultaneously voicing alternative identities negatively in everyday educational practice.

The theoretical framework presented here also calls for bringing in the bigger picture, the wider context, to fully understand how the participants make sense of their everyday lives. In the coming two chapters I will firstly through a top-down perspective provide an understanding of the role of English in the vocational educational context at hand, before changing perspectives to a bottom-up view, going into the local environment of English-medium instruction auto mechanic students.

Chapter 3 : Vocational education in English

In this chapter I will present the wider context for the study by taking a top-down perspective on the content and language integrated learning (CLIL) practice in foci. The chapter starts out by presenting the Vehicle Program as a setting for teaching and learning English, followed by a discussion on English as a global language and as a medium of instruction. I then continue to discuss content and language integrated learning, an umbrella term for dual focused teaching and learning, and present its implementations in the Swedish context and related research. The following chapter will then pick up where this chapter ends; in the studies of language use and identity work in vocational settings, by describing the very classrooms' practices studied.

Teaching in English in a Vehicle Program

The school in this study is an upper secondary school, centrally located in a suburb just outside of one of the largest cities in Sweden. In 2010 the number of students was about 1500, which makes it a mid-size school. The school offers both vocational and ensuing programs. *The Vehicle Program* is a national program within the Swedish upper secondary school system. It runs for three years and at the end of the program the students who have passed will have the possibility to take a job directly on graduation, study at the vocational university college or, given that one studies a few extra courses, continue studies at university level.

There were at the time of data collection, five different specialisations within the program, out of which the student chose one, usually after his or her first year; goods management, bodywork and painting, trucks and mobile machines, car mechanic, or transport. The schools are not obliged to offer all five specialisations, for instance, the school in this study offers all but bodywork and painting. Like all programs within the Swedish upper secondary school system, the Vehicle Program does also include academic courses that give basic formal access to higher education. In this school context, English is taught as a compulsory subject in all Swedish upper secondary schools, in vocational programs as well. The mandatory A-course in English at the Vehicle Program (at the point of time when the data were collected for this study) consisted of 100 hours of teaching and was followed, but only by choice, by a B-course consisting of 50 hours of teaching. None of the stu-

dents in the classes studies chose to trade any of their selectable Vehicle related courses to the B-course in English, nor did anyone choose to take the course in their leisure time.

Teaching the Vehicle Program in and through a foreign language is fairly uncommon in Sweden. It is not coincidental that the chosen school in my data teaches in English. International co-operation forms part of the school curriculum, e.g. collaboration with schools in England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany and the Czech Republic. The international profile is strengthened by tuition in English in subjects/courses like Marketing in English, Business English and the first year at the Vehicle Program taught mostly in English.

To teach in this environment creates also particular challenges as both students and teachers need to be able to integrate vast knowledge of auto mechanics with a second language expertise. Content and language integrated learning practices often imply that the teachers will normally be non-native speakers of the target language (the practice studied being an exception, see below). Teachers in these environments are not, in most cases, foreign language experts, but instead content experts. As in Wolff & Marsh studies (2007), because "classroom content is not so much taken from everyday life or the general content of the target language culture but rather from content subjects, from academic/scientific disciplines or from the professions" (pp. 15-16), this is clearly the case in the setting studied, as will be further elaborated below.

The fact that the percentage of students who graduate from the Vehicle Program and who later choose to continue to higher studies is very low also creates particular challenges to the integration of a foreign language learning program in this setting. The Vehicle Program is still identified as a male program that is pervaded by a strong working-class-masculine tradition in several respects (see Nehls, 2003; Korp, 2011). In 1981, in an official report of the Swedish government (SOU 1981:96ff.), there was a proposition of a model for secondary schools, based on the basic idea that students' educational careers must be made irrespective of their social background and gender. Upper secondary schools should be attractive to all categories of students, and students should as far as possible be able to study at the programs they want and do choices out if interest in program as well as in choice of school. Vocational programs became triennial and common core subjects would give all students opportunities for an active citizenship as well as the basic qualifications for university studies. Introducing the teaching of English in this context means also that the strong boundaries between practical and theoretical training would thus be blurred and upper secondary school would open the doors to lifelong learning for all pupils. In addition, the National Agency introduced as a quality supportive and investigative authority and national tests to ensure educational equality. However as Beach (et. al. 1999) demonstrates social background, class and especially gender still carries a heavy punch in relation to the students' educational choices (see also

Broady & Börjesson, 2008; Larsson and Ohrlander, 2005), which to a degree explains the gendered division in applicants to the Vehicle Program (see study II for an extended discussion).

So in conclusion, what sets this school practice apart from many other Swedish Vehicle Programs is the fact that it is being taught in and through English, a second language for most students in Sweden. This is only partly true though; ever since the implementation of English as medium of instruction in the workshop at the school studied, and the following many positive evaluations, an additional five or six schools in the particular part of Sweden have followed the studied school's example of teaching (to some extent or another) in English at the Vehicle Program.

English as a global language of education

When asked about why the school in the study at hand decided upon teaching in English, the team leader at the Vehicle Program studied stated:

Well, we saw the business and vocation of auto mechanics rapidly turning towards being understood and, sort of, drenched in English. Manuals, databases and software on the computers. It is all in English now. Even the databases where you can look up different parts for Volvo [formerly a Swedish car manufacturer] are no longer in Swedish. Our kids did not know enough English to work properly as auto mechanics.
(From interviews conducted, Fall 2012)

The fact that English has become a larger part of what it is to be an auto mechanic is by no means unique. During the past century, the English language has created a dominant position in many parts of the world, something that emerges more clearly today than just a few decades ago. English has gradually become the preferred language for international contacts of all kinds. English can simply put, be said to be an integral part of the on-going globalization process (Pennycook, 2007; 2010). English itself is “semiotized as being the emblem of international mobility, success, and prosperity” (Blommaert, 2007: 13; Crystal, 2003).

One might raise the question about why English has become the language of globalization? It is often pointed out that English is not a culture-free or neutral language (see, for example, discussions in Fitzgerald, 2003), even if there is a tendency in some sociopolitical contexts to treat it as such. Furthermore, the current political and economic dominance of English on the world stage has also brought with it debates concerning ownership of the language (Norton, 2000), and its geopolitical effects (Canagarajah, 1999;

2006), and the viewpoint of English as a *lingua franca* (Jenkins, 2000; 2006; Mauranen, 1993), among others. An ontological understanding of English is therefore very much in flux, and its multiple contexts of use, on a global scale, extremely varied, with different and complex social, educational and political priorities at issue.

The relationship between English and globalization creates a new situation for the citizens of all countries where English is not the primary language. Knowledge of English has become a prerequisite for participation in communication, not only on an international level, but also in more and more contexts on a national level, even in non-English speaking countries such as Sweden, not the least within education of all sorts. A command of English as an additional language is increasingly regarded as a key literacy feature worldwide, if referring to literacy in a broad sense, including basic skills in reading instructions, manuals etc. The increase of English in education gives rise to a number of questions that researchers are to deal with; what new demands does the changed role of English in the Swedish education system create? How does the Swedish school satisfy its citizens' need for qualified skills in English (Blomaert, 1999; Hyltenstam, 1999; Salö, 2010)? One form of education that addresses these issues and that has spread like widely in Swedish education during the last decades is CLIL (cf. Hyltenstam, 2002; 2004; Lim Falk, 2008; Nixon, 2000; Sylvén, 2004).

Content and language integrated learning

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), in which pupils learn a subject through the medium of a foreign language, has a major contribution to make to the Union's language learning goals.

Commission of the European Union (2004)

Content and Language Integrated Learning is often used as an umbrella term for any kind of education that has a “dual-focussed” educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning of both content and language. Although the first ‘L’ in CLIL is meant to stand for any language, it would be an extreme case of denial to claim that this is also the case in reality. CLIL languages tend to be recruited from a small group of prestigious languages, and outside the English-speaking countries, the prevalence of English as CLIL medium is overwhelming (Eurydice Network, 2006; Fernández, 2008; Lim & Low, 2009). Therefore, most of the time in this thesis, CLIL effectively means CEIL, or Content and English Integrated Learning.

There is a myriad of other terminologies used for this kind of education, among others; bilingual education, content-based language teaching and language enriched education. CLIL as a term is rather new, it came about in 1994 as a pan-European group considered what appeared to be a promising educational approach to language acquisition was in fact obstructed by all the different and often isolated approaches across Europe with different names.

One of the first pieces of legislation regarding European cooperation in CLIL was the 1995 Resolution of the Council. It refers to the promotion of innovative methods and, in particular, to 'the teaching of classes in a foreign language for disciplines other than languages, providing bilingual teaching'. It also proposes improving the quality of training for language teachers by 'encouraging the exchange with Member States of higher education students working as language assistants in schools, endeavouring to give priority to prospective language teachers or those called upon to teach their subject in a language other than their own' (Council Resolution 1995).

In the same year, in its White Paper on education and training (Teaching and Learning - Towards the Learning Society), the European Commission focused on the importance of innovative ideas and the most effective practices for helping all EU citizens to become proficient in three European languages. With reference to these ideas the Commission stated: "it could even be argued that secondary school pupils should study certain subjects in the first foreign language learned" (Commission of the European Communities 1995).

In 2001, the European Year of Languages certainly helped draw attention to the fact that the promotion of language learning and linguistic diversity may be achieved through a wide variety of approaches, including CLIL type provision. In March 2002, the European Council sought to boost language learning in calling for a sustained effort on the part of the Member States and the European Commission to ensure teaching of at least two foreign languages from a very early age. Following this request (together with that of the February 2002 Education Council), the Commission in 2003 launched its Action Plan 2004-2006. Under the Plan, CLIL provision is cited as having 'a major contribution to make to the Union's language learning goals'. A set of actions was drawn up to promote the integrated learning of content and language (Commission of the European Union, 2004).

At the May 2005 Education Council, the Luxembourg presidency reported on the results of the symposium entitled 'The Changing European Classroom: The Potential of Plurilingual Education'. Among the main conclusions, the need to ensure that pupils and students are involved in CLIL type provision at the different levels of school education was emphasised, encouraging teachers to receive special training in CLIL. It was also claimed that a good way to learn a foreign language is "to use it for a purpose, so that

the language becomes a tool rather than an end in itself' (Eurydice Report, 2006:5).

Even though CLIL as a term is new, the approach is not. To teach in a foreign language has been around, Laurén notes, in some form from at least the time of the Akkadians (around 2000 BC). When the Akkadians overtook the power from the Sumerians they continued to educate the Sumerians in their own language, rather than in an Akkadian language to maintain the Sumerian culture and peace in the country (Laurén, 1999:30).

But it was not until the 1960s that scientists seriously started to concentrate on language acquisition through teaching content in the target language. So called immersion teaching was initiated in bilingual Canada in 1965 to enhance the English-speaking children's French (Genesee, 1987). The teaching methods spread and came to Scandinavia in the end of the 1960s and had initially the largest impact on education in bilingual Finland (see Kontio, 2006; Laurén, 1999).

The global spread of CLIL, the pace of which 'has surprised even its most ardent advocates' (Maljers et al, 2007:7) suggests looking into language policy in order to understand the driving forces behind it. In most places, the implementation of CLIL has been fuelled from two directions: high-level policymaking and grassroots actions, with the latter merging parental and teacher choices. What we see above all is individuals reacting to what they rightly perceive as major shifts in society and economic life, with both becoming increasingly international, requiring ever better educated employees who know certain languages that are considered crucial in the job market (Ferguson, 2006). Parents believe that CLIL promises their children an edge in the competition for employment (Li, 2002), and teachers often take the initiative, adapting their language practices to teaching through the medium of English (Dalton-Puffer et al, 2008).

Research on CLIL classrooms

Although there has been an emphasis on developing CLIL across educational settings in an international perspective, there are few in-depth studies of CLIL classrooms. Many of these studies report on classroom design (Dalton-Puffer et al, 2008; Duff, 1995; Nikula, 2010) and show more teacher centred classrooms with silent students mainly working on text-based material, compared to non-CLIL classrooms. In sum, these studies show that CLIL classrooms differ from foreign language classrooms in some fundamental pragmatic parameters, which is of some importance in explaining the reduced foreign-language-speaking anxiety that is commonly observed in CLIL students (e.g., Dalton-Puffer et al., 2008; Maillat, 2010; Nikula, 2007).

A pragmatic stance has also been used to investigate the realization of speech acts in CLIL lessons, notably directives, due to their special frequen-

cy in classroom interaction (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2006; Moore, 2009). Findings show the impact of the situational context classroom in terms of a clear division between the instructional and regulative registers with regard to norms of directness and indirectness: Given that questions for content are part of the core purpose of school lessons, directness is licensed in the instructional register in teacher-student and student-student interactions. In the regulative register, on the other hand, a stronger impact of the local matrix cultures emerges: A comparison of CLIL lessons from Finnish and Austrian German contexts (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2006) showed an obvious difference in politeness forms (and presumably norms), with the Austrian classrooms exhibiting considerable amounts of indirectness features in teacher requests for actions (rather than for content information), whereas the Finnish requests were more direct overall. But even in a context like the Austrian one, where the students were exposed to numerous linguistic models for making polite requests in English, they had much less opportunity to produce a wide range of requests themselves.

Even though CLIL classrooms are widely considered as motivating, the actual commitment of participants to use the target language seems to vary enormously. Student behaviour during group work has often been used as a measure in this respect, the most common observation being that students immediately switched to their first language once they were among themselves (e.g., Canagarajah, 1995; Cromdal, 2005), a finding that was, however, not supported by Nikula's Finnish data. On the contrary, Nikula (2007) found her participants using the second language even for social purposes, such as a student passing on greetings from one teacher to another. What can be said with some certainty is that the language choices of individual teachers have a significant impact in this regard, constituting something like house rules for the students (e.g., Pessoa et al, 2007).

CLIL in a Swedish context

In a Swedish school policy perspective, CLIL is said to be a result of the new governance and the former Curriculum for the Compulsory School System, the Pre-School Class and the Leisure-time Centre (Lpo 94) and the Curriculum for the Non-Compulsory School System (Lpf 94). In short, the "new" policies gave extended freedom of action and an empowerment of those who work with education to formulate the activities in school, regarding content, form, organization and election of specializations. The increased way and means resulted in a more powerful profiling of the individual schools. For students, the change came to mean more choices in terms of educational pathways and direction when it comes to the choice of school. A new competition between schools thus arose. By introducing national recruitment it became possible for schools to compete with schools in other

municipalities. Put simply, each school had to attract students to survive. It is about being in competition for students, creating and developing new directions and angles, organizing and planning these and also be responsible for the content of courses that has become the new challenge for schools, to meet a national standard in relation to the relatively vague curriculum. A series of new directions, CLIL as one among others, have thus seen the light since a new curriculum came into force in 1994, partly to meet the new requirements, and as a part of the growing competition between schools.

In Sweden CLIL was introduced through an experiment undertaken at a gymnasium in Göteborg, where students at an electrical engineering program were taught in English (Åseskog, 1982). Since then CLIL has been introduced in many schools, during the 1990's the number of schools teaching in CLIL exploded and at the turn of the millennium every fifth Swedish student at the upper secondary school was taught through a foreign language to some extent (Nixon 2000:8).

When studying this CLIL context it has become clear that it is in many regards an ideological, political project both to offer and to take courses and programs in English, met with academic counter discourses that sounds a note of caution that these trades, professions and educations may lose their Swedish technical language (see Hyltenstam, 2004; Josephson 2004; 2011). It may be a subject for further research to assess whether or not the students actually lose any Swedish or not, it is not within the aims of this thesis, and I am not affiliating to these mentioned discourses per se; I only refer to them here in order to point out the tensions that are inherent in this kind of education in the Swedish context.

Former studies on CLIL in Sweden are limited; analyses of CLIL and its effects in Swedish context is sparse and have had a focus on the ensuing programs in the upper secondary schools. Hägerfelth (1992) and Hyltenstam (2002, 2004) have contributed with descriptions of CLIL in Sweden. When it comes to empirical studies Washburn (1997) compared grades among CLIL-students with grades among control groups, showing that CLIL-students lowered their grades in many subjects but gained good grades in English. Sylvén (2004) has studied lexical development among learners in CLIL-programs; their results show that extramural English has the biggest impact on learners' lexical development. Lim Falk (2008) studied students learning chemistry, physics and history in English and her studies show, in accordance to international studies (cf. Mewald, 2004) that learners speak very little in class and when they do, they speak in Swedish².

² There are exceptions to this in other European countries though. For instance, Nikula (2005) depicts a CLIL classroom (Finnish lower secondary school) where learners talk a great deal and see themselves and their teachers as equally proficient language users.

Generalizing over these and other classroom studies from different contexts it can be said that language use in CLIL classrooms shows that the extent to which learners are required to verbalize complex subject matter orally depends on the decisions and traditions of content-subject pedagogies. On the whole, however, it would be fair to say that explicit attention to aspects of language use is rare in studies of CLIL classrooms, especially in vocational education and training.

Studies of language use and identity work in Vocational Education

When looking at international research, little attention has been paid to studying content and language integrated learning and teaching in vocational settings. Still some studies have had an approach towards language use and identity work within everyday practice in vocational settings (see: Hüttner et al, 2013; Jexenflicker & Dalton-Puffer, 2010; Præstmann Hansen, 2009; Fillettaz, 2010). Thus documenting everyday life within the workshop and studying the language use and identity work may provide an understanding of these practices and settings.

For some decades, interactional studies have found fruitful applications in a wide range of social practices, some of them closely related to education. But surprisingly, the field of vocational education has not attracted considerable attention (Filliettaz, 2010). Linguists interested in education have mainly focused their investigation on ensuing school institutions and classroom practices (Rex et al., 2006 for a review), whereas linguists involved in workplace studies have not been primarily interested in education and have often failed to approach the workplace or vocational education as a site for learning or training (Candlin, 2002; Mondada, 2006; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999). Conversely, it should be noted that vocational education researchers have remained remarkably distant from linguistic perspectives. Except for recent contributions to this emergent field (Filliettaz, 2010), qualitative methods prevailing in vocational education often take the form of research interviews or ethnographic observation, but do not refer to interaction or discourse analytic tools in a systematic way. During the last few decades there have been some research done on classroom interaction and identity work in vocational education in the Swedish context, here I will present some trends.

Malmgren (1992) presents a thick ethnographic description of vocational classrooms compared with ensuing programs. Her classroom studies show that the classrooms are messy and noisy and that the boys in the vocational programs have a very low interest in learning languages and are recognised as rather focusing on power fights and socialising into and as a collective (p. 291; see also Asplund, 2010 for similar results). In comparison with the stu-

dents in the ensuing programs, Malmgren suggests that the students in the vocational programs are openly resistant towards language and culture.

Wirdenäs (2002) puts things slightly in perspective by looking closer at students from different programs and their differing approaches when reasoning in group-discussions. She finds that their techniques can be divided into two styles; inventory and bullet point styles. The first technique, which is prevailing among vocational students, is characterized by personal attacks, question-based objections and dismissals.

Hultin (2006) turns the focus towards the teachers by looking at the different styles of talk when discussing literature in different classes, describing the teacher-lead talk in vocational programs as marked with interrogation, while the teachers at the ensuing programs conduct a more dialogical conversation when discussing literature. Hultin discusses whether this is a result of the vocational students' disinterest for formal education or if perhaps the different teaching techniques result in the student's differing interest for literature (see also Liljestränd, 2002 for a similar discussion).

Lundström's (2012) study examines how teaching is interactionally accomplished within a vocational program for students studying to become electricians. The analysis of the classroom explores how the students exploit poetics and sequential structures of language including especially the Initiative-Response-Evaluation sequence to support, challenge or undermine teaching and to build alliances with or against peers. Lundström's study is one in a line of recent Swedish research that has had a greater focus on young peoples' identity work; Asplund (2010), Bellander (2010), Engblom (2004), Jonsson (2007), Kahlin (2008) and Palmér (2008) can all be said to focus, to a certain degree, on how youths use their linguistic repertoires to accomplish specific goals, to construct different roles in interaction, to negotiate categories (in order to avoid undesirable categorisations) or to create unified communities or alliances among peers, often analysed through a member's perspective with detailed analyses of interaction.

As a focus in this study is identity work in interaction in vocational education taught in and through a foreign language, I struggle to come across any previous studies even remotely concerned with second language use in vocational education in Sweden, apart from the work by Åseskog in the early eighties (Åseskog, 1982). Very little Swedish research has had a focus on what is happening within vocational classrooms, in fact, as Berglund states; between the years 2003-2009 only eleven classroom studies were conducted on the vocational programs at the upper secondary schools in Sweden (2009:21). Out of these, none focussed on schools where a foreign language was the medium of teaching and learning.

In contrast with this reality, there seems to be a growing need for exploring vocational education research with an applied linguistics perspective. How do people gain access to vocational knowledge and build up skills and competencies? How do they undergo identity changes? These and related

questions have been addressed frequently by researchers interested in vocational learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Billett, 2001). The perspectives from language and linguistics, one could argue, would surely contribute to these issues.

This chapter has taken a top-down perspective on English as a medium of instruction in education practices while also providing an overview of recent research in order to argue for the importance of this study to fill the need for and void of research on CLIL vocational education practices while also adding to the growing line of research with a special interest in second language use and identity work. In the following chapters I will present the practice studied and the means by which the studies were conducted.

Chapter 4 : The Vehicle Program

In this chapter I will present ethnographic descriptions of the local school context, taking a bottom-up perspective on spatial and *gender arrangements* (Goffman, 1977) and how English is used in the practice studied. What do we need to know about the participants and their practice in order to recognize what is at stake here? I will here present the everyday tensions between on the one hand the learning and teaching of English in a CLIL setting and the learning of how to become an auto mechanic in a vocational education by presenting the participants, the gender arrangements and the spaces in which they move and act. The chapter starts out by first presenting the vocational education practice in foci and its participants. In the next chapter I will move over to present the methodological approach taken in the collection and analysis of the ethnographic and video recorded material.

The educational practice and its participants

In the fall of 2005 all classes at the Vehicle Program in the school studied had an “English week” in the beginning of their first year. The teachers picked out a couple of course objectives in the compulsory English A-course and integrated them with course objectives in the Vehicle Technology Foundation course. During the week the students got instructions, lectures and manuals in English and their main objective was to disassemble a car engine, put it back together and finally start it.

The “English week” was then evaluated and found to be a success by both students and teachers. Next year, 2006, the project was repeated with new students and in 2008 an English speaking mechanic was offered full time employment as a teacher in car mechanics, teaching all mechanics courses during the students’ first year at the program, which was also the case the years of which the data were collected for the studies in this thesis (fall 2011 – summer 2013).

During the spring of 2011, there were 32 students enrolled in the first year at the Vehicle Program. All of them were boys, ranging in age from 15 to 18 years. In the following year, as I collected my data for the main collection on which I have written most of the articles in this thesis, there were 42 students enrolled at the Vehicle Program, out of which five were girls.

Both the male and the female students enrolled in the Vehicle class studied had good grades in English from secondary school going in to the upper secondary school, as reflected in the fact that the overall grades needed in order to be enrolled in the Vehicle Program had sky rocketed at the same rate as the number of applicants had increased. This is not a fact that has been studied further here but one might assume that this is due to the fact that in the light of the very high degree of unemployment among youths in Sweden, the Vehicle Program stands out as an appealing alternative since approximately 90% of all graduates have a job within the profession three years post graduation (Sundström, 2011). Though also not being studied here, locally, employability may presumably also explain why more students apply for the Vehicle Program with English as a medium of instruction, seeing that English is an added bonus to your CV.

There were nine teachers, seven male and two female, working with this group of students during their first year. Excluding a PE teacher, a history and social science teacher, and a maths teacher, there were five teachers present in the different workshop related lessons that I have recorded. Out of these mainly three teachers, one female and two males are present in the studies constituting this thesis. In my data you will come across a male vehicle teacher. He, let us call him James³, is 50 years old, born in England but has lived his past 14 years in Sweden. James has no formal teacher's degree but has worked for several years in different workshops as a mechanic. Thus, fitting Wolff & Marsh (2007) description of a typical CLIL teacher in most cases not being a foreign language teacher but rather content experts. Seeing that English use in the workshop is so closely linked to actual, practical work on engines, brakes and other parts of the car, James being an expert on cars as well as a native English speaker turned out to be very useful in the classroom.

James was often accompanied in the workshop by a Swedish male teacher, in this thesis called Sven, during my first year of pilot studies (see study I). Sven is a trained vocational teacher with ten years of teaching experience. When we move into the EFL classroom, where English is taught as a formal foreign language, we meet Sofia, a Swedish trained English teacher with ten years of experience. She is working closely with the teachers in the garage and is often seen in there as well. The teaching and training of vocation is brought about in close collaboration with the EFL teacher. The teachers of vocational content are often seen making guest appearances in the EFL classroom and the EFL teacher is likewise often invited to act as a customer in the workshop.

³ All names have been changed to protect the privacy of the study participants.

Everyday schooling practice: spatial and gender arrangements

I would here like to introduce you to the everyday schooling practice and the gendered arrangements at hand just to briefly discuss and depict a normal day for these students. So let me first take you on a tour of the school, seen through the eyes of the researcher. You step into the hallway early in the morning. From across the long corridor the smell of coffee from the teachers' lounge welcomes you to yet another fine day in school. On the left side of the hallway are the classrooms where the group of students of auto mechanics have their Swedish, maths, English as a foreign language, history classes etc. In these classrooms the desks are lined up in rows facing a teacher's desk and a white board. To anyone who has been in school this is an easy picture to paint to the inner eye of one's mind. On the opposite side of these classrooms you find one door that leads in to three different rooms. It is Monday morning and the time is approaching 8.25 and the students are waiting around the locked door. With the sleep still in their eyes they yawn and greet you. All the students who know that they will be in the workshop during the day have already pulled their blue jumpsuits over their ordinary clothes, with the sleeves of the overalls tied around their waists.

At the student cantina there are two male students, Eric and Calle, sipping on their coffee discussing in Swedish whose turn it was to pay this time. Eric smiles at me and asks whether I could drive my crappy car or if I had to take the bus to get there. To the standards of the room only a Volvo is a "real car". Eric knows a lot about cars, like many of the other male students in the room he has inherited his interest in cars from his father, older brothers or uncles. He has built or helped his brother to build a go-kart out of parts from a lawn mower. Or he is racing dirt bikes or collecting parts to an old American classic car in his spare time.

Eric makes it no secret that coming to school is about getting close to working with cars, his best friend Calle, however, is dedicated to school in a somewhat other way. He has always made his homework, he is up to date about what the next lesson will be about and during lessons other male students, not least Eric, stay close to him to get all the correct answers. This is not something Calle is very proud of, at times it may give him a point or two in the social game but most often it is a burden to be pointed out as someone who is a bit too schoolish. It is a balancing act to on the one hand be a male student not interested in school subjects, trying to fit in, but also, on the other hand, doing the good student in a foreign language.

One of the teachers appear at 8.25 sharp with a key in his hand, so you start up your camera and let the tape roll while passing the group of female students who are always the last ones to enter the room. Similar to the male students, the female students have a great interest in cars, often inherited from a father or an uncle who works in the business. Take Elsa for instance,

her father sells and delivers jet engine fuel to airplane companies at the local airport. In her spare time she helps her boyfriend build a custom made '62 Pontiac Tempest and she also runs a blog on everything related to 50s and 60s cars, clothes and rock & roll.

The gender-segregated arrangements also become displayed in the different ways of socializing among the male versus the female students. Elsa and her friends are rarely the loudest or seeking the centre of attention when the all students are present in an open space like this. My data collection shows that the female students may talk quietly to each other about boyfriends, relationships, annoying mothers and sex but never at centre stage. Well inside the classroom though they are amongst the most motivated and knowing of the student group, though rarely making a big deal about it.

You enter the workshop, a spacious room with clinker brick floor and fluorescent lights. To the left you have a small classroom that can easily be transformed to make the workshop even bigger. To the right a classroom filled with things that inform you that there will be electricity involved; batteries, light bulbs, headlights, switches, cables etc. The main workshop though is where the students work with cars in mixed sex team workgroups, and where the gender segregated arrangements dissolve (see study II). When the students get to arrange their own groups or teams, the students tend to work gender separated, but most often it is up to the teacher to decide and then they are gender mixed. As will be seen in all of the studies, the students mostly speak Swedish to one another, regardless of gender arrangements, but English words and expressions are scattered all over. Whenever they need to speak to the English-speaking teacher, however, the students switch to English, and the topics are most often associated to the given car related assignments.

Normally, three cars are present inside the workshop, cars that the local car factory may have lent them or cars that a friend of a friend might need help fixing. In the back of the classroom there is a car lift that is rarely used to lift cars. Most often it is used as a stage for the English speaking male auto mechanic teacher to instruct all of the students who are seated in three rows of chairs (no tables) in front of the lift. One wall is made out of foldable doors with easy access to the parking lot outside, while the opposite wall has eight red toolboxes on wheels.

This room is potentially dangerous. In order to get to operate in the room with the tools in the toolboxes all of the students have to complete a number of tasks and receive a license. The first two weeks are solely designated for this purpose and revolves around how to push a car with out denting it, how to operate the air wrench without hurting yourself or the cars, the importance of keeping things clean and tidy, and perhaps the most repeated lesson to learn; the importance of team work. There is no 'I' in this mixed gender 'TEAM', no one leaves before everyone is done, and no mechanic knows it all by him or herself. If you put yourself or others at risk, if you operate

without taking precaution, or if you damage a car or lose a tool, the license may be cut in half and you have to earn it back by proving to everyone that you know how to manage yourself and the appropriate tools in the workshop. When you do not have the license you are not allowed to do any task in the workshop, you are not allowed to hold a tool in your hand and you are not to be handed a key to a toolbox. This means that students have to hand in their license every time they ask for a key to a toolbox. Not until a teacher has counted all the tools in the box are the students handed back their little plastic card. This little plastic card holds values also outside of the classrooms. If showed in a number of local stores you are given discounts on various things, such as spare parts or gas.

As has been shown in this part of the chapter, the local school context; the gender arrangements and the spaces in which the participants move and act provides for a fruitful setting to investigate. The gendered arrangements, the practices where gender at times are downplayed, challenged and even dissolves into a student category, and other gendered aspects connected to the handling of auto mechanic devices are further developed in study II, where the social dynamics are described by close analyses of interaction.

I will now continue with a description of a typical school day for an auto mechanic student. This part shifts focus and provides for further insights into how and when the participants use English.

The use of English on a typical school day

A typical school day for a student at the Vehicle Program is organized in the following manner: the student arrives to school and starts the first lesson at 8.25 am. All the 42 students meet up in the classroom with all the batteries and lights and get information from most of the teachers whom they will meet during the day. They are then divided into two mixed gender groups. One group has what is often referred to “ordinary lessons”, i.e. they have lessons in Mathematics, Swedish, English, PE. etc. The other group has “program specific” subjects, such as Basic vehicle electronics and Vehicle repairs. The second group is then further divided into two groups consisting of about ten students each, where one group might work with a focus on theory, batteries, electronics, manuals and such, where as the other group moved into the workshop where the actual cars were at. The students rotate between the different study areas every other week. During the fieldwork I alternated between all the groups, following the different teachers and groups of students, but my focus has mostly been on the activities conducted in the workshop.

As the group of students get into the workshop, at about 9.00 am, they are seated in a row in front of the car lift, and on the other side, facing the students, the English-speaking teacher usually holds a lecture on a matter, for

instance on how to remove brakes, which will later be performed by the students. This is then followed by a break at 10.00 am. After the break the students begin practising, usually in groups of two or three, either rotating on different workstations or working with different cars or engines. The lunch break is at 11.15 am and the work continues from 12.15 pm to about 14.30 pm. Before going home, the students have to clean up, fill in a work sheet (where they specify what they have done and how much time they have spent on the activity) and get a final summarizing lecture or quiz lead by the teacher.

Even though the language used in interaction with the English speaking teacher was most often English, the students, among themselves though mainly spoke Swedish to one another, as will be noted in all of the studies compiled. On a more general level, the alternations between languages can be seen as a result of an overall ambivalence towards language and language use among the students. Traditionally students of auto mechanics have not been expected to have much interest in language learning (though see recent contradictory reports in: Korp, 2011; Nyström, 2012; Rosvall, 2011), and although many of the students studied in this thesis had good grades in English, these expectations still lived on among the students and teachers; once the blue jumpsuits are on, the degree of mock English or ‘Swenglish’ increased dramatically (see study III). But the fact of the matter is that these students have willingly applied for this specific Vehicle Program knowing very well that it will be taught with English as the medium of instruction, so what appears in the data is ambivalence; as a student of auto mechanics one is not expected to speak English too well (or to speak ‘posh English’, see study III), but at the same time refusing to speak English completely is equally very much frowned upon since this is an education in English that they have chosen.

This ambivalence towards language is partly seen in research on other CLIL-sites in Swedish schools (Yoxsimer Paulsruud, 2014), especially the fact that the students mostly speak Swedish whenever one does not have to speak the target language. But what adds an extra flavour to the participants and the settings in this thesis is the addition of vocation. Often when working on an engine, fixing breaks or changing wheels, regardless if the English-speaking teacher is present or not, the matter of getting the car fixed is almost always more important than speaking correctly or in the correct language (see study III for analyses of attitudes towards second language use vs. mechanic competencies; though contrary, see study I for teachers’ impel for not messing around with language). The tension between ‘learning language’ and ‘fixing the car’ opens up an interactional space where the participants reproduce, negotiate and resist the language ideology of speaking English only, which in turn makes possible the many language alternations made in study I; which makes expected gender behaviour both relevant and un-

made in study II; and which allow for the many teasing activities connected to language use analysed in study III.

However, there is an outspoken language policy (see study I), which is often articulated in the data collected for this thesis. It is used to manage language use and it states that speaking Swedish in the EFL classroom is strictly prohibited. When a student speaks Swedish in class it is not always neglected but sometimes also managed by bringing it up to display as the teachers pretend not to understand the utterance spoken in the “wrong” language. These normative expectations are both explicitly (study I) and implicitly stated in many of the extracts in these studies.

Before plunging into the different studies, the methods by which this study of language practices and identities as displayed in classroom practices have been executed are discussed in detail in the next chapter below.

Chapter 5 : Video ethnography and data

Introducing the methodological framework

In this chapter, I will introduce the methodological framework for the video ethnographic study in this thesis. What follows is a presentation of the processes through which the study was carried out and the data collected as well as a discussion on analytic procedures, selections and representations of data, and ethical issues concerning gathering and presenting interactional data.

Theoretically, as has been discussed in chapter 2, to understand the wider setting studied here, a focus on language use and language ideologies in practice was deemed crucial but not sufficient to fully grasp the premises for the setting studied, hence focusing on the students at the Vehicle Program as members of a community of practice was central for understanding classroom activities, language use, gender arrangements and teacher-students and student-student relations in the professional practice at hand not only as locally constituted but also as embedded within wider structures where the learning of English is a taken for granted policy. For this purpose I draw on ethnomethodology combined with linguistic Ethnography to study the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures (Copland & Creese, 2015:13), or as Heller puts it: 'What is it about the way we use language that has an impact on social processes? What is it about social processes that influences linguistic ones?' (Heller, 1984:54). Along similar lines Agha (2003) and Silverstein (2003) both argue that macrosocial processes always operate through microsociological encounters or interactions. Having a linguistic ethnography approach integrated with ethnomethodology allows me to collect ethnographic data focusing on local linguistic practice, in order to understand how identities are accomplished, and how divergent social structures are brought into being within the students and the teachers' everyday interactions and activities.

Advantages and limitations of using video in ethnographic research

Participant observations combined with video recordings have been vital to my study in several ways, not least because it brings clarity about the routines and recurring activities within which the studied interactions take place. Throughout the studies conducted in this thesis, ethnography offers a valuable set of analytic tools for connecting talk-in-interaction with particular cultural and social practices (see Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011 for an overview; Duranti, 1997; Heath et al, 2010). Insider knowledge gained through participation and field notes contributes an important form of analytic ground because an ethnographer is generally able to present a more complete picture of the observed practice (ten Have, 1999).

The practices in focus for this thesis are mainly related to lessons in English as a foreign language and classes conducted in the workshop, classroom situations where gender and language use has been in focus. Interactional data often reveal a series of episodes in which students, for instance, deviate from lessons' intended content, which can lead to tensions between teachers and pupils and their differing agendas. It is when a practice comes across trouble like this that norms for language use are made visible. It is within these contradictions that my analyses take their starting point. I have, for instance, been interested in the recurring ways in which teachers and students start and end the lessons, especially in how the students are arranged or arrange themselves when they approach the assignments. It was often within these routines that particular norms were made visible regarding language use and identity work. I also chose to focus on students working with tools and how they went about solving assignments and problems that arose in connection with these activities in the workshop. I found that these practical issues often needed to be articulated, in one way or another, both in student-teacher as well as in student peer interaction, often forcing or prompting the participants to use English, and thereby providing with a rich soil to probe and search for linguistic and student identity related interactions.

There is a shared notion in linguistic ethnographic fieldwork that the people studied share habits, social activities and ways of interacting and communicating (Duranti, 1997). Because of this, the use of ethnography is highly compatible with the theoretical ideas of Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (EMCA). EMCA provides a body of theoretically informed methods for working with video recordings of interaction, which makes it a great vantage point for analysing interaction from the point of view of members' perspectives on the methods used in everyday life (Heath et al, 2010; Sidnell, 2010).

Video-based ethnography however, is the principal method of this study (cf. Heath et al, 2010). I have collected approximately 200 hours of audio- and video recordings for my studies (pilot study included) over a period of

two years. How much video is one suggested to collect, is 200 hours enough or too much? There is no universal proper amount of video data to collect, rather the amount of video data required needs to be determined by the research approach, aim and questions of a study and pragmatic questions of time and resource. In my case the initial idea was to follow the students for as much time as possible time during their initial year at the program. The plan was to collect data that represented actions and activities unfolding over time, and for this I dropped in for three-four days at a time, one week per month for the full year.

The use of video in ethnomethodological research

Today, as stated above and elsewhere, we see an increase of the number of researchers within the field of education (and other) that are taking an interest in making detailed studies of interaction (Åhlund, 2015; Åhlund & Aronsson, 2015; Cekaite, 2006; Evaldsson, 2005; Hester & Francis, 2000; Lakoff, 2004; Lindwall, 2014; Lindwall et al, 2015; Lymer, 2009; Melander, 2012). Especially the use of video ethnographic research of social interaction in educational settings that build on analytical concerns and assumptions from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis is increasing rapidly. Of particular interest for my studies have been the expanding amount of research that focuses primarily on examining the situated activities and interactional organisation through which identities, knowledge and practices are organized, shared and disseminated (Heath et al, 2010, see also Melander & Sahlström, 2011:18ff. for an overview).

Video-based fieldwork involves the collection of naturally occurring data using video cameras and it is perhaps the most established method for the collection of video data within the social sciences. Video has been fundamental for working with this thesis due to its focuses on the structures of the *interaction order* (Goffman, 1983); the social and behavioural mechanisms and regularities that people use to coordinate and organise their activities with others, to make sense of and to reveal the structures at work. Video is thus a real-time sequential medium that can “preserve the temporal and sequential structure which is so characteristic of interaction” (Knoblauch et al, 2006:19). Gillespie & Cornish (2010) mention observation of behaviour as one way of studying intersubjectivity, and with the help of video recordings we are today able to slow down and moment by moment, screen by screen, follow participants partaking in interaction. It has also been suggested that slowing down and speeding up video can help researchers to gain analytical distance and reflexivity by denaturalizing it (Lemke, 2009:46). So if we are to embrace a dialogical perspective and preserve the complexity, tension and ambiguities of a given situation, then video recordings have many advantages when compared to only audio recordings, especially in studies like

these (see for example study II) where participants collaboratively interact with artefacts (Hindmarsh & Heath, 1999).

The time limits of video recordings, as opposed to for instance participant observations, mean that video is often turned on and off within relatively short periods of time, which can serve to fracture representations. This can be dealt with by videoing over a longer period of time and by combining video data with other methods of collecting data. In my fieldwork, I had the possibility, due to a camera equipped with a massive hard drive, to record for eight hours straight without having to turn the camera off. The batteries on the other hand had to be changed every other hour or so, forcing me wear spare batteries in my pockets at all times, and eventually I became quick as a flash at changing them. I have supplemented the large collection of video recordings (app. 200 hours) with written field notes and short interviews with teachers and students, and together these methods have made it possible to exhaust what counts as relevant context in terms of routine activities and recurring events to determine what actions and situations that are important to focus on for producing a rich understanding of the meaning of talk (see Wetherell, 2001).

When setting out to record the teachers and students in these environments one is always limited by the choices one makes – by placing the camera in this spot or that spot, on a tripod or running around carrying the camera, zooming in and out – which ultimately affects what you get to analyse and how you are able to understand your data (Mondada, 2006). A common criticism pointed towards video ethnographic research in relation to the limitations of research based on video recordings is that you always miss something when filming; things keep happening outside of the lens or behind one's back, and then you tend to disregard what does not stick on your films, treating it as if it does not exist, making sense of only what appears in your data. It is like searching for a key underneath the street light. 'Why did you not look in the grass?' 'Well, I only saw what was in the light'. The map becomes the terrain, the critic says. On the other hand, these limitations are not only relevant for video recordings; one might argue that this is true for observations of any kind. And there is more to a conversation than that which is spoken, and this is a vital advantage and argument for video-analysis.

In the following, I will try to give an account as to how I have accessed the field, including recordings and ethical considerations and then how I have dealt with methodological issues regarding analysing interaction collected during ethnographic research.

Gaining access to the field

Gaining access to data in educational settings can be troublesome. First of all you need to get access to a site, a school for instance, gaining the acceptance of the head of the school, the teachers and other staff and the students. In my case the very first step of actually locating a school that would approve of me studying it was easy. A teacher at the school contacted me and Liss Kerstin Sylvén (co-author of study I) and said that they had a special project of which they were very proud, and asked whether someone from the university might be interested in studying them closer. During the first meeting though, I came to realise that the main interest of the staff was to get some kind of evaluative response from the researchers studying their practice, to find out what aspects of their teaching that could be further approved. It took me some persuasion to convince them that my field of research, though not evaluative as such, might benefit them after all but that assessments would not be my main aims for conducting the research.

The teachers would sometimes come up to me and ask me what I had found out and when they could read my book. I found this interest in my work as a very positive outcome in itself, a proof of acceptance of sorts. Gaining the acceptance of the students on the other hand was a completely different matter.

On the very first day of their three year long education, in a new school with new class mates, I introduced myself as a researcher. I told them briefly that I was interested in following what they did in class and how they went about doing what they did during their first year. I said that I would not be interested in evaluating them, defining whether or not they got things right or wrong or said things in a faulty English etc., I rather tried to present myself as someone who was simply but genuinely interested in their everyday life in school.

The written informed consent of acceptance was handed over on that first day, where I informed the students that I found it important that they thought it over and if they wanted to they could discuss the matter with their parents. Most of the students accepted to be video recorded. Those two who did not want to participate were treated with special consideration, I avoided recording them and whenever they happened to end up on tape I chose not to use those pieces of data. The consent I gained from the majority of the students was then continuously agreed upon (or not) during the fieldwork. So getting the written consent is one thing, being accepted to get close to the action and participants is something else. Adhering to a few basic principles was helpful. That is: if participants are used to being recorded, if their practices are mundane, and if the recording device is unobtrusive, they are less likely to be distracted by it. It is also helpful to build up a relationship with the participants before recording if possible (Clemente & Higgins, 2008). When successful one might find that the participants orient less and less towards the

camera as one is recording. However, Lomax and Casey (1998) have suggested that the assumption that participants' not looking or not acknowledging a camera means that they are not affected by it is flawed. They argue that participants ignoring a camera could be interpreted as an active state of not paying attention rather than not bothering about it at all. Heath et al (2010), suggest that researchers should analyse the moments where the camera has an effect to understand how and when it arises and its impact on the use of parts of the data. To turn the attention towards the instances when the camera has an impact, rather than removing it from the data set as 'bad data', is a way to try to understand the perspectives, values, practices and experiences that underpin social interaction.

In the beginning, the students treated me as a visitor in that sense that they were more focused on getting to know each other and the teachers rather than getting to know me. After a few days though, as the students became more relaxed in their new environment, a few of them came to approach me. They treated me, rightfully so, as someone less oriented about cars and mechanics. The fact that I drove a 15-year-old SAAB at this point was, for some reason, further proof of this. This lead them to eagerly inform me and teach me about auto mechanics and what cars (not) to drive.

Quite soon I felt accepted among the students, further proof of this was the way in which they interacted with my cameras. When I for brief moments left the camera unattended they would stand in front of the camera, acting silly or playing around (see image #2). They would then ask me about the camera and what I would do with the recordings ("will I be on MTV?"). But soon enough, by trying to never interfere with their peer activities or acting like a teacher, they treated me with the same interest as a garbage bin, letting me record them in their everyday conduct of life in school.



Image #2:

When the researcher leaves the camera unattended for a moment, one student asks another to look into the flip-screen monitor while he performs the mime act "man in an elevator", very much to the amusement of the other students present.

Ethical considerations

The present study has followed the Swedish Research Council's ethical directions for collecting and handling data (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011). This means that, at the outset, the teachers involved and the school principle were contacted. We (Kontio & Sylvén, see study I) presented ourselves, and explained our interest in studying second language learning and students enrolled in a vocational program. The ethical considerations that guided the research were reported to the teachers. These included issues concerning participation in the study, such as: (1) the participants (teachers and learners) always have the right to stop their participation in the study, at any time; (2) all participants' names and information concerning the school (name and district of the school) will be coded; (3) the study will not use information that indirectly can lead to identification of the participants; (4) the collected recordings will not be made available to persons not involved in the research project. The learners were introduced to the general aims of the study and their written consent was obtained. Since they were all 15 years of age or above, there was no need for their parent's consent (Vetenskapsrådet 2011:43). When the data collection was finished the recordings have been stored in a locked room at the Department of Education at Uppsala University.

Members' perspective versus the Analyst perspective

The features of digital technology, the fact that video data is durable, flexible, shareable records that can be repeatedly viewed and manipulated, slowing down and speeding up recordings, freeze-frame, with or without sound or image, enable time to be both preserved and interfered with, and to see the naturally occurring events in new ways. This can enable researchers to revisit the data over a period of time as they develop their understanding of the data, and to bring new research questions to the data. Goldman and McDermott (2009:101) note that 'the power of video is not in that they make easily clear, but in what they challenge and disrupt in the initial assumptions of analysis. They are a starting point for understanding the reflexive, patterned ways interaction develop'. The ability to make multiple viewings is significant in the building of a research agenda and emergent analytical frames, and the providing of what Goldman and McDermott (2009) call a *data-discovery phase* – the process through which video becomes data rather than an information source.

This is a very difficult process to describe, as it is rarely linear or straightforward. For most researchers, the first stage of analysis will be listening/viewing over and over again. This might be accompanied by transcribing, but not necessarily so (Copland & Creese, 2015:48). The purpose of this

first stage generally is to identify themes. Some researchers have called this 'unmotivated looking' (Psathas, 1995), but in fact it is usual to approach the data with some ideas about what you are interested in, drawing on your research questions. The idea that conversation analysis should be unmotivated and deal entirely with members' terms and orientations is a notion that Stokoe and Smithson (2001) are opposing with a number of criticisms. One phenomenon that has often been unacknowledged in CA, they argue, is that analysts rarely include themselves as members when analysing fragments of transcripts. Analysts are members, they claim, who when making analytic commentary must draw upon their own interpretative resources and bring their common-sense knowledge in the process of analysis (ibid: 220ff.).

My goal is not to deductively point at different features in the different interactions, instead, "the interest is in unpacking it and show what it's doing in this particular set of materials" (Antaki et al, 2003:25). In other words, I take for granted that participants in interaction strive to appear accountable, but I do not presuppose that, for example, managing a language policy or doing gender is always central to this accountability. In the analysis I use an *emic* approach; that is, I try to take a member's perspective and focus on categories and practices as approached by the participants. Applying an *emic* approach does not mean that I disregard theory though. With an analyst perspective, I bring theory and concepts to the analysis, concepts that focus on how participants in interaction accomplish certain actions, for instance gender categories. Though I do not view these actions as entities that I wanted to find beforehand but rather they (linguistic, gendered and other kinds of identity work) became my interest as they emerged in working with the data.

The next step of the analysis, selecting what (out of the 200 hours of data) to analyse further, is the least discussed when looking into guides on inductive research. The selection of excerpts and sequences for more detailed transcription and analyses has been guided by what the participants themselves made relevant, for instance, through laughter, emphatic prosody, recurrent conversational topics or themes, or classroom practices, such as correction work over an extended period of time. Moreover, field notes from the observations and informal interviews were, to various degrees, included in the analyses in order to develop the analyses in line with the members' perspectives, which in turn became the grounds for the different focuses of the three studies.

The process of selecting and analysing data in this study is being connected to the concept of 'unique adequacy'. Unique adequacy is defined here as the researcher's ability to analyze the encountered social world from practitioner research rather than from 'classical social theorizing' perspectives (Cuff et al., 2006). The debate focuses particular attention on highlighting the difficulties encountered when attempting to achieve 'ethnomethodological indifference' (Garfinkel, 1986), that is, the researcher's ability to remain non-judgmental when reporting on the findings; to what extent and in what

ways do I understand a particular setting, members, practices and culture? The more experience and the more understanding I have, the more authorized I am to explicate a wide range of phenomena at a deep level. This is not an activity when you can apply a measuring tape though. And this does not mean you are unentitled to say anything ethnomethodological about settings you are less familiar with. Some unfamiliar settings you can grasp quite quickly in many ways due to a familiarity to previous settings or experiences, whereas some are technically rather opaque to you. You need to work out what you understand to what type of depth and to report on it according to this. In my case, as mentioned above, my practical skills and knowledge connected to cars and mechanics are limited to driving an old car and having a father in law who is an auto mechanic. However, I am a trained language teacher and I have worked for six years in school practices similar to the ones studied here.

However valid the unique adequacy string of thought may be, what ultimately counts as significant data worthy of analysis in video ethnographic studies, and the ability to figure out what tools to use when analyzing them, is not something that just magically emerges out of the data itself. It is also very much dependent on whom you are as a researcher and your experience with the context studied. In my case, conducting the ethnographic study, although on a somewhat new site, was heavily colored by my interests in and views on language and norms regarding language use and identity work. Ann Rawls (2002:40) has a similar 'practical problem' take on the issue of studying new sites, when she writes that what we end up doing most of the time are 'hybrid studies': 'Done by outsiders who are also insiders' and – although they do not meet the standard of unique adequacy – still 'have as their aim that practitioners in the specialty area being studied will be as interested in the studies as professional sociologists'.

Analytical procedures

In what follows I will describe the analytical procedures in this thesis' studies taken to the teachers' and students' collaboratively produced meaning-making practices in an everyday educational context. Building on an ethnomethodological approach to the study of members' methods for meaning making, an orientation towards talk as actions is applied, that builds on *conversation analysis* (henceforth CA) (Heritage 1998; 2001; Stokoe 2006). In line with this approach I view every utterance and action as unique in its context and specifically adjusted to its responder. The meaning of utterances and actions are both dependent on their contexts and they are also shaping the context, as every action becomes a part of the next action (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Conversation analysis puts attention on how talk is sequentially organised – at the level of which participants are understood as active

agents who are engaged in procedures for organising participation and producing an order in talk (Schegloff, 2007; see also Evaldsson, 2007:382). In what ways, or with what methods, do participants engage in mutually intelligible actions? The method used within CA is very concrete and practical and tries to understand what goes on between the participants and how what a person says and the way she says it is linked to what she does (Steensig 2003).

A fundamental starting point for CA is that no feature of talk (verbal or other) can be regarded as irrelevant. Participants in conversations continually listen and respond to the talk of other participants, thereby displaying their own analyses of what has been said in sequences. This leads to the conclusion that in sequential unfolding of talk, any utterance is considered to be produced for the place in progression where the talk is occurring, following the talk that has taken place (Levinson, 1983: 320-21, ten Have, 1999:113). This leads us to another central concept in CA, which is that of turn-taking. In conversation there is a continuous contribution of talk, mutually organized actions, made by the participants that occurs on a turn-by-turn basis with small gaps and overlaps (Schegloff, 2000; Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002).

In this study I also use *participation* as an analytical term (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). Participation is a useful analytical tool to use when studying multiparty interaction. According to Goodwin and Goodwin (2004), Goffman's (1981) notion of participation goes in strong polemics with the traditional, monological speech act-analysis, known as speaker-listener-analysis. Goffman means that these are two functions (speak and listen) to use when two people are talking, but that they are far too broad categories in most cases of natural speech. Moreover, Goffman guides our attention to the fact that it is also important to look, not only to the auditory parts of the conversation, but also to the visual and tactile. (Goffman 1981:129) And not to forget about situations where people do not speak at all. Although spoken language can be understood to be the main form of conversation, other types of conversation are equally important. Goffman (1981) refers to mechanics working on a car; in an audio recording, we hear that the mechanics say only a few words about the diagnosis and repair. Some instructions a mechanic respond to with the sound of a tool, while some sounds from the tools might be responded to verbally. We simply have to take part in the situation, video record or take note of what happens in the situation in order to fully understand what "was said".

An analytical focus on participation provides for research on how actions, as they unfold concurrently with other actions, interact with how other actions are performed, and how this ultimately creates certain interaction orders. This view has in my studies provided for me to look at how students work with tools and how participation is organised. For investigations of interactions and participation throughout all of the three studies, not the least in study II, I have also focused on the embodied actions underscoring the

need to make multimodal analyses of the multiple resources people make use of as they participate in interactions with others and the objects and material environment surrounding them (eg. Goodwin, 2000).

The video-recorded data have been processed in several steps. While filming, brief notes were made, documenting and illuminating various phenomena, for later analyses. A first viewing, with a focus on recurring events and phenomena made relevant by the participants, was then conducted shortly after each video recording. All recordings were, at an early stage, transcribed roughly and then logged, based on the type of classroom practice where the conversations took place. The analyses in the studies focus on both *what* is accomplished through talk-in-interaction and on *how* that work is being done (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011). Thus, the analytical process was primarily based on *the participants' perspectives* (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, 1992) as revealed in their own actions within classroom interactions.

Although it sometimes was tempting to choose data for articles that were entertaining in their own right, I was constantly reminded that the plural of 'anecdote' is not 'data'. Heller (2011:400) explains that "the challenge is to capture the ways in which things unfold in real time, and the ways in which they sediment into constraints that go far beyond the time and place of specific interactions". In order for the chosen data to be representative for the practice studied, they are chosen on the qualification that they are or start out as one of many routinized and recurrent activities and patterns within the practice.

I then used the ethnomethodological conversation analytic tools to examine how the given trait was designed by transcribing the interaction into text. The process of turning a spoken conversation into written form is a practice of filtering through choices, most of which are coloured by theoretical and analytic positions (Ochs, 1979; Bucholtz, 2000). To start with, the transcript as it is printed often leaves plenty of questions for the reader. Goodwin writes: "The rich record of complicated vocal and visual events moving through time provided by a videotape must be transformed into something that can silently inhabit the printed page" (1994:608). Making transcripts is a part of the analytical practice (Mondada, 2007) and many of the greatest and most surprising finds within CA research is due to the very detailed writing of what and how things are said and done, though not claiming that the finds in this study are to be included among the greats. Transcribing is however, also a way of making data available to an audience.

Despite the power of video to capture events, video data as presented in academic papers and thesis' is, like all data, partial – it includes and excludes elements. Goldman (2009:30-32) has developed a number of criteria for evaluating video based research projects in the context of digital video ethnography: 1) *Wholeness/particularity*, which refers to the need to ensure that the video record is sufficiently detailed and fully presented to capture the essence of a particular event and to bring the viewer 'inside' it. 2) The poten-

tial of the video recording to connect the viewer through a sense of *being there/being with* the researcher. 3) *Chronological verisimilitude*, the use of video to represent the order events, not necessarily as a chronological account but in a way that enables the viewer to comprehend events in a manner that is in sync with the meaning of events and truthlike. 4) *Perspectivity*, which refers to the use of the video to make clear the videographer's point of viewing.

In order to become more confident in the choices I made regarding selection of data, to evaluate whether or not they met Goldman's evaluation standards above, the next step in analysis would then often be to present them to other researchers, thus improving inter-reliability. The research team that I have had the privilege to be a part of (CLIP, *Studies in Childhood, Learning and Identities as Interactive Practices* at Uppsala University), and its recurrent data sessions, has offered me plenty of insights into my data, pointing out differences and similarities and helped me decide on the main findings and choosing the clearest examples for presentation. Presenting data to many other researchers has also helped me to see in what ways I needed to situate and contextualise the chosen extracts in order for a viewer to understand them, and for the video data to meet all the four criteria set up by Goldman above.

All three studies compiled here document different aspects of participation in a second language socialization process situated in a Swedish CLIL vocational program. An important consideration when choosing which excerpts to include was an overall aim to illuminate the participants' various linguistic resources when talking and accomplishing identity work in interaction.

Analysing video sequences using ethnographic knowledge

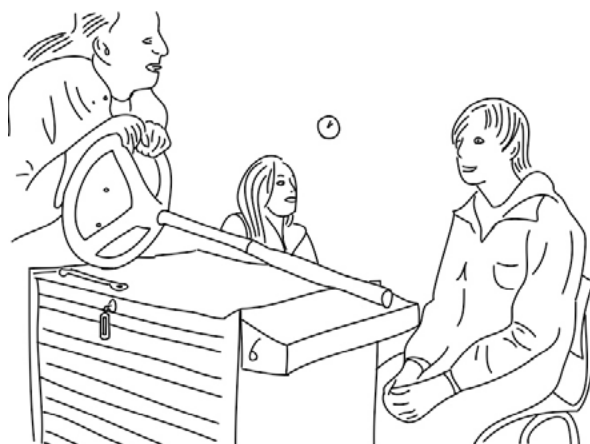
In order to illuminate the ways in which I have integrated ethnographic data into the sequential analysis of the video recorded data, I will here present an excerpt from collected student-teacher interactions data. The excerpt, which for various reasons did not make the cut for any of the three studies, was selected here for a couple of causes; firstly to illustrate the practice studied and its participants and environment and how they can be said to orient to language use and identity work; to show how one can approach these data with sequential analysis combined with ethnographic knowledge; and to provide a steppingstone to the different studies compiled and their distinct foci.

The students in the extract below work in groups of four or five, building electric go-karts. It is a project that takes place in the latter part of the first

year in which they get to use all that they have learned about car parts by building a safe and efficient car with scrap they find in the junkyard. It is late afternoon, the sun is shining on Natalie and Martin as they sit by a big window and chat about a party they attended the previous weekend. James, the English-speaking teacher described in chapter 4, spots the two students apparently not working on their assignment, and the teacher poses a question that questions their behaviour:

Extract “sweating”. (ELG 0515 6:00-6:31)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|
| 1. | James | What are you doing? |
| 2. | Martin | We are talking (1.5) about (.) |
| 3. | | what we will do |
| 4. | James | No you're not (x) because you |
| 5. | | don't want to do anything and |
| 6. | | everyone is working |
| 7. | Martin | Yea:h (.) I've ehh va fan heter |
| 8. | | svetsa? (5) va heter svetsa? |
| | | Yeah, I've ehh, what the hell is |
| | | weld called (in English)? What is |
| | | to weld called? |
| 9. | Student A | Han vet vad det betyder |
| | | He knows what it means |
| 10. | Natalie | ° Men säg det på svenska ° |
| | | But say it in Swedish |
| 11. | Martin | Vad heter svetsa på engelska? |
| | | What is welding called in English? |
| 12. | Student A | Han vet |
| | | He knows |
| 13. | James | I <u>don't</u> know |
| 14. | Martin | Jo det vet du <u>visst</u> |
| | | Yes you <u>do</u> know |
| 15. | Natalie | (hhhahah) |
| 16. | James | Sorry? |
| 17. | Martin | Svetsa |
| | | Weld |
| 18. | James | I'm not sweating (leans over and |
| 19. | | sticks his tongue out, see image) |



20. Natalie (hhhah)
 21. Martin Vad heter svetsa
 What is welding called (in English)
 22. Student A Han vet viss[t
 He knows for certain
 23. Student B [James
 24. Student A Weld
 25. Martin Huh?
 26. Student A **WELD**
 27. Martin **I weld (0.5) [this morning**
 28. James [Ok (.) so you welded
 29. **this morning**
 30. Martin **Ehh (.) Yes ehm:: the tires**
 31. James **So you don't have to do anything**
 32. **for the rest of the day?**
 33. Martin **Yes**

When being confronted by the teacher, Martin answers that they are discussing what their next course of actions will be (lines 2-3). The teacher questions this and accuses the two students of not working while also pointing out that all the other students in class are (lines 4-6). This is a very common feature in the data collected; that is the teacher refers to the standards of group, when scolding someone for his or her ill behaviour or when giving students praise. This illustrates how being a mechanic student is not a singular thing, there is no 'I' in 'TEAM', teachers may say in the collected data, or highlighting that no one leaves before everyone is done. In response Martin then starts defending himself and his group by calling attention to that they too have done some significant work during the day (line 7). In so doing he struggles then to explain to James, since he does not know how to say

weld (Sw. *svetsa*) in English. As noted in the excerpt so far, speaking English is rarely an imperative in student-student-exclusive interaction. On the contrary, when working in student groups, with teachers present or out of sight, the students usually speak Swedish to one another, unless the assignment specifically calls for English to be spoken. So it is with ease that Martin turns to his friends, switching from English to Swedish and asks for help (lines 7-8).

An unidentified student (not captured by the camera lens) tells Martin that the teacher knows that word in Swedish and that he understands Swedish. He is further supported by Natalie to try it in Swedish (lines 9-10). So in the following line Martin asks James how one says *weld* in Swedish. Student A continues to challenge James by pointing out that he surely knows the answer to Martin's question. The teacher denies knowing what the student asks for, he pretends not to understand by answering the question as if it was about him sweating (the Swedish word for welding, *svetsa* sounds a lot like the English word *sweat*) and he clearly seems to enjoy the situation as he leans over the students' toolbox and sticks his tongue out (line 19, see image). The challenge continues until Student A in line 24 successfully provides Martin with the correct translation in English and hence Martin executes with the right word and recalls his welding actions in the morning. James corrects Martin's verb by changing it from the present to the past tense, emphasising the word and its correct form (line 28).

In the extract above, both the teacher (James) and the students (Martin and his peers) clearly orient to that of being a team-working mechanic while also learning to speak correct English. Some of these aspects have been further elaborated on in study I where it becomes more clearly established that the participants invoke a monolingual language ideology in the classrooms through these practices. It is also quite explicitly stated, that English is the preferred language of interaction when speaking to a teacher. As is further shown in another study (study III), this contradicts the tradition and culture often associated with mechanics students, who are not expected to be language savvy or even interested in English and it adds tension into the student-teacher and the student peer interactions studied here. The competencies related to parts of the engine, fixing cars and general mechanics etc. are highly valued in the community, speaking a foreign language is not. These aspects, mechanics and language, or in other words; vocational education and CLIL, are continuously clashing throughout the data set, in all three studies compiled.

The tensions displayed in this thesis, between management of language policy and students' negotiations enacted by the students towards the normative expectations on language choice and language use is a focal point for the studies conducted and reported upon in this thesis. Language choice is an obvious way in which students can resist or abide to language ideology, which is further analysed in study I. The tensions between learning a lan-

guage whilst also learning a profession makes also other identities come into play, especially in the vocational education studied where the gender balance has rapidly changed during the last decade (see study II). The tensions between language management and the ambivalence acted out towards language use are not only a matter for teachers to regulate; the students manage, negotiate and resist language ideology quite elaborately themselves through teasing and other humorous language (see study III). The example above exemplifies my analytical approaches towards the data; that is how analyses of sequences of actions related to identity work and language use are combined with ethnographic knowledge provide for a deeper understanding of the everyday interactions of auto mechanic students. There is however a larger complexity to these practices than what comes across in this singular example, that you are welcome to indulge yourself further into in the three articles of the compilation thesis. In the next chapter the three articles are summarized.

Chapter 6 : Summary of studies

This compilation thesis comprises three separate empirical studies, which all primarily draw on the video-recorded data and field notes described in the previous chapters. All three studies focus on different aspects of participation, identity-work and the social interaction orders in everyday language use of students of auto mechanics. Below follow brief overviews of the studies.

Study I

[Language Alternation and Language Norm in Vocational Content and Language Integrated Learning.]

The first study deals with language alternations as communicative strategies in the language learning environment of an English-medium content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classroom at an auto mechanics class in a Swedish upper secondary school. The article presents the organisation and functions of language alternations, which are learner-initiated and teacher-impelled. The data are drawn from ethnographic data combined with audio and video recordings of learners in a beginner's level workshop and in an English as a foreign language classroom. A close analysis of the languages chosen locally is combined with ethnographic knowledge of the broader social context of the alternations, and in both theory and method, the article combines the research fields of sociolinguistics and ethnography.

The results of this paper on spoken interaction in a vocational classroom could be said to widen the scope of CLIL research in two important respects. Firstly, data from the vocational sector provide insights into a CLIL context that has rarely been studied so far (but see Hüttner et al, 2013; Jexenflücker & Dalton-Puffer 2010). Secondly, the focus on language alternation provides a perspective on the use of bilingual language resources that has not been a focus of attention very often in CLIL research, either (but see Lasagabaster 2013). The findings highlight that language alternation is orderly rather than random, relates to the evolution of communicative strategies and also produces – and helps contest – local language norms. The study shows how the way participants position themselves or are positioned in interaction towards language alternation is dependent on the type of task as well as whether the

focus is on English as Foreign Language Teaching-type language practice or on getting a task accomplished.

Study II

[‘Last year we used to call it a Man’s Hammer’ :

(un)Making Gender and Materiality Relevant in Vocational Education]

The second study is a combination between detailed analyses and complexity in terms of social interaction, and focuses on how masculinity is oriented to in everyday interactions where both female and male students are learning how to use working tools in an English-medium content and language integrated learning (CLIL) automechanics environment in an upper secondary school in Sweden. The article is an ethnomethodological approach to the doing and (undoing) of masculinity in order to grasp the nuances and complexities of how a normative coding of technology is oriented to in situated activities in automechanic practices; thus, the study also contributes to research on masculinity and technology.

Ethnomethodological studies and detailed linguistic analysis working in parallel with a number of semiotic resources make it possible to follow: ‘a social process through which the participants (here teachers and students) display their orientation to gender as they build common courses of actions through a range of semiotic resources, such as talk, the body, objects and other available features of the material and spatial environment’

The aim of the study is to observe closely how complicated and messy the rather mundane workings of teaching and learning in vocational education can be. In such micro-processes, one also comes to see how gender is a constantly shifting social category that is done, redone and possibly undone. It is demonstrated how the handling of auto mechanic devices in the beginning of a school term becomes associated with conventionalized understandings of what it means to be a man. However, when students start to work together in gender-mixed teams, any social actions that link auto mechanics with masculinity are downplayed or playfully challenged. In this study, it is argued that the shifting enactments of gendered forms in everyday auto-mechanic work suggest certain openness for future changes in the gendered relations of vocational practices. Furthermore, and which may be a benefit to any attempts of advancing complexity perspectives, the study also documents, through such detailed analysis, how agency is something that is multi-layered and multi-situational.

Study III

[Making Fun of Language : Students of Auto Mechanics

Doing Language Policy Through Teasing]

The third and final study in this compilation thesis is a study that draws attention to how students of auto mechanics in an upper secondary school in Sweden orient to and play with language use in teasing activities in everyday peer interactions. Attention is focused on how and in what ways normative expectations on language use in the classroom studied can be seen to play a role in building an English speaking community of Swedish auto mechanics students in a classroom and work shop context.

Teasing is interactive and referential, that is, it demands responses from other group members and it displays the ways in which the participants make sense of the implicit meanings of humorous interaction. It is here argued that engaging in teasing, insulting and other joking activities should be seen as conditional for participation at the English medium instruction Vehicle Program and that it makes possible (re-) constructing and (re-) negotiating normative expectations on learning to use English as a second language in culturally appropriate ways.

A central finding in this study is that teasing is an important resource in forming a classroom community of vocational English medium instruction practices. The findings suggest that teasing and joking in students' peer relations are not only disruptive, off-task behaviour, thereby rendering them important only from a classroom management perspective. Teasing, this study proposes, should rather be seen as an organising principle by which the students are able to position themselves in relation to an outspoken, institutionally established language ideology. The study shows that the local language ideology of English as the preferred language is often contested and negotiated by the students, but also reproduced and used as a means to discipline one another, not least through teasing activities.

Many of the utterances analysed here play with a tension between normalizing and stratifying forces, often balancing on a thin thread between what can be seen as a joke on someone's behalf and what might potentially let the teasing escalate into something more serious through social categorizations connected to linguistic and professional knowledge, like 'idiot' and 'retard'.

Humorous exchanges and teasing in an English foreign language auto mechanics classroom can alternately also be seen as a mode of communication that can be used by students to construct, paraphrasing Pratt (1991), a safe house, a social space in which the students can constitute themselves as a sovereign community with shared understandings, that may provide for temporary protection from the institutionally imposed second language, where they can reproduce and renegotiate normative expectations concern-

ing learning to use English in culturally appropriate ways, classroom identities, and power relations.

The position taken in relations to second language use and learning by the students was ambivalent to say the least, though the approach towards English most often was that of resistance, hesitance and avoidance; at other points the students could even be seen to strive for greater proficiency in English while forming a 'Second Language Auto Mechanic student identity', which in many regards gives voice to an ambiguity that stems from the conflicting dual focus of teaching and learning English and mechanics simultaneously in an educational setting where too 'posh' English is dealt with through teasing and insults or through retracting to hybrid language use, such as Swenglish.

By seeing joking and teasing as conditional traits of participation in the community of practice of an auto mechanic program, these linguistic practices are not only regarded as the effects of being an auto mechanic student, but may also show that the participants actually construct their own local policies about language use and normatively expected behaviour related to linguistic skills. Teasing sequences are therefore important sites for locating the members' own growing pragmatic proficiency, as well as language awareness of second language learners.

Chapter 7 : Concluding discussion

This thesis has explored language use and identity work in a Vehicle Program where the teaching is carried out in English. The interplay between identity work and language use has been the focus of most of the work. The selected research setting provided for an opportunity to bring together many different aspects, language aspects as well as (gendered) student identity aspects, that in one way or another were continuously at stake in the changing practice. In this final part, I therefore want to discuss issues related to these findings. First, I will discuss what a perspective on language use as social practices can offer for the understanding and development of the perception of language norms, followed by a discussion on gendered identity work in relation to vocational training. I will then present the possible implications and contributions that this thesis may have.

Language ideology and language norms

In a slow-moving institution such as the school world, two of the changing aspects that have received particular attention in this study; English as the medium of instruction and the proportion of female students applying for the program, seem exceptional in relation to how fast things have come about. The fact that the introduction of English as a medium of instruction in Swedish schools would eventually also reach the Vehicle Program might not be a big surprise, and perhaps not the industry's embrace of the initiative to introduce it either. This in turn may though, at least partially, explain the relative rise in the number of female students that are now attending the Vehicle Program. An alternative explanation could possibly be the high level of youth unemployment in Sweden and the Vehicle Program's exceptional ability to provide young people with jobs (Sundström, 2011). These aspects have not been the main focus of this study, to explain the reasons behind change, even though it has partially been discussed here and there. It is the thesis' intention to develop an understanding for what is happening within the classrooms as these changes occur. How do you produce an auto mechanic student identity today, how is the interplay between identities and language use produced, in short; what exactly is at stake when the conditions for auto mechanic work changes?

A social interactional approach proved to be well suited to explore the chosen context of the studied classrooms and workshops, where talk is so intimately linked to multimodal action (Goodwin, 2000). The context provides with affordances that make possible positive factors in language development, it is not language learning in vacuum, but rather a site where talked interaction goes hand in hand with embodied interaction and the use of objects. Though not being a study of language learning per se, but rather of how students learn to use English in culturally accepted ways, I conclude that it is a site where the participants are forced to use language to get something done, and they get corrected by the surrounding objects and persons whenever they pick the wrong tool, say the faulty term or make a mistake. Starting in stereotypical preconceptions or former research, these boys (and girls) are not expected to be interested in second language learning or be theoretically motivated. Contradictory, it turns out that the English auto mechanic workshop is a very productive site for second language use. Though not being a comparative study, it seems like these students, as opposed to former research on CLIL in Sweden (Lim-Falk, 2008; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014), actually speak English quite a lot. Whether this is due to the dual focussed education form, or the rapid advancement of English as a global, youth and social media language, or any other aspect of extramural English, is perhaps a topic for further investigation.

Examining the participants' language use, the results of the thesis suggest that language alternations were a very common feature. When analyzing language alternations, we have also examined how a norm is put forward and maintained and, in doing so, revealed the role and functions of alternations in two different educational settings, that is, the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom and in the auto mechanics workshop. In the EFL classroom, where Swedish was prohibited, language alternations were kept few in number by the monitoring teachers. Alternations between Swedish and English were repeatedly used in the workshop, on the other hand, as a meta-language to play around with language or as a strategy to explain a problem. Nikula's (2005) study of differences between Finnish EFL and CLIL classrooms shows data and results similar to our study, and she explains the differences in terms of the different classrooms having different discourses, where the EFL classroom uses English as the object of the lesson, whereas English in the CLIL classroom is used as a tool to make yourself understood and to solve hands-on problems. This is true also for language use in my data, although the linguistic norms produced do not go about without contestation or exceptions to the rules, as can be seen in the analyses of extracts in study I.

The findings in this thesis also highlight the sequential organization and functions of teasing and joking in students' peer relations (study III). It is suggested that teasing in the studied environment is not only disruptive, off-task behavior, thereby rendering them important only from a classroom

management perspective. In line with former research on teasing, insults, mockery and language play (Evaldsson, 2005; Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010; Tholander, 2002; Tholander & Aronsson, 2002), this study proposes that teasing should rather be seen as an organizing principle by which the students are able to position themselves in relation to an outspoken, institutionally established language ideology. Study III shows that the local language ideology of English as the preferred language was often contested and negotiated by the students, but also reproduced and used as a means to discipline one another, not least through teasing activities.

A consistent argument throughout the thesis has been that an increased awareness concerning what practical functions various actions have for mechanics students in their interactions at school is necessary if we wish to reach a deeper understanding of the phenomena of language learning and identity work in vocational education. Study I and III illuminate that the activities of language alternations and teasing were intimately connected to negotiations and reproductions of language ideology and an outspoken institutional, monolingual norm. In this, the participants simultaneously displayed their knowledge of and subverted the dominant educational language ideology. The thesis demonstrates various practical functions of language alternation activities and teasing that are also heavily connected to the identity of being and becoming a professional auto mechanic.

Gender arrangements and gender norms

Seeing language use and identity work as social practices also helps to point out actual change occurring in a practice. Being an auto mechanic student as well as a professional mechanic has traditionally been an exclusively homosocial practice (Korp, 2011; Malmgren, 1992; Nehls, 2003; Rosvall, 2011). Study II illuminates how the shifting enactments of gendered forms in everyday auto mechanic work suggest certain openness for future changes in the gendered relations of vocational practices. With an ethnomethodological approach we have been able to show how participation changes with new gender constellations, that is, by studying language use as social practices the study lights a ray of hope for that the “male jargon” so often associated to the Vehicle Program (see Korp, 2011), which has been pointed out as a contributory cause to the high drop out rate among female students, is actually slowly changing, in step with the changing identity of being and becoming an auto mechanic student.

By systematically examining how the teacher–student interactions developed over time within and across educational activities, we found that when female and male students began working together in teams in auto mechanic workshops, a normative coding of technology as masculine was downplayed or playfully challenged by the students. When female students interacted

with male students and one another, and the material devices, they handled auto mechanic devices and managed manual work in similar ways as the male students.

Thus, as have been demonstrated through our detailed analyses, the same ways of enactments in the doing of auto mechanic work warrant both a professional/student identity and a gendered identity, and in vocational practice these are sometimes difficult to distinguish. This suggests in turn certain openness to what attributes might be foregrounded in the identity formations within auto mechanic learning environments.

The findings suggest that students, when doing auto mechanic education practice, assume an auto mechanic student identity that reflects current dominant gendered discourses about what a mechanic should be, but that this is in fact always processed through negotiations and reproductions. When considering expectations on what a mechanic is, it would also be of interest to look closer at changes in patterns regarding students' class backgrounds. This aspect is only hinted at in this thesis, but as the practice of auto mechanics is going through rapid changes with the implementation of computers, second language learning etc., it would be of interest in future work to link the results of this study to studies on how young peoples' class backgrounds are related to their identity work in car related practices outside school contexts, especially in relations to gendered patterns (see Balkmar, 2012; Joelsson, 2013).

Language use and identity work as social practices

Local language norms, languages and identities are not natural entities. This thesis shows that they are processes that are constantly being produced, reproduced and negotiated. Implementation of instruction in a prestigious language (English) in an education so heavily weighted by its traditions as the Vehicle Program, encounters dilemmas, especially if one starts from predefined notions of what a student of auto mechanics is or does, how they speak or act. Thereby this study adds to recent Swedish research that has explored young peoples' identity work as it unfolds in sequences of interaction. Notably, Lundström's (2012) study on how teaching is interactionally accomplished within a vocational program where students studying to become electricians, challenge or undermine teaching to build alliances with or against peers. Other studies such as Asplund (2010), Bellander (2010), Engblom (2004), Jonsson (2007), Kahlin (2008) and Palmér (2008) have also shown how youths draw on linguistic repertoires to accomplish various goals, to construct different roles in interaction, to negotiate categories (in order to avoid undesirable categorisations) or to create unified communities or alliances among peers.

My interest in this thesis, to focus on how identities are accomplished by the participants in and through their everyday language use, is also closely linked to research on language policy in practice, where issues on what is acceptable and prohibited language use and how these policies are managed, among others, are in focus. To do justice for all research conducted within the research area(s) regarding language policy would be a huge undertaking (for more extensive reviews of more recent language policy research, see for example, Hornberger (2006), Ricento (2006), and Spolsky (2012)). Here I will open up for the possibility to position the thesis within a growing research area with regard to how I have approached language ideology as an evolving, mundane phenomenon, shaped and reshaped by discursive practices, which in turn are embedded in contextual and semiotic resources available in specific social activities and environments (see Shohamy 2003; 2006; Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh (2009:263)).

I find this thesis to be very much in line with a growing number of studies of language policy in practice. I propose that this bottom-up perspective on everyday multilingual activities in the thesis may have the potential to be expanded and embrace a language policy in practice approach to further examine multilingual aspects of auto mechanic student identities. Recently, many studies have contributed both theoretically and empirically in building up this line of research in educational studies (cf. Amir, 2013; Copp Jinkerson, 2011; Cekaite & Evaldsson, 2008; Cromdal, 2004; Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010; Gafaranga, 2001; 2010; Jørgensen, 1998; Söderlundh, 2012; Slotte-Lüttge, 2007). The findings here suggest that students, when doing second language learning auto mechanic education practice, assume a mechanical identity that makes relevant and invoke an auto mechanic student identity that is related to the dominant language discourse, where second language learning formerly has not been a part of what a mechanic can be. This is an aspect of that I believe would be worthwhile to pursue.

Contributions of this thesis

This study has educational implications. Seedhouse (1995) formulates a critique of theories and structural reasoning that is based on the lack of empirical studies and claims that a theoretical distance to classroom events is found in previous didactic and pedagogical research. Before we can understand educational implementations and efforts, we need to understand what happens in the interaction. Educational theories that are not empirically based enough may even be counterproductive, Rampton states (2006), and argues that there exist many myths surrounding what happens in classroom interaction – while simultaneously research suffers from a lack of empirical data. It is therefore important to know what these interactions actually look

like, especially since discourses on classroom language and youth identities are often ideologically charged.

Such an ideological and political aspect that this thesis only partially has focused on, which nevertheless is very interesting, is the fascinating tension that arises when studying the different roles of English as it is implemented as a medium of instruction in Swedish schools. In some upper secondary programs, English is an academic language used as a goal in itself. In the studied context however, English can rather be interpreted as a tool for workers to be able to read manuals. Based on this thesis and empirically close descriptions and analyses of the participants' interactions in the classroom, an understanding of such educational implementations may evolve and deepen our notions of what a language is and can be.

For vocational education and training research there is a large need for empirical studies of members' perspectives that recognize vocational students in their own right. In studies of classrooms in general there is also a vast need for more research with an emphasis on students' actions and language use.

It is here argued that learning how to become an auto mechanic student has social, identity and gendered aspects. In study II we find that gendered arrangements are affective and ideologically charged; the community of practice studied is not only a group of people who are brought together to learn about cars and language, they are also joking, having fun and overcoming obstacles as a team. The workshop is a productive site for socialising with your peers to have fun, goof around, and learn about tools, and in that way becoming a professional auto mechanic. So far few studies have explored peer interaction and student arrangements in vocational education, opening up for, for instance, research that looks further into the arrangement of tools; how they are culturally charged; the use of tools in instructions; or why not revisit Goffman's (1981) auto mechanics who talk and respond with the sounds of tools and look at if, and how this is done in mechanic student peer interaction?

Multilingual vocational classrooms are fertile environments for studying linguistic phenomena related to practical work. This thesis opens up for another aspect of these kinds of practices; the massive flood of English-based digital resources, manuals and instructions in vocational education. There is a void to fill when it comes to studies of material text, multimodal resources and talk in vocational education. In line with a community of practice approach and expanding on the studies made by Hultin (2006) and Liljestrand (2002); how do you go from apprentice to expert in auto mechanics by talking, reading, writing and using English? Answering this and related questions would add to a very poorly researched field: CLIL in practice in vocational education.

Svensk sammanfattning

Introduktion och syfte

Avhandlingen som du håller i din hand är en sammanläggningsavhandling som består av tre etnografiska delstudier som på olika sätt behandlar elevers och lärares språkbruk vid ett fordonsprogram med språk- och ämnesintegrerad inriktning; undervisningen sker på engelska under elevernas hela första år. Därmed kan skolan sägas utgöra en så kallad språk- och innehållsintegrerad inläring och undervisningspraktik (SPRINT). En rad intresseväckande frågor står på spel i den här undervisningsmiljön, frågor som kan relateras till kön, identitet och olika språkrelaterade frågor, vilket gör att den här miljön är både uppslagsrik och spännande för allehanda studier. Jag har valt att angripa praktiken inifrån med ett deltagarperspektiv med särskilt intresse för klassrumsinteraktionen och vad elever och lärare faktiskt gör och säger.

I större delen av västvärlden idag så indexerar engelska språket framgång och prestige, och har språket blivit ett kännetecken för den mobila, globala medborgaren (Blommaert, 2007; Pennycook, 2007). Engelskan finns mer eller mindre överallt, en miljard människor beräknas lära sig språket och en tredjedel av världens befolkning kommer i kontakt med det (Johnson, 2009). Engelskan har till synes cementerat sin roll som ett lingua franca inom ungdomskultur, sociala medier och på internet; det är ett språk som kan ses som en integrerad del i svenska ungdomars liv, till och med i sådan utsträckning att det har positiv påverkan på skolresultaten (Sundqvist, 2009).

Denna bild står i stark kontrast mot den traditionella synen på fordonseleven; en elev som inte är särskilt mobil, som inte söker vidare till högre studier och som inte visar något större intresse för att lära sig språk (Korp, 2011; Malmgren, 1992; Nehls, 2003; Rosvall, 2011). Men fordonseleven är inte den man en gång föreställde sig; undervisningsformen genomgår flera stora förändringar samtidigt just nu, vilket leder till att det blir väldigt intressant att studera vad som sker med identitetskonstruktionen av fordonseleven nu när han (eller numer allt oftare: *hon*) tvingas att lära sig det prestigefulla språket för att klara sina uppgifter. När datorer, mjukvara, manualer och instruktionsböcker produceras på engelska så ställer det krav på en språkbevärd fordonsmekaniker, vad händer då med fordonselevspositionen i den vardagliga interaktionen? Vad är det som står på spel när praktiken genomgår dessa förändringar?

Det övergripande syftet med den här avhandlingen är att bidra till och bredda kunskapen om hur elever lär sig att använda ett främmande språk i ett fordonsprogram där språkrelaterade identitetsprocesser är i fokus. För det här syftet har jag valt att analysera vardaglig interaktion i en språk- och innehållsintegrerad undervisningspraktik. Denna kontext ser jag, ur en socialkonstruktivistisk tradition, som något som deltagarna själva konstruerar och positionerar sig i (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). I linje med Auer (1998), menar jag att det finns ett behov av etnografier som fokuserar på lokala språkpraktiker för att bättre förstå hur identiteter görs och används, och hur sociala strukturer görs gällande i vardaglig interaktion.

I synnerhet är jag intresserad av de sätt på vilka deltagarna använder språk för att tillsammans skapa sina vardagsvärldar, särskilt hur de skapar sina egna och andras sociala identiteter. Dessa identiteter är inte fixerade utan snarare mångbottnade och komplexa, ofta på motsägelsefulla sätt; knutna till sociala praktiker och interaktion, inte sällan i processer som särskiljer dem från andra identifierade grupper (Miller, 2000). I tillägg till detta så fokuserar jag på hur deltagande i interaktion orienteras mot normativa sätt att använda och definiera språk och språkbruk, relaterat till frågor som rör vilket språk man bör tala, med vem och hur (Markee, 2015). Normer kring språk säger oss också något om vad som räknas som fint språk och accepterat språkbruk, vilket i sin tur pekar på särskilda språkideologier (Jaffe, 2007). Det finns en ömsesidig relation mellan vad man betraktar som accepterat språkbruk och vilka former av identiteter och positioner som skapas tillsammans i interaktion (se Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Ochs, 1993). Givet detta är följande forskningsfrågor centrala för denna avhandling:

Vad karaktäriserar språkpraktikerna och språkideologierna som skapas tillsammans av lärare och elever i språk- och innehållsintegrerad klassrumsinteraktion?

Vilka former av klassrumsidentiteter skapas tillsammans och görs relevanta i vardagsinteraktion, och hur är dessa relaterade till språkbruk och lärande av fordonsmekanik?

Bägge dessa intresseområden, språkbruk och identitetsarbete, är närvarande i analyserna i alla tre delstudier i denna sammanläggningsavhandling. Ibland är det ena mer i förgrunden än det andra. Exempelvis så har artikel I och III ett större fokus på språkliga aspekter av den studerade praktiken, medan jag i artikel II lyfter fram identitetsfrågor som ger mig möjlighet att titta närmre på hur kön och könade förväntningar görs relevanta i klassrumsinteraktionen. Se nedan för vidare beskrivningar av de olika delstudierna.

Teoretiska och metodologiska utgångspunkter

Denna sammanläggningsavhandling består av etnografiskt arbete som fokuserar på hur olika former av språkliga och sociala identiteter görs relevanta och hur dessa tas om hand och produceras i vardagligt språkbruk i klassrumsinteraktion. Elever och lärare på det studerade fordonsprogrammet deltar i en praktik som innehåller en del spänningar, som uppkommit då praktiken för närvarande genomgår en rad större förändringar. Givet att jag önskade få en bättre förståelse för hur identitetsarbete är relaterat till frågor om hur man förväntas lära sig att tala engelska på ett lokalt kulturellt lämpligt sätt, samt hur detta skapar och framkallar lokala språkideologier och normer så visade det sig nödvändigt att arbeta med flera teoretiska ansatser.

Den interaktionella ansatsen använd här för att förstå språkbruk och identitetsarbete är en eklektisk kombination av; *lingvistisk etnografi* som ett ramverk för att studera språkbruk (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Rampton, 2004; 2007); *etnometodologisk samtalsanalys* med fokus på deltagarperspektiv och identiteter (Gafaranga, 2001; Garfinkel, 1967; Stokoe 2012); samt konceptet *communities of practice*, som lite grovt kan översättas till *praktikgemenskap* (Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Gemensamt för de tre olika inriktningarna är en övergripande målsättning att vilja förstå språkbruk och identiteter som både lokalt åstadkomna och situerade i interaktion, samt socio-historiskt kodade.

Avhandlingens studier

Studie I

[Language Alternation and Language Norm in Vocational Content and Language Integrated Learning.]

Den första studien handlar om språkväxlingar som kommunikativa strategier i en språkinlärningsmiljö som kategoriseras som ett engelskspråkigt språk- och innehållsintegrerat inlärningsklassrum (SPRINT) i ett fordonsprogram vid ett svenskt gymnasium. Artikeln presenterar hur de elevinitierade och läraruppmuntrade språkväxlingarna är sekventiellt organiserade samt vilka funktioner de har. Datainsamlingen består av etnografi kombinerat med videoinspelningar av elever på nybörjarnivå i verkstads- och i engelskklassrum. En noggrann analys av de lokala språkvalen kombineras med etnografisk kunskap om det bredare sociala sammanhang där växlingarna uppstår. I både teori och metod relaterar artikeln till forskning inom sociolingvistik och etnografi.

Resultaten av denna studie av talad interaktion i ett yrkesklassrum kan sägas bredda SPRINT-forskning i två viktiga avseenden. För det första, resultat från yrkesundervisningen ger insikter om SPRINT-sammanhang som endast i sällsynta fall har studerats tidigare (men se Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer & Smit, 2013). För det andra bidrar ett fokus på språkväxlingar till ett perspektiv på användningen av tvåspråkiga språkresurser som inte har varit i fokus för forskning särskilt ofta i SPRINT-sammanhang (men se Lasagabaster, 2013). Resultaten betonar att språkväxlingarna inte är slumpmässiga, utan är socialt ordnade, de är kopplade till kommunikativa strategier och producerar samt ifrågasätter lokala språknormer. Studien visar hur de sätt som deltagarna positionerar sig eller blir positionerade i interaktionerna i förhållande till språkväxlingar dels beror på vilken typ av skoluppgift som ligger i fokus samt huruvida fokus ligger på att lära sig engelska som främmande språk eller om det är en mer praktisk uppgift som ska lösas.

Studie II

[‘Last year we used to call it a Man’s Hammer’ :

(un)Making Gender and Materiality Relevant in Vocational Education]

Den andra studien består av detaljerade analyser av social interaktion och fokuserar på hur maskulinitet orienteras mot i vardagliga interaktioner där både kvinnliga och manliga elever lär sig att använda verktyg i en engelskspråkig språk- och innehållsintegrerad lärandemiljö (SPRINT) vid ett fordonsprogram i en gymnasieskola i Sverige. Artikeln utgår från en etnometodologisk ansats kring hur manlighet görs, för att förstå nyanser och komplexiteten i hur en normativ kodning av teknik orienteras emot i situerade aktiviteter i fordonsmekaniska praktiker; studien bidrar därmed även till forskning om maskulinitet och teknik.

Etnometodologiska studier och detaljerade språkanalyser gör det möjligt att dokumentera och analysera den sociala process genom vilken deltagarna (här: lärare och elever) visar sin orientering mot kön när de formar gemensamma aktiviteter och handlingar genom en rad semiotiska resurser såsom; tal, kropp, objekt och andra tillgängliga resurser i den rumsliga miljön.

Ett syfte med studien är att bringa insikter kring hur komplicerat och riktigt det ganska vardagliga arbetet i undervisningen inom yrkesutbildningen kan vara. I sådana mikroprocesser ser man också hur kön är en ständigt skiftande social kategori som görs, reproduceras och eventuellt ogörs. Studien visar hur hanteringen av fordonsmekaniska verktyg i början av en termin associeras med konventionella föreställningar kring vad det innebär att vara

man. Men när eleverna börjar arbeta tillsammans i könsblandade grupper så tonas eventuella sociala handlingar länkade till fordonsmekanik och maskulinitet ner. I denna studie hävdar vi att de varierade konstruktionerna av kön som görs i vardagligt fordonsmekaniskt arbete tyder på viss öppenhet för framtida förändringar i könsförhållandena i yrkespraxis. Dessutom, vilket kan vara ett bidrag till studier som söker att bringa klarhet i komplexa data genom detaljerad analys, så visar studien också hur agens kan vara något som är mångbottnat och skiftande över tid.

Studie III

[Making Fun of Language : Students of Auto Mechanics Doing Language Policy Through Teasing]

Den tredje och sista studien i denna sammanläggningsavhandling är en studie som uppmärksammar hur fordons elever i en gymnasieskola i Sverige orienterar sig kring språkanvändning genom att skämtsamt retas i vardagliga interaktioner. Studien fokuserar på de sätt på vilka en viss praktikgemenskap framträder i social interaktion. Den undersöker i detalj hur deltagarna bedriver retsamma verksamheter som tar sin utgångspunkt i (bristande) språkkunskaper för att bygga en lokal praktikgemenskap; i denna studie med betoning på lexikala val, språkväxlingar, förolämpningar och olika responser i verkstadsinteraktion. Uppmärksamheten är fokuserad på hur normativa förväntningar kring språkanvändning i klassrummet kan ses spela en roll i att bygga en gemenskap av svenska engelsktalande fordons elever.

Att retas är en interaktiv aktivitet, det vill säga den kräver respons från andra deltagare. I denna studie argumenterar jag för att deltagande i retningspraktiker, kränkningar och andra skämtsamma språkliga verksamheter bör ses som en förutsättning för att delta i fordonsundervisning på engelska, samt att det möjliggör konstruktioner och förhandlingar av normativa förväntningar kring andraspråksbruk och språksinlärning.

Resultaten tyder på att retningar och skämt i elevernas kamratrelationer inte bara är störande beteenden som deltagarna gör när de inte gör sina skoluppgifter, och därmed skulle göra de praktikerna av intresse endast ur ett ordningsperspektiv. Att retas, menar jag i denna studie, bör snarare ses som en organiserande princip där eleverna har möjlighet att positionera sig i förhållande till institutionellt etablerade språkideologier. Studien visar att den lokala språknormen (tala engelska) ofta ifrågasätts och förhandlas av studenterna, men även reproduceras och användas som ett sätt att disciplinera varandra, inte minst genom aktiviteter som kretsar kring retsamheter och kränkningar.

Många av de interaktioner som är analyserade här spelar på en spänning mellan normaliserande och stratifierande krafter, ofta balanserade på en tunn tråd mellan vad som kan ses som ett skämt på någons bekostnad och vad som eventuellt kan låta sig trappas upp till något mer allvarligt personangrepp genom kategoriseringar som är kopplade till språkligt kunnande och yrkesrelaterade inkompetenskategorier som idiot och efterbliven.

Skämtsam interaktion och retsamheter kan här alternativt också ses som ett sätt att kommunicera som kan användas av eleverna för att konstruera, för att citera Pratt (1991), ett *safe house*, ett socialt rum där eleverna kan utgöra en självständig gemenskap med gemensamma överenskommelser, som kan ge tillfälligt skydd från institutionellt införda andraspråksideologier, där de kan omförhandla normativa förväntningar kopplade till klassrumsidentiteter, maktrelationer och språkbruk.

Elevernas attityder till andraspråksbruk och språkinläring är minst sagt ambivalent, ofta gav eleverna uttryck för motstånd mot engelska genom tvekan och undvikande att tala målspråket; vid andra tillfällen kunde eleverna tvärtom ses sträva efter mer och utvecklade kunskaper i engelska, i motsats till den traditionella bilden av fordonselever som ointresserade av språk och språkinläring. Här ger eleverna röst åt en tvetydighet som härrör från utbildningsformens dubbla fokus på undervisningen; att samtidigt dels fokusera på att lära sig engelska, dels fordonsmekanik i en undervisningsmiljö där alltför stilig engelska hanteras av kamratgruppen genom förolämpningar eller möts med hybrida språkformer, såsom svengelska.

Genom att se skämt och retsamheter som villkor för delaktighet i fordonsprogrammet följer att dessa elevers språkbruk inte bara betraktas som effekterna av vad det innebär att vara en fordonselev, men också att deltagarna faktiskt själva kan konstruera sina egna lokala språkideologier och normer kring språkbruk och språkkunskaper. Sekvenser med retsamheter och skämtsamt språkbruk är därför viktiga utgångspunkter att studera för att lokalisera språklig kompetens samt den språkmedvetenhet som andraspråksinlärare tillägnar sig.

Avslutande diskussion

Denna avhandling har i huvudsak utforskat språkbruk och identitetsarbete vid ett fordonsprogram där undervisningen sker på engelska. Den studerade miljön visade sig vara en utmärkt plats för att studera flera olika aspekter av språkliga, könade och elevrelaterade identiteter, olika aspekter som på ett eller annat sätt står på spel när praktiken nu genomgår stora förändringar.

Lokala språknormer, språk och identiteter är inte av naturen givna. Denna avhandling visar att de består av och uppkommer i processer som är ständigt producerade, reproducerade och förhandlade. Vid implementering av undervisning i ett prestigefullt språk som engelska i en undervisningsmiljö som är

så tyngd av traditioner som fordonsprogrammet riskerar att skapa dilemman, i synnerhet om man utgår från föreställningar och fördomar om vad en fordonselev är eller gör, hur de talar och agerar. I en relativt trög institution, som skolvärlden utgör, så är det häpnadsväckande hur fort förutsättningarna för undervisning och lärande vid fordonsprogrammet har förändrats. De två förändringsaspekter som är i fokus här; undervisning på engelska och den snabbt ökande andelen kvinnliga elever vid fordonsprogrammet, har bägge skett under det senaste decenniet. Det får verkningar på praktiken och jag frågar mig: hur gör man fordonselevsidentitet idag, hur samspelar identiteter och språkbruk, kort och gott: vad är det som står på spel när fordonsprogrammet förändras?

En ansats med fokus på interaktioner visade sig var väl lämpad för att utforska den valda kontexten, i synnerhet eftersom tal och multimodala handlingar här är så nära länkade (Goodwin, 2000). Undervisningsmiljön erbjuder och möjliggör för flera positiva faktorer som kan påverka språkutveckling. Det är en miljö där talad interaktion går hand i hand med förkroppsligad interaktion och användandet av diverse verktyg. Trots att detta visserligen inte är en studie av eller utvärdering av språkinläring, utan snarare en studie av hur elever lär sig att använda ett språk på kulturellt accepterat sätt, så kan jag ändå dra slutsatsen att deltagarna här tvingas att använda språk för att få saker gjorda. Gör de fel, väljer de fel verktyg eller säger fel ord så blir de korrigerade av sin närmiljö. Om man utgår från stereotypa föreställningar och tidigare forskning så förväntas inte dessa elever vara intresserade av språk eller vara teoretiskt motiverade, men i motsats till tidigare forskning av SPRINT-miljöer i Sverige (Lim-Falk, 2008; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014) så visar dessa studier att eleverna faktiskt pratar en hel del engelska. Om det beror på undervisningsformen, engelskans roll som globalt fenomen eller dess inverkan på ungdomsspråk faller inte inom syftet för den här studien, men kan möjligen vara uppslag för framtida forskning.

Att vara en fordonselev eller en praktiserande fordonsmekaniker har traditionellt sett varit en exklusivt homosocial praktik (Korp, 2011; Malmgren, 1992; Nehls, 2003; Rosvall, 2011). Studie II visar hur förändrade beteenden och attityder i förhållande till kön över tid i undervisningsmiljön öppnar upp för möjliga framtida framsteg när det kommer till kön inom yrkesutbildningen och yrkespraktiken.

Jag vill här argumentera för att dessa studier har möjliga pedagogiska implikationer. Seedhouse (1995) och Rampton (2006) framför båda kritik mot tidigare pedagogisk forskning, som de menar har haft för stort teoretiskt avstånd till faktiska klassrumspraktiker. Flerspråkiga yrkesklassrum är fruktbara miljöer för studier av språkliga fenomen kopplade till praktiskt arbete. Denna avhandlings resultat öppnar upp för studier av flera intressanta aspekter kopplade till den massiva flod av engelskbaserade digitala resurser, manualer och instruktionsböcker som dessa elever nu tvingas interagera

med. Det finns ett stort behov av studier som fokuserar på relationer mellan text, multimodala resurser och samtal i yrkesutbildning.

I linje med community of practice-ansatsen, och som en komplettering till Hultins (2006) och Liljestrands (2002) studier gjorda vid fordonsprogrammet, så vore det ju av särskilt intresse att försöka besvara frågan: hur går man från lärling till expert i en fordonmekanisk miljö där man förväntas tala, läsa, skriva och använda engelska? Att besvara denna och liknande frågor vore välkomna bidrag till ett relativt outforskat område; SPRINT i yrkesutbildning.

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Appendix A) Transcription key

I use transcription conventions first developed by Gail Jefferson (see Jefferson, 2004). Listed here are only those symbols that occur in the extracts.

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| : | : prolonged syllable |
| [yeah] | : demarcates overlapping utterances |
| [sm'aolin] | : shows pronunciation of word(s) in phonetic transcription (IPA) |
| (.) | : micropause, i.e. shorter than (0.5) |
| (2) | : numbers in single parenthesis represent pauses in seconds |
| YES | : relatively high amplitude |
| x | : inaudible word |
| (xx) | : unsure transcription |
| <i>what</i> | : translation into English |
| jaså | : word produced in Swedish |
| well | : word produced in English |
| <i>swenglish</i> | : word produced in Swenglish |
| ° ° | : denotes speech in low volume |
| ((<i>italics</i>)) | : further comments or translations by the transcriber |
| > < | : quicker pace than surrounding talk |
| < > | : slower pace than surrounding talk |
| ? | : denotes rising terminal intonation |
| . | : indicates falling terminal intonation |
| <u>motor</u> | : sounds marked by emphatic stress are underlined |
| (hhh) | : indicates laughter |
| \$ | : Smiley voice |

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