

Vocational English in Policy and Practice

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Abstract

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The aim of this licentiate thesis is to examine how, and in what ways, vocational English is a part of English language teaching in the Building and Construction Programme in Sweden, and what the influences are for such pedagogy. The main research question is how policy documents relate to the views of teachers and their educational practice regarding vocational English. The study consists of two parts: a textual policy analysis of the three latest upper secondary school reforms in Sweden (Lgy 70, Lpf 94, and Gy 2011), and semi-structured interviews with practicing English teachers in the Building and Construction Programme. The interviews are categorised by using Spradley's (1979) semantic relationships and taxonomies. Balls' (Ball, 1993) and Ozga's (1990; 2000) concept of policy enactment is used in the analysis as well as Bernstein's (1990; 2000) theoretical framework of classification, framing, and horizontal and vertical discourse.

The results show that five of the six teachers in the interviews work with vocational English in some way. The study also shows that there is a distinct gap between policy and practice. Several of the teachers have the notion that they are supposed to work with vocational English and that it must be written down in policy somewhere. The greatest influence on the teaching for these teachers are their students, either indirectly or directly. Further, the study shows that different frame factors such as time poverty hinders the teachers from reading policy texts and cooperating with the vocational teachers in the Building and Construction Programme.

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1. Introduction

The latest reforms for upper secondary schools in Sweden (Gy 2011) introduced a new structure of upper secondary school that has differentiated vocational programmes and academic programmes from each other (cf. Lundahl, 2002; Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Lundström & Rönnerberg 2010; Nylund 2010; Nylund & Rosvall, 2011). Under the previous curriculum published in 1994, all students studied general courses that made them eligible for higher education. This is now not the case; the most recent reform, Gy 2011, means that courses in general subjects have been reduced and replaced by vocational subjects in vocational programmes. Some subjects, such as mathematics or civics, have been separated into different courses for academic and for vocational students (cf. Berggren, 2012). This separation was also discussed for English by the 2007 Reform Commission, which argued that vocational students had low results on the national tests for the course. However, it was decided that the first English course in upper secondary school – known as English 5 – should be the same for all programmes (prop. 2008/09:199, p. 50 ff.). The second English course – known as English 6 – was obligatory for all students under the previous curriculum, and it is one of the courses needed for eligibility to higher education. After 2011, the second English course became optional for vocational students. In the context of more differentiated vocational and academic programmes, it is of interest to investigate what role vocationally oriented English is given in upper secondary school in Sweden today by teachers and policy makers.

The focus of this study is on vocational English in the Building and Construction Programme. Vogt and Kantelinen (2012, p. 62 ff.) suggest that an increasingly international working life means that the need for foreign languages, and English in particular, is clear both for vocational and academic students. Both English and Swedish are emphasised in the comments that accompany the diploma goals for the Building and Construction Programme as a way of developing students' professional language and their ability to communicate at work (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012a, p. 82).

This study consists of two parts: a policy analysis and an interview study. The first part focuses on policy as text, and by using questions from Ozga

(2000) and Rizvi and Lingard (2010), the research interest in the first part of the study is how vocational English is described, and what has changed in the teaching of vocational English following each of the three most recent reforms of upper secondary school in Sweden. The texts used are the three latest Swedish curricula: *Läroplan, examensmål och gymnasiegemensamma ämnen för gymnasieskola 2011*, Gy 2011, (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011b; 2013a), *Läroplan för de frivilliga skolförmerna*, Lpf 94, (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2006a; 2006b) and *Läroplan för gymnasieskolan*, Lgy 70, (Swedish National Agency for Education, 1983)¹, including the syllabi for English and the diploma goals for the Building and Construction Programme.

The policy analysis is at the macro level, and in what Bernstein describes as the *official recontextualising field* (ORF). The ORF is dominated by the state and its agents and is where official policy is created (Bernstein, 2000, p. 33). What Bernstein calls the *pedagogic recontextualising field* (PRF) is at the meso level. The PRF includes, for example, departments of education, textbook authors, or special journals, and will not be used in this study.

The *local recontextualising field* (LRF) is at the micro level, which could be interpreted as the school level. Norlund describes the LRF as the field where teachers and students interact (Norlund, 2011, p. 661), and is where the second part of my study is placed (see chapter 2 for a further description of these fields and the concepts). This part of the study consists of semi-structured individual interviews with English teachers in the Building and Construction Programme. The research interest is the influences and motives for teachers' pedagogy regarding vocational English as well as to describe to what extent teachers work with vocational English. The focus is on the content of vocational English teaching rather than the teaching methods. Examining how policy documents relate to the views and the educational practice of the teachers brings these two parts together.

There have been discussions for over 40 years in Sweden on whether or not students in vocational programmes and higher education preparatory programmes should be given the same courses in English (cf. Berggren 2012, p. 43 ff.; Lundahl, 1998). One approach of dealing with the English course for vocational students has been "*infärgning*", which in Sweden is used to describe

¹ Henceforth the curricula will only be referred to by the abbreviations Gy 2011, Lpf 94 and Lgy 70 for reasons of readability. They will be placed under Swedish National Agency for Education in the list of references.

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the co-operation between the general subjects, called foundation subjects² [Sw. gymnasiegemensamma ämnen], and the vocational subjects. The word means colouring or staining, and can be thought of as a way of adapting the subject and giving it a touch of the vocational subject. The Swedish word “infärgning” is probably the most common term for vocational English. However, it is difficult to define, and “infärgning” can encompass a range of subjects and different approaches, which is why the term *vocational English* [Sw. yrkesengelska] is used instead.

Internationally, the terms *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP) and *Vocationally Oriented Language Learning* (VOLL) are most comparable to the Swedish word “infärgning”. *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL) implies a step further in the direction of merging language subjects with vocational subjects. The term vocational English is used in this study because it is a more specific and relevant term. Vocational English can be part of all the approaches mentioned above, and these concepts and their differences are further discussed in chapter 2.

Students today need to adapt to an increasingly international job market and working life (Marra, 2013, p. 175; Vogt & Kantelinen, 2012, p. 62). Rizvi and Lingard emphasise that ‘text is always affected by the context of its production’ (2010, p. 14), and thus the ideas of *lifelong learning*, *employability*, and *internationalisation* are relevant for this study. These ideas are visible in both international and national reforms (Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 46; cf. Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity, 2003, p. 7). The phrase ‘lifelong learning’ became common in Sweden in the early 1990s (cf. Carlbaum, 2012, p. 84; Lundahl, 1998; Waldow, 2008, p. 168), but the notion of a fast changing society and the need to adapt to it can be traced further back in time. Lifelong learning suggests ongoing learning through all stages of life, and the view that retraining is part of the natural development of working life (Waldow, 2008, p. 168). The education system needs to take this into account and prepare students for continued learning after upper secondary school.

The role of English is important because of an increasingly international society and the increased mobility of workers. As part of lifelong learning and internationalisation, English is mentioned as especially useful for the con-

² General subjects such as Swedish, English, civics, history, mathematics, religion, science studies, and physical education and health were called *core subjects* before 2011, and were renamed *foundation subjects* after 2011. The differences between the reforms regarding these subjects are further discussed in chapter 3, page 33.

struction sector in SOU 2002:120: ‘a good knowledge of English is necessary because internationalisation is common in this area’ (p. 236, my translation). School has become more market-oriented than ever before and the ‘receivers’ of students, for example higher education and employers, are given a more prominent role (cf. Berggren 2012; Lundahl et al. 2012; Lundahl et al., 2013; Nylund, 2010). The term employability has become more important, and Berggren discusses how ‘subjects, such as English, are adapted to the areas of interest in different programmes’, and in order to ‘contribute to the increased employability of the individual’ (Berggren, 2012, p. 46-47, my translation).

English as a subject is also a good example because it can be used either to keep the two streams of education together or to differentiate them. If vocational and academic students study the same course content, the two lines of education are kept together, rather than separated.

Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this study is to examine how, and in what ways, vocational English is a part of English language teaching in the Building and Construction Programme, and what the influences are for such pedagogy. I want to examine how vocational English is described at policy level compared to what views practicing English teachers express. To what extent do teachers work with vocational English, and what are the expressed motives and influences for their pedagogy?

In order to show this, the study consists of two parts: a textual policy analysis and interviews with practicing English teachers in the Building and Construction Programme. The connection between policy and practice is important, and as Ozga puts it, ‘teachers /.../ have a strong influence on the interpretation of policy, and they engage with policy at a number of levels’ (Ozga, 2000, p. 3). This is also in line with Balls’ *policy enactment*, which is seen as ‘a dynamic and non-linear aspect of the whole complex that makes up the policy process’ (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, p. 6). Policy enactment is contrasted with policy implementation, and enactment involves the translation, interpretation and recontextualisation of policy ideas into practice (Ball et al. 2012, pp. 2-3; cf. Ozga, 2000, pp. 112-113). Like Ball and Ozga, I recognize the complex school life of teachers, and that ‘policy is also only ever part of what teachers do’ (Ball et al. 2012, p. 6). That is why the connection between

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policy and teachers' voices on their educational practice is in focus in this study.

Research questions

My main research question is:

- How do policy documents relate to the views and the educational practice regarding vocational English for these teachers?

In order to answer this question four secondary research questions were used:

- How is vocational English described at policy level in the three latest curricula, exam goals and syllabi for upper secondary school in Sweden?
- What has changed between the reforms regarding vocational English?
- What views do the teachers in the interviews express regarding vocational English?
- What are the teachers' influences for their teaching practice regarding vocational English, and what are their experiences of working with it?

My main research question is how policy documents relate to the views and the educational practice regarding vocational English for these teachers. The results from first two secondary research questions are examined in chapter 7, and questions three and four in chapter 8. In chapter 9, my main research question is answered and the results of the study are discussed. The conclusions are then presented in chapter 10.

Significance of the research

In the current Swedish syllabus for the course known as English 5 it is stated that the course should cover '[s]ubject areas related to students' education, and societal and working life /.../' (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012b, p. 3). This is discussed further in the commentaries to the syllabus for English: students should develop an ability to use the language in different situations and for different purposes, for example in order to participate in an

international working life. It is also mentioned that an international study and work life can be beneficial for personal development and that school should prepare students for this (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, p. 8). English is mentioned as a way of increasing students' opportunities 'to participate in different social and cultural contexts, as well as in global studies and working life' (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012b, p. 1). Vocational English is one way of opening up opportunities to continue learning and adapting to an international working life.

The Swedish National Agency for Education emphasises that teaching in specific contexts does not reduce the need to develop general competences:

Requirements for general competences have, however, not been reduced but indeed strengthened in recent decades, amongst other things in the EU's recommendation on key competences. But general competences can be developed in specific contexts. Emphasis on specific preparation thus does not imply any reduction in the ambitions concerning general competences. (Swedish National Agency For Education, 2012a, p. 13).

This is in line with Marra (2013, p. 179 ff.), who describes workplace English as having a variety of functions, such as understanding small talk, intercultural differences and humour.

My contribution to the field is to present six teachers' voices on their experience, attitudes and educational practice regarding vocational English in relation to policy texts. There is a lack of knowledge in the area of vocational English connected to teachers' educational practice, and the policy analysis will give a historical perspective to this teaching practice. Teachers in Sweden have a high degree of autonomy (cf. Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2002, p. 177; Lundahl et al. 2010, p. 49; Oscarson & Apelgren, 2011, p. 3), and at this point there are no apparent guidelines to what extent courses should be affected by diploma goals. In addition, national tests, which are further discussed in chapter 2, do not test vocational English. In this regard, it is relevant to discuss the relation between policy texts and English teaching and learning in vocational programmes.

Structure and outline of the licentiate thesis

In chapter 1 the background, aim and research questions of the study are presented and the theoretical and empirical fields introduced.

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Chapter 2 and 3 review previous research in two relevant fields for this licentiate thesis. Chapter 2 gives an introduction to the area of teaching and learning English as a foreign language, with a special focus on vocational English. In this chapter, the most common approaches to vocational English are defined and explained. Previous research on Swedish Vocational Education and Training (VET) is outlined in chapter 3. The chapter also includes an overview of the Swedish school system in a historical perspective.

In chapter 4 the theoretical concepts used in the licentiate thesis are discussed. Ball's (1993) and Ozga's (1990; 2000) concept of policy enactment is described in addition to Bernstein's (1990; 2000) theoretical concepts of classification, framing, and horizontal and vertical discourse.

In chapter 5 the methodological issues of the thesis are described. The study consists of two parts, a textual policy analysis of the three latest upper secondary school reforms in Sweden (Lgy 70, Lpf 94, and Gy 2011) and semi-structured interviews with practicing English teachers in the Building and Construction Programme. A framework of questions adapted from Ozga (2000), and Rizvi and Lingard (2010) is used for the textual analysis, and Spradley's (1979) semantic relationships and taxonomies are used for the interview analysis. This chapter also takes up questions of validity and ethical considerations.

Chapter 6 introduces the teachers in the interviews. In addition to information about teaching experience and age, personal portraits of the participants have been included.

The results are first presented in chapter 7 and 8, and then discussed in chapter 9. Chapter 7 includes the results from the first part of the study, the policy analysis. In chapter 8, the findings from the second part of the study, the interview analysis, are described. In chapter 9 the main research question – how policy documents relate to the views of teachers and their educational practice regarding vocational English – is answered. This chapter ties the two previous chapters together, answering the final research question and includes a discussion of the results found in the previous two chapters.

Chapter 10 is the final chapter and concludes the licentiate thesis with a summary and discussion of the findings. Implications for teaching and learning as well as suggestions for further research are discussed.

2. Approaches to vocational English

In this chapter the different characteristics of the most common approaches to vocational English are defined and explained. In addition, some methods of teaching and learning English as a second language are presented. I use the term *vocational English* [Sw. *yrkesengelska*] because it is a narrower and more relevant term for the purpose of this essay than the terms English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Vocationally Oriented Language Learning (VOLL) or the Swedish notions of “*infärgning*” and “*ämnesintegrering*”. Vocational English can be part of all these approaches, and it is important to view them as overlapping fields. They are not clear-cut concepts distinct from each other, as will be shown later in this chapter.

Internationally, three common approaches to vocational English are ESP, VOLL and CLIL. ESP is used to refer to English for specific purposes, not necessarily only vocational English. It can refer to English for academic purposes, for example. VOLL refers to language for vocational purposes, but can include a variety of languages, not only English. The term VOLL is not as widespread as ESP³, and the terms have sometimes been used synonymously by researchers (Vogt & Kantelinen, 2013 p. 63). CLIL refers to teaching content, for example history, in combination with language learning. It can include teaching vocational subjects in English or another foreign language. However, it is not restricted to the vocational field on which this study focuses, so I have used vocational English to define my area of interest.

In Sweden, several terms are used to describe vocational English. As mentioned in the introduction, “*infärgning*” is used to describe a way of adapting a foundation subject, for example English or Mathematics, to the vocational subject. “*Ämnesintegrering*”, which can be translated as “integration of subjects”, also combines different subjects. However, it does not necessarily encompass the vocational subject. It can refer to integrating Swedish and English for example, or history and civics. Therefore a more specific

³ A search in the database ERIC yields only 1 result for ‘Vocationally Oriented Language Learning’ while ‘English for Specific Purposes’ yields 699. In the database SAGE, the same terms generate 1 result compared to 420 results.

definition is needed for the purpose of this essay, which is why the term vocational English is used.

Teaching and learning English as a foreign language

Although the focus of this study is on vocational English, I will begin with a short section on language learning in general. Second language acquisition is a huge research area in itself and it is therefore not possible to cover every aspect here. In this study, the content of vocational English is more relevant than the methods used, but the methods and approaches to second language acquisition are relevant as they affect the teaching in general. In addition, I will briefly discuss language assessment in relation to vocational English in this section.

There are various theories on second language acquisition, each emphasising different aspects of language learning. Teaching methods and the interpretations of the best way to teach foreign languages have varied over the past century (cf. Brown, 1973, p. 231; Brown, 2007, p. 17; Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 29).

In the nineteenth century the focus was on translating the language from the mother tongue, referred to as the Grammar Translation Method. The emphasis was on learning grammatical rules, vocabulary in isolated wordlists and the reading and translation of texts. Lessons were taught in the first language and communication and pronunciation were not emphasised (cf. Brown, 2007, pp. 18-19; Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 112). Another theory which focused on rules was Cognitive Code learning. It was argued that ‘children subconsciously acquire a system of rules’ (Brown, 2007, p. 24) when they learn their first language and thus the method emphasised the awareness of rules and how they are used for second language learners (Brown, 2007, p. 24).

Like Cognitive Code Learning, but opposed to the Grammar Translation Method, the Direct Method was inspired by how children learned their mother tongue. Classroom instruction is instead conducted in the target language and everyday vocabulary and sentences are in focus. Correct grammar is still emphasised, but taught inductively. The Direct Method included a focus on communication and pronunciation, as well as listening comprehension (Brown, 2007, p. 21).

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A further step towards communication is Communicative Language Teaching, which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. Tasks should be meaningful and authentic, and learning how to communicate and to develop linguistic fluency is emphasised (Brown, 2007, p. 45-47). Students should be active participants in this learner-centred and cooperative approach to language teaching (Brown, 2007, p. 46).

Learner characteristics have also been emphasised in different theories. All second language learners already have experience of learning a language, their first language, which can either interfere with learning a second language or may be an advantage. There can also be cognitive differences or differences in attitudes among learners (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, pp. 30-31). Dörnyei (1994) argues that '[m]otivation is one of the main determinants of second/foreign language (L2) learning achievement' (Dörnyei, 1994, p. 273).

These different approaches and methods are relevant for my study because they can be part of the influences on teachers working with vocational English. A reasonable hypothesis is that the teachers' general view on language learning affects the way in which, and to what extent, they work with vocational English.

Upper secondary education in Sweden is governed by several policy documents on different levels, including the curriculum and syllabi. The current national Swedish syllabus of English has been influenced by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)⁴ to a great extent. The communicative view on language learning behind the CEFR also plays a significant role in policy-making for upper secondary education and the teacher training for English teachers in Sweden (cf. Apelgren & Molander Beyer, 2009, p. 175; Baldwin, 2013, pp. 60-61). A book aimed at language teachers, *Språklärares stora blå* (Söderberg, 2011) with a focus on CEFR was published in 2011.

In addition to a brief overview of different teaching methods for second language acquisition, the assessment of language learning is relevant for this study. Regardless of which method or approach teachers use, language assessment is a vital part of language teaching. In language assessment, teachers

⁴ The Common European Framework was developed by the Council of Europe. CEFR defines levels of language proficiency and provides a common basis for the elaboration of, for example, language syllabi and textbooks across Europe. The intention is to overcome the barriers of different education systems in Europe (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 1).

make an interpretation of a students' language ability (Bachman & Palmer, 2010, p. 20). Brown (2004, p. 4) describes assessment as an on-going process:

Whenever a student responds to a question, offers a comment, or tries out a new word or structure, the teacher subconsciously makes an assessment of the student's performance. (Brown, 2004, p. 4)

Assessment can be informal or formal. Informal assessment consists of methods such as impromptu feedback and unplanned comments for example, while formal assessments are exercises or tests specifically designed to assess skills and knowledge (Brown, 2004, p. 5-6). Most classroom assessment is formative, evaluating students' performance and giving feedback in order to enable further learning. Summative assessment on the other hand aims to summarise what a student has learnt, looking back, for example, on a course (Brown, 2004, p. 6, Erickson, 2009, pp. 162-163).

The grading system in Sweden is criterion based, and teachers assess whether a student has met the criteria for different levels on the grading scale or not. The criterion based system can be interpreted in different ways by different teachers, and thus it is important for teachers to constantly discuss assessment (Apelgren & Molander Beyer, 2009, p. 175). There are national tests in a number of courses, including English, which are meant to support the comparability of the assigned grades and guide teachers' grading. However, the tests do not determine student's individual grades (Erickson, 2009, p. 166 ff.; Gustafsson & Erickson, 2013, p. 71). There is no central grading for the national tests, which means that Swedish teachers may grade their students' national tests as well as assign students' final grades (Gustafsson & Erickson, 2013, p. 69, 72). The national tests are relevant for this study because they test the same content regardless of which study programme a student attends, although they do not assess any kind of vocational English. However, testing vocational English in the national tests would be very difficult since there are so many different orientations in the vocational programmes and there would have to be so many different versions of the tests. Another problem would be that if students in different programmes have different tests, the purpose of comparability in assessment of the national tests would be lost.

Assessment of vocational English⁵ 'is in principle no different from other areas of language assessment' (Douglas, 2013, p. 367). What may differ is the focus and purpose of the test. A language test for vocational English can be defined fairly narrowly to a specific area of English (Douglas, 2013, p. 368). Douglas describes ESP assessment as a sub-field of language assessment with its focus on specific language use (Douglas, 2013, p. 377-378) and I agree with this view. Therefore, assessment of ESP, CLIL and VOLL will not be discussed separately in this chapter.

English for Specific Purposes (ESP)

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) developed in the 1960s following the international expansion of scientific, technical and economic activity that had started after the Second World War. There was a need for an international language, and for various reasons, this role fell to English (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 6; Paltridge & Starfield, 2013, p. 6). ESP is focused on learner needs, and it is a narrower approach than *English Language Teaching* (ELT) in general (cf. Basturkmen, 2012; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987; Paltridge & Starfield, 2013). ESP is not a special form of English, but rather an approach to language teaching; it grew out of different converging trends and is not a coherent movement (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, pp. 6, 9). Hutchinson and Waters point out that a common misconception is that ESP is only focused on science vocabulary for scientists, or hotel vocabulary for hotel staff, or that it does not deal with general English teaching, which is not the case (1987, pp. 18-19).

ESP can include both wide-angled and more focused course designs: a wider course design can focus on 'business English' in general, while more focused courses are much more specific, such as 'English for financial auditors' (Basturkmen, 2012, p. 55). Basturkmen also identifies two key design processes for developing ESP courses; *learner needs analysis* and *investigation of specialist discourse*. Teaching materials are generally developed by the teachers, and sometimes commercially available materials are used as a supplement (Basturkmen 2012, p. 62). The focus on tailoring the course to the particular needs of the learners has been questioned in recent years. The criticism has been that literature on language for specific purposes (LSP) has been more

⁵ Douglas uses the term English for Specific Purposes, but mentions English for vocational purposes as part of ESP (2013, p. 374).

focused on planning what should be taught than on how to implement it (Basturkmen, 2012, pp. 59-60). ESP in particular has been guilty of focusing on language analysis instead of the learning factors, according to Hutchinson & Waters (1987, p. 39).

ESP in Sweden

ESP is not a new phenomenon in Sweden; there is, for example, a series of textbooks from the early 1970s, aimed at different vocational programmes, called *People in Action*. In the series, the vocabulary and the topics for the texts were adapted to the programmes (Jägfelt, A, Jägfelt S, Gotobed, D, Pierce, T., 1973).

In a Swedish interview study, teachers emphasised that ESP should be only part of the English course, and not replace it (Apelgren, 2001, p. 240). ESP seems in these cases to be more connected to lexis, that is learning vocabulary that is connected to a certain profession for the vocational students (Apelgren, 2001, p. 240). The lexical needs of Vocational ESP-students are still emphasised in more recent international research: Peters and Fernánde (2013) examined the lexical needs of ESP learners, and what types of dictionaries were used in education of architectural students in Spain. They emphasise the importance of knowing cross-disciplinary terms as well as common academic vocabulary, and not only the specific terminology ESP learners use (Peters & Fernánde, 2013, p. 237). This goes against Hutchinson and Waters who claim that ESP is about more than vocabulary (1987, pp. 18-19).

ESP brings in elements from the vocational subjects into the language classroom, which can be contrasted to CLIL that further merges language subjects with vocational subject.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) can be described as a 'dual-focused approach' that focuses both on language and content (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 183). In Sweden, this approach is also known as SPRINT, '*språk- och innehållsintegrerad inläring och undervisning*' (Nixon, 2001, p. 225). This approach is not limited to vocational English, but it can also integrate with other, traditionally academic, subjects such as science or mathematics.

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In CLIL, the lesson content is taught through a foreign language and CLIL-teachers are normally content experts rather than foreign language teachers or native speakers of the target language (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 183; Sylvén, 2013, p. 307). CLIL differs from ESP and VOLL because it usually involves some kind of co-operation between different teachers. In contrast to content-based learning (as in ESP), where the teacher often works alone and where the language study is more important, CLIL also emphasises the content knowledge (Nixon, 2001, p. 225). One of the purposes of working with CLIL is that it can be easier to motivate students by integrating language with ‘real’ content (Nixon, 2001, p. 229). Teachers and parents see CLIL as a way of meeting the demands of an increasingly international job market, and in addition policy making often comes from organisations such as the European Union. Indeed, in the EU, CLIL is seen as having an important role in reaching language-learning goals (Dalton Puffer, 2011, p. 185).

As with ESP, materials are usually developed by teachers which can be an exhausting process. Finding material can be difficult and it needs to be at the right levels for both the English language and the subject content (Nixon, 2001, p. 230)

Research on CLIL is often focused on learning outcomes in acquiring the target language. The problem with such studies is that CLIL students still study their foreign language alongside their CLIL lessons, and because they have a time advantage over other students, it is not surprising that their foreign language skills are greater than mainstream learners (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 186). CLIL lessons are also timetabled as content lessons so it is hard to determine how much of the education is actually conducted in the target language (ibid, p. 184). Studies like Sylvén (2010) show that the amount of English used can vary between teachers and lessons. In a longitudinal study conducted at four schools in Sweden (grades 10-12) Sylvén tested to what extent the vocabulary of CLIL students differs to the control groups. As could be expected, CLIL students scored higher from the beginning of the study, and they read more English text than the control group, which is a factor that influences the acquisition of words (Sylvén, 2010, p. 182).

CLIL in Sweden

Internationally, ‘CLIL has been fuelled from two directions: high-level policy making and grass-roots actions’ (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 185), but in Sweden

the method has mostly been introduced by enthusiastic teachers at a local level, rather than being initiated by the government. There is no government involvement on how CLIL should be taught, and it is left up to individual schools to decide (Sylvén, 2010, p. 21). However, CLIL is discussed in an anthology of different articles about language learning, *Språkboken* (Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2001), which was published in relation to the new syllabi issued in 2000.

Creating a bridge between different school subjects was emphasised in Swedish policy in the 1990s, and teachers were encouraged to co-operate with each other. This co-operation could also be between two subjects taught by a single teacher, when teachers were both subject and language teachers (Nixon, 2001, p. 226). Schools with CLIL are also often involved with other schools across the world and internationalisation is often given as a reason for working with CLIL (cf. Nixon, 2001, p. 230; Sylvén, 2010, p. 21)

CLIL students are exposed to more English than other students, but Lim Falk (2008, p. 279) found that students still mostly speak Swedish instead of English in the classroom. She concludes that choosing English as a medium of instruction ‘hinders the dialogue between teachers and students’ (p. 280, my translation). In Sweden, CLIL has been shown to have little effect on improvement of the target language, and some studies even point to domain losses in Swedish (Sylvén, 2010, p. 6; 2013, p. 302). There have been debates on domain loss when English is used too much in Sweden (cf. SOU 2002:72, p. 21; Yoksimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 1). However, as was put forward in SOU 2002:72, it is also recognised that more and more people need to know English and that studying the language is necessary.

Vocationally Oriented Language Learning (VOLL)

Vocationally Oriented Language Learning (VOLL) can be compared to ESP. Like ESP, vocationally oriented language learning is focused on English for a specific purpose. However, VOLL, in contrast to ESP, is a broader term that includes more situations learners need to be prepared for, and encompasses languages other than English. The term was coined by the Council of Europe and the main purpose of VOLL is enabling learners to work internationally (Vogt & Kantelinen, 2012, p. 64). Instead of focusing only on work-related vocabulary, learners should have more long-term goals. Communication in

2. APPROACHES TO VOCATIONAL ENGLISH

general becomes important because of lifelong learning and the increasingly important need to adapt to the changing job market. VOLL is closely related to ESP, combining the characteristics of ESP and general English language teaching by including both work related skills and general language skills (Vogt & Kantelinen, 2012, p. 65). However, Hutchinson and Waters (1987, p. 19) claim that general English teaching is also part of ESP.

Vocational English⁶ was included as part of Berglund's (2009) Swedish study on the Building and Construction Programme. At the time of the study, teachers had been working with a vocational English project for about a year. One of the two teachers who initiated the project had a background of working in the industrial sector before becoming a teacher, which was one of the reasons for using this approach. Other reasons for working with vocational English were partly in order to increase students' interest for foundation subjects in the vocational programmes, and also to adapt to the intentions of the steering documents according to the teachers (Berglund, 2009, p. 194 ff.). In addition, increasing levels of achievement for vocational students was mentioned by the teachers in Berglund's study as a specific goal for using this approach.

A reasonable hypothesis is that VOLL is the most common type of vocational English in vocational programmes in upper secondary school in Sweden, since everyone has to study the same general course in English, but teachers are free to bring in elements from vocational English. In connection to VOLL, it is relevant to examine Vocational Education in Sweden and what the Swedish school system looks like.

⁶ Berglund (2009) used the Swedish word "*infärgning*" and the term *construction infused core subjects* in her English summary.

3. Swedish VET and its context

Vocational education and training (VET) has a unique history in Sweden, since higher academic programmes and vocational programmes were integrated in upper secondary school integrated as early as 1968 (cf. Lindberg, 2003, p. 15; Lundahl, 1998; Lundahl, 2002, p. 687; Lundahl et al. 2010, pp. 47-48). This study connects teachers' voices on vocational English today to a historical perspective. The idea of working with vocational English is not new, and that is why the focus of the policy analysis in this thesis is on the three latest reforms of upper secondary school in Sweden. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the Swedish school system in a historical perspective and to place Swedish vocational education and training (VET) in this context. I will present previous research on the Swedish school system structured by four themes, which are relevant for vocational education in Sweden and for my study: (1) decentralisation, (2) integration of vocational and academic programmes, (3) internationalisation and employability, and (4) differences in education between study programmes. Finally, the foundation subjects, of which English is one, and the Building and Construction Programme are examined.

The background of these themes is relevant in order to answer how vocational English is described and what has changed with the three most recent curricula, diploma goals and syllabi for upper secondary schools in Sweden. This historical background is also likely to influence teachers' views, as is Swedish teacher's strong autonomy, which will be discussed further in this chapter. These factors make it plausible that the teachers have different influences for their English teaching as well as different ways of working with vocational English.

The Swedish school system

A brief overview of the Swedish school system is important for understanding the context of this study. As of 2011, upper secondary school in Sweden consists of 18 national programmes. Twelve of those are vocational programmes, and six are higher education preparatory programmes. The higher education

preparatory programmes include the courses needed to apply to universities, but these courses are also made available to vocational students. All programmes consist of three years of studies, and after graduating from a vocational programme students should be able to start working in that vocation (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013b). More students than ever before, approximately 98% (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2014b), attend upper secondary school in Sweden today, because '[i]n practice, upper secondary education has become the minimum qualification level required to obtain a job' (Lundahl, et al., 2010, p. 46; cf. SOU 2008:27, p. 226).

Upper secondary education is governed by several policy documents on different levels, the most important being the curriculum, the syllabi for different subjects, and the diploma goals for different programmes.

Decentralisation of the Swedish school

The move towards decentralisation is relevant when it comes to vocational English because it has shaped how vocational education looks today as it has given schools and teachers the freedom to design courses in different ways. The diploma goals should also influence the teaching, and teachers are encouraged to cooperate across subjects⁷. One such possibility has been to work with vocational English (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008).

Three distinct periods in terms of shifts in education governance and the role of the state are defined by Lundahl (2002, p. 688). In the *first period* (1975-1990) it was argued by both left- and right-leaning politicians that schools needed change. The left argued that schools did not meet children's varying needs and that the schools did not reach their equality goals. The right argued that schools were expensive and inefficient. The lack of influence for local actors was another common argument according to Lundahl (2002, p. 689). In the mid-1970s, the responsibility of schools to follow up students who left school at risk of unemployment increased (Lundahl, 2002, p. 689). During this period central State governance was strong, and although the decentralisation process began in the 1980s, the final adaptation of the decentralised steering system was not until the 1990s (cf. Lundahl, 2002, p. 690, Waldow, 2008).

In this *second period* (1991-1998), decentralisation accelerated. The goals, syllabi and time-plans were to be decided centrally, while the educational system

⁷ See chapter 7, page 82, for a further discussion on the intertextuality of policy documents and the role of the diploma goals.

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was to be governed locally as much as possible (cf. Lundahl, 2002, p. 691; Lundahl et al. 2010, p. 49; Waldow, 2008, p. 142). It was expected by the government that ‘self-governing, responsible and professional teachers would choose suitable methods to attain the curriculum objectives’ (Lundahl et al. 2010, p. 49). Self-regulation at local and individual levels was emphasised, and state governance was weakened during this time. In addition, governance by objectives and were emphasised more than time regulation (Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 692). The responsibility for developing working methods was more clearly moved from the state to teachers in Lpf 94 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, p. 1). During this period, teachers were encouraged to co-operate with each other, for example through working with CLIL and VOLL (Nixon, 2001, p. 226). Pupils and their parents were also given a greater influence (Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 692).

In the *third period* (1998-2002), further decentralization had taken place to management by objectives, and lifelong learning is emphasised. On the other hand, the state was taking control again by giving subsidies, for example in order to increase the number of teachers of schools (cf. Carlbaum 2012, p. 126; Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 694). Local courses were suggested to be subject to quality control (Carlbaum, 2012, p. 124).

A *fourth period* (2003-2014) can be added to Lundahl’s three periods. State control has increased again in several ways, even if municipalities, schools and teachers still have a high degree of autonomy (cf. Hudson, 2007, p. 266, cf. Carlbaum, 2012, p. 7). In 2006, the government signalled that they aimed to strengthen the Swedish Schools Inspectorate who previously mostly checked up on schools after complaints. In 2008 the new Schools Inspectorate started. Now inspections are more frequent and each school should be inspected at least every five years (Swedish Schools Inspectorate, 2012; SOU 2007:101). Other forms of increased control can be seen in the syllabi for different subjects, where *central content* [Sw. centralt innehåll] has been introduced. In addition to the goals and grading criteria, the central content of each course is now decided nationally, although teachers still have freedom to decide which methods are the most suitable, and they can vary content in the courses (cf. Gy 2011). Quality controls from the Swedish Schools Inspectorate and standardised tests where results are controlled shows that state control has changed from ‘government’ to ‘governance’, rather than disappeared altogether: state control is adapting to changing circumstances (Hudson, 2007, p. 266, cf. Carlbaum, 2012, p. 7)

Integration of vocational and academic programmes

The idea of increased integration of VET and academic secondary education continued after the 1970s, and for vocational programmes the content became more general and less tied to specific vocations (Nylund & Rosvall, 2011, p. 81-82). One of the aims of integrating vocational and academic programmes was to break up the old system of sorting children for different future tasks along class or gender lines (cf. Carlbaum, 2012, p. 56 ff.; Lundahl, 2002, p. 687). Another idea was that definite choices of future vocations should be postponed until as late as possible, and by differentiating students later, it can be easier to compensate for students' different socio-economic backgrounds (Carlbaum, 2012, p. 60; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000, pp. 70-72).

The reform in 1994 continued to reduce the differences between vocational and academic programmes. The two-year vocational programmes were extended to three years, and it was decided that all upper secondary school students should have a common core of knowledge in general subjects, called *core subjects* [Sw. kärnämnen]. All upper secondary school programmes made students eligible for higher education (prop. 1990/91:85, p. 164). The core subjects were mandatory for students in all upper secondary programmes and the courses had the same goals and grading criteria. The core subjects were Swedish, English, civics, mathematics, religion, science studies, artistic activities and physical education and health (cf. Berggren 2012, p. 40; Lundahl, 1998). Many core subject teachers in vocational programmes during this period felt that core subjects were too hard considering the students' prior knowledge and ambitions according to the 2007 Reform Commission (SOU 2008:27). As discussed in SOU 2008:27 (p. 237), this led to teachers reducing the more difficult content or lowering demands on vocational students in relation to the goals of the courses (cf. Swedish National Agency for Education, 2000, p. 43).

Another difference between programmes was that the steering documents stated that vocational students still had more hours of general subjects, and they should have workplace-based learning for at least 15 weeks. Lundahl argues that '[t]he responsibilities and influence of the employment sector over VET increased once again' (Lundahl, 1998), which is also in line with Lindberg's description that Sweden had begun to come closer to the European tradition of letting working life influence the vocational education in the 1990s (Lindberg, 2003, p. 12).

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One of the intentions of the 1990s reform was to reduce class and gender bias. Another purpose was to create a broad education that would prepare students for flexibility and lifelong learning. The freedom of choice and individual influence was also stressed, and individual flexibility and security increased when all programmes, both vocational and academic, made students eligible for higher education (cf. Lundahl et al., 2002, p. 692; Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 49).

In Gy 2011, core subjects [Sw. kärnämnen] were renamed *foundation subjects* [Sw. gymnasiegemensamma ämnen], and the selection of subjects remained the same except for the removal of artistic activities and the introduction of history. However, the extent of the courses now varies between vocational and higher education preparatory programmes; mathematics, history, science studies and civics have slightly different courses depending on what programme they are aimed at. The syllabus for English is the same for all students regardless of programme, so the differences between other courses and subjects will not be further discussed in this study. Foundation subjects make up far less of an upper secondary school student's day than the character subjects⁸ do. Nylund counted what an "average" day on a vocational programme would look like, presuming that each day of the school year looked the same. Character subjects make up about 64 % of students' education, and English about 4 % (Nylund, 2010, p. 45)

In addition, the contents of foundation subjects are meant to be adapted to the diploma goals for different programmes, and only the vocational students who actively choose specific courses will be eligible for higher education. Further, Lundahl et al. argue that there has been a 'change in focus from the process of learning to competences and outcomes' (Lundahl, et al. 2010, p. 52). This is also in line with what Nylund and Rosvall argue, that the previous principles of integrating vocational and academic education are kept apart in the latest reform (Nylund & Rosvall, 2011, p. 82). Berggren (2012) studied how the teaching in foundation subjects in different programmes is described, and how expressed intentions are legitimised in policy over the past 20 years in Swedish upper secondary school. His study showed that there is a difference in foundation subject teaching between programmes, where form

⁸ Character subjects are programme specific subjects. For the Natural Science Programme the character subjects are, for example, biology, chemistry and physics. For the Building and Construction Programme the character subjects are, for example, building and construction.

and content varies between academic and vocational programmes (Berggren, 2012, p. 39).

Berggren points to how vocational students are categorised in SOU 1997:107 as being interested foremost in their character subjects. Thus, the role of English is reduced to only vocational contexts (2012, p. 44). Further, he describes how the idea of ‘applied English’ is discussed in SOU 2002:120, and argues that this is a sign of how policy for upper secondary school is more market-oriented than before:

/.../ subjects, such as English, are adapted to the areas of interest in different programmes in order to legitimise the English teaching in the programme towards the intended job market or sector, and at the same time contribute to the increased employability of the individual (Berggren, 2012, pp. 46-47, my translation)

Employability and internationalisation

Because of the opportunities for an international working life and globalisation, English has become more important for students in upper secondary school. The term ‘constant employability’ is replacing the old norm, ‘job for life’ (Kristensson-Uggla, 2007, p. 116, my translation). The uncertainty of the labour market has increased through globalisation, and in order to manage in this new globalised world, the demands for *lifelong learning* have become increasingly important. The term lifelong learning encompasses more flexible work-related competences, rather than social inclusion or personal development, and can be connected to the decentralisation of Swedish schools. The increased freedom for schools, and the opportunities to create local programmes in the 1990s, are examples of how upper secondary school should be able to adapt quickly to the demands of a changing society and the economy (cf. Kristensson-Uggla, 2007, pp. 117-118; Waldow, 2008, pp. 143, 149). This has changed in the latest reform, where local programmes are much more difficult to create and schools have less freedom.

Employability is also emphasised in Lundahl’s (1998) study of Lpf 94 where she examined what was happening to VET in the 1990’s, which is in line with Carlbaum’s policy study (2012, p. 220 ff.). The high level of youth unemployment in Sweden in the 1990s probably contributed to VET being publicly debated much more frequently. Lundahl also argues that ‘the growing difficulty for young people in finding employment has been one of the

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decisive factors behind the changes in upper-secondary school and VET since the late seventies' (Lundahl, 1998).

In the early 1990s, the idea of school gradually shifted from education as a common good to the emphasis on individual freedom (Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 54). However, the Reform Commission's report from 2007 resets the more traditional values. For example, stricter quality assessment of local courses was suggested and students were encouraged to choose courses that make them *employable*, which means that the labour market is prioritised more than individual wishes. The receivers, in this case the labour market and higher education, are more in focus than before (Lundahl et al., 2010, pp. 52-56). The connection between stakeholders and the educational system is not new; in the 1940s surveys and other empirical investigations looked into what qualifications and skills the receivers wanted from students (Waldow, 2008, p. 68 ff.). Berggren (2012) also shows how students in different programmes are ascribed the need for foundation-subject teaching that prepares them for an ever-changing working life or further studies, as well as participation in society in general by policy makers. At the same time, teachers should adapt their teaching to the work market, or prepare students for future studies, depending on which programme they work. Further, Berggren argues that students are categorised by presumed future needs, and that students are locked into the area of interest of the programme (Berggren, 2012, pp. 48-49).

The view on what skills and what knowledge are considered desirable has shifted since the reform of upper secondary school in Sweden at the beginning of the 1990s, and the suggestion from the reform commission in 2007, SOU 2008:27 (Lundahl et al. 2010, pp. 52-56; Nylund, 2010, pp. 37-38). Nylund contrasts *general education* and *vocational education*. Questions of democracy and the importance of educated, critically thinking, socially intelligent and well-informed citizens is emphasised in general education. In vocational education, on the other hand, the focus is more on the labour market and the different perspectives of these two types of education affects which subjects are viewed as central. Subjects related to civics become important in the general education, while subjects with a higher labour-market value are seen as more important for vocational education (Nylund, 2010, pp. 37-38). Nylund (2010) also examined which school subjects were seen as high or low-status in the report from the reform commission, SOU 2008:27. The report seems to have a dichotomous view of theory and practice, where upper secondary education will either lead to a working life or higher education. In vocational

education, the future employers care more about the vocational skills and thus the character subjects are given a higher status. The low-status subjects are arts, civics and Swedish. Technical knowledge and practical skills are emphasised rather than critical knowledge and a versatile approach to knowledge (Nylund, 2010, p. 43).

In the 2011 reform of upper secondary school in Sweden, knowledge in vocational programmes is mainly viewed as a commodity, where the receivers of students (that is higher education and employers) are becoming more important, as discussed by Nylund (2010, p. 37-38). The Swedish National Agency for education especially mentions English as a way of participating in a global working life (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012b, p. 1), and there is a risk (or a possibility) of creating different education for vocational and academic students, even if they study the same courses. In the Building and Construction Programme, vocational English can be one way of making students more employable in an international working-life, and adapting the education towards the receivers and companies.

Recent studies on policy in Sweden examine the latest reform of upper secondary school, Gy 2011. Nylund (2010) argues that in the report from the Reform Commission in 2007, economics is in focus, rather than citizenship and democracy. In addition, he states that it is evident that the most prominent goal for vocational programmes is to educate employable and fully qualified workers. Nylund discusses how the leading words, such as ‘streamlining, efficiency, employability etc.’, emanate from the theoretical field of economy rather than pedagogy (Nylund, 2010, pp. 42-43, my translation). There is no mention in the report of a democratic citizenship, and the language in the report is characterized by technological terms. According to Nylund students are viewed almost exclusively as a resource for employers, rather than participants in a democratic citizenship. He also argues that the pupils who are being prepared for ‘subordinate and manual positions’ in society are pupils on vocational programmes (Nylund, 2010, pp. 40-42, my translation).

Lundahl et al. (2010) argue that the distinction between academic and vocational programmes is more clearly stated than in the previous reform. An objection to this reform from the opposing parties was based on how pupils are now forced to decide on their careers early on, how the reform will increase the risk of dropouts and how socio-economic differences will be exacerbated (Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 51). Employer representatives and the

industry argue that, contrary to popular belief, vocational work is not only practical; there is a demand for constantly developing vocational knowledge and knowledge of general subjects such as mathematics, Swedish and English. The ability to read and understand different types of texts is becoming more important, for example in the construction sector (Lundahl et al., 2010, p. 56).

Differences in education between study programmes

The previous sections in this chapter have dealt with policy decisions and a historical view of the Swedish school system. In connection with these reforms and the division between vocational and academic programmes, it is relevant to discuss the differences in education between study programmes and the role of the teacher.

The differences in education for students in vocational programmes compared to students in academic programmes have been highlighted in several Swedish studies (for example, Andersson Varga, 2014; Beach, 1999; Hårdig, 1995; Lundahl et al., 2010; Lilja-Waltå, 2011; Nylund, 2013; Norlund, 2009; Rosvall, 2012). Social class reproduction and the different expectations of different groups of pupils are themes that can be seen in all of these studies. However, this theme is not touched upon in other studies of vocational and academic programmes in Sweden; Nylund (2012) discusses how these studies are an exception, since class is rarely used or discussed in depth in other work, and because policy research on vocational education is rare (Nylund, 2012, p. 593). These studies are relevant for my study because they connect to vocational English in the way that vocational students are at risk of being differentiated from academic students.

The differentiation of students in different study programmes can be described as a strong *classification* between vocational and academic students. Classification is one of Bernstein's (2000) concepts and a strong classification means that categories are strongly insulated from each other. A weak classification, on the other hand, means that boundaries between categories are weaker (see chapter 4 for a further description of Bernstein's theoretical framework).

Vocational and academic programmes are often physically separated and placed at different schools or different buildings. The physical separation is

often motivated by practical reasons such as the need for large workshops or the noise (cf. Hårdig, 1995, p. 55; Rosvall, 2012, p. 52).

One of several causes for the differences found in the study groups may be how teachers and principals view their students. As will be discussed later in this chapter, students in vocational and academic programmes have different socio-economic backgrounds. According to Beach (1999), teachers and principals see the differences between vocational and academic students as a sign of the ‘intellectual abilities, attitudes and values’ of the two groups rather than an adaptation to the norms in the classroom that differs between programmes (Beach, 1999, p. 353). This is in line with Korp’s study (2011), which examined the ways perceptions of intelligence limit vocational students’ learning. The students in her study dichotomised between practical knowledge and skills and theoretical knowledge. Even though their vocational subjects demanded that they performed advanced cognitive tasks, the students identified themselves as not being theoretically smart (Korp, 2011, p. 35). However, those who work in school do not consciously discriminate against individuals or groups, as Beach points out. Rather, the forms of segregations are hidden, and part of a structure where we are still very much influenced by our past:

In other words, we are standing in the shadow of our past and have recreated its ideological discourses and practices in the now, where different education is given to different groups of students, who – as it is said – deserve the treatment they are receiving (Beach, 1999, p. 362).

Textbooks as an example of a strong differentiation between study programmes

A strong differentiation between the two groups of students has also been identified in several studies on vocational programmes (cf. Andersson Varga, 2014; Beach, 1999; Lilja-Waltå, 2011; Norlund, 2009; Rosvall, 2012), and textbooks are an example on how these differences can be observed. Even though this study does not examine textbooks, they are relevant in order to show the context of vocational English. Textbooks may be one of the influences teachers have for working with vocational English, but it is important to note that how much the teaching is controlled by textbooks varies between teachers (cf. Norlund, 2009, pp. 63-65); however, this type of study can still give an indication on the expectations on different groups of students.

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Through the use of different textbooks, vocational and academic students are steered in different directions, and are given different conditions and tools for analysing texts in Swedish (Norlund, 2009, pp. 97-99). Textbooks aimed at vocational students were also permeated with a presumed future of professional activities, as affirmed in another Swedish study on textbooks aimed at vocational students (Lilja-Waltå, 2011). On the other hand, students in the Building and Construction Programme were somewhat of an exception; they were not only presumed to be working with vocational Swedish, but rather general topics related to the Swedish subject matter area. For students in the Building and Construction programme, both the vocational future and vocational activities were less prominent in the textbook than for other vocational programmes (Lilja-Waltå, 2011, p. 7). In textbooks aimed at vocational students, a more informal and personal every-day language is used than in textbooks aimed at academic programmes, which suggests a strong classification between the two groups (Norlund, 2009, p. 90).

The difficulty level of textbooks aimed at different programmes varies, Beach (1999) shows that the textbooks for students in the Natural Science Programme were more difficult than for students in Business and Administration students. Academic students were also expected by teachers to work faster, and they were also more productive than vocational students. In addition, teachers viewed the vocational students as less able to concentrate and more likely to be absent from school (Beach, 1999, pp. 353-355).

Teacher expectations on students

Teachers' expectations of students also influence how students view themselves (cf. Beach 1999; Rosvall, 2012). Students create their group identity depending on what programme they attend and in accordance with teachers' expectations (Korp, 2011, p. 25; 2012). Furthermore, these different stereotypical images create a feeling of belonging, but can also be a limitation and create divisions between students and groups of students (Korp, 2012, pp. 100-101). Andersson Varga (2014, p. 233) argues that teachers' preconceptions of students and their backgrounds affect the teaching.

Teachers' expectations on vocational students were generally low in academic subjects as shown in Korp's study (2011, p. 25). This is in line with Rosvall (2012), who shows that students in the Vehicle Programme were socialised into an anti-school norm during their first year of upper secondary

school. Hårdig's (1995) study shows that character subject teachers in the Building and Construction Programme indicate lack of motivation or lack of interest as reasons for students not completing their education (Hårdig, 1995, p. 211). According to Rosvall, the anti-school norm is possibly a combination of teachers' expectations, the group identity, and a result of realising that the students' own efforts did not lead anywhere. Students expressed positive attitudes towards 'book-knowledge' in both vocational and academic subjects at the beginning of the school year, but as time progressed students stopped expressing these views. Rosvall connects this to the anti-school norm that would result in a lower status among students in the Vehicle Programme (2012, p. 76). The same tendencies can be seen in Beach's study (1999), where the Business and Administration students did not like it when some students worked hard, and pressured them into slowing their pace. Two aspects seem to emerge in these studies which further emphasise a strong classification between these two groups. Firstly, students in vocational and academic programmes are socialised into a norm depending on what expectations teachers, for example, have of them. There is a myth that students in vocational programmes are less able to concentrate than academic students and are uninterested in "theoretical" knowledge (cf. Beach, 1999, pp. 353-355; Nylund, 2013, p. 31). Secondly, students in academic and vocational programmes have different socio-economic backgrounds. Vocational programmes tend to recruit working-class pupils, while academic programmes attract pupils with higher socio-economic status (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, 2014a; cf. Broady & Börjesson, 2006, pp. 1-3).

Most students in Sweden attend academic programmes (about 57%)⁹. The majority (about 41%) of parents to students in academic programmes have tertiary education, as compared with parents of students in vocational programmes where only around 16% have tertiary education. Most parents, (about 59%), of students in vocational programmes have upper secondary school as their highest level of education (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013c). Since students in vocational programmes tend to belong to an underprivileged social class, Nylund (2010, p. 35) argues that how voca-

⁹ About 32% of all students attend vocational programmes in Sweden, and around 10% attend introductory programmes, which are programmes for students that are not eligible for a national programme. The idea is that the introductory programme should make students eligible to continue on either a vocational or academic programme, or work (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011e, 2014a).

tional programmes are formed in school becomes a sensitive political question.

To sum up, there is strong differentiation between vocational and academic students in upper secondary school. This is connected to the socio-economic groups and level of education of the parents. Students are also shaped by their student group and teachers' expectations of them (cf. Beach, 1999; Korp, 2012; Rosvall, 2012). Furthermore, textbooks aimed towards vocational students contribute to the social reproduction through their varying contents (Norlund, 2009, p. 90). This background, and especially the concept of a strong classification between academic and vocational students, is used for discussing my findings in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

The Building and Construction Programme

The Building and Construction Programme is a three-year vocational programme with five orientations: *plant vehicles*, *house construction*, *land and construction*, *painting* and *sheet metal work*. Regardless of orientation, students all study the same programme specific courses [Sw. programgemensamma ämnen] together before they specialise for their future vocation. All students in the Building and Construction Programme study the foundation subjects Swedish, English, civics, mathematics, religion, science studies, and physical education and health, which make up about 25% of the courses in the programme. The rest of the courses consist of programme specific subjects, programme specialisation [Sw. programfördjupning], individual options and the diploma project [Sw. gymnasiearbete]. Students should also have at least 15 weeks of workplace based learning. All orientations offer the possibility of adding the three extra courses needed for eligibility for higher education: Swedish, Swedish as a Second Language 2 and 3, and English 6 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012a, pp. 83-85).

Theoretical and practical knowledge should be interwoven in all subjects and courses, according to the Swedish National Agency for Education. Laws and regulations can, for example, be discussed when it is relevant to the practical work, which will create a wider context for students (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013e). The Swedish National Agency for Education describes the possible outcomes of the programme, which includes both work in the building and construction sector and the possibility of higher education:

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The courses students study within their programme specialisation leads, as in all vocational programmes, to a vocational outcome. This means that the students after graduation should be employable within the selected vocational area. Even if the programme first of all aims for work within the stated vocations, there is a possibility for further education as well within vocational higher education [Sw. yrkeshögskolan] as well as universities and university-colleges [Sw. högskola]. (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013d, my translation)

In 2013 around 15,000 students attended the Building and Construction programme, which is around 4,5 % of the total number of students in upper secondary school in Sweden. Most students in the Building and Construction Programme are male (92 %). Compared to the average for vocational programmes in Sweden where 16 % of students have parents with tertiary education, 31 % of students in the Building and Construction Programme have parents with tertiary education (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2014a).

4. Theoretical framework

As outlined in the introduction, this study is concerned with how policy documents relate to the views and the educational practice of the teachers of vocational English. The views teachers express and their influences and experiences of working with this approach will be analysed, along with how vocational English is described at policy level in the three latest reforms of upper secondary school in Sweden.

Ozga's and Ball's *policy sociology* and Ball's *policy enactment* will be used in the analysis as a way of understanding the ideas and messages behind policy, as well as how they are enacted in the field.

In addition, Bernstein's theoretical concepts of *horizontal and vertical discourse*, *classification*, and *visible and invisible pedagogy*, are used in the analysis. I consider these theoretical concepts important tools for interpreting my data.

Policy sociology and policy enactment

Ozga's (1990; 2000) theoretical framework of policy sociology is relevant for my policy analysis. In policy sociology, macro level analysis and micro level analysis are brought together. The focus is on meaning and content (Ball, 1993, p. 10). Both Ozga (2000) and Ball et al. (2012) argue that there is an important distinction between policy implementation and policy enactment. Policy enactment involves interpreting and translating policy 'from text to action – put "into" practice – in relation to history and to context, with the resources available' (Ball et al., 2012, p. 3). Policy texts cannot simply be implemented. Policy is struggled over, and the process of interpretation and recontextualisation is complex and creative. This also means that teachers and students are policy makers since they have a strong influence on how policy is interpreted (Ozga, 2000, p. 3). Frame factors, such as time poverty or teachers' emotions, also affect policy enactment (Ball, Maguire, Braun & Hoskins, 2011). In order to understand teachers' motives and influences for their teaching methods, the conditions and frame factors need to be part of the analysis (Lindblad, Linde & Naeslund, 1999, pp. 94, 101).

Policy implementation is seen as a linear process where the translation of policy into practice is unproblematic, while policy enactment recognises the process of negotiation and the diverse and complex ways policy is enacted. Policy enactment is always a process; it is never ‘done’ at one point in time (Ball et al., 2012, p. 3; Ozga 2000, pp. 1-3). This is further discussed in the methodology chapter, page 49.

Classification and visible or invisible pedagogy

Bernstein’s (2000) concept of classification refers to boundaries between categories based on power relations (cf. Lindblad & Sahlström, 1999, p. 77). Classification can be *strong* or *weak*, depending on how insulated different categories are, and Bernstein exemplifies *strong* and *weak* classification by placing it in a school context. If there is a strong classification in the pedagogic discourse, teachers from different disciplines, for example, do not publicly discuss their subjects with other teachers from other specialisations. A weak classification on the other hand means that the boundaries between subjects are weaker and that they are less isolated from each other (Bernstein, 2000, p. 10). For teachers working with vocational English it could be said that there is a weaker classification between English and the vocational subjects. On the other hand, as Andersson Varga (2014, p. 247), Berggren (2012, pp. 97-98), and Norlund (2009, pp. 54-55) show, the classification between vocational and academic students could be seen as stronger if teachers work with vocational English. If students in different programmes are educated differently (by having different textbooks for example), the two groups of students are more differentiated from each other. These two opposites are used to analyse the answers about pedagogy and teaching practice in my interview study.

Bernstein also defines two types of pedagogic practice: *visible* and *invisible* pedagogy¹⁰ (Bernstein, 1990, p. 70). In a visible pedagogy, the performance of a student is emphasised. The external product that is created is graded, and the focus lies on to what extent the product (for instance a written text) meets the criteria. Visible pedagogies will show ‘differences between children: they are necessarily stratifying practices and of transmission’ (Bernstein, 1990, p. 70-71). Invisible pedagogy has been used to analyse and describe an

¹⁰ It is important to note that all of Bernstein’s categories are sliding scales. We rarely find pure forms of visible or invisible pedagogy, they are embedded in one another (Bernstein, 1990, p. 84).

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

‘integrated’ code curriculum where subject areas are integrated in projects and more diffuse than in a visible pedagogy (Baldwin, 2013, pp. 97-100).

A visible pedagogy can be said to have a strong classification and a strong *framing*. Basically, [f]raming is about *who* controls *what* (Bernstein, 2000, p. 12), and this can easily be transferred to the classroom. In a strongly framed education, the teacher, or transmitter, has more control of what is selected and done in class, its sequencing, the pacing, and the grading criteria. In a weaker framing, students (the acquirers) are given more apparent control and can influence their education more. The teaching is less hierarchical and more flexible (Bernstein, 2000, pp. 12-13, cf. Lindblad & Sahlström, 1999, p. 77). Invisible pedagogies, on the other hand, ‘are less concerned to produce explicit stratifying differences between acquirers’ (Bernstein, 1990, p. 71). The focus is not on a gradable performance, but on internal procedures of acquisition such as cognitive, linguistic or motivational procedures. These differences in emphasis will affect the organisation in school, and what skills are considered most important to acquire (Bernstein, 1990, p. 71-72.) Lindblad and Sahlström found through their observations of lessons from the 1970s and the 1990s that students have more influence over pace and sequencing in the classroom today, that is a weaker framing, than in the 1970s. (1999, p. 87) An invisible pedagogy tends to be weakly framed and has a weak classification.

Bernstein’s theories are relevant to my analysis in order to explain and describe the views and influences of the teachers. For this study the terms *strong* and *weak classification* are used to analyse and explain the pedagogy of the teachers. In a classroom with a weak classification, subjects can be more connected with each other and the boundaries between the subjects are weaker. This could be expected with teachers working with vocational English.

Horizontal and vertical discourse

Bernstein’s theoretical concepts of *horizontal discourse* and *vertical discourse* are dependent on each other; in order to understand horizontal discourse it needs to be contrasted with vertical discourse, and vice versa. In his early research, Bernstein was interested in social relations, and especially the social distribution of knowledge between different social classes (cf. Nylund, 2013, p. 69). Bernstein argued that all societies have a division between two forms of

knowledge: the everyday, ‘common-sense’ knowledge, and the esoteric knowledge (cf. Bernstein, 1999, p. 158; Bourne, 2004, p. 61; Nylund, 2013, p. 69). By contrasting horizontal and vertical discourse Bernstein’s understanding of education emerges (Bourne, 2004, p. 62).

Horizontal discourse refers to everyday common-sense knowledge, or ‘local’ knowledge. Vertical discourse refers to theoretical and more abstract knowledge: school(ed) knowledge, or ‘official’ knowledge’ (cf. Bernstein, 1999, p. 158, Bourne, 2004, p. 61; Breier, 2004, p. 206). These contrasts are evaluated differently and ideologically positioned (Bernstein, 1999, p. 158). Horizontal knowledge is ‘common’ because everyone, potentially or actually, has access to it. It is also likely to be oral, context dependent and local. (p. 159). Bernstein describes vertical discourse like this:

Briefly, a vertical discourse takes the form of a coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised, as in the sciences, or it takes the form of a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of interrogation and specialised criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities (Bernstein, 1999, p. 159).

He then proceeds to contrast vertical discourse with horizontal discourse, which ‘entails a set of strategies which are local, segmentally organised, context specific and dependent, for maximising encounters with persons and habitats’ (Bernstein 1999, p. 159). Horizontal discourse is segmentally organised in culturally specialised segments. In vertical discourse, procedures are not linked horizontally by contexts, but hierarchically to other procedures (Bernstein, 1999, p. 161).

Bernstein emphasises that contrasts and oppositions between these forms of knowledge may lead to limiting descriptions and that we must be careful in our analysis, and try to find ‘a more general and delicate perspective’ (1999, p. 169).

The distinction between horizontal and vertical discourse is relevant for my analysis because the school systematically selects the knowledge it provides, and because school is outcome orientated (cf. Bourne, p. 62). Andersson Varga describes how ‘horizontal discourse lacks the potential for power and influence. It is also common that activities in the horizontal discourse are not evaluated’ (Andersson Varga, 2014, p. 50, my translation; cf. Bernstein, 2000). In horizontal discourse, what is learnt in one segment, and how it is acquired, does not necessarily bear any relation to another segment

or context (Bernstein, 2000, p. 159). Thus, students may have difficulties realising that they have actually learnt something, since knowledge organised in a horizontal discourse is only useful in a specific segment or context (cf. Andersson Varga, 2014, p. 50; Norlund, 2009, p. 51).

Recontextualising fields

The different recontextualising fields mentioned here are not used directly in my analysis, rather they are helpful for placing my two analyses in the right contexts. As mentioned in the introduction, pedagogic discourse appears in different recontextualising fields. At the macro level, we have the *official recontextualising field* (ORF), which is ‘created and dominated by the state and its selected agents’ (Bernstein, 2000, p. 33). The *pedagogic recontextualising field* (PRF) is in the middle, and includes textbook authors, departments of education, specialised journals and so on (Bernstein, 2000, p. 33). At school level, there is the *local recontextualising field* (LRF), where students and teachers interact with each in educational arrangements (Norlund, 2011, p. 661).

In this study the focus is at the macro level and the official recontextualising field (ORF) regarding the policy texts, but also on the micro level and the local recontextualising field (LRF) by examining the teaching practice and views of the teachers. I recognise that policy implementation is a complex process and that policies are constantly re-interpreted and recontextualised (cf. Baldwin, pp. 20-21; Ball et al., 2012, pp. 3-4; Ball, 1993, p. 11).

This study excludes the *pedagogic recontextualising field* (PRF) and the so-called meso level. The meso level could have been studied through, for example, textbook analysis or local policy analysis, and would have made the study wider and given an insight into all three fields. I also recognise that the meso level affects how the macro level filters through to the micro level (cf. Baldwin, 2013, p. 21). However, textbook analysis has been disregarded for a number of reasons. Firstly, textbooks do not govern how English is taught, and how much textbooks are used varies between teachers (cf. Norlund, 2011). Secondly, teachers teaching English for specific purposes often say that they have to create their own material (cf. Basturkmen 2012, p. 62) and thus would not be using textbooks. Thirdly, the selection of textbooks is problematic: there are many examples of unsuitable textbooks for vocational programmes (cf. Lilja-Waltå, 2011; Norlund, 2009), but we cannot be sure that teachers use these books. The final factor for excluding textbook analysis is

the limited time for this licentiate study, textbook analysis is a huge research area in itself and it is not possible to cover that field in this study as well. Thus, in relation to my research question on what are the influences for the educational practice of the teachers I do not examine textbooks, local policies, or other influences such as general views on language learning.

5. Method

A study in policy and practice

This study consists of two parts: in the first part policy documents are in focus (the official recontextualising field) and in the second part interviews with practicing teachers are in focus (the local recontextualising field). The reason for doing a two-part study is that I want to examine how vocational English is described at policy level, and at the same time compare that to how policy documents relate to the views and educational practice of the teachers. Through the analysis of policy documents, what has changed in the reforms regarding vocational English is explored. Other relevant ideas such as employability, lifelong learning, and internationalisation that have influenced policy are also discussed. Through the interview analysis, the teachers' views on vocational English and their influences for their teaching practice are explored, as well as the teachers' experiences of working with vocational English.

The connection between policy documents and the teacher interviews is important. The abstract ideas in policy documents are always recontextualised and interpreted in practice (cf. Ball et al., 2012, pp. 3-4), and that is why practicing English teachers will be interviewed. The policy documents in this study are the steering documents for schools, and teachers have to translate them and put them into practice. However, there can also be a difference between what teachers say and what they do. The interviews cannot show what actually happens in the classroom, but is rather a way of representing teachers' views.

Policy analysis

The first step in a policy analysis is to define what *policy* is. The definition of policy is contested, and a variety of definitions are available (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 4). Stephen Ball emphasises that defining policy is not an easy task, but categorises his own conceptualisations as 'policy as text and policy as discourse' (1993, p. 10). Ball explains *policy as discourse* as '/.../' what can be

said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority' (Ball, 1993, p. 14). *Policy as text* is the policies themselves, which are not necessarily closed or complete. They are open for interpretation by readers, and the meaning will change depending on who the key interpreters are. In addition, Ball emphasises that 'the authors cannot control the meanings of their texts' (1993, p. 11).

Ozga describes policy as the answer to the question '[w]hat's going on?' (1990, p. 361), that is to say what is the message behind the texts and discourse? In addition, policy texts are 'rarely the work of a single author' (Ball, 1993, p. 11). Therefore, policy must be regarded as something living, changing and most of all something that is *interpreted*. In this study, the focus on policy will be on *policy as text* and as something that is constantly interpreted. Atkinson and Coffey points out that 'documents refer – however tangentially – to other realities and domains' (2010, p. 86). Thus, we must look beyond the separate texts and compare them to other documents in order to make sense of the contents. The intertextual relationships can be examined and how the documents are linked to each other (2010, p. 87), and that is what I aim to do in this analysis.

The most difficult challenge when analysing policy is whether or not the researcher is over-interpreting the text. Cohen et al. discuss how researchers cannot be neutral and that we interpret the text while we are analysing it (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p. 580). It must not be forgotten that 'discourses and texts are multilayered and open to a range of interpretations and deconstruction' (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 586). Therefore, transparency becomes important, as suggested by Ozga (2000), and Rizvi and Lingard (2010). They emphasize the importance of explicitly expressing my orientation as a researcher and being transparent about what theoretical framework and what method is used (Ozga, 2000, p. 52-53; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 51).

Ball (1993) argues that we need a toolbox of different theories and concepts in order to analyse policy documents. One possible tool could have been a *political process framework* that looks at the political context of policies (cf. Bourdieu, 1997; Simons, Olsen & Peters, 2009, p. 12). Although I recognise that policy documents are political, the economic ideas and politics behind them are not in focus in this study. Another possible tool could have been *Critical Discourse Analysis* (cf. Fairclough, 2001; Taylor et al. 2007), but as this is not a linguistic analysis I decided on *policy sociology* instead (Ozga 2000). Policy sociology is a term from Ozga (2000) but Ball (1993), Ball et al. (2012),

5. METHOD

and Rizvi and Lingard (2010) also view policy in the same way. How this approach was used is further discussed in the section on textual analysis, page 52.

Selecting the texts

Because I am using policy sociology, and focusing on *policy as text*, a method for textual analysis is needed. I have chosen a limited body of data for the textual analysis (cf. Silverman, 2010, p. 55). There is always a risk when making a selection that the interpretation and analysis has already begun in the selection process. However, a selection must be made in order to avoid being overwhelmed by the data, and by presenting my reasons for selecting these texts, the hope is to increase the transparency of the process. I began my selection by looking at the following texts, which are relevant to the Building and Construction Programme today:

- The curriculum (Gy 2011)
- The syllabus for English 5
- Comments on the syllabus for English
- The diploma goals for the Building and Construction Programme
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

Students in the Building and Construction Programme may choose to add the course English 6 to their individual timetable, but it is not compulsory. Therefore, I included only the syllabus for English 5 in this study. It is one of the compulsory subjects for students in upper secondary school, regardless of which programme they attend. Even though CEFR has influenced the current national syllabus of English (Söderberg, 2011), I chose not to include the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* in my analysis because this is the text that is least likely to have been read by teachers.

As previously mentioned, policy is interpreted in relation to the historical context (Ball et al., 2012, p. 3) which makes a historical perspective important for this study. Since policy enactment is also a process, and not done at a single point in time, this historical perspective is relevant. In the analysis, documents from the three latest upper secondary school reforms were studied, Gy 2011, Lpf 1994 and Lgy 1970. In Lpf 94, the syllabus and diploma

goals were updated in 2000 and the changes were so significant that they needed to be included in my analysis.

The following texts were selected for comparison:

Table 1 The policy analysis texts

Reform	Document	SKOLFS¹¹
Lgy 70	Curriculum Diploma Goals Syllabus for a modern foreign language (English)	
Lpf 94	Curriculum Diploma Goals for the Construction Programme Syllabus for English A	SKOLFS 1994:2 SKOLFS 1994:8 SKOLFS 1999:12 SKOLFS 1994:9 SKOLFS 1994:11 SKOLFS 2000:4
Gy 2011	Curriculum Diploma Goals for the Building and Construction Programme Syllabus for English 5	SKOLFS 2011:144 SKOLFS 2010:14 SKOLFS 2010:261

For a deeper understanding of the thoughts behind the reforms, the reform commission reports are important as background material, but will not be the main focus of my analysis.

Textual analysis

The texts were analysed following a framework of questions, the first three adapted from Ozga (2000), and the fourth from Rizvi and Lingard (2010):

1. What story is being presented? Is it new? How?
2. What ideas and categories are presented in the text regarding vocational English? Are these new? In what ways? What is absent, excluded, silent in the account?
3. How does the text construct its subjects? How are teachers and learners constructed, individually and relationally? Who is excluded by these constructions?
4. What is the ‘intertextuality’ of the policy; that is, how does it sit in relation to other policies or a ‘policy ensemble’?

¹¹ SKOLFS [Sw. skolverkets författningssamling] is a collection of ordinances and guidelines for Swedish schools from 1991 and forward.

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The purpose of using these questions is to help answer how vocational English is described at policy level and what has changed between the reforms regarding vocational English. In order to understand how policy documents relate to the views and educational practice of the teachers, a wider approach is needed. Thus, policy analysis questions such as ‘what story is being presented’ and ‘how does the text construct its subjects’ become important. For question 4 the ‘policy ensemble’ refers to the three curricula, diploma goals and syllabi shown in table 1.

Ozga’s questions (numbers 1-3) are presented as an example of how to analyse *policy as text*. She describes how policies ‘tell a story about what is possible or desirable to achieve through education policy’ (2000, p. 95). I agree that policy can be read in this way, as carrying narratives, and that is one of the reasons for these questions were selected. Ozga presents them as part of a common framework of questions about governance, social exclusion and inclusion, and citizen-state-world relations (*ibid*, p. 99). I selected the three of the seven questions that I regarded being the most relevant for this study.

Rizvi and Lingards’ question (number 4) is part of another common approach to policy analysis that is concerned with textual analysis. They present 50 questions with three different foci, but suggest that researchers should focus exclusively on one theme rather than using the full spectrum of questions (pp. 53-56). I chose one question from the category *textual considerations* that fit well with the questions from Ozga, and that could help answer my research questions. All these questions can be seen as quite extensive for the small amount of text I am working with. They are wide, but can still give an overview of the policy texts. The analysis is structured around specific themes presented in each section of the analysis.

A pilot study was conducted on the curricula before the analysis began in order to test the questions. One question, ‘what is the implied readership of the policy’, from Rizvi and Lingard (2010), was removed since it was unclear and deemed not as relevant as the other questions. The pilot analysis showed the importance of including syllabi and diploma goals because content may have moved from curricula to other texts in the same policy ensemble.

Interview analysis

The second part of the study consists of interviews with six practicing English teachers in the Building and Construction Programme. Teachers’ views and

descriptions of how they work with vocational English are important in this study. The aim of the interview analysis is to show what views teachers express regarding vocational English, what their experiences are of working with vocational English, and what their influences are. This connects the local recontextualising field to policies in the official recontextualising field (cf. Ozga, 2000, Ball et al., 2012).

As I have previously mentioned, teachers have a strong influence on how policy is interpreted (cf. Ozga, 2000, p. 3). This is especially the case in Sweden, where teachers have a high degree of autonomy. The decentralisation of Swedish schools in the 1990s, which is discussed in Chapter 3, as well as the criterion-based goals, explain this high degree of autonomy. In the 1990s, self-governing, responsible and professional teachers were expected to choose suitable methods to reach the goals and objectives stated in the curriculum. There are national steering documents, but the responsibility for schools is held by municipalities rather than the state, and individual schools and teachers may choose working methods themselves (cf. Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2002, p. 177; Lundahl et al. 2010, p. 49; Oscarson & Apelgren, 2011, p. 3, Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2001, p. 1). This is also in line with Lindensjö & Lundgren who emphasise that the strong autonomy for teachers means that in order for a reform to be possible it needs ‘to be perceived as essential to teachers’ and benefit them (2002, p. 177, my translation). However, as discussed in Chapter 3, this autonomy has been weakened in the latest reform, Gy 2011 (cf. Carlbaum, 2012, p. 7; SOU 2007:101).

Interviewing is an active process, where contextual knowledge is produced through the relation between the interviewer and the interviewee (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 34). Preparing the interviews carefully is therefore especially important (cf. Cohen et al., 2011, p. 204; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 31; Silverman, 2010, p. 194 ff.) The interviews in this study are semi-structured and were conducted individually. A well-prepared interview-guide (see appendix 2) kept the interviews on track, and this semi-structured approach made it possible to follow up on any new aspects that teachers mentioned. The interviews were conducted in Swedish.

When planning an interview project, Kvale and Brinkmann recommend asking and answering the questions ‘why’ and ‘what’ before asking ‘how’ (2009, p. 149). I developed my interview questions parallel to my research questions, and revised them several times before the pilot study was conducted. The interview questions were categorised into four themes:

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background questions, English in vocational programmes, to what extent vocational English is used, and policy documents. In the interview situation the priority of the questions is reversed, according to Kvale & Brinkmann, and the most important questions should be descriptive. The goal was to let the interviewees spontaneously describe what happened (2009, p. 149). Thus, my first question after the background questions was ‘can you tell me a little about how you work or co-operate with vocational teachers?’. In the follow-up interviews I began with the question ‘could you please show me some of the assignments you work with, and tell me about the assignment?’. I found this type of question to be a good opening for the interviews. Asking questions directly can be a problem, as discussed by Silverman: ‘if respondents are made aware of your interests, this can affect their responses’ (2010, p. 197).

The interview questions and the interview guide for the first interviews were tested in December 2013 at the school where I currently work as a teacher. The pilot study showed that one of the questions, about the attitude of the school board, needed to be revised because it was unclear, and some of the other questions were reworded in order to avoid them being too leading.

Selection and sampling

The interviews were conducted with six teachers at five different schools in Central Sweden. The main reason for visiting several different schools was that only a few language teachers at each school teach English in the Building and Construction Programme. Another reason was to find different examples of local recontextualising fields.

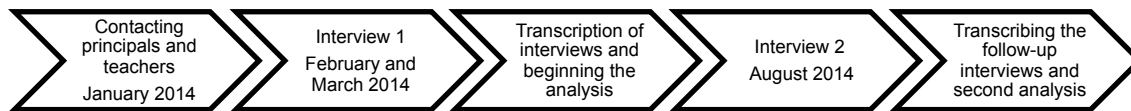
The strategy for sampling was to find English teachers who currently teach in the Building and Construction Programme. Any vocational programme could have been suitable for this study, but the Building and Construction was chosen out of convenience. This could be described as *purposive sampling*, where the case is chosen because the group sought out is where the process being studied is most likely to occur (cf. Silverman, 2010, p. 141). The results of the pilot interviews showed that teachers have very different views on what the notion of vocational English could imply, and therefore this type of selection could be very biased towards those who have worked to a great extent with vocational English, and miss those who only work sporadically with it. I have considered other forms of sampling, such as selecting teachers

who currently work with vocational English, so that I could be sure they had experience of working with it. However, I was concerned that I would miss important teacher voices if I only approached those who I know work with vocational English. Thus, I have chosen to interview English teachers who work in the Building and Construction Programme. In the end, it turned out that five of the six teachers work with vocational English.

The selection process began by contacting principals at seven schools in the area. The principals received a letter explaining the study and my purpose for the interviews. From the principals I received the contact information for eleven English teachers. An e-mail explaining the study and containing the letter of informed consent was sent out. This letter of informed consent is further discussed in the section on ethical considerations, p. 64. Five agreed to being interviewed for the study. During one of the interviews, I was introduced to the sixth teacher, who also taught English in the Building and Construction Programme. He received the same e-mail as the others and an interview was scheduled for the following week. As the analysis of the interview transcripts began, six interviews were deemed sufficient for the purpose of this study. Instead of focusing on more interviews with other respondents, I decided to do follow-up interviews with these six respondents.

The first interviews were conducted in February and March 2014, and the follow-up interviews in August 2014. The interviews took between about 25 minutes and one and a half hours. I let the teachers decide where the interview was conducted, and it was usually a group room or their office. One of the interviews was conducted over lunch at a nearby restaurant. The teachers and their schools are introduced in more detail in chapter 6.

Figure 1 Timeline of the interview study.



Recording, transcribing and translating the interview material

I chose to digitally record the interviews as well as taking notes, as is strongly recommended by Silverman (2010, p. 199). I used two recording devices, the digital recorder on a smartphone and a *Smartpen*. A Smartpen is a recording device that looks like a pen and works like a pen which enabled me to write

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short notes when needed that were connected to the exact second in the audio file. This proved useful when I was transcribing the interviews if something was unclear in the first recording, or if I had written down some kind of gesture the respondent made. Having two microphones was also a useful backup in case one of them stopped recording or if the audioquality of one of the recordings was inadequate. The reasons for recording the interviews were that only note taking would not have kept up with the respondents' answers. Some notations were needed to write down follow-up questions, and for returning to a certain topic if necessary. It was also very helpful to write down gestures the teachers made, or to write down what they were referring to so that I would remember when transcribing the interviews. As previously mentioned, the participants were asked to give their informed consent to being recorded before the interview began, and this is further discussed under *Ethical considerations* on page 64.

To transcribe an interview is to transform it, from one shape to another (cf. Chase, 2011, p. 423; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 194). Since I am not performing a language analysis, but am interested in the content of the answers, detailed information (such as false starts, short pauses, or repetitions) will not be provided. This increases readability and opens up the possibility of respondent validation. Sending back exact transcripts of how the respondents speak may be a problem since they are not used to seeing spoken language in text, and may feel that they cannot express themselves clearly (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 204).

The interviews were conducted in Swedish, and the original Swedish transcripts were analysed. For the purpose of this essay, the excerpts and quotes used have been translated into English. In order to increase transparency regarding my translations of the quotes, the Swedish excerpts have been included in Appendix 5. The quotes can be found under the name of the teacher in the order of the page that they appear on. Letting the informants give their explanations in their native language is important (cf. Spradley, 1979, p. 122) and in this sense, native language is not only about Swedish or about English. There are also *folk terms* related to the topic (ibid, p. 128). Folk terms are informal terms or symbols that refer to something, and it can be difficult to tell which categories are included in a certain folk term (Spradley, 1979, p. 95-97). In this study, an example of a folk term is “weak” [Sw. svaga] students. This term may refer to students who have trouble passing the course in English, not students who are physically weak. This term may have

different connotations for different teachers, and when something was unclear I asked the teachers to clarify or explain their statements.

I believe that my background as a teacher is a benefit here, as the folk terms were mostly familiar and the informants were less likely to need to translate these folk terms for me. When I did not recognise a folk term I asked for a definition from the teacher.

Assembling a taxonomy and categorising items

A distinction between analysis and interpretation is proposed by many, and therefore I followed the advice of Wolcott (2009, pp. 29-30). In the content analysis, the material is categorized and reported statistically. Interpretation, on the other hand, is derived from ‘our efforts at sense-making, a human activity that includes intuition, past experience [and] emotion’ (Wolcott, 2009, p. 30). This goes well with LeCompte’s (2000) advice for analysing qualitative data. LeCompte explains the idea of thinking of the analysis as a jigsaw where individual fragments will make up a larger picture. As when assembling a jigsaw puzzle, people might put all the similar pieces together, start to assemble all the sky pieces or all the grass pieces, and then lastly find the linking pieces between these parts of the jigsaw until the larger image emerges (LeCompte, 2000, p. 147).

Firstly, in order to analyse the material it was necessary to organise it. After transcribing the interviews I thematised them according to the interview questions, rather than the research questions, in order to do a basic comparison between respondents’ answers. I created a taxonomy where individual items, in this case in the form of quotes, were grouped in categories as suggested by LeCompte (2000, p. 149). This helped thematise the material, as several teachers might be talking about the same type of occurrence or item while using different words to describe it. The taxonomies were constructed using a large spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel. First, I organised the transcribed interviews according to the interview questions. The extracts and quotes were placed under the questions where they were the best matches, rather than where in the interview the quote was actually said. An example of what the spreadsheet looked like is shown in table 2:

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Table 2 Extract from the spreadsheet with categorised quotes from the interview transcripts

Interview Question	Quote from Alice	Category	Quote from Emma	Category
What affects the way you work the most?	It is probably the group dynamics to a great extent. In the construction programme at least. And the mood of the group.	<i>Students affect the way of working the most</i>	I'd like to- Students are what are closest to me /.../ But the everyday life I create with my students is what control the way of working, so it's them and my mission.	<i>Students affect the way of working the most</i>

Here, only two of the teachers' answers were included because of the limited space. In the spreadsheet, the six teachers were compared in adjacent columns. The interview questions in the far left column sorted the answers, and the answers and quotes each were compared on the corresponding rows.

I also noticed that some categories or themes re-occurred at different points in the interview. Thus, I had to re-evaluate the categories and see which categories could be connected. For example “not having enough time to meet construction teachers”, “not having enough time to read diploma goals”, “not giving good instructions because of lack of time” were connected even though they were under the original themes “cooperation”, “steering documents” and “assignments”, so they were all placed under a new category: “time poverty”. This is in line with what LeCompte explains about ‘creating stable sets of items’ (p. 148). The categories were compared and contrasted with each other in order to create sets of items that could be grouped and mixed and matched. Another helpful tool was the word-count program *AntConc*, which was used to further organise the material. By using corpus files from the transcripts, the program can present word frequency and collocations. This gave some indication of what interviewees emphasised or mentioned often, which in turn gave an indication of what the interviewees viewed as important. However, since the teachers changed their wording this was not used to a great extent. Instead, I listened to each interview several times and read the transcripts closely in order to identify common themes.

LeCompte (2000, p. 149) uses Spradley's (1979) semantic relationships as a set of rules or criteria to identify which items are similar. Spradley proposes that these semantic relationships are universal, and that they occur in all human cultures (Spradley, 1979, p. 111). Like Spradley and LeCompte, I found them very suitable for my analysis.

Figure 2 Spradley’s semantic relationships (Spradley, 1979, p. 111)

1. Strict inclusion	X is a kind of Y
2. Spatial	X is a place in Y, X is a part of Y
3. Cause-effect	X is a result of Y, X is a cause of Y
4. Rationale	X is a reason for doing Y
5. Location for action	X is a place for doing Y
6. Function	X is used for Y
7. Means-end	X is a way to do Y
8. Sequence	X is a step (stage) in Y
9. Attribution	X is an attribute (characteristic) of Y

By means of these semantic relationships, such as ‘X is a reason for doing Y’, I organised the material in groups where important themes were easier to identify. For example, ‘*students’ opinions*’ is a kind of ‘*influence on classroom teaching*’, as shown in table 3:

Table 3 A taxonomy of items, ‘X is a kind of [influence on classroom teaching]’

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Influence on classroom teaching	Students’ opinions	Olivia, Monica
	Group dynamics	Emma, Alice
	Students’ prior knowledge	Daniel
	Syllabus	Camilla

In Spradley’s use of the word ‘taxonomy’, all items are equally parts of Y and not in ordered by rank in any way. They all have the same relationship to Y, for example ‘Group dynamics’ is not a *stronger* influence on classroom teaching than the ‘syllabus’. By adding the names of the teachers the reader is shown how common a certain answer was, and which teachers expressed this opinion.

Spradley’s developmental research sequence has mainly been used in anthropological and ethnographic studies, but Lee et al. (Lee, Nargund-Joshi & Beach, 2010, pp. 42-43) show how it can be used in case studies in educational research. They found taxonomic analysis ‘especially powerful’ when looking at small focused sets of data. It was also useful for locating the ‘relation between teacher’s beliefs and actions’ (Lee et al. 2010, p. 50). In their study, both classroom observation and interviews were used, but I used the taxonomies to discover relations between teacher’s beliefs and policy documents.

One criticism of Spradley’s developmental research sequence is that it in a way assumes ‘that the researcher can take a noninvolved perspective in the

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data analysis process' (Lee et al., p. 45; cf. Jacob, 1987 p. 23 ff.). However, Spradley states that every culture can be analysed in different ways and that it is possible to analyse 'any phenomenon in more than one way' (Spradley, 1979, p. 92-93). It is impossible to completely avoid selectivity, but the researcher must be aware of its effects (LeCompte, 2000, p. 147).

Another criticism is that there is not an adequate theoretical distinction between culture and individuals. Spradley describes culture as manifested in the minds of individuals but does not, according to Lee et al. (2010, p. 47), explain the link between these two. For my study, this observation is not as relevant because I do not claim to describe a culture, but rather these individual respondents' thoughts and ideas. This is also in line how Lee et al. resolved this problem in their study, they shifted the focus of analysis from cultures to individuals (2010, p. 47).

Spradley's developmental research sequence consists of 12 steps, but not all steps have to be used (cf. Lee et al. 2010, p. 54). Since Spradley's steps were developed for writing ethnographies, not all steps were suitable for this study. Lee et al. 2010 (p. 54) also showed that this method was suitable for use at the micro-level rather than the macro-level as it was intended, and in this study it is used at the micro-level.

After analysing my taxonomies and finding items and categories, the need for follow-up interviews was evident and I introduced several structural questions. The structural questions were adapted to each informant and mixed with other kinds of questions, as Spradley recommends (1979, p. 120). A summary of these individual interview guides for the follow-up interviews is included in appendix 3. One of the benefits of asking structural questions is that they often require an explanation. Spradley also mentions that the interviewer 'must be sensitive to individual responses' and adapt the questions to each informant (1979, p. 126). The structural questions were good for double-checking the taxonomies. By asking the question 'is [X] part of [Y]' I could see if my respondents categorised the items in the same way as I did. It also enabled me to discuss motives and influences for their pedagogy in more detail.

Validity and reliability

The terms validity and reliability have originally been used mostly in quantitative studies, but are relevant for qualitative research as well. Some

qualitative researchers have introduced terms such as trustworthiness, authenticity, and credibility in qualitative research rather than using the terms validity and reliability (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1984, p. 417; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 263). However, like Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), LeCompte (2010), and Silverman (2010), I have chosen to use the traditional terms validity and reliability in this essay.

Validity is about being true to, and accurately representing, the social phenomena being researched, and is often emphasized over reliability in qualitative research (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1984, p. 417; LeCompte, 2010, p. 152; Silverman, 2010, p. 275). Validity in qualitative research attaches to accounts rather than data, and the researcher cannot be completely objective (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 180; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 260 ff.). As Cohen et al. put it '[w]e, as researchers, are part of the world that we are researching /.../' (2011, p. 180), and this became especially evident when I, as a teacher, interviewed other teachers. When this study began in 2012 I had worked as a teacher for one and a half years, I earned my teaching degree in 2011. Parallel to the research, I have been working 20% of the time at an upper secondary school, which made it possible for me to keep in touch with practice and colleagues. These contacts have been very helpful and opened doors for the research that might have been closed if I was not a teacher myself. On the other hand, being a teacher and a researcher at the same time can cause difficulties, and there is a risk of observer bias because of my background. Being transparent about my background is important (cf. Larsson, 2005, p. 18), because it affects my orientation as a researcher as previously discussed. Cohen et al. (2011, pp. 77, 81-82) also highlights the importance of access to the field and acceptance in the research setting. I believe that knowing the field is a strength in this regard since it helped me gain access and acceptance in the field.

Reliability pertains to the results being reliably reproducible (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 263). LeCompte describes validity in a similar way: '[validity] refers to whether or not results obtained in one study can be applied to other studies with similar or identical people or situations' (2010, p. 152). Reliability and validity are closely connected, and Goodwin & Goodwin (1984, pp. 417-418) argues that reliability is a prerequisite for validity. In the interview situation, reliability concerns whether the participants will change their answers in another setting with another interviewer, for example. It is especially important to prepare the interview carefully in order to avoid

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questions being too leading (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 263). As discussed in the interview methodology section (see page 53) the interview questions were prepared and tested in order to increase the validity and reliability of the study. In the interview situation, as opposed to for example a survey, the respondents have the opportunity to object to the questions and interpretations of the researcher (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 262), which also increases the validity of this study.

Using respondent validation was initially considered for the study in order to increase validity. An argument against using it is that it can be regarded as an additional way of generating data rather than checking the data already obtained (Silverman, 2010, p. 278). One of the benefits of respondent validation is that the teachers can read the transcript and comment on it. This is also what could possibly be the downside, the interview becomes less spontaneous, and there is a possibility that respondents might want to change their wording because they fear repercussions or because they dislike the analysis (cf. Larsson, 2005, p. 30); therefore I have chosen not to use respondent validation for this study.

As previously mentioned, transparency as a researcher is important since all the research material will be interpreted (Larsson, 2005, p. 29). A possible way to increase the validity of the interpretations would have been to receive a second opinion from another researcher on the results. The interpretation is dependent on the context and the perspective of the researcher, and thus another researcher might have interpreted the interview answers and the policy texts differently (cf. Larsson, 2005, p. 18). However, the study has been presented as a work in progress on several occasions, where other researchers have been able to comment on the analysis. This has given me new perspectives on my analysis and my interpretations of the material. The study has also been presented and discussed in two seminars with discussants from two different fields. Receiving input from researchers in both the field of vocational education and the field of English language teaching has also contributed to increasing the validity of this study.

In quantitative research, generalisability and representativity are usually obtained by statistical sampling procedures (Silverman, 2010, p. 139). In qualitative studies, on the other hand, one approach is to consider that generalisability can be present in a single case, because even single cases can say something about the social order (Silverman, 2010, p. 147). Bassey introduces the term *fuzzy generalisation*, where ‘the likelihood of there being

exceptions is clearly recognized' (1999, p. 51). He finds it especially appropriate in research areas like education where there is such important human complexity, and proposes that something that has happened in one place may also happen somewhere else (Bassegy, 1999, p. 52 ff.). In this study, I believe that the interviews can say something about how these teachers work, and that it might also give an indication to what teachers in general may think. However, it is far too small of a sample to generalise the results, unless I make fuzzy generalisations as Bassegy suggests. A random selection of teachers could have made the study more generalisable, but a random selection is not realistic in this type of study. Respondents who agree to be interviewed will likely be biased towards working with vocational English. Only six teachers were interviewed, and four have worked as teachers for 8-11 years. This means that the sample is quite homogenous, and there could also be a bias towards working with vocational English since those teachers were more likely to respond to the initial e-mail. However, this study can describe how these six teachers view vocational English and what their influences are.

Ethical considerations

The confidentiality of the participants is very important, but a transparent process of research even more so (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011, p. 69). It is impossible as a researcher to promise that no one will ever see the material that has been gathered. All material that is gathered in this study will be saved and archived, and it will only be used for research purposes. It will not be shown in any other contexts, but if other researchers wish to see the material, it will be made available.

Performing interviews raises many ethical questions. There is an asymmetry in power (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 35), and this may affect the respondents' answers. The researcher is usually seen as the person with the most power, but on the other hand I was younger than all my respondents and had less teaching experience. I am also dependent on them for answers in order to conduct my study, and the interviews were conducted at their own school where they should feel more in control.

Privacy of informers

The teachers who participated in this study, and their head teachers, were given a letter explaining the study. The interviewees were also asked to give

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their informed consent to the transcribed interviews being used in the study (see appendix 1). As previously discussed, they were not allowed to validate or change the transcriptions. The participants were also informed that they could leave the study at any time, in which case the research material would not be used, but would be archived rather than destroyed.

The guidelines from *Vetenskapsrådet* (2013), and Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, p. 87) were used when formulating the letter for informed consent. One of the guidelines is to state the purpose of the research, and I chose to be deliberately vague about the aims and purpose in order not to affect the respondents' answers. This is an ethical dilemma; *Vetenskapsrådet* recommends stating the purpose of the research, although Silverman (2010, p. 197) suggests not to, in order not to influence the answers of the respondents. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009, p. 87) also mention this dilemma, and emphasise that if the purpose of research is not presented before the interview, it should be disclosed later. I chose to describe my study and its purpose in very general terms in the letter of informed consent sent out to respondents. When asked about my research after the interviews I have tried to answer respondents truthfully and explained the purpose of my research.

Personal information and names of the informants are not used in the text. All teachers have been given pseudonyms, but complete anonymity is hard to guarantee. Teachers might be recognised by colleagues at their school who remember them being interviewed. It is relevant to the research to describe some details about the six teachers, such as teaching experience and their level of education, meaning that they might be identifiable. Since I am interviewing adults and not students, and the subject matter can hardly be considered controversial, I do not consider this a problem. By using age spans and experience spans, (i.e. 1-3 years of experience, 40-50 years old) instead of exact numbers, the teachers should be harder to identify.

6. The teachers in the interviews

Presentation of the teachers

As previously mentioned, the interviews were conducted with six teachers at five different schools in Central Sweden. I let the teachers decide the location, usually a room at their school, but on one occasion an interview was conducted over lunch at a nearby restaurant. The teachers were interviewed during February and March 2014, and follow-up interviews were conducted in August of the same year. They all currently teach English in the Building and Construction Programme, and they all have a teaching certification [Sw. lärarlegitimation].

Teaching experience is expected to matter. Studies have shown that there are differences in thinking and decision-making between expert and novice teachers (cf. Huang, Li, & He, 2010; Meyer, 2004; Westerman, 1991). Meyer (2004) compared first year teachers' and expert teachers' 'conceptions of the concept of prior knowledge' and found that novice teachers did not make use of students' prior knowledge as well as expert teachers did. The criteria used for expertise are complex and varies between studies. Some include only teachers with over 10 years of experience (cf. Meyer, p. 973), and others 5 years teaching experience or academic degrees (cf. Huang et al., p. 295; Westerman, p. 294). Most of the participants have worked as teachers for less than eleven years; Alice is the only teacher with more experience than that. Olivia, Daniel and Emma are new to their current workplace and had worked there for about six months at the time of the first interview, but they have all been working as teachers for at least three years. Most teachers have around the same amount of experience and the selection is too small in order to generalise and discuss novice or expert teachers.

For the purpose of this study, I asked about teaching qualifications and teaching experience. All teachers have teaching certificates and five out of the six teachers are experienced teachers, even if they are new at their current school.

Table 4 The teachers in the interviews.

	Olivia	Daniel	Emma	Camilla	Monica	Alice
Age	26-30	36-40	36-40	51-55	51-55	51-55
Experience	0-3 years	8-11 years	8-11 years	8-11 years	8-11 years	16-19 years
Time at current school	< 1 year	< 1 year	< 1 year	10 years	10 years	4 years
Teaching certificate [Sw. Lärarlegitimation]	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Programmes¹²	BA	BA	BA	BA	BA	BA
* Higher education preparatory programme	EK *	IP	FT	IP	FP	IM
	FP	RL		NA *	IP	NA *
	IP			TE *	NA *	NB
				SA *		
				EK *		
				IM		
Work team [Sw. Arbetslag]	BA	IP	BA	Subject	FT	IM

Personal portraits

Olivia – ‘I think this way of working is wonderful’

Olivia is in her mid-twenties and has worked as a teacher for less than three years. She has a teaching degree and has taught both in vocational and higher education preparatory programmes. This is her first year at her current school, and she seems to really enjoy their way of working. The school offers three vocational programmes and five higher education preparatory programmes. At the time for the interviews, the school had around 550 students¹³.

Daniel – ‘I march to the beat of my own drum’

Daniel is in his mid-thirties, a new teacher at his current school, but has been a teacher for around ten years. He has a teaching degree and has worked in a variety of programmes, both higher education preparatory and vocational programmes. This year, he teaches English in vocational programmes at the

¹² See appendix 4 for a list of abbreviations and programmes.

¹³ This information comes from the school website, the Swedish National Agency for Education and reports from the Swedish School Inspectorate. In order to keep the schools anonymous I have not cited these as references.

6. THE TEACHERS IN THE INTERVIEWS

same school as Emma. The school offers four vocational programmes and has around 400 students.

Daniel expresses his frustration over how students fail to follow instructions, or how they ‘throw away their grades’ by not doing their work. He describes how some students, who he believes are very good at English, hand in very short answers to assignments. Another problem is that students do not hand in their work at all.

Emma – ‘I’m still crawling, but I’ll soon learn to walk and run’

Emma is also in her mid-thirties and has worked at her current school only a few years. She also has experience from teaching both vocational and higher education preparatory programmes. Although she has worked as a teacher for more than eight years, she says that she is still learning. She suggests that she is learning with her students, especially the vocational vocabulary.

She seems very conscious of policy texts, which shows both in her vocabulary but also in how she explains her vocational English assignments. Emma has a distinct focus on students’ professional outcomes, she returns to the topic of employability several times, and that students should find use for this type of English in their working life. Part of the purpose of all her assignments regarding vocational English is that students can use it in their working life.

Camilla – ‘I have to get better at this and learn more’

Camilla is in her early fifties and has worked as a teacher for around 10 years. Camilla’s school has around 400 students. Camilla has tried a few times to work in the field of vocational English, but does not have much experience of working with vocational English material. She says that she has to learn more, and she wants to plan more before she tries this approach again. She also feels that she needs to plan together with the construction teachers so that the assignments are connected to the construction subject.

Monica – ‘I feel much more at home here in the vocational programmes’

Monica’s school is small, with around 100 students. Like Camilla, Monica is in her early fifties and has worked as a teacher for around ten years. She says that

she feels at home and comfortable in the vocational programmes, they suit her personal interests. Some of her assignments are inspired by renovations she has made on her house. At the time of our follow-up interviews, Monica had been transferred to another larger school in the same municipality and no longer has the same kind of contact with the character subject teachers even though she still teaches the students in the Building and Construction programme. Monica has worked with vocational Swedish before, and is now in the process of translating several of her old assignments into English.

Alice – 'I just can't make it work'

Alice is also in her early fifties and is the most experienced teacher in this study and has worked for 16-19 years as a teacher. She works at a school with around 250 students and teaches on four different programmes. Alice has tried working with vocational English, but is not currently doing so. She says that she feels that she does not know enough about the character subjects and that it feels strained or forced to work with vocational English. Alice says that all English teachers at her school use the same textbook regardless of programme, but that she adapts which parts of it she uses and adds her own material at times.

7. The voice of upper secondary education policy

This aim in this chapter is to answer the first two research questions:

- How is vocational English described at policy level in the three latest curricula, exam goals and syllabi for upper secondary school in Sweden?
- What has changed between the reforms regarding vocational English?

This policy analysis chapter will be contrasted with the interview analysis chapter on teachers' views on vocational English. The aim in this analysis is to find the "voice" of secondary education policy in Sweden. My research questions concern how vocational English is described in policy texts, and what has changed between each of the reforms regarding vocational English. In order to examine this I have chosen wide textual analysis questions that aim to show the general ideas in policy regarding vocational English. The policy analysis is structured around four textual analysis questions, and the analysis is presented thematically in each section. The questions are:

1. What story is being presented? Is it new? How?
2. What ideas and categories are presented in the text regarding vocational English? Are these new? In what ways? What is absent, excluded, or silent in the account?
3. How does the text construct its subjects? How are teachers and learners constructed, individually and relationally? Who is excluded by these constructions?
4. What is the 'intertextuality' of the policy; that is, how does it sit in relation to other policies or a 'policy ensemble'?

Question 1: What story is being presented?

‘What story is being presented?’ is a very large question to answer. The purpose for using it here is to show the general theme or story in these texts, and how the story has changed through the three reforms. The following themes were found in the policy texts that can be connected to vocational English: the democratic foundation, lifelong learning, internationalisation, and individualisation.

The democratic foundation

The democratic foundation is present in all three curricula¹⁴ and emphasised at the beginning of the texts¹⁵. Both Gy 2011 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013a, p. 4) and Lpf 94 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2006a, p. 3) emphasise the importance of democracy as the basis of the national school system in the very first paragraph, while Lgy 70 begins by stating that the purpose of education is to give students knowledge and to practice their skills, referring to the first paragraph in the Education Act. Students should develop into harmonious, capable, and responsible members of the society (Swedish National Agency for Education, 1983, p. 17). Gy 2011 and Lpf 94 continue by referring to The Education Act as well, but the act has changed between all three reforms. Lpf 94 and Gy 2011 are very similar, but it is added that students should acquire and develop knowledge, values, and a lifelong desire to learn in Gy 2011. This addition in the introduction of the curriculum suggests that these terms are considered more important than before.

Gy 2011: The national school system is based on democratic foundations. The Education Act (2010:800) stipulates that *education in the school system aims at students acquiring and developing knowledge and values. It should promote the development and learning of students, and a lifelong desire to learn.* Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based. The education should be based on scientific grounds and proven experience. Each and everyone working in the school should also encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person and the environment we all share. (p. 4, my emphasis)

¹⁴ By ”curriculum” I refer to the first two chapters of the curriculum. The diploma goals and the syllabus could be seen as part of the curriculum, but are here treated separately. See table 1 (p. 52) for a detailed overview on the policy analysis documents.

¹⁵ The structure of the three curricula is different. In Gy 2011 overlap was avoided and thus some themes appear in different policy documents, such as the diploma goals or the syllabus.

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Lpf 94: Democracy forms the basis of the national school system. The Education Act (1985:1100) stipulates that all school activity shall be carried out in accordance with fundamental democratic values and that each and everyone working in the school shall encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person as well as for the environment we all share /.../. (p. 3)

Lgy 70: The, through the agency of society, run education of children and youths has as its purpose to *give students knowledge and to practice their skills* as well as in co-operation with the homes encourage their development to harmonic, capable, and responsible members of the society. (p. 17, my translation, my emphasis).

Lifelong learning

A lifelong desire to learn, or *lifelong learning*, is mentioned twice in the curriculum for Gy 2011 and once the curriculum for Lpf 94, but also in SKOLFS 1999:12 (here called continued learning). The term lifelong learning is not present in Lgy 70, but the idea of a fast changing society and the need for students to adapt to it is present (p. 18).

Gy 2011: Through studies students should strengthen their foundations for lifelong learning. Changes in working life, new technologies, internationalisation and the complexities of environmental issues impose new demands on people's knowledge and ways of working. (p.5) [...]

Lpf 94: They shall receive a foundation for lifelong learning that prepares them for the adjustments that will be required when conditions in working life and society change. (p. 8)

SKOLFS 1999:12: The Construction Programme aims to /.../ give students a foundation for continued learning in their working life and for further studies (my translation).

This shows that the term lifelong learning is not new. However, moving it up to the introduction of the curriculum of Gy 2011, suggests its increasing importance. A constantly changing teaching practice is also mentioned in Lgy 70, and the syllabi is described as guidelines with room for teachers to vary the setup and content depending on new demands. The contents of teaching should constantly be adapted (Lgy 70, p. 24-25). The idea of lifelong learning and adapting to new demands is beginning to emerge here. The catchphrase lifelong learning, as Waldow notes, became increasingly common in the early 1990s (2008, p. 168), but the notion of a fast changing society and the need to adapt to it can be traced further back in time.

Connected to lifelong learning is the idea of preparing students for the international society of tomorrow. The same idea is present in SKOLFS 1994:9 where students are prepared to be ‘citizens of today’s and tomorrows’ international society’. This leads us to the theme of having an international perspective and developing a global identity.

An international perspective and a global identity

Both Gy 2011 and Lpf 94 mention that students should be encouraged to develop a Swedish, Nordic and ultimately Global identity (Gy 2011, p. 4, 9; Lpf 94, p. 3, 11). This is further discussed under the section *an international perspective* in Gy 2011, where the European Union and its importance for Sweden is mentioned (p. 6). The corresponding paragraph in Lpf 94 (p. 6) is slightly shorter but conveys the same message about preparing students for cross-border contacts. The same message is also seen in Lgy 70, but with an emphasis on foreign language and not that students should develop a Nordic or Global identity (p. 23):

Gy 2011: *An international perspective* is important to be able to understand one’s own reality in a global context and in order to create international solidarity. Teaching in different subjects should give students knowledge of the European Union and its importance for Sweden, as well as prepare them for a society that will have closer cross-cultural and cross-border contacts. Having an international perspective should also contribute to students’ developing greater understanding of cultural diversity within Sweden (p. 3).

Lpf 94: It is important to have an international perspective to be able to see one’s own reality in a global context in order to create international solidarity and prepare pupils for a society that will have closer cross-cultural and crossborder contacts (p. 6).

Lgy 70: In order to make it possible for pupils to make a contribution even in international work, and for [pupils] to understand other peoples’ situation and to be able to feel solidarity with them, it is necessary to develop, strengthen, and deepen the international orientation that has been given in compulsory school. Continued teaching of foreign language is in this context of essential significance (p. 21).

Vocational English is one of many possible ways of giving students this international perspective and global identity. The international perspective is also visible in the syllabus for the course English A in Lpf 94 (SKOLFS 1994:9). One of the purposes is to teach students about English speaking

countries and their culture in preparation for life as citizens in the ‘international society of tomorrow’ (SKOLFS 1994:9, my translation). In the later version ‘an increasingly international job market’ is still mentioned and now it is specified that the English education should give students ‘a tool for learning within different areas of knowledge’ (SKOLFS 2000:4 my translation). Students should be able to understand technical language ‘within their own areas of interest or competence, or within their study specialisation’ (SKOLFS 2000:4, my translation).

Internationalisation is not as evident in the syllabus for English 5 (Gy 2011, SKOLFS 2010:261), but the ability to communicate and connect with people in other countries is emphasised. Increasing students’ understanding of different cultures is mentioned, rather than being part of them.

Individualisation and student’s personal interests

In Lgy 70 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1971a, p. 169), individualisation is seen as something to strive for, and especially in the form of meeting students at their level of prior knowledge by adapting their education. This is exemplified by the idea that students could study either ‘specific’ [Sw. *särskild*] or ‘general’ [Sw. *allmän*] English courses. In the ‘general’ course the material is easier and the study pace slower, especially regarding grammar (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1971a, p. 152).

Another way of individualising education is to adapt the subject content to student’s personal interests. In the syllabus for English A in Lpf 94 (SKOLFS 1994:9) students’ prior knowledge of English should be developed and they should begin to specialise within their upper secondary education. Both versions of Lpf 94 mention that subject content close to students’ personal areas of interest or close to the study orientation will increase students’ willingness to use English (SKOLFS 1994:9; 2000:4). In the syllabus for English 5 in Gy 2011 (SKOLFS 2010:261), areas related to students education, or their societal and working life, have replaced personal areas of interest.

Conclusions on what story is being presented

To summarise, what story is being presented? The democratic foundation is emphasised in the two latest reforms, but in Gy 2011 the idea of lifelong learning is in a more prominent position and knowledge and values are

emphasised already in the first paragraph of the curriculum. The idea of lifelong learning is not new, it can be traced through all three reforms, the very same words are used in Lpf 94 and the idea, albeit not with the exact words *lifelong learning*, is mentioned in Lgy 70 (p. 20). However, it is given a more prominent position in Gy 2011, and this emphasis could be regarded as new. The introduction to Lgy 70, on the other hand, is more focused on knowledge and skills, but also on preparing pupils for being members of the society. All three curricula talk about how students should be prepared for work and participation in society. All three texts emphasise the need to adapt to a changing society and how students must be prepared for participating in the national as well as international society (SKOLFS 1994:2; 2011:144; Lgy 70, pp. 17-18).

In the syllabi there is a shift from very general forms of English in Lgy 70 and Lpf 94 and a very high degree of autonomy for teachers, to a more controlled content and content adapted to programmes in Gy 2011 (SKOLFS 1994:11; 2000:4; 2010:261). The syllabus for English in Lgy 70 differs from the later ones because of the very short description of the course. The syllabus consists of less than one page: the five goals of the subject and seven main skills to learn, such as listening, reading, vocabulary, and grammatical patterns, are listed. This was supplemented in separate booklets with more concrete examples of exercises (*Språkämnen* and *2-årig bygg och anläggningsteknisk linje*, see Skolöverstyrelsen 1971a and 1971b). In the study plan for English for 2-year technical programmes, the terms ‘motivation, activity, concretisation, individualisation and co-operation’ are emphasised in the first paragraph (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1971a, p. 152, my translation). These terms are also emphasised in the curriculum (Lgy 70, p. 31)

Lgy 70 states that students should be able to understand, and make themselves understood, in different situations, reading and understanding different types of texts, develop language proficiency and learn about culture in English speaking countries. There is nothing mentioned about adapting the course in English to the programme (Lgy 70, p. 234). In Gy 2011 (SKOLFS 2010:261) *central content* [Sw. *centralt innehåll*] is added where the contents of the course are specified, in contrast with the previous syllabi that only include goals and grading criteria.

The reforms are similar in many regards but there has been a shift from understanding ones’ reality in a global work, to making a contribution in international work, suggesting that globalisation also is more prominent in

later reforms. Subjects seem to be *less* aimed towards vocations in Gy 2011 than in the updated version of Lpf 94 (SKOLFS 1999:12; 2000:4), which does not correspond to previous studies that analysed the preceding reform commission reports (cf. Lundahl et al., 2010; Nylund, 2010). This discrepancy could be explained by the different selections of texts and the fact that I have not included the preceding reform commission reports in this study. However, it is also important to note that teachers are more likely to read the curricula, syllabi and diploma goals than the reports examined by Lundahl et al. (2010) and Nylund (2010).

Question 2: What ideas and categories are presented in the text regarding vocational English?

The second question concerns the ideas and categories presented in policy regarding vocational English and whether these are new or not. The results are organised by three themes: future working life, cooperation between subjects and student influences.

The Swedish terms related to vocational English, “*yrkesengelska*”, “*ämnesintegrering*”, or “*infärgning*” are not present in any of the selected policy texts. Instead, I searched for ideas and content that might be related to vocational English or vocational language learning; ideas related to internationalisation, communication in English, cooperation between teachers and subjects, future activities and students’ ability to influence their subjects.

Future working life

All three curricula mention that students should be prepared for a working life after school. According to Lgy 70, schools should prepare the students for ‘the society of today and tomorrow and there they should function as persons practicing a vocation and as members of society’ (p. 19, my translation). The word order, where vocation comes before members of society, suggests that the vocation may be seen as more important. In the syllabus for English 5, in Gy 2011 ‘subject areas related to students’ education, and societal and working life’ (SKOLFS, 2010:261) are part of the *core content* [Sw. centralt innehåll] of the course.

In Lpf 94 and Lgy 70, there is no difference between the goals for vocational or academic students, but in Gy 2011 the goals are slightly different. Students in a vocational programme should have ‘achieved a level of professional expertise accepted by the industry as providing good preparation for professional life’ (SKOLFS 2011:144), while students in higher education preparatory programmes should have ‘sufficient knowledge to be well prepared for studies in higher education’ (SKOLFS 2011:144).

In the curriculum of Lpf 94 (SKOLFS 1994:2) English especially is mentioned as important both for vocational and daily life:

Lpf 94:

[I]t is the responsibility of the school to ensure that all these pupils can express themselves in speech and writing so that the pupil’s language works in civic, vocational and everyday life as well as for further studies, /.../ [and that pupils] can use English in a functional way in vocational and daily life and for further studies (SKOLFS 1994:2; English translation from Swedish National Agency for Education, 2006b, p. 11)

In Lgy 70, English is not specifically mentioned, but a need for foreign languages is (p. 23). In Gy 2011, neither English nor the importance of students being able to express themselves in speech and writing is mentioned. It seems that subjects are becoming less and less aimed towards vocations, at least in the curriculum. This may be because of the intention to avoid overlap in Gy 2011. In the diploma goals of Gy 2011, students should develop their ability to communicate and develop their language (SKOLFS:2010:14). In the commentaries to the diploma goals, English is mentioned alongside Swedish as part of students’ ‘language foundation’ (Swedish National Agency for Education 2012a, p. 82).

Cooperation between teachers and subjects

The curricula also mention that teachers ‘should cooperate with other teachers [in order to achieve/in the work of achieving] the goals of education’ (Gy 2011, p. 9, Lpf 94, p. 13), or that there is a need for ‘co-operation between teaching of different subjects’ (Lgy 70, p. 25). Teacher cooperation could imply a weak classification between subjects, but neither Gy 2011 or Lpf 94 specify if it is cooperation between subjects, within a subject, or other areas of education in the curriculum. However, it is discussed under programme structures in Gy 2011:

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[T]he headteacher has a special responsibility for ensuring that teachers in different courses coordinate their efforts so that students get an overall context for their studies. The diploma goals provide the foundation for planning the education and teaching, and thus they permeate all courses, including courses in the foundation subjects, which students study in a programme. (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012a, p. 38)

Lgy 70, on the other hand, explicitly states that different subjects should co-operate. This could either imply that the classification has become stronger between subjects over the years, or that co-operation between teachers is now interpreted as co-operation between subjects as well.

Under Lgy 70, students should actively be encouraged to take part in schoolwork, and one way of ensuring that is to create good motivation, according to the curriculum. There should be a connection between the experiences of pupils and the contents of education, and ‘facts and items should not be isolated from each other but brought together to suitable units and arranged in a wider context. Thus, a co-operation between teaching of different subjects should be initiated’ (Lgy 70, p. 26). This suggests a weak classification between subjects.

In the programme goals to Lpf 94 (SKOLFS 2000:02) cooperation between core subjects and character subjects is emphasised:

Lpf 94:

Through the collaboration between core subjects and character subjects, as well as by bringing practical and theoretical elements together and the integration of them in different subjects and courses, a totality is formed in the education and the competence needed for working life is developed. (SKOLFS 2000:02, my translation)

Student influences

In Lpf 94 teachers should ‘ensure that all students/.../ have real influence on the work methods, work structures, and educational content’ (Lpf 94, p. 15), and in Gy 2011, with a slightly different wording, teachers should ‘ensure that all students have real influence over working methods, forms and the content of education’ (Gy 2011, p. 11). This could open up for vocational English if students initiate it and want to influence their education in that direction. In Lgy 70 it is more explicitly stated that students’ future activities should determine parts of the content of education:

Lgy 70:

School should give pupils the possibility to choose from equivalent education alternatives, which has a common core, but at the same time are clearly aimed towards interests or vocations (p. 19, my translation).

Aiming towards the future activities of pupils, the task of upper secondary school is to give the special preparations that students wish for and need (p. 20, my translation).

Conclusions on presented ideas and categories

The ideas and categories presented in the texts suggest that vocational adaptation of subjects is now less emphasised in the curriculum and syllabi, despite the differentiation between vocational and academic students in Gy 2011. On the other hand, the diploma goals should ‘permeate all courses’ (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012a, p. 84) which indicates that the programmes are given a more prominent role.

The need for students to be able to express themselves in a foreign language, or even their native language, is excluded from the curriculum in the latest reform. One explanation could be that it has been moved to the syllabi for English and the diploma goals for each programme.

Question 3: How does the text construct its subjects?

The third question concerns how teachers and learners are constructed individually and relationally. Lpf 94 groups all learners in national upper secondary programmes together, while Gy 2011 separates vocational from academic students. This probably has to do with the organisational changes that happened when Gy 2011 was implemented and vocational and academic programmes were separated from each other. Lgy 70 does not differentiate between vocational and academic students, and in the 1970s vocational programmes were two-year programmes, compared to the three-year academic programmes. There was a larger structural and organisational difference in the 1970s than there is in the 2010s.

Both Gy 2011 and Lpf 94 stress the importance of co-operation with the working life for upper secondary education, not just vocational studies (Gy 2011, pp. 7, 12; Lpf 94, p. 7, 15). Preparing students for the working life is mentioned in Lgy 70 (pp. 12-13), but does not state explicitly that schools

need to co-operate with employers. Teachers are given more autonomy to plan and decide the teaching and its contents in Lgy 70; it is recommended to adapt to working life and the personal interests of students, but only if the organisation and resources allow that (p. 20).

Since the diploma goals should permeate the courses in foundation subjects in Gy 2011 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012a, p. 38), differences between study programmes can be expected regarding vocational English. For an academic programme this could include English for Specific Purposes (ESP) such as academic English or scientific English. For vocational programmes this could be achieved by working with Vocationally Oriented English (VOLL), for example.

In conclusion, there has been a shift in policy where vocational and academic students are now more separate from each other, which is also in line with previous research on Swedish upper secondary policy (cf. Beach 1999; Lundahl et al. 2010; Lilja-Waltå 2011; Nylund 2013; Norlund 2009; Rosvall, 2012).

Question 4: What is the ‘intertextuality’ of the policy?

In this section, the intertextuality of the curricula, syllabi and diploma goals is discussed, as well as how the policy documents in this ‘policy ensemble’ relate to each other. This questions spans over all the previous four questions since the intertextuality of the three reforms have been compared and contrasted throughout this chapter.

The greater time lapse between Lgy 70 and Lpf 94 (24 years) than that between Lpf 94, the updated version issued in 2000 (6 years), and Gy 2011 (11 years) might explain why Lgy 70 is so different from the other texts. Another contributing reason is the shift towards a goal oriented grading system in Lpf 94. Since the disposition is so different, it was more difficult to compare Lgy 70 to the other two curricula.

When analysing these policies it has become apparent that the three parts (curricula, syllabi and diploma goals) are dependent on each other. Parts of policy have moved between these texts, and if only the curricula are analysed important information can be missed. This is also in line with, for example Nylund (2010), who examined the proposition for the new upper secondary school reform, SOU 2008:27; that study suggests that the changes are more

prominent in the programme goals or diploma goals between Lpf 94 and Gy 2011 (Nylund, 2010, p. 41) rather than the curricula.

In a commentary text available online, the Swedish National Agency for Education gives a suggestion on how the diploma goals in Lpf 94 may be connected to the syllabus and curriculum (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008). I have not found the same type of comments to the diploma goals in Lgy 70 or Gy 2011. In the commentaries, it is emphasized that teachers and students are still responsible for interpreting the policies, and that how the diploma goals are used may differ between schools. The commentaries begin with describing the intended purpose of the diploma goals:¹⁶

The program goals signal that there is a special thought behind the program and that this fundamental idea should be noticed in all courses of the programme. Students should perceive their education as a whole. (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008, my translation)

In order for the programme to work as a whole, the teachers need to cooperate across subject borders. Core subjects and character subjects should strive in the same direction. The education will feel more meaningful for students if the teaching is program oriented instead of subject oriented. It is important that the core subject teacher varies their courses with the goals for different programmes in mind. The character subject teacher, on the other hand, must show which possibilities there are to work together. It is important that the school provides the organizational prerequisites.

There are different ways to integrate core subjects and character subjects. Popularly this is called “infärgning”. The character subject teachers contribute material to the core subject teaching. Material and experiences from character subjects are used in the core subject teaching, in a way that makes the practical use clear of e.g. English and Mathematics. (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008, my translation)

The Building and Construction Programme is used as an example, where construction students may ‘think about and describe practical tasks’ which they have worked with, or ‘study styles of architecture and reading text from different eras’ (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008, my translation). In these commentaries “infärgning” is suggested as a method for working with vocational English where the character subject teachers contribute with material for assignments in English.

¹⁶ In the quote below, both the terms ”program goals” and ”core subjects” are used. These are the older terms for diploma goals and foundation subjects. See appendix 4 for a translation of these terms.

8. Teachers' voices on vocational English

In this chapter, the results from the interviews with the six English teachers are described and analysed. The two research questions in focus are:

- What views do the teachers in the interviews express regarding vocational English?
- What are the teachers' influences for their teaching practice regarding vocational English, and what are their experiences of working with it?

The interview data have been analysed by assembling taxonomies of items inspired by Spradley's (1979) semantic relationships as described in chapter 5. In this chapter, the results of the interview analysis and the assembled taxonomies are presented thematically. The chapter is structured around the two research questions. Firstly, in order to answer what views teachers express regarding vocational English, it was necessary to identify what the notion of vocational English is. Secondly, the views the teachers expressed about vocational English are presented. This also connects to the teachers' view of their vocational students. The second question consists of two parts: what are the influences on the teachers working practice, and what are their experiences of working with vocational English? Here, the influences and motives for working with vocational English are discussed and connected to policy enactment, and finally, the teachers' experiences of working with vocational English are presented.

The notion of vocational English

The teachers' perception of vocational English¹⁷ varied, and they each described it differently. It is important therefore to identify what the notion of vocational English is in the opinion of these teachers.

By using Spradley's semantic relationship 'X is a characteristic of Y', different categories of vocational English were identified as shown in table 5. How teachers worked with each of these categories is further discussed later in this chapter along with their experiences working with vocational English, see page 96.

Table 5 A taxonomy of items, 'X is a characteristic of [working with Vocational English]'

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Working with Vocational English	Learning vocational vocabulary	Alice, Emma, Camilla, Daniel, Olivia, Monica
	Describing students' work	Alice, Emma, Camilla, Daniel, Olivia, Monica
	Giving instructions (orally)	Emma, Camilla, Olivia, Monica
	Reading instructions	Camilla, Daniel, Monica
	Using one assignment to reach several goals in English and another foundation subject	Daniel, Emma, Camilla
	Using one assignment to reach several goals in English and the vocational subjects	Emma, Monica
	Connecting different subjects to each other	Emma, Olivia
	Giving instructions (in writing)	Emma
	Listening to instructions	Daniel

Learning vocational vocabulary was emphasised as the most important part of vocational English by all six teachers in the interviews. The vocational vocabulary should then be used to produce descriptions of the students' own work, either orally or in writing. Here, some teachers made a distinction between oral and written production, while others did not. This was the same for giving and receiving instructions, which was also a common part of vocational English according to these teachers. Olivia said that it is unlikely that students will be asked to give instructions to someone else in the workplace, but that listening to instructions is more likely to occur. Four

¹⁷ Since the interviews were conducted in Swedish the Swedish words "infärgning", "ämnestegrering" or "yrkesengelska" were used. See appendices 2 and 3 for the interview guides.

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teachers focus on students giving instructions in some way, for example to explain in English how something should be constructed. Both descriptions and instructions are mentioned in the syllabi for the course English 5 (SKOLFS 2010:261), so it could be expected to be part of the course in general. However, each teacher decides how much time and focus of the course should be devoted to these general competences and goals.

Emma and Monica mentioned that using one assignment was a way of reaching several goals, both in English and in the vocational subjects. The grading criteria were not necessarily used for both subjects, but the goals of the character subjects had been taken into consideration when constructing the assignment. An assignment could also be used to connect different subjects to each other, for example in a larger theme or project where different subjects focus on the same topic. Olivia gave the example of the theme 'life at stake'. In this theme, the course in English focuses on junk food, the construction subject on physical tests, and the course in Swedish on writing debate articles about health. Other subjects may use the same theme as well, the ambitions of the school is that all subjects should play a part in these themes.

To what extent teachers worked with vocational English varied. The teachers described how they work with vocational English, and this exemplifies how they perceive the notion of vocational English. Emma and Daniel have about an hour a week allotted to vocational English with their classes, and during this hour, the students have character subject lessons and English at the same time. Emma said that she mostly uses the character subject lesson so talk to her students. She goes to the workshop and asks them questions, such as 'what are you doing?' or 'what is that?' which means that students should describe their work and use the appropriate vocational vocabulary. Emma described how students have reached the goals for oral production already during the autumn semester, because of the way they work with vocational English. She mainly uses her time in the workshop for speaking.

Olivia has four larger projects each year where she cooperates with the character subject teachers. Camilla uses vocational English as a way to practice other general English skills, and she does not test her students on vocational English. Monica had some minor assignments related to vocational English, but showed that she was in the process of developing more at the time of the second interview. She had previously combined Swedish and the vocational subject, and was now changing assignments and translating them into English.

What views do teachers express regarding vocational English and their students?

The views that the teachers express regarding vocational English are related to their attitudes towards their vocational students. Three themes emerged: that students in vocational programmes are perceived as unmotivated to study ‘theoretical’ subjects; that students are either ‘practical or theoretical’, and also that some teachers place lower demands on vocational students than on students in other programmes. This could be for a variety of reasons, which I will come back to. The teachers also describe their students in positive ways; Alice described the Building and Construction class she taught last year:

Alice: I noticed, and it fascinated me, that the majority of the students managed [the course in] English really well, some were bright, competent, they were downright brilliant students. And I wondered, “Excuse me, are you really in the right programme?” But that’s not for me to question.

Daniel stated that he teaches at an E-level¹⁸ because students do not have enough prior knowledge of English, but also that he pushes the ones who need more:

Daniel: But I see that I have to teach at E-level because they’re so far behind. So now I teach at E-level and push the ones who need more [of a challenge] and give them more assignments.

Teaching at E-level does not necessarily mean lowering demands on students. Grade E is the lowest passing grade. It could also reflect individualised teaching. However, Daniel mentioned this in the context of the differences between teaching in vocational or academic programmes. Another way of lowering demands is to use what Camilla and Monica refer to as an ‘easier’ textbook for vocational students, as seen in Table 6.

¹⁸ Swedish grades are awarded on a grade from A-F, with A as the highest grade and E as the lowest passing grade. A failed grade is designated F (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013f).

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Table 6 A taxonomy of items: 'X is a way to [lower demands on vocational students]'

Taxonomic name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher
Lower demands on vocational students	Using an easier textbook than on academic programmes	Camilla, Monica
	Teaching at E-level	Daniel

All five teachers who work with vocational English use different textbooks for vocational and academic students. Alice, the only teacher who does not work with vocational English, uses what she says is a 'difficult textbook' for all programmes, *Core 1*. She says that it is probably too hard for the students, but she adds extra material and uses a selection of texts from the book. The approach in Alice's school is to use the same textbook for the entire school and adapt the way teachers use it. Emma mostly uses her own material, but has just started using a new textbook, which is aimed at vocational students. This year, she has just started using *In Real Life* and last year she used *Straight Forward*. Olivia had also just started using *In Real Life* and had used *Read and Log on* before, which is not very different from *Read and Catch Up* that Camilla uses. Camilla described *Read and Catch Up* as a 'vocational' book [Sw. yrkesbok], even though no texts in the book are related to vocational English. Daniel only uses his own material, and grammar exercises from *Basic Grammar Check*. Monica uses a textbook especially aimed at construction students, *Professionals: Knock on Wood*. Without doing a proper textbook analysis, it is hard to draw conclusions on difficulty levels. However, the interviews show that five out of the six interviewed teachers use different textbooks for their vocational and academic students. Most teachers also supplement with their own material, for example Camilla and Monica use what they describe as easier textbooks for the entire class but add extra materials for the more proficient students.

Only three teachers had clear indications that they were lowering demands for vocational students, but as LeCompte emphasises, (2000, p. 148), what is omitted is also important; the absence of something can also be identified as a theme. This supports the idea that using different textbooks on vocational and on academic programmes shows a connection between working with vocational English and lowering demands on vocational students. On the other hand, the teachers adapt and individualise their teaching. Camilla, Monica and Daniel all clearly stated that they adapt existing materials, and add extra, for the more proficient students.

Possible causes for reducing the demands on vocational students are shown in table 7 below. Here, the term “vocational students” is used when it was obvious that the teachers talked about students in vocational programmes, and only “students” when they talked about students in general. It is likely that they referred to students in the construction programme, because that was the topic for the interview. However, it cannot be ruled out that it could also refer to students in other programmes.

Table 7 A taxonomy of items, ‘X is a possible cause for [lower demands on vocational students]’

Taxonomic name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher
Lowering demands on vocational students	Students not having enough prior knowledge of English	Olivia, Daniel, Camilla, Alice
	Vocational students having lower goals than academic students	(Emma), Monica
	Uninterested students	Olivia, Daniel
	Unmotivated students	Daniel, Monica
	Students who think English is hard	Olivia
	Vocational students need more time	Olivia
	Weak (sv. svaga) students	Daniel

Four teachers in the interviews mentioned that students begin upper secondary school lacking knowledge which they should have gained in previous school years. This could be one of the reasons for these lowered demands on vocational students.

Vocational students are said to have lower goals than the academic students. The vocational students are pleased with an E, according to Emma and Monica, while academic students strive for higher grades.

Monica: Yes, well, I usually do the about same things with everyone. But you can’t do too easy assignments for students in the natural science programme, it has to be on a higher level, because they’re higher up on the grading scale right away. You can tell that they have more prior knowledge, they are much more motivated to study. On the whole, they want more and they demand more. /.../ Everyone wants an A there.

KL: And the students in the Building and Construction programme don’t?

Monica: No, they don’t care about that. E is enough for them.

Emma: Of course there is a difference [between students in academic and vocational programmes]. Mostly regarding their aim, and commitment. But there are both kinds of students in both places.

Here, Emma says that vocational students in general have lower goals than academic students, but emphasises that it is not always the case. She does not

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want to generalise, but recognises that there is a difference in attitudes among students. Olivia, Daniel and Monica all described students as 'uninterested' or 'unmotivated':

Daniel: Especially in a practical programme, they're not so motivated to study English.

This dichotomous view, where students are seen as either practical or theoretical, can be seen in several interviews. The teachers in the interviews routinely use the terms practical and theoretical programmes, and ascribe different characteristics to the students. This division between 'practical' (vocational) and 'theoretical' (academic) programmes can be seen in several places in the interviews as shown in table 8:

Table 8 A taxonomy of items: 'X is a way to differentiate between "practical" and "theoretical" programmes'

Taxonomic name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher
Differentiate between 'practical' and 'theoretical' programmes	Differentiating between 'practical' and 'theoretical' classes	Daniel, Olivia
	Describing people as 'practical persons' or 'not practical persons' [Sw. praktiker]	Monica, Camilla
	Describing students as better at 'practical things'	Camilla
	Describing the Building and Construction Programme as a 'practical programme'	Daniel, Camilla, Monica

Four of the teachers used the word *practical* as opposed to *theoretical* when speaking of the Building-and Construction programme. Olivia used the word theoretical when she contrasted character subjects with 'theoretical' subjects, but said that it is probably students' study habits and background that cause differences between programmes rather than students being 'theoretical' or 'practical':

Olivia: But they're still engaged, because they need to work hard in the *theoretical subjects*, in order to get in to their orientations in construction.

Olivia: Yes, my comments are that this creates a context for the students since it says that you should cooperate with the character subject teachers and *theoretical subjects*.

KL: Do you notice a difference between different programmes?

Olivia: Yes, absolutely. You can do so much more with the economy programme. They answer right away, while these students need more time, and need more time for preparation and turning in assignments.

KL: Why do you think that is?

Olivia: I believe it's because of their study habits and their background.

Daniel described the Building- and Construction programme as a 'practical programme' and made a difference between 'practical subjects' and theoretical subjects. Monica described herself as a 'practical person' [Sw. praktiker], and believes that it might be a reason why she feels 'more at home' in the Building and Construction Programme as opposed to the Natural Science programme. Camilla said that the most important thing is that students are good at the 'practical things' rather than having a good language proficiency and communication skills.

Alice problematises the importance of English for a vocational programme:

Alice: Which qualities are important when leaving the construction programme? Is English so darn important? And that's coming from me, an English teacher, but I mean, I wouldn't want to hire a construction worker who is good at English. I want him to be a good craftsman or craftswoman.

Alice struggles with policy, she said that she sometimes does not understand the intentions. She might not agree with everything, but follows the syllabus and the curriculum.

Influences and motives for working with vocational English

In this section, influences for working with vocational English, or not working with it, will be presented. Various reasons for working with vocational English were found in the interviews as shown in table 9 below:

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Table 9 A taxonomy of items, 'X is a reason for [working with vocational English]'

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Working with vocational English	Preparing students for working abroad	Camilla, Emma
	Increasing students' motivation	Olivia, Monica
	Creating a connection between subjects	Emma, Olivia
	Create marketing opportunities for the school	Emma
	Adapting to presumed interests of students	Daniel
	Increasing student's employability	Emma

Camilla and Emma both mentioned that one of the reasons they teach vocational English is in order to prepare students for working abroad. Monica adds that 'even if they don't work abroad, they might have to read instructions or signage in English'.

Daniel and Olivia initially say that they cannot really see a difference in motivation among their students when working with vocational English or regular English. I asked Olivia if students are more motivated by working on these projects, but she answers that 'it's pretty much the same'. Later, she said that 'it is easier to find things to do, and easier to motivate them' when we were talking about her vocational English projects again.

Emma mentioned *marketing* as a reason for working with vocational English. She believes that if the school has a reputation of teaching students excellent vocational English when they begin working, and that students are prepared to work all over the world, it will be a concept that they can use in their marketing. Camilla also mentioned that if students will be working abroad, they need to know certain things in English, for instance safety signs and other vocational vocabulary.

All six teachers said that the school board or the headteacher have a positive attitude towards working with vocational English. Olivia, Emma and Daniel have explicit orders from their headteachers, but it is generally seen as something teachers are supposed to work with. Alice, the only one not working with vocational English, almost apologised for this in the interview. However, Monica, Emma, Daniel and Camilla said that they are rarely given the time to actually prepare for working with vocational English. Not having enough time to do their work is a recurring theme in the interviews:

Table 10 A taxonomy of items, 'X is a cause/result of not having enough time'

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Not having enough time	Not meeting or cooperating with construction teachers	Camilla, Alice
	Not preparing for vocational English lessons	Olivia, Daniel
	Not reading the diploma goals	Daniel, Emma

Emma explained that she has not had time to acquaint herself with the diploma goals:

Emma: /.../ because I haven't acquainted myself with them, and partly because I just teach the first grade, I haven't actually had time to prioritise some kind of long-term solution.

All six teachers in the interviews teach English in various programmes (see table 4, p. 68). Daniel said that he had a 'tricky' year because he taught English in five different programmes:

Daniel: I had 20 places to be, and [taught vocational English] on five programmes, and all five programmes have four different orientations. So there were 20 different places to be, and to find suitable exercises for. /.../ Sometimes it was only for one person, a painter, and then I needed to adapt to him, to one student. /.../ It was really difficult.

Alice is the only one of the six interviewed teachers who does not work with vocational English. She said that she cannot make it work, and that students fail to see the connection between subjects:

Alice: As soon as I take out e.g. [the assignment] "Tools in English", well, it doesn't work. They don't know what to use it for. I haven't found anything that's good. It's like everyone feels that it is nice to let go of the character subject for a while and do something different, seeing things from a different angle.

Students influence the teaching directly or indirectly

Five of the teachers said that students influence their teaching the most. It could be the students' opinions, the group dynamics or students' prior knowledge, as seen in table 3. However, the teachers all described students' influence in different ways. Students can influence teaching directly or indirectly. All six teachers mentioned something relating to student's feelings. The reason for working with vocational English is, for example, because it is

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‘what students *want* to do’ (Emma), ‘what they know *how to* do’ (Daniel), ‘what they find *exciting*’ (Olivia), or because ‘they should *feel a connection* to the construction programme’ (Monica).

Table 3 A taxonomy of items, ‘X is a kind of [influence on classroom teaching]’

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Influence on classroom teaching	Students’ opinions	Olivia, Monica
	Group dynamics	Emma, Alice
	Students’ prior knowledge	Daniel
	Syllabus	Camilla

For Monica and Olivia, student influence is strong. They let their students decide lesson content through feedback, and adapt their lessons according to what their students and themselves believe works well.

Alice, Daniel, Emma, Monica and Camilla also said that they individually adapt their teaching, both for students who need easier assignments and for students who need more of a challenge. In the follow-up interviews, which were conducted in August at the beginning of a new school year, it was clear that several of the teachers had waited to see what their new classes were like in order to adapt their way of working accordingly:

Emma: If [workshop English] works with these students I will continue with it just to get vocational English in. Then we’ll see if we’ll do more or if THEY have anything else they’d like to do.

Alice: You can’t prepare too much, you have to meet the students.

This further emphasises how the teachers adapt their teaching according to their group of students, and suggests that working with vocational English might be one of the ways to adapt to the needs of the students or a way to motivate them. If the students do not like working with vocational English for example, Emma plans to change her teaching.

Policy enactment

The curriculum has a less direct impact on the teaching; the teachers mostly mention the syllabus in the interviews, and not the curriculum or diploma goals. The syllabus has a direct influence on the teaching and the teachers use it to plan the course and create assignments. It could be expected that the diploma goals should have an influence on the teaching as well. Whether or

not teachers have read, or use, the diploma goals varies. Olivia uses them in her projects, while other teachers do not focus on the diploma goals at all:

Daniel: No, I don't care about them much at all. It feels like I can't acquaint myself with all that, I do my own things instead. No, I don't care what their diploma goals are, it's impossible to get into that, there are too many documents anyway.

Emma: I'm not very familiar with them. Partly because I haven't had time to acquaint myself with them, and partly because I only teach the first grade, I haven't actually had time to prioritise some kind of long-term solution.

Monica: [They don't] actually affect [my teaching] but you need to keep them in mind all the time.

This suggests that the diploma goals are given less importance than the syllabus by these teachers. However, almost all the teachers relate to the diploma goals afterwards when they are asked to comment on an extract from the comments to the diploma goals. Even the teachers who do not regularly read the diploma goals recognise themselves and their work:

Emma: This sounds just like what I'm thinking, especially this part here where they should cooperate with different vocations in the workplace. What I haven't thought about yet is students searching for and evaluating information, and I haven't combined it yet, but I will in the assignment we are working on now.

Daniel: Yes, this is what we're doing now. This is vocational English [Sw. infärgning].

Monica: Exactly what I said.

The idea of working with vocational English is present somewhere, but teachers are not sure where. The teachers in the interviews refer to vocational English saying: 'it's in there somewhere I think'. They assume it is part of official policy, but are not quite sure where it is written down. Alice, the only teacher in the interview who does not work with vocational English exemplifies the idea of 'it's in there somewhere':

Alice: It is written in the previous curriculum, isn't it? And then it is written, I don't remember exactly what is in the current syllabus, but there are diploma goals for every programme and they should permeate the courses somehow, shouldn't they? I'm not quite sure how to interpret them, I have to admit.

The goals and grading criteria do not lead how the teachers in the interviews construct their assignments. Daniel and Emma first designed their assignments, and then tried to incorporate the grading criteria or goals afterwards:

Daniel: No, in English. We cover most of them. I think we went through them top to bottom. I'm sure you can find which ones they are if you have the goals yourself. We forced it a little to make the questions fit the goals to. But I don't think it was too forced, most were pretty easy.

This might be because they already know the grading criteria and do not need to look at them in order to create the assignment. However, it could also be a sign that teachers use their autonomy to create what they feel are useful assignments and then refer to the grading criteria in order to justify them.

The wider perspective and larger context

Creating a larger context for students and connecting the various courses of the programme is another reason for working with vocational English. This was expressed in different ways by the different teachers, but was an explicit goal for Emma, Daniel, Olivia and Monica. The wider perspective can include a number of different approaches. Monica uses a news quiz, which ties in more with civics than vocational subjects. The projects at Olivia's school also emphasise a larger context for students, where all subjects work with the same theme. Alice and Daniel have tried to show this wider perspective, but have not been successful. Students seem to not understand the connections:

Alice: It feels like [students are saying] "what, are we talking about this now, can't we do that in the construction subjects?"

Daniel: They don't see the point [of writing a logbook].

The logbook, which Daniel mentioned is an assignment where students should describe and reflect on their work. Olivia does not mention the same problems. A possible reason is that her assignments are seen as more authentic. One assignment she uses is to write a report regarding the construction of a new sports arena. On the other hand, Olivia's assignments are also more general and practice general English skills, and not just vocational English.

Another way of showing a wider perspective is to use one assignment to cover several goals. It could be several goals in the course English 5, or it can be combined with other courses, according to the teachers in the interviews.

It was more common to cover several goals in the same assignment than combining different subjects. Monica explained:

Monica: Of course, we have to be able to do it. Everything is about saving time and saving money.

Monica added that another benefit is to use one assignment to cover several goals and progress through the course. Daniel said that they try to use one assignment to reach several goals in English, but not to reach goals in the construction subjects. Emma nuanced this by saying that even if students are not graded in their vocational subjects, they practice skills needed for the character subject courses. Emma and Daniel work at the same school and share some assignments with each other. One assignment they both use is writing a logbook, where students describe their work and reflect on what they have learnt, and evaluate their own work. Emma said that she uses the same assignment as the construction programme uses in Swedish. Therefore, she connects this assignment to the grading criteria for the course Building and Construction 1, while Daniel does not. Daniel said that he does not know the grading criteria for the vocational courses or their goals. However, neither Emma nor Daniel show student logbooks to the construction teachers, which means that students only receive grades in English for this assignment.

The teachers' experiences of working with vocational English

As discussed in Chapter 2, teaching material for vocational English is generally developed by the teachers (Basturkmen, 2012, p. 62) and this is in line with what the teachers in the interviews expressed. All five teachers who work with vocational English develop their own material to some extent or find material from different sources, for example online or in books.

Here, table 5 is reused, but now the focus is on ways of working with these different categories of vocational English. The items (X) can be grouped into four themes: vocabulary; instructions and descriptions; using one assignment to reach several goals; and connecting different subjects to each other.

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Table 5 A taxonomy of items, 'X is a characteristic of [working with Vocational English]'

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Working with Vocational English	Learning vocational vocabulary	Alice, Emma, Camilla, Daniel, Olivia, Monica
	Describing students' work	Alice, Emma, Camilla, Daniel, Olivia, Monica
	Giving instructions (orally)	Emma, Camilla, Olivia, Monica
	Reading instructions	Camilla, Daniel, Monica
	Using one assignment to reach several goals in English and another foundation subject	Daniel, Emma, Camilla
	Using one assignment to reach several goals in English and the vocational subjects	Emma, Monica
	Connecting different subjects to each other	Emma, Olivia
	Giving instructions (in writing)	Emma
	Listening to instructions	Daniel

All six teachers mentioned learning vocational vocabulary. Daniel and Olivia view it a base for learning all other vocational English. Olivia said that without knowledge of the technical language and vocabulary, it is impossible to write texts about vocational subject. Daniel explained why vocabulary is such an important part of vocational English:

Daniel: That's what's new, most of them can speak English, but speaking English using technical terms is hard.

The teachers in the interviews worked with vocabulary in different ways. Daniel preferred giving students wordlists to practice, and then carrying out vocabulary tests. Emma instead goes through the words as the students need them. She said that this usually happens in the workshop where students ask about how to translate something. Olivia's students use vocational vocabulary while writing other texts, but they do not practice the words themselves like Daniel's students does. Monica has several translation exercises that also emphasise vocational vocabulary, and students look up words online or in their textbooks.

Depending on which methods teachers use for working with vocational English, general competences can be developed in these specific contexts, as is emphasised by the Swedish National Agency for Education (2012a, p. 13). This is especially the case when it comes to the general goals of students being

able to give and receive instructions and descriptions. Both giving and receiving instructions, and being able to describe their work, are mentioned in the syllabus for the course English 5¹⁹ (SKOLFS 2010:261). Monica and Emma mentioned the usefulness of being able to read instructions if students will work abroad in the future. The ideas of internationalisation and employability are given as reasons for including this type of content in vocational English.

Daniel, Emma and Camilla mentioned that they use one assignment to reach several grading criteria or goals in different courses. Daniel says that the same assignment usually only tests various grading criteria in the course in English. Emma on the other hand, makes sure that goals from the character subjects are met in some of her English assignments.

Creating a connection between subjects can refer to both creating connections between English and the vocational subjects, or between English and other foundation subject, e.g. civics or Swedish. Emma and Olivia explicitly mentioned that creating a connection between the vocational subject and English was important.

One way of creating this connection between subjects is to cooperate with vocational teachers. Four of the teachers described 'cooperation' as working on their own and then informing or asking for input from the vocational teachers as seen in table 11:

Table 11 A taxonomy of items, X is a characteristic of the [cooperation between vocational teachers and subject teachers']

Taxonomic Name (Y)	Items (X)	Teacher(s)
Cooperation between vocational teachers and subject teachers	Subject teachers working on their own and then informing the vocational teachers	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica
	Scheduled projects, time to work together and workshops with both subject and vocational teachers	Olivia
	Discussing student difficulties and absence in school	Camilla

Camilla, Daniel, Emma and Monica described how they create materials for vocational English and only then inform the vocational teachers about their plans. Daniel requests more input from the vocational teachers, and would

¹⁹ English 5 is the only mandatory English course for vocational programmes in upper secondary school in Sweden.

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rather it be them who came up with the ideas. This is in line with what Camilla asks for, she would prefer to have a more structured cooperation with the vocational teachers:

Camilla: It's so important that I don't just take something and do something because I think it fits the programme, but we need to cooperate, and cooperate well.

Camilla would like to cooperate more with the other teachers, but says that they do not have enough time to plan their teaching together, and that they are located in different buildings, which makes it more difficult.

Olivia is the only teacher who systematically works with the vocational teachers and describes it as part of the schools' pedagogic approach. They have workshops where they work with different diploma goals, and all teachers try to find a way to work with the goals in their subject. Olivia's school has ambitions to increase cooperation between subject and vocational teachers, but teachers still work separately within their projects. All lessons are given a specific theme, which sometimes is not clearly connected to the occupation. She says that they always base the theme on the diploma goals of the subject rather than the syllabi of a certain subject.

Monica tries to work with the vocational teachers, but she was transferred to a different building in August 2014. The new building is far away from the Building and Construction Programme, which has made cooperation between the teachers difficult. Daniel and Emma face the same problem, when vocational subject teachers are in a different building from the English teachers. I will return to frame factors such as these in the discussion.

9. The connection between policy and practice

In this chapter the main research question, ‘how do policy documents relate to the views and the educational practice regarding vocational English for these teachers?’, is answered and the results of the study are discussed. Bernstein’s (1990; 2000) theoretical concepts of classification, framing, and vertical and horizontal discourse are used to discuss my findings, in addition to Ball’s (1993) and Ozga’s (1990; 2000) concept of policy enactment. Firstly, policy enactment is discussed with the focus on how the policy texts influence the teaching practice of these six teachers. Secondly, the connection between policy and practice regarding vocational English is analysed and discussed. In the next chapter, my conclusions are presented along with the implications for teaching and learning of the study and suggestions for further research.

Policy enactment

There is a distinct gap between policy and practice, which is in line with what Lindensjö and Lundgren (2002, p. 172) describe as a gap between the arena of formulation and the arena of realisation. As previously mentioned, teachers have a tradition of high autonomy in Sweden which is also shown in the interviews. Daniel, for example, says ‘no, I don’t care about [the diploma goals] much at all’. The teachers decide and plan their own teaching, but are influenced by what the head of the school wants them to do. The teachers in the interviews mention that the largest influence on their teaching is the students themselves. Camilla is the only teacher who mentions policy, and specifically the syllabus, as her greatest influence on classroom teaching.

When it comes to policy, the teachers have a notion that ‘it’s in there somewhere, isn’t it?’ Alice had an idea that vocational English is part of policy somewhere, but is not sure where. Monica, Emma and Daniel recognised the ideas in the policy when they were shown an extract. The interviews also showed that not all these policy texts reach the teachers. All six teachers knew the syllabus for the course English 5 quite well, but only Olivia regularly worked with the diploma goals for the Building and Construction

Programme. Frame factors (cf. Ball et al., 2011; Lindblad et al., 1999), such as time poverty, and teaching in many different programmes, are given as a reason for not being very familiar with the policy texts. Different frame factors affect the ability to follow policies. On the other hand, teachers seem to know the main ideas of these texts, even if they do not know the exact formulations. Statements like 'I read it there somewhere' were common, and the way Daniel and Emma constructed an assignment shows that they knew the goals of the course before looking at the syllabi. In order to show that they had used the syllabi, they then changed the wording slightly in their assignment to make it fit.

Many of the teachers' answers connected to the commentaries on the diploma goals, where the cooperation between foundation subjects and character subjects is described. Perhaps not aware where they have heard it, several of them had the idea that they were supposed to work with vocational English and that it must be written down in a policy somewhere. Another possible explanation is that the teachers have read supplements from the Swedish National Agency for Education, such as the commentaries to the curriculum where the Swedish term "*infärgning*" was mentioned as a method to integrate core and character subjects (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008). It is also stated that student should perceive their education as a whole in the diploma goals for Gy 2011 (SKOLFS 2010:14), which is something the teachers mention in the interviews without referring directly to the diploma goals. Olivia, Monica, and Emma all said that they want to connect different subjects to each other, which is in line what is stated in the policy documents.

As previously discussed, one way of trying to make policy reach teachers is through publications such as *Språkboken* for instance, an anthology of educational research published in relation to the new curricula in 2000 as an answer to the demand from teachers who wanted a theoretical background in order to understand the new curricula (Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2001, p. 1) A similar book called *Språklärares stora blå* (Söderberg, 2011), with a focus on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, was published in connection with the reform Gy 2011. This shows that there might be other policy texts, or texts meant to interpret policy, that influence how teachers translate and interpret policy for themselves.

The shift to Gy 2011 was recent, only two years before the interviews were conducted. It is likely that teachers still work in line with the older policy texts.

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Monica especially mentioned how she was working on changing old assignments and adapting them to the new goals and grading criteria, and was in the process of updating her material.

As Ball and Ozga argue, it is evident that policy is *enacted* by these teachers and not *implemented*. Alice said that she is unsure of how to interpret policy and Monica described how she keeps the diploma goals in mind all the time, but that it does not directly affect her teaching. The teachers are mostly concerned with practice, and interpret and translate policy when they need to, for example when Daniel and Emma incorporate the goals grading criteria after constructing an assignment. The teachers also show signs of constantly interpreting and reinterpreting policy; they change assignments and listen to feedback from students. They then re-evaluate their work and construct vocational English assignments in a complex and creative way. We can see that the interviews show that the teachers have strong influence on how policy is interpreted and a high degree of autonomy (cf. Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2002, p. 177; Oscarson & Apelgren, 2011, p. 3, Ozga, 2000, p. 3). One of the reasons for this high degree of autonomy is the decentralisation of upper secondary school in Sweden, as discussed in Chapter 3. Headteachers all encourage working with vocational English, but let the teachers decide themselves in which way and to what extent it will be part of the course. Olivia's, and Daniel's and Emma's, schools have more controlled projects where the headteacher has decided that vocational English must be a part of the English teaching. On one hand, Olivia is free to choose in which way and what kind of assignments to use, while Emma and Daniel have to visit the workshop during the time allotted, but can decide on what content and assignments are suitable for their classes.

As in Berglund's study (2009), the personalities of the teachers and their personal theories seem connected to who works with vocational English. In Berglund's study, the teacher who initiated working with vocational English had a background of working in industry before she became a teacher (Berglund, 2009, p. 196). In this study, Monica especially describes herself as a practical person, and she feels very comfortable working with the vocational students. Others use this as an explanation for why they do not work as much with it, like Camilla who says that she does not feel at home in the vocational programmes.

The role of the Swedish Schools Inspectorate in policy interpretation

At the time of the interviews in March 2014, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate had just visited Olivia's school. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate scrutinises schools, with the objective of engendering good education and conducting regular supervision of schools (Swedish Schools Inspectorate, 2011). The theme for the review in March was 'does the education in vocational programmes meet the interests, expectations and needs of the students in order for students to find their education meaningful?'²⁰ (my translation). Olivia mentioned the visit from the Swedish Schools Inspectorate in the interview and said that they seemed very positive towards, and encouraging of, working with vocational English:

Olivia: The Swedish Schools Inspectorate was here and looked at the Vehicle and Transport Programme. And they only talked about "*infärgning*", that it is the way we should work, the foundation subject teachers. And then I had a lot of thoughts on 'perhaps you should do it this way instead, or that way', and that perhaps we should do even more vocational English than what we have in our projects.

KL: So the Swedish Schools Inspectorate said that you should work more with "*infärgning*"?

Olivia: Well, no. They didn't exactly say that, but that was their investigation, how much "*infärgning*" there was. Implicitly, I understood it as we were to work more with "*infärgning*". But we got a great review, we were the best school out of the 65 they had been to. It was great.

The Swedish Schools Inspectorate here has a discernable impact on how Olivia understands and interprets policy. She has also interpreted the purpose of the study as 'how much vocational English is there', rather than the actual purpose where the focus was if the education in vocational programmes meet the interests and needs of students in order to make them find their education meaningful. This shows that the Swedish Schools Inspectorate connects vocational English [Sw. *infärgning*] to 'meaningful' education and students' interests and expectations. This is in line with the commentaries on Lpf 94 which suggests that vocational English makes the education feel meaningful (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008), as discussed in chapter 7. Vocational English is not mentioned in the same way in Gy 2011. The policy

²⁰ The reference to the report has purposely been left out, because Olivia's school would have been identifiable if it were included.

analysis showed that the suggestion of adapting the course in English to students' personal areas of interest as described in Lpf 94 was replaced with areas related to students' education or working life in Gy 2011, which could be interpreted as working with vocational English. Both the teachers in the interviews, and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate in this instance, view vocational English as something that will motivate or make the education in English feel useful for these students. As previously mentioned, there is an idea among the teachers in the interviews that they should work with vocational English, and that it must be written down in a policy somewhere. However, the policy analysis shows that vocational English is not specifically mentioned in the policy texts, but rather concepts such as internationalisation and adapting the education towards students' personal interests.

Reasons for not working with vocational English

All six teachers mentioned time poverty as a problem, and several of them mention logistics and scheduling as a hindrance for working with vocational English. Ball, Maguire, Brown and Hoskins (2011) argue that '[i]n their daily practice teachers move between very different emotional states in a context of overload and time poverty' (Ball et al., 2011, p. 614), which is in line with that the interview results show. The teachers say that they do not have time to meet the construction teachers, or do not have enough time to prepare vocational English lessons. The teachers have also been transferred between different programmes, which makes it harder to develop assignments that are specific to a certain programme. Emma no longer teaches the on the Building and Construction programme and has had to develop new material for her new classes. Daniel teaches on many different programmes with different orientations, and Monica has also changed programmes in the last year. Lack of time is also mentioned as a reason for not reading diploma goals, which in turn affects policy enactment.

Another frame factor that affects the teaching is that vocational English projects are new in some ways for several of the teachers in the interviews; this was also the case in Berglund's (2009) study. Emma has worked with vocational English before, but is new at her current school. Daniel has tried ESP with academic students, but not vocational students before. Olivia is new to the concept, and Camilla has only tried it a few times.

Frame factors, such as character subject teachers and foundation subject teachers not meeting, or working in different buildings, are a hindrance for working with vocational English. Daniel, Camilla and Monica say that they would like to meet the vocational teachers more in order to develop their cooperation, but that they rarely have the time.

How do policy documents relate to the views and educational practice of the teachers?

In the curricula and syllabi it is not very apparent that teachers should work with vocational English, although there are more general statements that may encompass vocational English, such as preparing students for a future working life (SKOLFS 2010:261). The notion of vocational English [Sw. *infärgning*] is discussed in commentaries to the Diploma goals to Lpf 94 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2008). Under Gy 2011, the diploma goals should permeate all courses, which also suggests the importance of adapting foundation subjects to the specific programme. The interviews show that the six teachers were not very familiar with the exact wording in the diploma goals. The teachers also had different ideas and views on how to interpret the statement that students should be prepared for a future working life.

All the teachers said that they let their students influence their teaching to a great extent (see table 3, page 93). Student's personal interests are mentioned both in policy (SKOLFS 1994:9) and by teachers in the interviews. The idea is that subject content related either to personal interests or areas close to the study orientation will increase student motivation. The teachers also assume that students are interested in the programme they attend, which can be contrasted to Rosvall (2012) who says that students sometimes feel like they are tired of working with the same topics all the time. Alice confirmed this, and mentioned it as one of the reasons why she does not work with vocational English.

Alice describes a strongly framed education where she, as the teacher, has a strong control of what is transmitted (cf. Bernstein, 2000, p. 12). However, she says that the group of students affect her teaching the most and that she adapts her teaching accordingly. Alice is the only teacher not working with vocational English, but having strong or weakly framed teaching does not seem to be connected on whether or not vocational English is taught. Both

Olivia and Daniel describe a strongly framed education. Olivia does let her students evaluate and discuss her assignments, but the vocational English projects are decided in a larger group of teachers giving Olivia less control of the specific content herself. As previously mentioned, Bernstein's concepts should be viewed as on a sliding scale, and it is possible that the teaching varies.

When discussing different approaches to working with vocational English, none of the teachers mentioned ESP, CLIL or VOLL. Emma and Daniel work in a manner that resembles CLIL-teaching since they combine the vocational classes with English classes; it resembles CLIL-teaching in that content is, if not taught, at least discussed in English. They have about an hour a week allotted to vocational English in the workshop. How it differs from CLIL is that no content is explicitly taught in English (cf. Nixon, 2001; Sylvén, 2010), but Daniel and Emma both discuss content and use vocational English with their students. Daniel sometimes chooses to bring students to a classroom during this time, while Emma communicates with her students while they are working on something in the construction subjects. However, Daniel says that he would like more involvement from the construction teachers. This shows us that Emma's teaching is closer to an invisible pedagogy where the subject areas are integrated with each other (cf. Bernstein, 1990, p. 70). Emma describes a more weakly framed teaching where she is letting students decide much of the content, at least in her vocational English lessons.

As previously mentioned, VOLL is the approach closest to vocational English or "*infärgning*", although the teachers are more influenced by students' opinions and interests here than would happen with ESP, CLIL or VOLL. The teachers' influences and motives for working with vocational English are connected to an invisible pedagogy.

Monica and Camilla have not worked as extensively with vocational English. Their teaching falls somewhere in the middle of Bernstein's (1990) scale of visible and invisible pedagogy when it comes to vocational English. On the one hand, the assignments are not focused on gradable performance, since they were not graded, which implies an invisible pedagogy. On the other hand, the assignments are not developed with the construction teachers and not in the project form of an integrated code curriculum, or as in a visible pedagogy. Camilla has been inspired by the assignments used in the construc-

tion subject, so in a way the subjects are integrated even if not all teachers are involved.

In a weaker framing, students can influence their education more, and invisible pedagogies focus more on internal procedures of acquisition such as motivating students (cf. Bernstein, 1990) This is connected to the way the teachers in the interviews describe what influences their teaching the most. Olivia and Monica said that the students' opinions directly influence their teaching while Emma and Alice adapted their teaching according to the group dynamics. Students' influence varies; it might seem that the students have control over what is selected and done in class, but the interviews show that the teachers select the material, the pacing and the grading criteria, while taking presumed interests and motivation of their students into account. Thus, the teaching seems to have a strong framing, while still allowing for student input. Student influence is emphasised in the curriculum, students should be able to influence the work methods, work structures and lesson content (SKOLFS 1994:2; SKOLFS 2011:144). The teachers translate and enact this policy in different ways. The pedagogic practice of these teachers varies between visible and invisible pedagogy if the entire course in English is considered. However, regarding vocational English, all teachers describe an invisible pedagogy where areas are integrated in projects in a more obscure way than in a visible pedagogy, where the focus is on internal procedures of acquisition (cf. Baldwin, 2013, pp. 97-100, Bernstein, 2000). Bernstein also described how these differences in emphasis affect the organisation in school, and what skills are considered most important to acquire (Bernstein, 1990, pp. 71-72), which is something Alice has considered when she chose not to work with vocational English as discussed in chapter 8.

In Berglund's study 'raising the bar' for students (2009, p. 197) is a specific goal in the vocational English project. This does not correspond to what the teachers in the interviews say, where some teachers place lower demands on vocational students. However, it is not possible to generalise these results because of the small selection of teachers. Other research (Andersson Varga 2014; Berggren, 2012; Norlund; 2009, Rosvall, 2012) shows the opposite, which is in line with the results of this study, that teachers have lower demands on students in vocational programmes.

Internationalisation and employability in policy and as a motive for working with vocational English

As previously mentioned, one of the intentions of the 1990s reform was to reduce class bias and to create an education that would prepare students for flexibility and lifelong learning (cf. Kristensson-Uggla, 2007, p. 116; Lundahl et al. 2010, p. 49). None of the teachers mention flexibility and lifelong learning in the interviews. There is an emphasis on a lifelong desire to learn in Gy 2011 that was not as evident in Lpf 94 (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013c, p. 4), which suggests the increasing importance of lifelong learning, at least in policy. The teachers are instead more focused on internationalisation. Monica, Camilla and Emma discussed that students might work abroad and thus need vocational English, but there is little focus on the future vocation for these students. In policy, the stakeholders are more in focus than before (cf. Lundahl et al., 2010), but this does not seem to affect the teaching practice for these six teachers.

The teachers in the interviews interpret and translate policy into practice (cf. Ball et al., 2012; Ozga, 2000). Emma used ‘buzzwords’ like employability and marketing as reasons for working with vocational English, which is her interpretation of these policy documents. Alice problematises whether or not English is very important for a student in the Building and Construction programme by saying that she would rather hire a skilled craftsman than someone who is good at English. As discussed in chapter 3, the views on what skills and knowledge are considered to be desirable has shifted between Lpf 94 and Gy 2011 (Lundahl et al. 2010, pp. 52-56; Nylund 2010, pp. 37-38). The interviews show that vocational English is common for these teachers, but there is no evidence that this has changed with the new reform of Gy 2011. For example, several of Monica’s vocational English assignments were created in 2006.

How do policy texts construct their subjects and “how do teachers construct their students”?

In this section the focus is on how policy texts construct their subjects, and how teachers “construct” their students. In what way is there a connection between what is intended in policy, and what is enacted in practice? This is connected to vocational English since the way the teachers view their students is a possible influence on their teaching.

As the policy analysis showed, the views on vocational and academic students have changed between the three reforms. In Lgy 70, vocational programmes were two-year programmes compared to the three-year academic programmes. In Lpf 94, students studied the same general subjects and all programmes increased to three years in an effort to reduce the differences between vocational and academic programmes. All students studied the courses that made them eligible for higher education. In Gy 2011, in contrast, there is a stronger classification between vocational and academic students, in line with previous research (cf. Andersson Varga, 2014; Berggren, 2012; Norlund, 2009; Nylund, 2013). Bernstein (2000) describes a strong classification as having stronger boundaries between categories. Using this theory, it can be stated that the boundaries between vocational and academic students were weaker under Lpf 94 than those under Gy 2011.

The interviews also showed that the teachers view vocational and academic students differently. They ascribe different characteristics to them, such as vocational students being better at 'practical' things or having lower goals than academic students. Daniel said that 'especially in a practical programme' students are less motivated to study English. Four of the teachers in the interviews described a lack of prior knowledge in English among their vocational students, which may be a possible cause for placing lower demands on vocational students. Alice, the only teacher who does not work with vocational English, makes a point of teaching vocational and academic students in the same way, and uses the same textbook regardless of which programme students attend. In line with the previous research on differences in education programmes presented in chapter 3 (cf. Beach, 1999; Hårdig, 1995; Lundahl et al., 2010; Lilja-Waltå, 2011; Nylund, 2013; Norlund, 2009; Rosvall, 2012), the teachers in the interviews seem to have different expectations of vocational and academic students. Vocational students are said to aim for lower grades, for example. This is one of the reasons why teachers work with vocational English, for example Olivia and Emma especially mention working with vocational English as a way of increasing the vocational students' motivation. In addition, the interviews show that the teachers are sensitive to the needs of individual students and adapt their teaching according to students' opinions or prior knowledge.

The personal attitudes and views on language learning can also affect to what extent the teachers work with vocational English, and why they do it. Different methods and approaches to language learning are discussed in

chapter 2. Daniel's teaching takes on some of the characteristics of the Grammar Translation Method. Emma's teaching is more along the lines of both Communicative Language Teaching, and the Direct Method. She is very focused on oral communication, and basic sentences and words. She describes looking at learners as partners in a conversation (cf. Brown, p. 46). Olivia's teaching is also characterised by Communicative Language Teaching, especially regarding her view that the vocational English tasks should be authentic and meaningful. Monica and Camilla share Olivia's view that tasks should be authentic. Several of Monica's assignments are from actual construction projects she has taken part in. Camilla tries to make her assignments authentic, but says that she has not yet found the right material. Alice's teaching is not described here because she does not work with vocational English and her general English teaching was not discussed in the interview.

In most cases vocational English, as these teachers describe it, is part of what Bernstein (1999) calls horizontal discourse, or everyday common-sense knowledge. In contrast to vertical discourse, the horizontal discourse is context dependent and local. Vocational English is very context dependent with regards to learning vocational vocabulary, but some assignments are less dependent on context. All six teachers mentioned describing students' work as part of vocational English, which is not very context dependent. Horizontal discourse is likely to be oral, which is in line with the communicative approach used by Emma. Nonetheless, several teachers teach vocational English both orally and in writing.

All six teachers mentioned vocabulary as the most important part of teaching vocational English. Daniel uses traditional wordlists where students memorize the words, which is in line with Bernstein's description of horizontal discourse. Previous research shows that students may have difficulties realising what they have learnt (Andersson Varga, 2014, p. 50; Norlund, 2009, p. 51), since knowledge in a horizontal discourse is only useful in a specific context or segment. This could explain why Daniel and Alice say that students' do not see the point of exercises, or the connection between the vocational subjects and English. Bernstein (2000) argues that what is learnt in one segment in horizontal discourse does not necessarily bear a relation to another context or segment. On the other hand, Monica's news quiz or Olivia's projects, for example, show how the teachers try to bring subjects together and show a wider perspective.

There is also less focus on assessing vocational English than in general English teaching. Monica stated that she chose not to test students on vocational English. Emma mostly assesses oral work in general terms, not specifically vocational English. This is probably because vocational English is not part of the grading criteria of the course English 5. Neither is vocational English part of the national tests in Sweden. This is in line with what Andersson Varga (2014, p. 50) describes, that activities in the horizontal discourse are less likely to be evaluated than activities in the vertical discourse. Because vocational English is not assessed in the national tests, teachers might instead focused on general skills that will be assessed in the national tests.

It could also be argued that the teachers in the interviews try to reach a vertical discourse, since they try to connect assignments to a wider perspective. This is especially apparent in Olivia's teaching where she cooperates with several other teachers and subjects in order to create her assignments.

10. Conclusions

In this final chapter my conclusions are presented along with the pedagogical implications of the study and suggestions for further research. The aim of this study has been to examine how, and in what ways, vocational English is a part of English language teaching in the Building and Construction Programme, and what the influences are for this pedagogy. I have examined how vocational English is described at policy level compared to what views practicing English teachers express. Six English teachers in the Building and Construction Programme at five different schools in Central Sweden have been interviewed.

The policy analysis of the three latest upper secondary school reforms in Sweden (Lgy 70, Lpf 94, and Gy 2011) highlights themes such as lifelong learning, internationalisation and individualisation, which can be connected to the interview analysis. The results show that lifelong learning is given a more prominent position in Gy 2011, but it is emphasised in all three reforms that students need to adapt to a changing and increasingly international society. In the syllabi there is a shift from very general forms of English in Lgy 70 and Lpf 94 to a more controlled content and less autonomy for teachers in Gy 2011. It is not explicitly stated in any of the policy texts that teachers should work with vocational English.

As mentioned in the introduction, students today need to adapt to an international working life, and as the policy analysis showed, internationalisation and an international perspective are increasingly important (SKOLFS 2011:144). Only two of the teachers clearly have this in mind when working with vocational English, and say that they want to prepare their students for working abroad in the future. One of the teachers also put forth future employability for her students, and that internationalisation is a good way to market the school. This connects to internationalisation and employability emphasized in policy texts.

Regarding individualisation, the results are different. Here all six teachers say that students influence the teaching to a great extent. The teachers in the interviews individualise their teaching and constantly adapt to the needs of their students. This sometimes results in lowering demands on vocational

students, which they perceive lack sufficient prior knowledge of English. In different ways, all six teachers express how they adopt their teaching to their students. The students influence teaching directly or indirectly, and thus the teaching varies between strong and weak framing. Bernstein's (1990; 2000) concepts of horizontal and vertical discourse, and classification and framing in addition to frame factor theory (Ball et al., 2011; Lindblad et al. 1999) have been used for analysis. With these concepts the teaching can be said to vary between strong and weak framing. The teachers in the interviews strive to meet the needs of their students, and pay special attention to students' feelings. One of the teachers says that she wants the student to find her teaching 'exciting' and another says that she adapts her teaching depending on 'what students want to do'. The students' opinions and feelings are a strong reason for working or not working with vocational English which is also in line with what is stated in the curriculum. The teachers way of reasoning on students' possibilities of influencing their education are in line with key ideas in the upper secondary curriculum where it is stated that students should be given the opportunity to influence their education (SKOLFS 2011:144). One of the six teachers in the study says that her students do not want to work with vocational English, and that is one of the reasons for why she does not.

The study also shows that not all policy texts reach the teachers. The teachers in the interviews have a high degree of autonomy, and it is clear that policy is not directly connected to practice. The teachers interpret the policy texts and are influenced in many different ways, for example by the headteacher or by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. The diploma goals are less in focus than the syllabi and curriculum, which might be explained by the fact that the diploma goals are different for each programme and that all teachers teach on several different programmes. In addition, there are ideas that are presumed by the teachers to be written down in policy, but that are not. For example, the notion that teachers should work with vocational English is not explicitly stated in any of the policy texts, but the teachers in the interviews believe that it is. The visit from the Swedish Schools Inspectorate also suggests that this idea, that vocational English should be taught, permeates the teaching. The ideas in policy reach the teachers in an indirect way, and it does not always connect to their teaching practice.

Sometimes the teachers generalise and describe vocational students as unmotivated or uninterested, but at other times they recognise their capabilities. When the teachers describe their students they say that 'most of

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them can speak English', or that they had 'bright' and 'brilliant' students last year. One of the teachers says that she tries to do the same assignments with all students but also tries to give motivated students extra challenges. Another also mentions that both kinds of students are present in all programmes, which shows that the teachers are open to individual differences and generally do not group all vocational students together. A problem four of the teachers describe is the students' lack of prior knowledge of English.

Students' opinions and frame factors such as time poverty, are the largest influences on how and in what ways vocational English is part of the English teaching in the Building and Construction Programme. Some of the ideas in policy reach the teachers, but not all of them. Teachers also interpret policy differently and they want to let students influence their teaching.

The study shows that vocational English is part of the English teaching in the Building and Construction Programme for five of the six teachers interviewed. None of the teachers work with vocational English in the same way: they all have different interpretations of what it is, and what parts of vocational English are important, but the role of vocabulary is emphasised by all of the teachers.

Using the concepts horizontal and vertical discourse from Bernstein (1990; 2000) the analysis showed that vocational English tends to focus on knowledge in the horizontal discourse. Horizontal discourse refers to everyday, common-sense knowledge, while vertical discourse refers to school knowledge, or 'official' knowledge (Bernstein, 1999, p. 158). However, the teachers make a conscious effort to connect different subjects to each other. This shows that the teachers try to offer their students knowledge in the vertical discourse as well.

Another concept from Bernstein (1990; 2000) is classification. A strong classification means that there are strong boundaries between subjects or groups of students, for example. The findings of the interview study are that there is strong classification between the vocational subjects and English. Four teachers would like more time to plan their lessons with the construction teachers. The teachers recognise their limitations, such as a lack of knowledge of the construction subject, and say that they need to cooperate more with construction teachers. Camilla says that she thinks about how important it is that the assignments she makes are authentic and fits the programme, rather than her own guesses.

In line with previous research (cf. Andersson Varga, 2014; Lilja-Waltå 2011; Norlund 2009) the study shows that students in vocational programmes are at risk of not being offered the opportunity to develop knowledge in a vertical discourse to the same extent as students in academic programmes. Vocational English is context dependent, especially the vocational vocabulary. As previously mentioned, vocational English is likely to be oral and not assessed in the same way as general English, for instance Monica said that she did not test students on vocational English even if they worked with it in class. Vocational English can be a dual-focused approach. Some of the teachers are able to connect different subjects to each other, which is closer to vertical discourse. Other teachers say that vocational English mostly entails specific vocabulary and translation of texts, which would classify as horizontal discourse.

Implications for teaching and learning

The results of the study have several implications for English language teaching and learning in Swedish upper secondary vocational programmes. Firstly, as has been shown by the help of the different categories in the taxonomies, the teachers' notions of vocational English vary. The study shows that teachers and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate view vocational English as something positive, but that there is no consensus on which methods to use or which content to include. The implications of the findings are that the methods and content of vocational English needs to be further discussed by English teachers. As has also been revealed, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate view vocational English as something positive – even when it is not emphasized in current policy texts – and thus it becomes important to further examine the methods and content of vocational English. There is a need for more discussion materials for teachers, which for example the Swedish National Agency for Education could develop.

As a consequence of the fact that students in vocational programmes have low results on the national test for the course in English, a second implication is that it is important that materials are developed for discussing methods for teaching foundation subjects in vocational programmes. Regarding vocational English, future studies could focus on classroom observation in order to find more distinct definitions of what the term can encompass, and what the implications are for the vocational students.

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Furthermore, the study shows that there is a need for teachers to have more time to plan and prepare their lessons. When a new reform is introduced – as in this case the upper secondary reform of 2011 - there is a need for teachers to have time to interpret and discuss the new policies, which is an important part of what Ball et al. (2012) and Ozga (1990; 2000) call *policy enactment*. Because policies are enacted and constantly interpreted, as opposed to implemented, there is a need for collegial discussions. Several of the teachers in the interviews mention time poverty as a problem, and express a need for time to meet and cooperate with the vocational teachers. The diploma goals are less in focus for these teachers than the syllabi and curriculum, a possible reason being that there are different diploma goals for different programmes. A solution to this time poverty problem could be for teachers to only teach at one or two different programmes, which would mean that they had fewer diploma goals to adapt their teaching to. Future studies could also focus on to what extent and in what ways diploma goals should characterise English teaching in vocational programmes.

In addition, the study shows that in what Bernstein calls *the local recontextualising field* (LRF), students influence the teaching the most. The teachers make an effort to individualise their education, and adapt their teaching to the needs and presumed interests of their students. The students influence the teaching directly or indirectly, and from this study it is not possible to connect a strong or weak framing to whether or not vocational English is taught.

Finally, the study shows that there is a need to challenge the ideas and preconceptions about vocational students, and to give all categories of students access to the theoretical and abstract knowledge in the vertical discourse.

This licentiate thesis points to how vocational and academic students are more differentiated from each other when teachers work with vocational English. A possible focus for future studies is to examine the students' views on vocationally oriented general subjects, since there seems to be a presumption among these teachers that students find vocational English exciting and motivating. Another interesting focus for future studies on vocational English and policy would be to examine other texts that influence teachers. The Swedish National Agency for Education publishes many texts and commentaries that have a role in the interpretation of policy. In this study, this material was excluded in order to limit the data. Nevertheless, I recognise that the

thoughts and ideas behind policy are important. In addition, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate seems to have its own interpretation of policy texts which would be relevant for further study.

In conclusion, vocational English is part of English language teaching for five of six teachers in this study. Their motives and influences vary, but they want to prepare students for an international working life, increase student motivation and create a connection between subjects. The study shows that there is a distinct gap between policy and practice. Several of the teachers have the notion that they are supposed to work with vocational English and that it must be written down in policy somewhere, but are not sure where. The diploma goals, which, according to the Swedish National Agency for Education (2012a, p. 84), should permeate all courses, are simply not in focus for these teachers. Instead, the greatest influence on the teaching for the teachers in this study are their students, either indirectly or directly.

Sammanfattning på svenska (summary in Swedish)

Den senaste gymnasiereformen, Gy 2011, introducerade en ny struktur på gymnasiet som har gjort yrkesförberedande och högskoleförberedande program mer åtskilda än som varit fallet de senaste decennierna. I den tidigare reformen, Lpf 94, läste alla elever de kurser som gav behörighet för högskolan, men i Gy 2011 reducerades de gymnasiegemensamma ämnena för yrkeselever för att ersättas med karaktärsämnen. Vissa ämnen, t ex matematik och samhällskunskap, har blivit indelade i olika kurser för yrkes- respektive högskoleförberedande program, men kursen engelska 5 är densamma oavsett vilket program eleverna tillhör. För högskolebehörighet är påbyggnadskursen engelska 6 obligatorisk, och det är numera en valbar kurs på de yrkesförberedande programmen. I det här sammanhanget är det relevant att undersöka vilken roll yrkesengelska får på gymnasiet idag.

Yrkesengelska handlar om att på något sätt anpassa undervisningen i engelska till elevernas framtida yrken, exempelvis genom att arbeta med fackspråk. Det finns flera metoder att arbeta med yrkesengelska, det kallas ofta för infärgning eller ämnesintegrering på svenska. Internationellt används *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP), *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL) och *Vocationally Oriented Language Learning* (VOLL). Termen yrkesengelska, eller *vocational English*, används i den här studien eftersom det är en smalare definition än ESP, CLIL eller VOLL och även mer specifik än ämnesintegrering eller infärgning.

Syftet med studien är att undersöka hur, och på vilket sätt, yrkesengelska är en del av engelskundervisningen på bygg- och anläggningsprogrammet och vilka influenser som finns för en sådan pedagogik. Studien är tvådelad och den första delen består av en policyanalys där de tre senaste gymnasiereformerna (Gy 2011, Lpf 94 och Lgy 70) analyseras med hjälp av frågor från Ozga (2000) och Rizvi & Lingard (2010). I policyanalysen undersöks hur yrkesengelska beskrivs och hur det har förändrats i de tre reformerna. Den andra delen av studien består av semi-strukturerade individuella intervjuer med sex engelsklärare på fem olika skolor i Mellansverige. Intervjuerna genomfördes i

februari och mars 2014 med uppföljningsintervjuer i augusti 2014. Intervjувaren kategoriseras genom Spradleys (1979) taxonomier och semantiska relationer. Spradley's (1979) semantiska relationer är en uppsättning kriterier, till exempel "X är en sorts Y" som visar vilka teman i intervjuerna som är lika eller hör ihop. Dessa teman sorterar sedan i taxonomier, där till exempel "elevers åsikter" eller "gruppdynamik" är en sorts "påverkan på klassrumsundervisningen".

Kopplingen mellan policydokument och lärarnas åsikter, tankar och uppfattningar i intervjuerna är viktig eftersom lärare har en viktig roll i tolkandet och rekontextualiserandet av policytexter. Mot bakgrund av detta undersöks varför lärare arbetar med yrkesanpassning av engelskan och vilka motiv och influenser de anger som skäl för sin pedagogik. Ball och Ozgas begrepp *policy enactment* (Ball et al. 2012; Ozga, 2000) är viktigt för att beskriva hur lärares praktik relaterar till policytexterna. Till skillnad från begreppet *implementering* tar begreppet *policy enactment* hänsyn till den komplexa process av tolkning av översättning av policytexter som sker i praktiken. Bernsteins (1990, 2000) begrepp *horisontell och vertikal diskurs*, *klassifikation* och *inramning* används i analysen av mina resultat.

Policyanalysen visar att begrepp som livslångt lärande, ett internationellt perspektiv och en global identitet är relevanta teman i relation till yrkesengelska. Dessa teman kan knytas till lärarnas angivna motiv för att arbeta med yrkesengelska, några lärare berättar att de vill förbereda sina elever för att arbeta utomlands i framtiden. Policyanalysen visar också att man har frångått en mer generell engelskundervisning i Lgy 70 till en mer specifikt programanknuten engelska i Gy 2011. Att lärare ska samarbeta med varandra och mellan olika ämnen nämns också i policytexterna från Lpf 94 och Gy 2011, men är inte lika vanligt förekommande i intervjuvaren. Lärare beskriver att de inte har tid att samarbeta med yrkeslärarna, och säger att bristen på tid gör att de inte har hunnit sätta sig in i programmålen ännu.

Vidare visar policyanalysen att elever enligt Lpf 94 och Gy 2011 bör kunna påverka sin undervisning både när det gäller innehåll och metod. Alla sex lärare i intervjuerna låter också eleverna i hög grad påverka engelskundervisningen. Eleverna påverkar både indirekt och direkt, till exempel genom att låta eleverna utvärdera undervisningen och anpassa den därefter. Några lärare väntar med den definitiva terminsplaneringen och menar att man inte kan förbereda sig för mycket innan man träffat elevgruppen. Eleverna påverkar indirekt undervisningen eftersom lärarna anpassar undervisningen till

exempelvis elevernas dåliga förkunskaper av engelska. Några lärare nämner att yrkes eleverna siktar lägre när det gäller betyg, men att de försöker utmana de elever som vill nå längre. En lärare berättar att han undervisar på E-nivå med bygg- och anläggnings eleverna, men att han ger elever som strävar efter högre betyg andra uppgifter.

Yrkes engelska beskrivs av lärarna på ett sätt som faller inom det som Bernstein (1999) kallar kunskap i en horisontell diskurs. Alla sex lärare nämner ordkunskap som den viktigaste delen av yrkes engelska, men arbetar med det på olika sätt. Kunskap i den horisontella diskursen är lokal och beroende av sammanhanget, vilket stämmer väl överens med att till exempelvis lära sig fackterminologi på engelska. Fem av lärarna i intervjuerna nämner också ”att beskriva saker” eller ”ge instruktioner” som exempel på yrkes engelska. Detta kan istället placeras i den vertikala diskursen, eftersom dessa kunskaper är användbara i fler sammanhang.

Policyanalysen visar att synen på yrkes elever och elever på högskoleförberedande program har förändrats mellan de tre reformerna. I Lpf 94 studerade alla elever samma kärnämnen och alla program gav högskolebehörighet. I Gy 2011 är det istället en starkare klassifikation mellan yrkes- och högskoleförberedande program eftersom eleverna läser olika ämnen. Skillnaderna mellan elever och den starka klassifikationen mellan grupper av elever kan kopplas till hur lärarna ser sina elever. Intervjuerna visade, i linje med tidigare forskning (jmf. Andersson Varga, 2014; Beach, 1999; Korp, 2011; Norlund, 2009; Rosvall, 2012) att lärarna beskriver elever på yrkes- och högskoleförberedande program på olika sätt. Elever på yrkesprogrammen tillskrivs egenskaper som att de är bättre på ”praktiska” saker eller att de har lägre mål än elever på högskoleförberedande program. Flera av lärarna i intervjuerna beskriver också att eleverna saknar tillräckliga förkunskaper i engelska. Yrkes engelska ses som ett sätt att motivera eleverna, och flera lärare nämner att de vill att eleverna ska känna att undervisningen är spännande eller att de ska känna en koppling till sitt yrkesämne. Några anledningar för lärare att inte arbeta med yrkes engelska är att de har ont om tid, eller praktiska orsaker som att verkstaden och bygglärarna är långt ifrån engelsklärarna.

Intervjustudien visar också att lärarna konstant tolkar och översätter policy. Lärarna i intervjuerna ändrar uppgifter och lyssnar till respons från sina elever, därefter omarbetar de på ett kreativt och komplext sätt sitt arbete och konstruerar sina egna uppgifter med yrkes engelska. Därför blir det också tydligt att lärare har starkt inflytande över hur policy tolkas och de har en hög

grad av autonomi. Lärarna har också en idé om att man ska arbeta med yrkesengelska och att det står någonstans i policy, även om de inte vet exakt var. Det finns en idé om yrkesengelska som något positivt, vilket också stärks i och med skolinspektionens besök på en av lärarnas skola där läraren uppfattar att de får beröm för att de arbetar så mycket med just yrkesanpassning av ämnen. Alla skolledare sägs också vara positiva till att arbeta med yrkesanpassning av engelskan. På två av skolorna har skolledningen gått ett steg längre och bestämt att det ska vara ett inslag i engelskundervisningen.

De didaktiska implikationerna av studien är att även om yrkesengelska ses som något positivt, visar studien också behovet av att lyfta metodiska frågor när det gäller yrkesengelska. Metoden och vilket innehåll som inkluderas kommuniceras inte mellan lärare. Begreppet *policy enactment* innebär att policytexterna hela tiden tolkas och översätts, istället för implementeras. För att skapa bra förutsättningar och möjligheter för *policy enactment* behövs diskussionsmaterial för lärare i gymnasiegemensamma ämnen som undervisar på yrkesprogram. Detta kan kanske skolverket utveckla, i linje med tidigare satsningar som *Språklärares stora blå* (Söderberg, 2011) eller *Språkboken* (Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2001). Eftersom elever på yrkesprogram har lägre resultat på nationella prov i gymnasiegemensamma ämnen än elever på högskoleförberedande program finns det också ett behov av material för att diskutera metoder för undervisning av de gymnasiegemensamma ämnena på yrkesprogram.

En ramfaktorfråga som ofta återkommer är lärarnas tidsbrist. Studien visar också på lärarnas behov av mer tid till att planera och förbereda lektioner. De berättar att de inte hinner sätta sig in i programmålen för de olika programmen, och att de inte hinner träffa och samarbeta med yrkeslärarna i den utsträckning de skulle vilja. En lösning kan också vara att skolledare låter lärare undervisa på ett, eller ett par, olika program. Det blir då färre programmål att anpassa engelskundervisningen till.

Studien visar också hur elever på yrkes- och högskoleförberedande program blir mer åtskilda när man arbetar med yrkesengelska. Å andra sidan arbetar lärarna ständigt med att individanpassa undervisningen till elevers behov och förmodade intressen.

Sammanfattningsvis är yrkesengelska en del av engelskundervisningen för fem av sex lärarna i studien. Deras motiv och influenser varierar, men de vill bland annat förbereda eleverna för ett internationellt arbetsliv, öka elevernas motivation och skapa ett sammanhang och en koppling mellan ämnen.

Studien visar att det inte finns en tydlig koppling mellan policy och praktik. Examensmålen, som borde genomsyra alla kurser enligt skolverket (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012a), är minst i fokus av de olika policytexterna för de här lärarna. Istället påverkar elever undervisningen i hög grad, antingen indirekt genom att lärare anpassar sig till gruppdynamik och förkunskaper eller direkt genom utvärderingar och inflytande över metod och innehåll i engelskundervisningen.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Informed consent



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET INST FÖR PEDAGOGIK OCH SPECIALPEDAGOGIK

INFORMERAT SAMTYCKE

1/2

2014-02-02

Forskning om undervisningen i engelska på Bygg-och Anläggningsprogrammet

Bakgrund och syfte

Den här undersökningen handlar om hur, och på vilka sätt, lärare undervisar i engelska på Bygg- och Anläggningsprogrammet. Huvudstudien består av två delar, en del där läroplaner och andra relevanta policydokument studeras och analyseras och en del där engelsklärare intervjuas.

Jag heter Katarina Lindahl och är doktorand vid Göteborgs Universitet, men arbetar också som gymnasielärare i engelska och religion på St Mikaelsskolan i Mora. Huvudhandledare vid Göteborgs Universitet är Britt-Marie Apelgren och bihandledare Ingrid Henning Loeb, båda vid institutionen för pedagogik och specialpedagogik.

Förfrågan om deltagande

Denna information slutar med en fråga till dig om samtycke till att vara med i studien. Du får frågan eftersom du undervisar i engelska på Bygg- och Anläggningsprogrammet.

Hur går studien till?

Du kommer att få ett antal frågor som handlar om hur din engelskundervisning ser ut. Intervjuerna kommer att spelas in och jag kommer att anteckna något för att kunna ställa följdfrågor. Enbart jag och eventuellt mina handledare kommer att höra inspelningen. Efter inspelningen kommer intervjuerna att transkriberas för att lättare kunna behandlas vid analysarbetet. Transkriptioner och inspelningar kommer inte att visas för exempelvis rektor eller kollegor utan kommer endast att användas i studien. När analysen är klar ingår den i den licentiatavhandling som jag ska skriva. Planen är att avhandlingen ska vara klar hösten 2014.

Behandling av material och resultat - sekretess

I avhandlingen kommer de intervjuade lärarna att avidentifieras genom andra namn än de egna. Fullständig anonymitet är dock svår att garantera eftersom lärare vid er egna skola kan känna igen svaren eller minnas vilka som blivit intervjuade. Saker som t ex er lärarerfarenhet är relevant, och därför kommer den presenteras i åldersspann (t ex 5-10 år, 10-15 år osv) för att i största möjliga mån behålla alla deltagares anonymitet.

Du kommer i slutet på den här informationen få en fråga om att få använda inspelningen av dina intervjusvar.

VOCATIONAL ENGLISH IN POLICY AND PRACTICE

Frivillighet

Deltagande i undersökningen är frivilligt. Du kan när som helst välja att ej delta i studien utan att motivera varför.

Den som deltar ger sitt samtycke till användning av inspelat material i forskningssyfte i den utsträckning som anges nedan.

Katarina Lindahl

Informerat samtycke

Jag har fått muntlig och skriftlig information om deltagande i ovanstående forskning i sådan utsträckning att jag känner mig tillräckligt informerad. Jag ger därför mitt informerade samtycke till att delta.

Jag ger också mitt samtycke till att:

1. Aidentifierade kortare citat och utdrag får presenteras i studien
2. Aidentifierade kortare citat och utdrag får publiceras eller presenteras i olika forskningssammanhang
3. Aidentifierade kortare citat av intervjumaterialet får publiceras eller presenteras i skolsammanhang, på föreläsningar eller kompetensutvecklingsdagar
4. Intervjumaterialet får föras över digitalt till andra forskare

Stryk den punkt/de punkter som inte medges.

Ort

Datum

Namnteckning

Appendix 2 Interview guide

Intervjuguide

- Presentera mig själv
- Tillåtelse att spela in?
- Syftet med studien och informerat samtycke

- Anteckna:
- Datum/tid
- Plats/omgivning
- Respondent
- Observationer

The purpose of the main study is to examine how, and in what ways, vocational English is a part of English language teaching in the Construction Programme, and what the influences are for such pedagogy. I want to examine how vocational English is described at policy level compared to what views practicing English teachers express. To what extent do teachers work with vocational English, and what are expressed motives and influences for their pedagogy?

Några bakgrundsfrågor som går snabbt att svara på

- Vilka program arbetar du på?
- Vilket arbetslag tillhör du?
- Hur länge har du arbetat som lärare?
- Har du lärarexamen/legitimation?
- Hur länge har du arbetat på just den här skolan/programmet?
- Hur gammal är du?

Allmänt engelska på yrkesprogram

(skolledning, elever, kollegor, samverkan/samarbete, attityd)

- Kan du berätta lite för mig hur du jobbar med eller samverkar med yrkeslärare?
- Hur tycker du det fungerar att arbeta med karaktärsämneslärarna?

- Vad har skolledningen för inställning?
- Finns det någon speciell kultur på skolan?
- Vad påverkar ditt arbetssätt mest?
- din rektor, ämnesplan eller program mål t ex?
- Kan du berätta om dina elever? (öppen fråga)
- Vad tycker de om engelska?
- Hur jobbar ni?
- Kan du märka någon skillnad på förr och nu eller mellan olika program? Har saker ändrats?

I vilken utsträckning/hur

Frågor om läraren inte nämnt infärgning:

- Har du provat att arbeta med infärgning/yrkesanpassning av engelskan någon gång?
- Om nej, varför inte?
- Vad betyder infärgning för dig?

→ Gå vidare till frågorna under ”styrdokument”

Följdfrågor om lärarna själva nämner infärgning:

- Vad betyder “infärgning” för dig?
- Vad ser du för fördelar med att arbeta med infärgning/yrkesanpassning?
- Vad ser du för nackdelar med att arbeta infärgning/yrkesanpassning?
- Hur ofta och hur mycket arbetar du med infärgning/yrkesanpassning av ditt ämne?
- Är det sporadiskt, i temaarbeten, långa projekt hela året?
- Vad är de största svårigheterna och utmaningarna med att arbeta med infärgning/yrkesanpassning?
- Hur har du löst dem?
- Vad fick dig att börja arbeta med infärgning?

Styrdokument

- Påverkar examensmålen för byggprogrammet din undervisning?
- Nej – (varför inte? / Gå vidare)
- Ja - på vilket sätt?

- Vilka tankar har du kring den här kommentaren till examensmålen för BA-programmet? (Min fetstil)
- Ta och läs de här först i lugn och ro och sen skulle jag vilja att du kommentera när du känner dig redo.

”I examensmålen betonas språk och kommunikation. I ämnena svenska eller svenska som andraspråk och engelska ges eleverna en språklig grund. En god läsförmåga och kommunikativ färdighet är av vikt när eleverna till exempel söker och värderar information samt samverkar med olika yrkesgrupper och kunder på arbetsplatsen. **Genom samverkan med karaktärsämnena ges eleverna möjlighet att utveckla ett fungerande fackspråk och förmåga att kommunicera i yrkesutövandet.**”

- Vilka tankar har du kring det här centrala innehållet under kommunikationens innehåll för ämnet Engelska? (min fetstil)

”**Ämnesområden med anknytning till elevernas** utbildning samt samhälls- och **arbetsliv**; aktuella områden; händelser och händelseförlopp; tankar, åsikter, idéer, erfarenheter och känslor; relationer och etiska frågor.

Appendix 3 Interview guide for the follow-up interviews

Six individual interview guides were used for the follow-up interviews. This is a summary of the questions.

Question	Teacher
Vilka saker kan påverka klassrumsundervisningen? Vilka olika sätt finns det att påverka klassrumsundervisningen? (För eleverna? För andra lärare/rektor? Skolverket/skolinspektionen)	Alice, Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia
Några andra lärare jag har intervjuat har beskrivit att de känner sig "välkomna" eller "hemma" på bygg. Tror du att det är något som spelar roll för hur man jobbar med infärgning?	Alice, Daniel, Monica, Olivia
I mailet i somras bad jag er leta fram några exempel på uppgifter. Skulle du kunna visa några av de uppgifter du arbetar med? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Berätta om uppgiften. Vilken typ av uppgifter är det? (ord/beskriva/instruktioner?) Vad är syftet med uppgiften, vad tror du eleverna får med sig? Var kommer uppgifterna ifrån? (nätet/gjort själv/läroböcker?) 	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia
Vilka olika sätt finns det att jobba med yrkesanpassning/infärgning av engelskan? I den förra intervjun pratade vi om [här nämndes exempel på uppgifter som vi diskuterade i intervju 1, individuellt för varje lärare]	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia,
Kan du komma på några fler uppgifter där ni arbetar med yrkesengelska?	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia
Jag skulle vilja gå in på det här på djupet. När vi har en lista på olika saker kan vi gå igenom dem och lista ut hur de skiljer sig åt eller på vilket sätt de är lika.	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia
Nu har jag några frågor kring vad som är typiskt, karaktäristiskt, för att arbeta med yrkesengelska. Skulle du säga att de här sakerna är typiska? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> [Är X karaktäristiskt för att arbeta med yrkesengelska?] Är ordkunskap karaktäristiskt för att arbeta med yrkesengelska? Är instruktioner... Är att beskriva saker... Är att använda samma uppgift för att nå flera betygsmål... Kan du komma på något annat som passar i samma kategori? 	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia
Vilka olika syften har du när du jobbar med yrkesanpassning/infärgning?	Camilla, Daniel, Emma, Monica, Olivia
I den förra intervjun pratade vi om ... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> elevgruppen du har framför dig påverkar undervisningen mest, på vilket sätt gör de det? Hur låter du dina elever påverka undervisningen? 	Alice, Emma, Camilla
I förra intervjun pratade vi om... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> vilka kvalitéer som är viktiga om man går bygg. Och att engelskan kanske inte var så viktigt för dem eleverna. Hur påverkar det hur du undervisar de olika programmen?' 	Alice

APPENDICES

I förra intervjun pratade vi om... <ul style="list-style-type: none">att nå flera mål med samma uppgift & skapa större sammanhang Kan du förklara mer hur det skapar sammanhang?	Emma, Olivia
I förra intervjun pratade vi om... <ul style="list-style-type: none">Att du inte hade tillräckligt med tid. På vilket sätt påverkar det ditt arbete? Påverkar det hur mycket du hinner läsa in dig på ämnesplaner och program mål?	Daniel
I förra intervjun pratade vi om... <ul style="list-style-type: none">Att du ville bredda elevernas vyer. Gör du ungefär samma saker med alla dina klasser?	Monica
Ni har arbetat med det här projektet ett år nu. Nu när ni har utvärderat ett år av det här projektet, vad har du för tankar om det?	Daniel, Emma,
Nu har du arbetat ett år på den här skolan, vad har du för tankar kring ert arbetssätt?	Olivia

Appendix 4 Translations and abbreviations

Terms and translations used in this essay

English	Swedish
Central content	Centralt innehåll
Character subjects	Karaktärsämnen
Core subjects	Kärnämnen
Diploma Goals	Programmål
Exam Goals	Examensmål
Foundation subjects	Gymnasiegemensamma ämnen
Programme specialisation	Programfördjupning
Programme specific subjects	Programgemensamma ämnen
Swedish Schools Inspectorate	Skolinspektionen

The 18 national programmes of Gy 2011

Abbr.	English	Swedish
BA	Building and Construction Programme	Bygg- och anläggningsprogrammet
BF	Child and Recreation Programme	Barn- och fritidsprogrammet
EE	Electricity and Energy Programme	El- och energiprogrammet
EK *	Business Management and Economics Programme	Ekonomiprogrammet
ES *	Arts Programme	Estetiska programmet
FT	Vehicle and Transport Programme	Fordons- och transportprogrammet
HA	Business and Administration Programme	Handels- och administrationsprogrammet
HT	Hotel and Tourism Programme	Hotell- och turismprogrammet
HU *	Humanities Programme	Humanistiska programmet
HV	Handicraft Programme	Hantverksprogrammet
IP	Industrial Technology Programme	Industritekniska programmet
NB	Natural Resource Use Programme	Naturbruksprogrammet
NV *	Natural Science Programme	Naturvetenskapsprogrammet
RL	Restaurant Management and Food Programme	Restaurang- och livsmedelsprogrammet
SA *	Social Science Programme	Samhällsvetenskaps- programmet
TE *	Technology Programme	Teknikprogrammet
VF	HVAC and Property Maintenance Programme	VVS- och fastighetsprogrammet
VO	Health and Social Care Programme	Vård- och omsorgsprogrammet

* Higher education preparatory programme

IM	Introduktionsprogrammet
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Appendix 5 Translation of the quotes

The translations are in order by participant and by which page they appear on.

Alice – 'Jag har inte fått det att fungera'

Page	Original Quote	Translation
Page 59	Alice: Det är nog väldigt mycket gruppdynamiken tror jag. Just på bygg i alla fall. Och stämningen i gruppen.	Alice: It is probably the group dynamics to a great extent. In the construction programme at least. And the mood of the group.
Page 86	Alice: Där märkte jag till min fascination att majoriteten av eleverna klarade engelskan jättebra, några var direkt lysande, duktiga, så det var verkligen briljanta elever, så man undrade "ursäkta, går du verkligen på rätt program?". Men det ska ju inte jag ifrågasätta.	Alice: I noticed, and it fascinated me, that the majority of the students managed [the course in] English really well, some were bright, competent, so they were downright brilliant students. And I wondered, "Excuse me, are you really in the right programme?" But that's not for me to question.
Page 90	Alice: Vilka kvalitéer är viktiga när du har gått ut bygg? Är engelska så jäkligt viktigt?" Säger jag som är engelsklärare, men jag menar, jag vill inte anställa en dålig byggare som är bra på engelska. Då ska han faktiskt kunna och vara duktig som yrkesman/yrkeskvinna. Huruvida vederbörande ska vara bra på engelska tänker jag inte.	Alice: Which qualities are important when leaving the construction programme? Is English so darn important? And that's coming from me, an English teacher, but I mean, I wouldn't want to hire a construction worker who is good at English. I want him to be a good craftsman or craftswoman.
Page 92	Alice: Men så fort jag plockar fram t ex "tools in English", ja, alltså det funkar inte. De kan inte förstå vad de ska med det till. Jag har inte lyckats hitta nåt bra. Det är som att alla känner att det är skönt att få slippa karaktärsämnet ett tag och få göra nåt annat, få lite andra infallsvinklar.	Alice: As soon as I take out e.g. [the assignment] "tools in English", well, it doesn't work. They don't know what to use it for. I haven't found anything that's good. It's like everyone feels that it is nice to let go of the character subject for a while and do something different, seeing things from a different angle.
Page 93	Alice: Det går inte att förbereda så mycket, du måste träffa eleverna	Alice: You can't prepare too much, you have to meet the students.
Page 94	Alice: Det står väl, tidigare i läroplanen stod det i alla fall. Sen står det väl, var längesen jag läste exakt vad det står i nuvarande kunskapskraven, men det finns ju examensmål numera för varje program och då ska ju även kurserna färgas utav det i någon mån faktiskt. Jag är inte riktigt klar över hur det ska tolkas, kan jag tyvärr erkänna.	Alice: It is written in the previous curriculum, isn't it? And then it is written, I don't remember exactly what is in the current syllabus, but there are diploma goals for every programme and they should permeate the courses somehow, shouldn't they? I'm not quite sure how to interpret them, I have to admit.
Page 95	Alice: Det känns som "vadå, ska vi prata om det här nu, det kan vi väl göra på bygg?".	Alice: It feels like [students are saying] "what, are we talking about this now, can't we do that in the construction subjects?"

Camilla – ‘Det här får jag bli bättre på och lära mig’

Page	Original Quote	Translation
Page 99	Camilla: Det är så viktigt att inte bara jag tar nåt och gör nåt för att jag tror det passar i programmet, utan det krävs ett samarbete, ett bra samarbete.	Camilla: It's so important that I don't just take something and do something because I think it fits the programme, but we need to cooperate, and cooperate well.

Daniel – 'Jag har mitt race och de har sitt race litegrann'

Page	Original Quote	Translation
Page 86	Daniel: Men jag ser att jag måste sätta nivån på en E-nivå för att de är så himla långt efter. Så just nu lägger jag nivån på en E-nivå och sen trycker jag upp de som behöver mer så att de får mer uppgifter.	Daniel: But I see that I have to teach at E-level because they're so far behind. So now I teach at E-level and push the ones who need more [of a challenge] and give them more assignments.
Page 89	Daniel: Framförallt i ett praktiskt program, de är inte så studiemotiverade till att lära sig engelska.	Daniel: Especially in a practical programme, they're not so motivated to study English.
Page 92	Daniel: Jag hade 20 platser att va på, och infärgning på fem program, och alla fem har ju fyra olika inriktningar. Så det var 20 olika platser jag skulle hitta passande övningar till. /.../ Ibland var det en person som gick på måleri, då ska jag få in det på en person. /.../ Det var jättesvårt.	Daniel: I had 20 places to be, and [taught vocational English] on five programmes, and all five programmes have four different orientations. So there were 20 different places to be, and to find suitable exercises for. /.../ Sometimes it was only for one person, a painter, and then I needed to adapt to him, to one student. /.../ It was really difficult.
Page 94	Daniel: Nej, dem bryr jag mig inte så mycket om alls. Det känns inte som att jag kan lägga mig i allt det, utan jag kör mitt. Nej, jag struntar i vad de har för program mål, det går inte att sätta sig in i, man har för mycket papper ändå.	Daniel: No, I don't care about them much at all. It feels like I can't acquaint myself with all that, I do my own things instead. No, I don't care what their diploma goals are, it's impossible to get into that, there are too many documents anyway.
Page 94	Daniel: Ja, det är det vi håller på med nu. Det här är ju infärgning det här.	Daniel: Yes, this is what we're doing now. This is vocational English
Page 95	Daniel: Nej, engelska. Så de flesta täcker vi in. Jag tror vi gick uppifrån och ner, du kan säkert hitta dem om du har målen själv. /.../ Vi krystade lite för att få till dem så att frågorna passade målen också. Men jag tror inte det var så krystat, de flesta var ju ganska enkla.	Daniel: No, in English. We cover most of them. I think we went through them top to bottom. I'm sure you can find which ones they are if you have the goals yourself. We forced it a little to make the questions fit the goals to. But I don't think it was too forced, most were pretty easy.
Page 95	Daniel: De ser liksom inte vitsen [med att skriva loggbok]	Daniel: They don't see the point [of writing a logbook].
Page 97	Daniel: Det är ju det som är nya, prata engelska kan ju de flesta. Men att prata engelska med facktermer är ju svårt.	Daniel: That's what's new, most of them can speak English, but speaking English using technical terms is hard.

Emma – ‘Jag kryper ju fortfarande, men jag ska snart lära mig gå och springa’

Page	Original Quote	Translation
Page 59	Emma: Jag skulle vilja- Eleverna är de som är närmast mig/.../ Men den vardag där jag skapar med mina elever är ju det som styr arbetssättet och då är det ju dom och mitt uppdrag.	Emma: I'd like to- Students are what are closest to me /.../ But the everyday life I create with my students is what control the way of working, so it's them and my mission.
Page 88	Emma: det är klart att det är en skillnad. Främst med vilken målsättning de har, och så med engagemang. Men det finns ju alla sorter på båda ställena.	Emma: Of course there is a difference [between students in academic and vocational programmes]. Mostly regarding their aim, and commitment. But there are both kinds of students in both places.
Page 92	Emma: Jag är inte jätteinsatt i dem, dels för att jag inte hunnit sätta mig in i dem, och dels för att jag bara håller på med årskurs ett, jag har faktiskt inte haft tid att prioritera nån slags långsiktig lösning.	Emma: I'm not very familiar with them. Partly because I haven't had time to acquaint myself with them, and partly because I only teach the first grade, I haven't actually had time to prioritise some kind of long-term solution.
Page 93	Emma: Om det funkar med eleverna så kommer jag fortsätta med [verkstads-engelskan] just för att få in yrkesengelskan. Sen får vi se om vi gör nånting mer eller om DOM kommer på nåtning de vill göra.	Emma: If [workshop English] works with these students I will continue with it just to get vocational English in. Then we'll see if we'll do more or if THEY have anything else they'd like to do.
Page 94	Emma: Det här låter ju precis som det jag tänker, speciellt det här att de ska samarbeta med olika yrkesgrupper och kunder ute på arbetsplatsen. Det som jag kanske inte har tänkt på än är att eleverna söker o värderar information, och jag har inte kombinerat det än, men jag kommer att göra det i den här uppgiften vi gör.	Emma: This sounds just like what I'm thinking, especially this part here where they should cooperate with different vocations in the workplace. What I haven't thought about yet is students searching for and evaluating information, and I haven't combined it yet, but I will in the assignment we are working on now.

Monica – ‘Jag trivs mycket bättre här på yrkesprogrammen’

Page	Original Quote	Translation
Page 88	<p>Monica: Ja, jag brukar köra ungefär samma saker med alla. Men man kan ju inte köra enkla saker med naturarna, utan då måste det bli lite mera högre nivå, för de ligger högre i betygsskalan på en gång. Det märks ju att de kan mer från början, de är ju mycket mer studiemotiverade. De vill ju mycket mer över huvud taget. De kräver mycket mer. /.../ Alla vill ju ha A där.</p> <p>KL: Och det vill de inte på bygg?</p> <p>Monica: Nej, det bryr de sig inte om. Det räcker med E för dem.</p>	<p>Monica: Yes, well, I usually do about the same things with everyone. But you can't do too easy assignments for students in the natural science programme, it has to be on a higher level, because they're higher up on the grading scale right away. You can tell that they have more prior knowledge, they are much more motivated to study. On the whole, they want more and they demand more. /.../ Everyone wants and A there.</p> <p>KL: And the students in the Building and Construction programme don't?</p> <p>Monica: No, they don't care about that. E is enough for them.</p>
Page 94	<p>Monica: Inte direkt påverkar, men man måste ju ha dem med sig ändå hela tiden.</p>	<p>Monica: [They don't] actually affect [my teaching] but you need to keep them in mind all the time.</p>
Page 94	<p>Monica: Precis det jag sa.</p>	<p>Monica: Exactly what I said</p>

Olivia – 'Jag tycker det är helt underbart att jobba så'

Page	Original Quote	Translation
Page 89	<p>Olivia: Ja, mina kommentarer är att det här skapar ett sammanhang för eleverna i och med att det står att man ska samarbeta med karaktärlärarna och <i>teoretiska</i> ämnen.</p> <p>KL: Kan du märka nån skillnad mellan olika program?</p> <p>Olivia: Ja, absolut. Ekonomiprogrammet kan man ju göra mycket mer med. De svarar på en gång, medan de här eleverna behöver mycket mera tid, och mycket längre sträcka att förbereda sig och lämna in.</p> <p>KL: Vad tror du det beror på?</p> <p>Olivia: Jag tror det beror på deras studievana och deras bakgrund.</p>	<p>Olivia: Yes, my comments are that this creates a context for the students since it says that you should cooperate with the character subject teachers and <i>theoretical subjects</i>.</p> <p>KL: Do you notice a difference between different programmes?</p> <p>Olivia: Yes, absolutely. You can do so much more with the economy programme. They answer right away, while these students need more time, and need more time for preparation and turning in assignments.</p> <p>KL: Why do you think that is?</p> <p>Olivia: I believe it's because of their study habits and their background.</p>
Page 89	<p>Olivia: Men de är ändå engagerade, för att de behöver jobba på bra i de <i>teoretiska</i> ämnena för att få komma in på sina inriktningar i bygg.</p>	<p>Olivia: But they're still engaged, because they need to work hard in the <i>theoretical subjects</i>, in order to get in to their orientations in construction.</p>
Page 104	<p>Olivia: Skolinspektionen var här och tittade på, då var det fordonsprogrammet, och de pratade ju bara om infärgning, att det är ju så vi ska jobba, ämneslärarna. Och då fick man jättemycket tankar om att "man kunde kanske gjort så istället, eller gjort så": och att man kanske skulle ha ännu mera infärgning än vad man har i projekten.</p> <p>KL: Så skolinspektionen gick ut och sa att ni ska jobba mer med infärgningen?</p> <p>Olivia: Nja, de sa inte så uttryckligen, utan det var deras undersökning, hur mycket infärgning det var. Underförstått förstod jag det i alla fall som att man ska jobba mer med infärgning. Men vi fick jättebra betyg därifrån, vi var den bästa skolan av de 65 de undersökt. Det var jätteroligt.</p>	<p>Olivia: The Swedish Schools Inspectorate was here and looked at the Vehicle and Transport Programme. And they only talked about "infärgning", that it is the way we should work, the foundation subject teachers. And then I had a lot of thoughts on 'perhaps you should do it this way instead, or that way', and that perhaps we should do even more vocational English than what we have in our projects.</p> <p>KL: So the Swedish Schools Inspectorate said that you should work more with "infärgning"?</p> <p>Olivia: Well, no. They didn't exactly say that, but that was their investigation, how much "infärgning" there was. Implicitly, I understood it as we were to work more with "infärgning". But we got a great review, we were the best school out of the 65 they had been to. It was great.</p>