

Unpacking dominant discourses in higher education language policy

Unpacking dominant discourses in higher education language policy

A critical study of language policy in Swedish
higher education

Susanne Strömberg Jämsvi



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*in tender memory of Åke Andersson, my father,
who always encouraged me to study
and believed that the learning of languages was key to a better world*

Abstract

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The overall purpose of the thesis is to investigate dominant discourses operating in the changing of HE concerning questions of language policy. It has been studied at a national level, analysing reports and government bills, and at an institutional level, analysing university language policy, taking Sweden as an example. The research questions address language ideals and language competences.

The analyses reveal that discourse strands of *economy/market*, *inclusion* and *success* operate, often entangled with each other in discursive knots, in construing what and how languages are valued, and what kind of language competences academics and students need. An overall finding suggests that economic reasons and market values have become more and more salient in construing 'language', concurrently defining participation and prosperity.

The findings show that it is primarily Swedish and English, i.e. as parallel languages, that are construed as language ideals. Swedish, as the national language, is constructed as essential for protective and democratic reasons. Academics are construed as protectors of Swedish scientific terminology and as facilitators of Swedish scientific learning. English, as the international language, is at present constructed as essential, or inevitable, for the interests of a liberalised research and educational market. However, the findings suggest a

transformation from the 1970s when English was construed as important for reasons of solidarity and worldwide responsibility. English as an obvious and natural foreign language in Sweden is construed for professional, rational and participatory reasons.

Multilingualism, beyond Swedish-English bilingualism, is not valued in HE in the 2000s, nor are minority languages or immigrant languages acknowledged in relation to HE. Instead of recognising the potential linguistic repertoire of multilingual students and academics, the findings indicate that perspectives of deficiency prevail. Transnational students and academics are construed as English proficient, and only as English proficient. English-language students are construed as important for universities. Market values and market forces incorporate success for students, but also for universities through these students.

The constructs of language ideals and competences in language policy of Swedish universities are interdiscursively connected to the national level. A parallel Swedish-English language ideal construes Swedish as principle and English as more relevant as educational levels get higher. Ideas of linguistic progress for students and of subject-lecturers as language teachers are prevalent. The Swedish language ideal is to a large extent construed in relation to the plain language movement. Commodifying processes operate in the construals of language by externalising language from people, construing it as an added value, an instrument or a technical matter.

Finally, the educational implications of the findings are discussed in relation to academic work.

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The writing of a thesis is like flying solo. It feels like you are all on your own in a space you cannot fully discern the limits of. You are at times unsure of the direction. Sometimes, it is even hard to distinguish what is up and what is down. Eventually, you realise that you are not flying alone. All flights are guided and controlled via Air Traffic Control (ATC) which provides advisory services. The purpose of ATC is to provide support, organise the flow of air traffic, and prevent collisions. A thesis project is also guided and controlled via a similar system which makes you feel less alone. In the following, I would like to thank the people in my ATC, who have all contributed to this thesis by providing support, organising the flow of the thesis process, and preventing me from crashing.

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The plane is now safely on the ground. I have landed.

Brämhult, August, 2019

¹ From *Thunder Road* by Bruce Springsteen.

² From *Can't hold us down* by Christina Aguilera.

Chapter 1 Background

Introduction

Questions regarding language use and language ideals are a feature of today's universities. This can be attributed to internationalisation, the linguistic diversity of societies and national language legislation. "Education is a key domain for language policy" (Spolsky, 2012, p. 10) and higher education (HE) is an essential area of investigation in Sweden. With approximately 400 000 registered students and 75 500 employees, HE is Sweden's largest government sector³. Every twentieth Swede is active in HE, either as an employee or as a student, and the total number of active people is more than half a million (Geschwind & Forsberg, 2015).

A kind of 'linguascape'⁴ is appearing in HE, discursively making and reproducing certain perspectives and discursively made and reproduced by certain perspectives. For example, English as a medium of instruction (EMI) is increasing worldwide in HE⁵. In Europe, there was immense growth of English-taught programmes (ETPs) in non-Anglophone countries from 2001 to 2013 (Maiworm & Wächter, 2014). In 2003, about 200 master programmes were offered in English in Sweden (Hughes, 2008). In the autumn semester 2011, about 1,100 programmes (bachelor and master) were offered in English (Salö & Josephson, 2013). This change has implications not only for teaching and learning, but also for language policy decisions.

In many sectors of society (HE being one of these), English is currently considered the international language⁶. In 2000, 80% of the population in Sweden, Denmark and Netherlands claimed fluency in English (Graddol, 2004). Even if processes of internationalisation are highly intertwined with questions of language use and language competence, decisions regarding these

³ Registered students 2016/17 and employees in HE from 2017 (statistics from SCB).

⁴ Linguascape is an analogy of Appadurai's metaphors of 'ethno-', 'media-', 'techno-', 'finan-' and 'ideoscapes' (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296ff)

⁵ In an interim report it was even described as a "galloping phenomenon", <http://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/press/controversy-english-becomes-galloping-global-phenomenon>, 2015-02-04

⁶ At the same time, there are employers in Asia who are looking beyond English – the new 'must-learn' language is likely to be Mandarin (Graddol, 2004).

fundamental aspects are likely to be addressed in a rather uncomplicated way, that does not take into account research that addresses the complexity of language use in HE. As early as the 1990s, when the ‘dominance’ of English was increasing in many parts of society, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) raised the question of power and inequality. They emphasised the importance of linguistic awareness, discussions and concrete language policies in HE. The absence of comprehensive language policies might have consequences not sought for (Phillipson, 2003). Furthermore, language policy at university level is often decided by management (cf. Tange, 2012) and without a great deal of debate of possible effects (Hughes, 2008). What constitutes a comprehensive language policy needs to be negotiated in-situ with the parties concerned. It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to discussions about university language policy.

It is societally important to study any language transformation of, and in, HE. When transnational mobility processes for students and academics and the domestic diversity of students are at the centre of current language debates (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012), it is important to discuss how a continued role for HE in service to the broader community is possible (cf. Giroux, 2011; Hursh & Wall, 2011) from the language perspective. Because English has high status in education and is spread widely throughout the world, educational language policy largely concerns: the position of local languages vis-à-vis English, and how to strengthen the status and position of local languages in societally high-status domains (van der Walt, 2010) such as HE. The Nordic context, including Sweden, is no exception.

... internationalisation and processes related to it challenge Nordic higher education not only from the point of view of the language aspect (national languages versus English) of higher education institutions, but, from the Nordic perspective, also from the fundamental perspectives of universities and other higher education institutions as national institutions, providing a public service in a globalising world. /.../ Increasing international cooperation further increases pressures towards language of tuition, as English increases its share in a situation previously dominated by the local Nordic languages. (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017, p. 598)

It is especially important to study the discourses behind the relation between English and (in Sweden) Swedish when: internationalisation is becoming equivalent with courses having English as a medium of instruction (EMI); when the ‘main language’ is being challenged in relation to internationalisation; and

when there are indications of transformed understandings of what counts as ‘legitimate language’ (cf. Heller & Duchêne, 2012). Policy needs to consider the spread of English in relation to whether this poses any threat to other languages and whether it can impede terminological development of national languages (Ferguson, 2012).

Especially in education, it is important to be cautious when deciding on changes in language use; once the process has started, it may be governed by unpredictable and uncontrollable forces that might lead to unlooked-for consequences (Hyltenstam, 2004; Phillipson, 2007). Over the years, the perils of an emergent diglossia have been debated in Sweden (Gunnarsson, 2004; Hyltenstam, 2004; Josephson, 2004). The Nordic Council of Ministers initiated an investigation of domain losses⁷. This showed that no domain had yet lost its ability to function using Swedish. However, several domains were highly influenced by English. HE was one of these. There are, indeed, signs of *functional diglossia* (Gunnarsson, 2004) in academia, English being used for scientific purposes and Swedish for informal conversation, popular science and science journalism. There is also an English-Swedish divide, English being seen as (in comparison to Swedish) desirable, prestigious and the language associated with higher status (Josephson, 2004). In the Nordic countries, measures have been taken to counteract domain losses and to safeguard language development in the domain of science. The Declaration of a Nordic Language Policy: 2006 (2007) seeks to implement a policy of ‘parallel-lingualism’, i.e. the dual use of the official Nordic languages and English in research and HE. At the same time, exposure to English is perceived as an integral part of students’ university studies, especially as regards English-language reading material found across all disciplines at all levels (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012).

There is much debate as to why English should be the obvious choice in internationalisation. Some discourses emphasise possible losses of economic competitiveness if English is not chosen; others, building on language hierarchies, highlight ‘hypercollectivity’ and ‘Q-values’ (Ferguson, 2012). A ‘hypercollective good’ is an economic way of describing that a language gains in value every time a person learns to speak it or uses it and, as it becomes more valuable, there is a concomitant escalation in the number of people who want

⁷ On assignment from the Nordic Council of Ministers’ expert panel on language policy, Maria Falk carried out the investigation in 2001. Her report was available as a PDF document called *Domänförluster i svenskan* [Domain losses in Swedish] and was downloaded from www.sprakradet.se on 13 Apr 2013. However, it seems that it is no longer available there.

to learn and use it (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). Directly related to hypercollectivity, ‘Q-value’ is an indicator of the communicative value of a language in a specific setting and influences why people want to acquire a certain language (Ferguson, 2012). When looking ahead, English will most likely play a crucial role, especially as a second or third language across the world (Graddol, 2004). However, the accepted varieties of English will probably increase when former linguistic gatekeepers lose grounds owing to, for example, new technology, changing attitudes to correctness and open-access publication (cf. Graddol, 2004).

It is important to recognise the political role of language, because via, respectively, protectionist and/or promotional approaches, it highlights the tensions between, on the one hand, the national and nation-state-oriented roles of HE and, on the other, HE’s international and global roles (Saarinen, 2017). The ‘gatekeeping’ function of English in not excluding or marginalising people as regards economic and educational opportunities also needs to be acknowledged in language policy (cf. Ferguson, 2012). Hence, it is of interest to study what (and how) protection, promotion and gatekeeping elements are addressed in the discourses of language.

This study examines the dominant discourses HE language policy, using Sweden as an example. The study takes the positions that no texts are produced without context and historical links, and educational policy needs to be studied in the context of history as well as in the context of global (re)transfer (e.g. Ball, 1993; Waldow, 2008). In defining ‘educational Europe’ as a policy space (Lawn & Grek, 2012), it is equally important to acknowledge the impact and influence of supra-national bodies within Europe. For these reasons, the present study employs a historical perspective and considers both a European context (the Nordic countries being included in this) and a national context.

In order to ‘unpack’ (cf. Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013) language policy discourses in HE, two levels are analysed, namely, a national and an institutional. The study’s analysis of national policy texts from 1974 to 2009 offers an understanding of the dominant discourses (and any transformation therein) over the 35-year timeframe. By analysing contemporary institutional language policy at twelve universities⁸, it also offers an understanding of current dominating language policy discourses.

⁸ In the thesis, university is used for universities, state universities, university colleges, polytechnics or other kinds of higher education institutions (HEIs).

It is hoped that, by its emphasising of the policy level in pedagogical work, the findings of this study will be useful for academics in discussions and negotiations regarding language use, language competence and language ideals. One perspective of discussions of teaching and learning must necessarily be an understanding of the dominant discourses in current language policy and of discourse changes.

Contextualising language policy

The study uses Swedish HE as an example. However, HE language policy in Sweden is dependent on and embedded in overall and sometimes worldwide changes of the sector. At the same time, it is also highly rooted in a European and Nordic context. In the following, the study establishes a frame by introducing the context in which language policy is construed and constructed.

Several themes can be identified in recent, international research of changes in HE dealing with, for example, commodification, changed relationships between educators and students, and students as choosers (e.g. Altbach & Knight, 2007; Ball, 2012; Beach & Puaca, 2014; Blackmore, 2009; Brule, 2004; Hardy, 2010). In Swedish context, Beach (2013) describes, in a small-scale study, four changes: (1) the commercialisation of research; (2) the commodification of knowledge and learning; (3) the changing conditions of academic labour and university management; and (4), the development of increased individual liability for students and other consumers (p. 530). All of these are in line with HE transformations seen elsewhere. A growing proportion of research funding is becoming ‘strategic’, i.e. the research subject and the prospective outcome are likely to be determined outside the scientific community (Hultgren et al. 2014). When nation states fund universities, the individual governments want something in return;

On the one hand universities are perceived as international businesses competing as economic agents in an open and lucrative market – and thus also promoting the brand of the nation state internationally. /.../ On the other hand, universities are perceived as essentially national public institutions, integral to the national culture and with certain obligations towards the nation state. (Hultgren et al., 2014, p. 7)

These demands can be contradictory when simultaneous discourses clash and oppose (cf. Fabricius et al., 2017). They also impact on language use.

There is an increase in the use of business language to describe the aims and ‘core ventures’ of universities, research, management, administration and education, such ‘corporate discourse’ having long featured prominently in the globalisation process (Fairclough, 2006). In the modern world, education and economics are interlinked or associated with each other; there is a strong notion of correlation between level of education and national and individual economic success (Waldow, 2008). Furthermore, named languages are described from economic perspectives. English is associated with discourses of progress and prosperity (e.g. Phillipson, 1992). In a globalised world, proficiency in English is regarded as interrelated with national economic growth and, consequently, is promoted by governments (cf. Ali, 2013; Waldow, 2008). This propels universities to promote English in their policies. English is acknowledged as “the language of globalism, social mobility, and access to a better life” (Joseph & Ramani, 2012, p. 25).

The questions of whether education is a public or a private ‘good’ and in what interests it should operate and be monitored and developed, have become increasingly important. Discourses in HE language policy are likely to address such questions.

Internationalisation in a European context

In Europe, and especially within EU, language policy has contrasting, simultaneous, linguistic aims; cultural and linguistic diversity has to be maintained while European mobility, democracy and economic prosperity are to be propelled via a pan-European lingua franca, English (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). More bluntly, such aims can be described as a linguistic transformation ranging from a celebration of linguistic diversity to the assertion of English as the key to globalisation (Phillipson, 2006). This is complex and difficult. HE is struggling with the same set of problems. As Robichaud and De Schutter (2012) put it:

... the more we approach the lingua franca ideal, the more certain instrumental interests like communication and economic success are served, but the more we seem to be distancing ourselves from fulfilling other instrumental values like dignity and autonomy that are linked to vernacular languages. (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012, p. 139)

Consequently, an English-only ideal in HE would benefit the instrumental interests of communication and economic success. At the same time, it might

have marginalising effects (e.g. people may develop feelings of inferiority and inability as regards their language competence). Conversely, if people see English as useful for them and learn the language, it becomes even more useful, this escalation increasing the communicative value of the language (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). Although, over the years, there has been opposition to English as a language of instruction (cf. de Wit, 2002), it has seldom been questioned as a worldwide scientific language. We are now also seeing its increased presence (beyond professional publications) in the field of graduate study (Ferguson, 2012). English as a tool for communication can be seen as a cost-efficient way of achieving a potentially broad audience (Ljosland, 2011). Europe is no exception here.

Growing international exchange and the increasing interdependency between countries around the world have raised questions regarding comprehensive approaches to language issues in academia (Jansson, 2008b). But, language policies at universities are not a new phenomenon. In Europe, the 1999 Bologna Agreement propelled the process of developing separate policies at different HE institutions as an important part of the implementation process. The Draft Declaration (2001) from Berlin states:

[u]niversities are urged to develop and implement their own specific and coherent language policies, covering the fields of education, research, and development (p. 3).

At the European Year Conference that was the backdrop to the above, this recommendation that HE institutions should develop and implement language policies at institutional level was part of the formation of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Within this, students are to be encouraged and given the opportunity to develop multilingual and intercultural knowledge and skills (Kerklau et al., 2008). Hence, the 2001 Draft Declaration states that universities have to recognise their responsibility to promote societal as well as individual multilingualism. It further proposes that universities should provide students in all fields with opportunities for: learning new languages; and, improving their knowledge of languages. To satisfy this, universities should: offer all undergraduate students the chance to gain a number of qualifications in languages; create environments for independent language learning; involve speakers of different languages in cooperative language learning; offer as many languages as possible; and, offer programmes in other languages (Draft Declaration, 2001).

Free mobility is a keystone in European internationalisation (in this case, the forming of a strong European educational area), the underlying premise being that the quality of HE will be improved by mobility across borders, partly because it is expected to lead to intercultural understanding and encourage linguistic pluralism (Fabricius et al., 2017). However, linguistic pluralism and intercultural understanding, are put under pressure by the Bologna process's drive to harmonise. "‘Harmonize’, a word which itself predicates a reduced variety and diversity" (Fabricius et al., 2017, p. 580). In addition to the 1999 Bologna and 2001 Berlin agreement, the processes inherent in language politics also influence the development of language policies at universities.

Since the Swedish government's education internationalisation report⁹ in the 1970s, HE has structurally incorporated internationalisation. This has primarily been a question of student and teacher exchanges (often labelled mobility). By seeking to ensure, as part of European integration, the comparability, coherence and compatibility of HE systems, the 1999 Bologna Declaration gave extra impetus to an already existing process. Launched in 2013, the policy for international cooperation in (higher) education, as stated by the European Commission, has five main priorities. One of these specifically regards internationalisation policy, i.e. supporting member states and HE institutions in the EU and beyond in their internationalisation efforts¹⁰ via reference to *European higher education in the world strategy*¹¹. The key objectives in the strategy¹² are: enhancing quality by facilitating peer learning, cooperation and comparison; achieving innovation and job creation by attracting internationally mobile students and skilled migrants; making it easier for students to become global citizens; and, advancing the EU's world position (ec.europa.eu). In the strategy, the language issue concerns, for example, staff mobility as an instrument for the acquisition of new competences (languages and teaching methods included therein). It is also stated that HE institutions should improve their services to students and researchers by, for example, developing counselling to facilitate integration (language training, if appropriate, included therein). The strategy highlights the tension between, on the one hand, *English* as part of any

⁹ The 1974 *Internationalisation of Education* [Utbildningens internationalisering, UKÄ-rapport 21] report addressed all levels of education and contains, for example, goals for an internationalised education (HE included therein).

¹⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/international-cooperation/index_en.htm, 2015-02-03

¹¹ http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/international-cooperation/world-education_en.htm, 2015-02-03

¹² <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52013DC0499>, 2016-06-07

internationalisation plan where targeted courses in English (especially at master's level) are part of attracting talented students, and, on the other, *multilingualism* as a significant European asset. The providing of opportunities to learn local languages is thus recommended for those students, researchers and teachers who are mobile.

Nordic cooperation in a Swedish context

For Sweden's part, it is important to bear in mind the Nordic countries' longstanding cooperation on HE and language policy. Both have influenced language policy development. The Nordic countries¹³ have an agreement¹⁴ on the mutual recognition of student admission qualifications. Students with Danish, Faroese, Icelandic or Norwegian as their mother tongue are considered to fulfil the Swedish-language proficiency element in the general entry requirements. Students with Finnish as their mother tongue need to have studied Swedish to fulfil the requirements (refer below for details of how this is regulated).

The Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (2007) asserts the fundamentality of the residents of the Nordic countries having: the right to acquire skills in a language fundamental to Nordic society; and, the right to acquire such language skills in Scandinavian languages (so that they can take part in the Nordic language community). However, English is also highlighted with the introduction of the term *parallel use*. This is defined as “concurrent use of several languages” where “[n]one of the languages abolishes or replaces the other” (ibid. p. 93). As the Nordic people are reputed to have comparatively good skills in English, it is felt that parallel use of English alongside one of the Nordic languages should be encouraged. The declaration's requirements include:

- that it be possible to use both the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society and English as languages of science

¹³ The Nordic countries consist of five countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, and of two autonomous areas – the Åland islands (Finnish) the Faeroe islands (Danish) and Greenland (Danish).

¹⁴ The agreement *Överenskommelse mellan Danmark, Finland, Island, Norge och Sverige om tillträde till högre utbildning* (199n) [copy retrieved from the National Library of Sweden, 2015-03-03] state the conditions, but the language aspect is also found in a declaration of a Nordic language policy, passed by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 2007.

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- that the presentation of scientific results in the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society be rewarded
- that instruction in scientific technical language, especially in written form, be given in both English and the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society
- that universities, colleges, and other scientific institutions can develop long-range strategies for the choice of language, the parallel use of languages, language instruction, and translation grants within their fields (Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy, 2007, p. 94)

It is obvious that the Nordic Council of Ministers wants to promote the Nordic languages, while also establishing, in HE, a viable relation with English.

In Sweden and other Nordic countries, HE language policies place considerable focus on establishing a coexistence between a university's main language(s) and English. In Sweden, 'parallel language use' is the guiding principle for the dual use of Swedish and English (Kuteeva, 2011). Even though these policies are diverse in content, strategies, level of ambition and range (Jansson, 2008b; Karlsson, 2017; Salö, 2010)¹⁵, they promote parallel Swedish-English language competence as an ideal and a guiding principle in Swedish HE (Salö, 2010; Salö & Josephson, 2013). This is also encouraged in government reports (e.g. SOU 2002:27). Although the language policies mainly address language issues in respect of communication and the main functions of universities, education, research and administration, there are also themes such as language in in-service training and cooperation (Karlsson, 2017). To ensure Swedish universities compete in an internationalised HE arena, the parallel-lingualism ideal covers both instruction and research (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012).

In Swedish HE, the Higher Education Act and the Higher Education Ordinance regulate a number of language issues. One of these is the mutual recognition of student admission qualifications (as mentioned above). The Act sets a requirement that students should develop the ability to communicate with people outside their field of knowledge (Act 2009:1037, chapter 1, section 8). In the Ordinance, there are specifications on general entry requirements. Swedish students are required to have a minimum grade in courses in: Swedish

¹⁵ Jansson's study involved language policies from eight different universities, four in Sweden, two in Denmark and one each in Finland and Norway. Salö's study involved eleven documents on language policy, all from Swedish HE. Karlsson's study involved language policy documents from twenty-one Swedish universities. Said documents were defined as 'language choice documents' (*Språkvalsdokument*).

or Swedish as a Second Language and English. Residents of Denmark, Finland, Iceland or Norway who are qualified for HE in their native country are considered to also meet the Swedish requirements (Ordinance 2012:712, chapter 7, section 5). A person who has a mother tongue other than Swedish, Danish, Faroese, Icelandic or Norwegian must have the requisite knowledge of Swedish. A person whose mother tongue is Finnish and who has studied Swedish as a subject at a Finnish upper-secondary school (or at a corresponding type of Finnish school for three or more years) is considered to have the requisite knowledge of Swedish (Ordinance 2012:712, chapter 7, section 6).

In Sweden, a string of policies and political reforms have also had an impact on HE language policy. Highlighting Swedish in relation to English, national minority languages and the multilingual society resulting from migration the *Speech – draft action programme for the Swedish language* government report (SOU 2002:27), proposed a number of measures. The “*Best language – an overall Swedish language policy*” government bill (Prop. 2005/06:2) sets four national language goals. The *Language Act* (2009:600) declared Swedish to be the official language in Sweden and ratified the status of national minority languages¹⁶ and Swedish sign language. Since 2010, there has also been a law on national minorities and minority languages (SFS 2009:724).

The most profound change in traditionally non-English-speaking countries (the Nordic countries being a prime example), is the increased acceptance and use of English in research and teaching (Tange, 2012; Maiworm & Wächter, 2014). Owing to variations between institutions over time (e.g. as regards disciplines, educational level etc.), it is difficult to treat all universities as being equivalent. Nonetheless, attention can be drawn to overall patterns emerging from some of the available statistics about Sweden. The percentage of doctoral theses in Swedish has decreased from the early 1900s (Borghans & Cörvers, 2009). Since the 1990s, almost 9 out of 10 theses are in English (Salö, 2010). The change towards an HE environment in which English is the medium of instruction in the Nordic countries has been a rapid one (see Airey et al., 2017 for a comprehensive description of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden). Since the Bologna agreement, there has been an increase in EMI courses and programmes in Sweden. In 2010, around 17% of all courses were taught in English and, even though there is no reliable statistics about all programmes,

¹⁶ Sweden’s national minority languages are: Sámi, Finnish, Meänkieli, Romany Chib and Yiddish. The first three of these languages have extended legal rights in some parts of the country. This means that they can be used when communicating with public authorities in specific administrative districts.

around 65% of those at advanced level in 2009 used English as a medium of instruction (Salö, 2010). Three traits can be assigned to the trends: (1) EMI is used more frequently at master's level than at undergraduate level; (2) the frequency of EMI is dependent on disciplinary differences; and (3), the extent of EMI seems to correlate with how professions-oriented the educational programme is (Airey et al., 2017).

To further contextualise language policy in HE, background educational levels need to be mentioned. In the EU, it has been recommended that all pupils should be taught at least two foreign languages. In the EU-28¹⁷ 94,1% of upper secondary students at general education studied English as a foreign language (EFL) in 2014. In Sweden the figure was 100%. Only about half (51,2%) of upper-secondary general education students in EU-28 studied two or more languages in 2014. In Sweden, the figure was approximately 80%. However, from 2009 to 2014, Sweden saw a more than 10 percentage points¹⁸ decrease in students studying two or more languages at this level. The four most popular modern languages at upper-secondary education in Sweden are Spanish, German, French and Italian. Of students leaving Sweden's upper secondary school in 2014, about 25,8% had studied at least one course in Spanish, 14,2% at least one course in German, 10,8% in French and 3,8% in Italian¹⁹. Spanish is also the most popular modern language choice in primary and secondary school. Other languages in the top-eight-list are Danish, Chinese, Japanese and Arabic. In these, up to 1% of students have studied at least one course in upper-secondary school. Following the 2011 reform of Sweden's upper-secondary schools, there has been an incentive to study languages (Gy 2011). Pupils studying modern languages (course 3, 4, 5) or the most advanced level of English (course 7) gain an extra 2.5 credit increment²⁰.

Indigenous minority languages and the languages of different immigrant groups contribute to a multilingual Swedish society. There are approx. 1.5 million mother tongue speakers of immigrant languages in Sweden, and the

¹⁷ The 28 Member States as of 1 July 2013.

¹⁸ Statistics comparing the EU and Sweden were downloaded from Eurostat, 28 Jun 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Foreign_language_learning_statistics

¹⁹ Statistics downloaded from skolverket.se, 28 Jun 2016, <http://www.skolverket.se/statistik-och-utvardering/nyhetsarkiv/2015/nyheter-2015-1.229449/spanska-ar-storst-i-gymnasieskolan-1.230503>

²⁰ Information on credit increment retrieved from antagning.se, 2016-06-28, <https://antagning.se/sv/Det-har-galler-for-dig-som-gatt/Gymnasieskolan/Gymnasieexamen-2014/Meritpoang/>

major languages are Arabic and the languages spoken in former Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin (Parkvall, 2015). A figure of between 120 and 200 languages is mentioned in discussions on language plurality in Swedish and Nordic context (e.g. Salö, 2010; Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy: 2006, 2007).

This brief contextualisation reveals a significant complexity in HE language policy: tensions between national languages and English; ambitions or rhetoric of multilingualism; a conflation of ‘international’ and English; tension between English and multilingualism; the harmonisation of education in EU; simultaneous protective and promotive linguistic approaches; commodification that affects language use etc. In this complex context, it is perhaps particularly important to investigate how discourses are affecting perspectives of: ‘language’; language ideals; and, language competences in HE (especially in relation to students and academics).

Aim and research questions

The overarching objectives in this study concern how language issues in Sweden’s HE sector operate in changing universities.

The interest is twofold and centres on: (a) the impact, transformation and representations of discourses at a national level from 1970s to the first decade of the millennium; and (b), the impact and representation of discourses at an institutional level. There is a critical intent where the focus on discourses rests on a wish to investigate which and how specific interests operate when language matters are described and explained.

The three research questions (RQ 1-3) of the study are as set out below:

- 1) How are the language ideals of HE in Sweden represented at a national level?
- 2) How are the language competences expected of (a) students and (b) academics in Sweden represented at a national level?
- 3) How are language ideals and language competences, for students and academics alike, represented at an institutional level in Sweden?

This can also be framed as two other questions. Firstly, what discourses are dominant in bringing about change in HE language policy and in demands as regards language competences? Secondly, what are the implications of such changes?

Three policy areas have been identified as impacting on university language policy and thus of relevance to the study: (1) *internationalisation*, (2) *diversity and widening participation*²¹, and (3) *Swedish language legislation*.

Analysis is at two levels: a review of national policy (inquiries, reports and bills) in Swedish HE (in one of the policy areas, the review goes back to the 1970s); and an investigation of Swedish university language policies from 2014/2015²². In order to understand language policy, it is important to take into account that there are essential links between different levels (cf. Halonen et al., 2015; Saarinen, 2017; Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017) and that the making of policy involves historical as well as contemporary layers (Saarinen & Talas, 2017). Consequently, it is relevant to analyse national as well as institutional policy and, where possible, to go back and analyse earlier policy.

The purpose of analysing national policy texts is to enable description of the prevalent, dominant discourses shaping language ideals and language competences. Here, *internationalisation* (which has policy texts available from the 1970s onwards) is the only policy area that can be analysed over time. This enables a now/then comparison of what language ideals and language competences were/are represented and how. The two policy areas of *widening participation* and *Swedish language legislation* have only been relevant since the new millennium. This enables a description of what/how contemporary language ideals and language competences are represented. The purposes of analysing institutional policy texts are to describe: what/how language ideals and language competences are realised at university level; and, any interdiscursivity between the two levels of text. It is interesting to see if contemporary discourses in university policies show any remnants of earlier discourses at national level, or if they simply align today's national discourses.

There are, of course, multiple ways of studying the field of language policy in HE. Before a decision on the design of this study, a case study design and an action research design were both contemplated. Such research designs would have had the advantage of investigating language policy practice(s) and the enactment thereof. However, the main interest in this study is to investigate

²¹ Henceforth, the policy area of *diversity and widening participation* will be referred to as *widening participation*.

²² All university language policies were collected in 2014. However, prior to the analytical work which started in 2015, it was checked whether any of the language policies had been revised since collection. It turned out that one of the universities in the study had just approved a new language policy and one had approved the draft from 2014. It was decided to replace the previous texts with the latest versions.

how language ideals and language competences are constructed and construed in language policy, i.e. which perspectives shape how we understand ‘language’ and language competence. Thus, in relation to language issues, it focuses on analysing operating discourses and discursive transformation. The results reveal not only who is considered to be linguistically competent, but also what is considered to be linguistic competence. Additionally, they also throw light on why and in which context(s) these construals apply. Finally, they deal with what defines linguistic competence and, most importantly, the possible consequences for HE academics and students from the perspectives of ‘language’ and language competences. Said results also contributes to understanding the position of language in HE change processes.

The organisation of the book

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. The first three chapters (1, 2 and 3) form a foundation for the study. They are followed by two chapters (4 and 5) presenting the theoretical and methodological framework as well as the analysis. The next three chapters (6, 7 and 8) present the study’s findings. Chapter 9 discusses the findings and proposes further areas for research. The final chapter (10) outlines conclusions from the findings.

This **first chapter** forms a starting point. It outlines changes in the HE sector. Here, language policy is put into internationalisation, national and Nordic contexts. This is also where the aim of the study is described.

In the **second chapter**, previous research on language policy in HE is presented along with previous research on the spread of English (primarily as a lingua franca) in HE.

The **third chapter** serves as a historical and contextualising backdrop. Giving a brief retrospective of language use, it introduces: language policy in early university investigations in Sweden; and, contemporary reform areas of relevance for language issues in Swedish HE.

In the **forth chapter**, the *policy as discourse* approach used in this study is described and the combined theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis and systemic functional grammar (SFG) is presented. Also, essential concepts such as *language policy*, *language*, *discourse* and *text* are explained.

The **fifth chapter** describes the analytical process and the two different analyses that were conducted in the study, i.e. a thematic text analysis and an

ideational text analysis. Questions of methodological character are also discussed.

The **sixth chapter** presents the analysis of the first research question: how are the language ideals of HE in Sweden represented at a national level?

The **seventh chapter** presents the analysis of the second research question: how are the language competences expected of (a) students and (b) academics in Sweden represented at a national level?

The **eighth chapter** presents the analysis of the third research question: how are language ideals and language competences, for students and academics alike, represented at an institutional level in Sweden?

In the **ninth chapter**, research into language policy and changes in HE are discussed in relation to the findings of this study.

The **tenth chapter** draws conclusions from the findings. The chapter ends with proposals for further research.

Chapter 2 Previous research

The field of knowledge relevant for the thesis²³ can be divided into two areas: (1) research about language policy in HE; and (2), research about the spread of English in HE, mainly as a lingua franca (ELF). The latter includes research into English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and the former includes language policy as part of transformation processes (e.g. internationalisation and domestic language processes). These two areas of research are highly interlinked.

This outline of the field of knowledge covers the European and the Nordic context in general and Swedish context in particular. As regards to the spread of English, there are strong indications of similar patterns around the world. A brief worldwide outline shows that, irrespective of historical links to English, English is seen as essential for HE. Taking Asia as an example, the promotion of English in former British colonies is motivated by a shared history. In other Asian countries, English is seen as a success factor in a globalised world (Phan, 2013). In line with internationalisation strategies, the past decades have seen immense growth in EMI courses and programmes in Japan (Huang, 2006; Tsuneyoshi, 2005).

In the following, the field of knowledge is presented under four subheadings: (1) Language policy in higher education; (2) A parallel language policy; (3) English as a lingua franca; and (4), Instructional English.

Language policy in higher education

Especially in relation to internationalisation, contemporary research into language policy in HE has been conducted worldwide. Despite the HE sector being a constant, contexts differ quite substantially between countries. However, a few significant different features can be determined: (a) promotion and preservation of indigenous languages; (b) protection of national or official

²³ In order to be able to describe previous research relevant to this study, ERIC and SwePub were used. The knowledge field was systematically scanned using the following keywords: higher education, language policy, internationalisation, globalisation, English, medium of instruction, English for specific purposes, lingua franca. References found in the texts generated by the above-described search were also used. At a final seminar, valuable advice about the research field of language policy was received from Professor Maria Kuteeva.

languages in relation to English; and, intertwined with the latter (c), realisation of internationalisation through English. Internationalisation processes challenge not only language use, but also university ideals.

In national-level language policies, the positioning of national and minority languages varies between countries. One study comparing the preparation of language legislation in Sweden and Finland was built on the premise that how 'language' was defined in the country's process revealed beliefs about the position of each language and the societal position of its speakers (Ihalainen & Saarinen, 2015). The study found that, in Sweden, the concept of democracy was a determiner in positioning Swedish as an essential main language. There was, for example, reference to: a weakened democracy without a common language; democratic participation being possible only via proficiency in Swedish; and, Swedish as a key issue in democracy (*ibid.* p. 37). This is interesting given the societal function of HE institutions in Sweden and the extent to which Swedish is present for democratic reasons.

There is an interconnectedness between different levels of policymaking in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), for example between supra-national (EU) and national and institutional levels (cf. Ljosland, 2015). There is also an interconnectedness within a level, for example between different institutions (irrespective of country). Comparative studies of language policies in non-Anglophone countries have found that policies at institutional level resemble each other more than they do at a national level. This indicates that universities in different countries deal with the same issues of internationalisation and appropriate language selection (Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017). We know that, from Bologna 1999 to Bergen 2005, there has been a transformation. The initial texts highlighting autonomy of HE institutions and respect for a plurality of languages and cultures in Europe have been supplanted by a total conflation of internationalisation and EMI (Phillipson, 2008). In questions of language 'choice', English is likely to be seen as the only option in successfully internationalising HE, because market forces in European academia operate to privilege English in, for example, EU research funding; the Bologna process; and, gatekeeping by journal editors (Phillipson, 2015).

In the Nordic region, the protecting and safeguarding of national language(s) in HE is relatively strong (e.g. Saarinen & Taalas, 2017), and, along with English, the main language(s) are positioned in various ways. University language policies are motivated and driven by the need for internationalisation via English (Saarinen & Rontu, 2018) and seem to rely on perceived needs to react

rather than act (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Supporting English at institutional level is more for practical rather than political reasons (Björkman, 2014; Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017). However, Bull (2012) draws a distinction between English as an ‘international’ or ‘transnational language’ and English as a ‘global language’, as the use of English is legitimised differently depending on how universities see their mission. ‘International English’ is used to strengthen the relationship between two or more parties, ideally on equal grounds. ‘Global English’ is used to promote globalism as “the linguistic solution in a multilingual world with free movement of capital, goods and labour” (Bull, 2012, p. 70).

In Swedish university language policies, it is stated that Swedish should be used in first-cycle courses and study programmes and that English should increase at more advanced levels (Karlsson, 2017; Salö, 2010; Salö & Josephson, 2013). The use of English is significantly greater at master’s level (second-cycle studies) than it is at bachelor’s level (first-cycle studies) (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012).

While university language policies are inevitably connected to internationalisation, they are simultaneously connected to national and regional language ideologies. It is especially in bilingual regions that the ideological aspect of language becomes obvious. Bull (2012) emphasises the importance of looking at how universities legitimise themselves to understand institutional language policies. For example, what reasons are given for different language choices in relation to societal responsibilities. Bull found that universities that were strongly accountable to the immediate society had language policies that strengthened the local language(s) (e.g. the Sámi language in Sápmi and Faroese in the Faroe Islands). Similar findings are found in other European bilingual regions, for example, Catalonia and the Basque country and, to some extent Wales (Cots et al., 2012). What is noteworthy in these bilingual settings is not just the promotion of a regional or local language, but also the societal role the universities see themselves playing. This role might be broader than just safeguarding and promoting a national or main language. In contrast, the arguments found in university language policy can be divided into five categories: (1) a concern for the relationship between the national language and the international language (English); (2) a discussion of the position of multilingualism (primarily in general terms); (3) a manifestation of view of language; (4) a discussion of the position of English; and (5), a concern for ‘internationalisation at home’ (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). These arguments, however common, are different from the more regional accountability ideas of

language positioning. Additionally, the development of languages beyond regional, national and international (English) need attention and resources in HEI, for example community languages (Balfour, 2007).

A Swedish study of the process of crafting a local language policy shows that discursive mechanisms of intertextuality and interdiscursivity are central in the formation of a university language policy, i.e. discourses about language in relation to both international and local/national aspects impact heavily on language policy work (Källkvist & Hult, 2016). In negotiating the local policy, external texts and discourses (from other universities and related to the Sweden's Language Act) were used authoritatively (*ibid.*).

The end of this section highlights studies critiquing overall 'one-size-fits-all' language policies at an institutional level. Kuteeva and Airey (2014) identify how different disciplines need different language policy because they have different knowledge structures, owing to the different roles that language plays in constructing disciplinary knowledge. In their description of disciplines in a continuum from natural sciences via social sciences to humanities, they show that language on the natural science side provides an agreed set of terminology and established research methods and procedures (a hierarchical knowledge structure). Language on the humanities side serves as a means to construct knowledge, a variety of perspectives being used in research (a horizontal knowledge structure). Kuteeva and Airey (2014) show that, for pragmatic reasons, English as an academic language is more likely to be used in disciplines with a hierarchical knowledge structure. When English is used in humanities and social sciences, it is as an additional language in parallel with another language, usually a national language. It seems that it is less challenging to use English for transmitting knowledge than it is to construct knowledge through discussion in English (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). In the natural sciences, language is construed as an instrument; in the humanities, it is intertwined with the subject matter (Hultgren et al., 2014). Building on the importance of acknowledging discipline specific knowledge frames and 'disciplinary literacy' (Airey, 2013) in language policies, Airey et al. (2017) claim that all teachers are, in one sense, language teachers, because they "introduce students to the discourse of their chosen discipline" (p. 572). They conclude that university language policies will not become relevant tools for teachers unless disciplinary features are incorporated therein. In a way, this is similar to Björkman's (2014) findings. Björkman identified that language policies often lack recommendations about language practice. Language policy documents need to

build on everyday practices as regards language choices in situations where people use a lingua franca or a local language (Björkman, 2014). Finally, to provide guidance for the people it concerns, actual language use (whether governed by disciplines or people) has to be incorporated in language policy.

A parallel language policy

A parallel language policy in HE can be understood in the light of two clashing discourses: the ‘internationalisation discourse’; and, the ‘societal language discourse’ (Fabricius et al., 2017). Embedded in an economic framework, the ‘internationalisation discourse’ requires English to be the common currency of the global educational market whereas, seeing English as a threat to the local, the ‘societal language discourse’ formulates protective measures for national languages (Fabricius et al., 2017). Similarly, Ljosland (2015) pinpoints how internationalisation (using economic metaphors) and national language issues (using ecological metaphors) simultaneously influence language choices in practice. From an ecological stance, English as a lingua franca may be viewed as “an aggressor, with a consequent fear of oppression of other languages” while, from an economic stance, ELF may be viewed as “an opportunity or useful tool to an end” (Ljosland, 2015, p. 624). This leads to a balancing of the two languages.

Comparable to what is said above, the main goal of parallel Swedish-English has a dual purpose: (1) strengthening the international dimension; and (2), ensuring a Swedish language development of subject-specific terminology and disciplinary discourses (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). It is against this backdrop that a parallel use of English and Swedish (or a Nordic language) is promoted in HE.

The policy of parallel language use recognizes the multilingual context in which higher education takes place but, at the same time, promotes the use of dominant standard varieties of Swedish and English. (Kuteeva, 2018)

A parallel language policy reproduces a monolingual frame, which obstructs other languages being seen as resources in internationalising HE (Fabricius et al., 2017). Even though other languages are not seen as resources in a parallel language policy, they are still used by students in group activities. Although this is within a monolingual framework though (cf. Söderlundh, 2012), there are

indications that students use a wider linguistic repertoire in their writing (Kuteeva, 2018).

Hultgren et al. (2014) are concerned about how language ideologies and language practices at Nordic universities have become separated from each other. One example is how languages are viewed as discrete entities even though studies (e.g. Söderlundh, 2010; 2012) have revealed that language practices are much more complex. At the ideological level, Hultgren et al. (2014) discuss two opposing discourses: (1) the ‘internationalist discourse’ which, at national level, construes countries as internationally competitive and, at institutional level, is concerned with internationalisation and university ranking; and (2), the ‘culturalist discourse’, which typically favours protectionist perspectives of national culture and national languages. These opposing discourses resemble the clashing discourses of parallel language policy highlighted by Fabricius et al. (2017): the ‘internationalisation discourse’, which promotes English, and the ‘societal language discourse’, which fears it.

The ideal of using a national language together with English was put forward by the Nordic Council of Ministers in their language policy declaration of 2007 (see p. 19ff for further details). In a report by the Swedish Language Council, recommendations for parallel language use state that Swedish should be used in order to maintain the national language as a medium of instruction (Salö, 2010) and to ensure that Swedish is used across different domains (Kuteeva, 2018). In the crafting of university language policies, the concept of parallel language use is created both intertextually and interdiscursively by drawing on other local policies and the discourses of Swedish language legislation (Källkvist & Hult, 2016). Parallel language use is primarily promoted as a pragmatic solution propelled by an increase in the use of English in Nordic HE (Airey et al., 2017).

Parallel language use features in a study where, as a pragmatic approach, students and lecturers made use of their common knowledge of Swedish in a nominally English-medium course (Söderlundh, 2012). Students from different linguistic backgrounds used English (nominal course language) as a *lingua franca*. However, Swedish, being the national language, held a special position, thereby creating a local norm. Groups (based primarily on common linguistic background) formed spontaneously, this giving rise to “parallel discussions in different languages” (Söderlundh, 2012, p. 97). What is interesting here is the factual parallel use of several languages in group activities and not just the parallel use of a national language (Swedish) and English. Such is the intention

of the parallel language policy promoted in the declaration of a Nordic language policy (2007).

There is inherent variation within parallel language use deriving from differences in knowledge and teaching traditions in HE subjects and disciplines (see also the section above). In the 20th century, there was, as regards range of international influence, a divide between natural science and medicine on the one hand and social sciences and humanities on the other. As this deepened, opposite attitudes towards internationalisation developed and resulted in natural sciences and medicine becoming more and more internationalised (Stier, 2007, p. 17f). Such subject-specific variation is not recognised in language policy (Salö & Josephson, 2013). It has been questioned whether general language policies are possible, if they do not consider discipline-specific knowledge traditions (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). In the natural sciences, use of English is a “pragmatic reality”; in the humanities and social sciences, English is more of an “additional or auxiliary language” alongside an official main language (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; cf. Kuteeva & Airey, 2014)).

Criticism of the principle of parallel-lingualism has been acknowledged. Parallel normally implies two. However, even with a generous interpretation of ‘two’ as a high level of proficiency in *any* two languages (a foreign language plus a native language), Brock-Utne (2007) points out that it essentially means a native language (in her case Norwegian) and *English*. Otherwise, it would be a question of multilingualism. In effect, English is built into the concept of parallel-lingualism. Perhaps a more accurate term would be ‘English-knowing bilingualism’ (van der Walt, 2010), i.e. proficiency in the mother tongue and English. In the sense that English and Swedish are always present, parallel language use is already a reality in Swedish HE (Salö & Josephson, 2013) and have been since the 1990s (Airey et al., 2017). A major concern is that this neglects all other interpretations and practices of multilingualism other than the English-Swedish one (Salö, 2010). This concern is also shared in a wider European context. Phillipson (2015) emphasise the importance of policies securing competence in national and ‘international languages’, the latter being a variety of languages (immigrant and minority languages included therein) and not only English.

English as a lingua franca

English as an academic *lingua franca*²⁴, or scientific lingua franca (Jansson, 2008a; Shaw, 2008), is sometimes called ‘the new Latin’ or ‘the Latin of the 21st century’ (Brock-Utne, 2007). Although, it in many ways function in the same way that Latin did in academia, the comparison does not hold very far (Mortensen & Haberland, 2012). While Latin used to be the sole language of universities, English exists in relationship with the national language. English is motivated and legitimised on a completely different basis, i.e. marketing (mainly to attract students and staff from abroad). Even though Latin facilitated cross-border movements (just as English does nowadays), mobility was never the principal motive. Latin was an integral and natural part of universities. The naturalness of English rests on the assumption that it is the obvious language for the market (Mortensen & Haberland, 2012). The comparison with Latin is also questionable when it comes to language standard. As English is a living and flourishing language (compared to Latin which was more or less static when it became a common language), it is difficult to set a standard (cf. Cooper, 2007).

Lingua franca English can be acknowledged as an instrument serving specific purposes in certain societal situations and, as such, it should not be viewed as a neutral instrument for communication (falsely indicating equal relationship in those situations) (Phillipson, 2008; 2015). A more appropriate approach, suggested by Phillipson (2006; 2008), is English as a context-specific lingua franca. Such approach captures the different processes and settings operating in the creation of English as a principal language. For HE, Phillipson advocates *lingua academica*. This instrument can be used (to give a few examples): in international cooperation; in research publications; at international conferences; and, as a medium of content learning. However, the position of English as a lingua franca in HE is questioned on the basis of there being different disciplinary knowledge structures, and these having an impact on how English is used (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014).

Use of English as a scientific lingua franca (Shaw, 2008) can be understood in a few of ways. On the one hand, its use gives owners of communication channels (e.g. publishers and scientific journals) an advantage. On the other hand, English no longer belongs to a certain nation. It is therefore no longer subject to native ideology. Consequently, this could entail communication being

²⁴ A lingua franca has a bridging function in communication between (groups of) people having different vernacular languages.

prioritised ahead of using a specific English norm. Whether this is the case or not, a linguistic inequality exists owing to the different degrees of similarity between English and ‘a native language’ (Shaw, 2008). Linguistic inequalities can be construed from both societal and individual perspectives. As language is interrelated with culture and ways of thinking, the spread of an academic lingua franca might limit other ways of thinking and behaving, thereby raising the risk of exclusion (cf. Gunnarsson, 2004).

The position of English as a lingua franca is upheld by different material-economic arrangements (structures) such as reward systems for publications. In Norway, for example, publications authored in English can attract between double (doctoral thesis) and seven times (articles in refereed journals) the reward for publications authored in Norwegian (Brock-Utne, 2007). This links in with at least one of the identified factors propelling an expansion in English taught programmes (ETP) in Europe, namely, that knowledge sources are increasingly only available in English (Costa & Coleman, 2013). Unsurprisingly, there is an increase in the sale of academic literature in English and a stagnation of academic literature in indigenous languages (Brock-Utne, 2007). Yet, another factor contributing to the strengthening of English is the recruitment of teaching staff who do not speak the indigenous language(s) – proficiency in English is enough (cf. Brock-Utne, 2007; Costa & Coleman, 2013).

In Sweden, language issues have been discussed in HE and current debates have been influenced from at least two directions: (1) from outside by the international mobility process among students and academics; and (2), from within by the domestic diversity of students (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). In relation to the mobility process, there are a number of language-related assumptions about the benefits of incoming student mobility. Fabricius et al. (2017) reveal some of the paradoxes. They show that assumptions of linguistic pluralism and increased intercultural understanding through mobility are not as straight-forward as assumed. Since English is treated as a lingua franca, other languages are not used, even though research traditions and students’ and teachers’ capabilities might enable the use of such other languages. The prevailing ELF situation seems to be accepted as it links in with assumptions of future prosperity for students, or relieves transnational students from having to learn the local language (also Ljosland, 2015). While creation of intercultural understanding may be a fact as regards transnational students interacting with other transnational students, such creation may not necessarily arise with domestic students (Fabricius et al. 2017). Contact with domestic students seem

to be rare for these students. This may be because, for example, exchange students are offered EMI courses that have few domestic students and which offer little possibility to learn the main language(s) of the university.

Parallel tracks of courses and programmes to attract transnational students are being organised worldwide. However, the value of such international experience can be questioned. Indeed, such experience might very well be defined as ‘superficial internationalisation’ (cf. Phan, 2013) or ‘simulated internationalisation’ (McVeigh, 2004 in Rivers, 2010). While students are recruited from abroad to enhance an international environment, they are, owing to the shift in medium of instruction, often excluded from experiencing culture and language in general courses and programmes. Fabricius et al. (2017) argue that language policies which make sharp distinctions between languages will “institutionalize a non-integrative perspective on the local and the transnational” (p. 592), thereby depriving people of cross-cultural experiences. There are indications that an increasing use of English runs parallel with a decreasing importance of other foreign and minority languages (Doiz et al., 2011). Concurrently, language-related studies of internationalisation in HE mainly focus on the spread or use of English. They rarely pay attention to the multilingual potential that is incorporated in the internationalising of higher education (Söderlundh, 2012).

To conclude, Haberland and Mortensen (2012) problematise the role of English by drawing attention to two different ways in which the language plays a part. One of these is as a language of globalism²⁵. English academic lingua franca is governed by: market forces; the commodification of teaching and learning; and, perceived requirements of the knowledge economy. The other is as a language of transnational communication and cooperation, so called ‘international English’ (Bull, 2012). They note an important difference between these two roles. While global English has no alternative (there is currently no competitor on the world market), there are alternatives to international English

²⁵ To understand the concept of ‘globalism’, the definition by Steger (2005) is useful. ‘Globalism’ claims, for example, that: *integration and liberation of markets is of global cruciality* and as a decontested economic project contributes to freedom for everyone; *globalisation is inevitable and irreversible* – that it is like a natural force and if people want to survive and prosper they have to adapt to market demands; *nobody is in charge of globalisation* – that we rely on the concept of a self-regulated market; in the long run, *globalisation benefits everyone* and is represented in terms of economic growth, prosperity and progress and refers unequal global distribution patterns to ‘episodic dislocation’ which the market itself will eventually correct; *globalisation and market is facilitating democracy*, where ‘democracy’ is understood in narrow and procedural ways and where terms like ‘freedom’, ‘free markets’, ‘free trade’ and ‘democracy’ are treated as synonymous ones.

as a means of communication (Haberland & Mortensen, 2012; also cf. Söderlundh, 2012). At the same time, it seems that the spread of English is accepted as almost inevitable (cf. Joseph & Ramani, 2012).

Instructional English

Today, English is used in many of the core missions of HE. Substantial research has gone into understanding and exploring English as a medium of instruction (EMI), i.e. “the use of English for educational purposes carried out outside the English-speaking countries” (Kuteeva, 2018). Owing to the significant correlation, EMI-related research is here considered part of language policy research. The attitudes of teachers and students have been studied as well as the practice and learning in EMI context. It is noteworthy that much of the research has focused on: the difficulties perceived by local students and teachers; and, the differences in teaching and learning when the instructional language has been changed to English. Little attention has been paid to the experience of transnational students and teachers (Kuteeva, 2018).

When a programme or a course is advertised as English-taught, it does not necessarily mean that other languages are excluded. On the contrary, studies in Sweden have shown that the indigenous language and the native languages of the students are used (Söderlundh, 2010; 2012; 2013). Where several languages besides English are used in parallel, students create local linguistic norms. This is also true where language choice rests not only on mutual understanding but also on social relations (Söderlundh, 2012; 2013). However, use of the indigenous language can be frustrating for transnational students who do not understand it (Fabricius et al., 2017). There again, studies show that *translanguaging*²⁶ is used in communication between students and between students and teachers (Kuteeva, 2018). This challenges the boundaries and division of named languages.

It must also be remembered that a language shift into a course being English-taught can occur without notice. Ljosland (2015) describes how, in Norway, an ‘ad hoc language choice’ is employed, whereby the medium of instruction can, when one or more foreign students appear in class, change from

²⁶ *Translanguaging* can be defined “as the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283).

Norwegian to English on the spot. Ljosland notes that, as a consequence, it is not possible to be specific about the number of Norwegian-taught courses.

Studies examining the teaching perspective or teachers' experiences of changed language use show ambivalence in Europe. A survey in Sweden shows that most academics assess their English abilities as sufficient. However, it differs between disciplines. For example, academics in humanities and law reported that they would rather discuss their subjects in Swedish (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). A case study in Italy shows that many teachers are reluctant to participate in English-medium teaching unless obliged to do so (Costa & Coleman, 2013). How well teaching through the medium of English works is dependent on both the proficiency of students and the ability of teachers to teach in English, something that has raised concern (Pecorari et al., 2011). Factors affecting EMI teaching are, for example: awareness of limitations when teaching in English; lack of sufficient time for preparation; and, too sporadic English-medium teaching (Airey, 2011).

A survey in Swedish HE shows that teachers found teaching with English-language media useful as it led to incidental language learning for students (Pecorari et al., 2011). At the same time, most courses seem to lack specified English-language learning outcomes and there is no cooperation between language-learning expertise and content-learning expertise (*ibid.*). English language development through 'immersion'²⁷ is a prevalent pedagogical strategy in HE. Such a strategy is questioned by, for example, students who want to have further pedagogical guidance to achieve the goal of being prepared for further EMI studies (Saarinen & Rontu, 2018). Simultaneously, explicit language-learning aims are questioned by teachers (Pecorari et al., 2011). An Italian study of ETPs in HE, or "integrating content and language in higher education" (ICLHE), shows that universities are much more attentive to content than language (Costa & Coleman, 2013). Even if teachers have a strong belief in incidental language learning in EMI classes, teachers of content do not plan the exposure to English (Pecorari et al., 2011). The demand for academics to play an essential part in the language development of students is not a Nordic or a European issue. Studies in Asia show the same need for content lecturers to step into the shoes of language teachers (Ali, 2013).

²⁷ a method of teaching a foreign language by the exclusive use of that language (Oxford Dictionary of English)

A common scenario in Swedish universities (e.g. in engineering) is the use of spoken English as a medium of instruction in cases where the teacher has a non-English linguistic background and a student group has a variety of linguistic backgrounds (Björkman, 2011). English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) in such a teaching and learning situation needs to be given due attention. It has been suggested that priority should be given to comprehensibility and the needs of the specific group (Björkman, 2011) rather than to native-like English per se. Academic literacy in English is not the same as native-level proficiency and focus should be on improving communicative competence and discipline-specific language skills (Kuteeva, 2014).

It appears that Nordic students cope with EMI programmes after a while. Gradually, they seem to learn in comparison with students in non-changed MOI settings (Airey, 2006; 2009; 2015), but need more time to achieve in equivalence with those on L1 programmes (Airey et al., 2017). Still, this might not explain the disciplinary differences, i.e. English being a ‘pragmatic reality’ in natural sciences and a ‘problematic additional language’ in humanities and some social sciences (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012).

Students have reported that the accents of teachers can affect them. In a Swedish study, there are indications that non-native English accents cause irritation (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). On the other hand, in an Italian study, students appreciated having English-taught courses given by native speakers of their own language. This was due not only to recognition of, or identification with, the imperfections in the teachers’ English, but also to teachers’ awareness of specific language difficulties (Costa & Coleman, 2013). Speaking rate is yet another factor that might contribute to students’ appreciation of teachers who are not native speakers of English. There are indications that speaking rate slows when English is used as a second language. This might benefit an audience of mainly non-native English speakers (Hincks, 2010).

The marketing of EMI courses and programmes is a strategic move to attract not only international students, but also domestic students who want to improve their English proficiency and intercultural knowledge (Hultgren et al., 2014). In one of the Nordic countries, Finland, the development of EMI programmes meets the challenges of internationalisation in two ways: (1) by offering these programmes to students who have no proficiency in Finnish; and (2), by preparing Finnish students for an international work life in which English is used (Saarinen, 2012). Similarly, EMI programmes at European universities are strategically aimed not only at attracting international students

and preparing domestic students for the global labour market, but also at raising the profile of the institutions (e.g. Doiz et al., 2011; Kerklaan et al., 2008). The latter, which involves strengthening an institution's position or becoming prestigious might be more related to the national arena rather than primarily a global aim (cf. Ljosland, 2015; Salö & Josephson, 2013).

Chapter 3 Swedish language policy – history and context

In order to contextualise contemporary language policy, the following chapter aims to describe language issues in Swedish HE by reviewing the past. The chapter starts with a modest overview of the historical use and status of different languages in Swedish HE. There is then a presentation of language issues in one general HE investigation in each decade from the 1930s to the 1970s. The chapter ends with a brief description of the national policy documents (government investigations, reports and action programmes) used in the analysis of discursive constructions of language competences, communicativeness and language ideals (presented in chapter 6 and 7²⁸), derived from three different policy areas: *internationalisation*, *widening participation* and *Swedish language legislation*.

A brief review of language use in Swedish Higher Education

The issues surrounding language use have always played a substantial role in HE. Language as content and subject goes far back in university history. As a medium of instruction in the early days, it is hard to know whether it was discussed or simply taken-for-granted. Over the years, the languages in question have differed depending on societal factors and the bodies governing the universities. The transformation of governing body from church to state influenced language choices earlier on. Now, it can be seen how the market governance influences language ideals and language use.

In the early days of university history in Europe, when the universities in Paris (La Sorbonne), Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge were founded, the instructional language was Latin (Pilkington, 2012). Both Latin and Greek have historically been considered crucial in Europe. In general, these languages were for a long time viewed as prerequisites in scientific studies and contexts (Richardson, 2004). Latin was seen as the language of diplomacy and, in the 17th

²⁸ Table 4 (p. 76) shows the reports and government bills used in the analysis.

century, oratory in Latin was considered valuable owing to its societal usefulness (Eriksson, 1973).

During the initial phase of the first Swedish universities, Sweden's national education was considered inadequate. As students were free to study in any country, it was natural for them to spend periods studying at foreign universities (Richardson, 2004). These study periods abroad enabled students to keep up-to-date, from a European perspective, in their academic fields.

Choice of language for communication was discussed in Sweden in the 18th century. It was stated that academics had to be able to communicate not only within the scientific community, but also with fellow citizens (Shaw, 2008). This formed a starting point for the decline in the use and status of Latin. At the same time, it was stated that students were no longer obliged to use Latin for conversation and some academic disputations could be held in Swedish (Richardson, 2004). Not least, the formation of Swedish academic bodies promoted Swedish as a scientific language. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences²⁹, founded in 1739, and The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters³⁰, founded in 1753, definitely contributed to making Swedish scientifically legitimate (Josephson, 2004).

Greek lost its importance in Sweden in the 19th century when, as an adaptation to new societal demands, English replaced it in grammar schools (Richardson, 2004, p. 62). At the same time, owing to Germany's strong position in science and the United Kingdom's economic and colonial power, German and English became international scientific languages in Western Europe and North America (Shaw, 2008). Around 1900, scientists (in Europe) had to be competent in French, English and German (Shaw, 2008). Swedish research findings were largely translated into these three languages (Stier, 2007). At the beginning of the 20th century, foreign languages were introduced as subjects in Swedish school (HSV, 2006:3R). This enabled study and instruction in these languages at higher levels in the education system.

Language issues in contemporary Swedish HE are also found in general university investigations in the 1900s. The next two sections of the thesis elaborate on what was said in the inquiries between the 1930s and 1960s.

²⁹ *Sm. Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien*

³⁰ *Sm. Kungliga Vitterhetsakademien*

The early investigations – U33, U45 and U55

After the First World War and up to the 1960s, government reports on HE in Sweden were issued about once every decade. As the university sector at the time was fairly small, it was feasible for the inquiries in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s (U33, U45 and U55) to address organisational and operational issues affecting almost the entire university system in Sweden. U33 and U45 primarily concerned five higher education institutions. These were the universities in Lund and Uppsala, Karolinska Institutet and what are now the universities in Gothenburg and Stockholm. In U55, the number of higher education institutions had risen, but the report was again mainly about the ones mentioned above. Throughout this period, as reflected in the contents of the reports, the sector was highly regulated by the state.

Tight state regulation and the small number of universities account for a number of the characteristics of the texts. On the one hand, the reports have a rather personal approach. Professors from the different universities and from different disciplines expressed their opinions on the matters being discussed. Either they were quoted directly in the main text, or their views were appended as comments on the proposals. The persons in charge of the inquiries were also highly visible. On the other hand, there was a controlling approach. For example, teaching loads (in hours) were set for each discipline and funding principles and calculations were set out on the basis of institution or discipline. All this made the reports seem highly regulatory. When different languages are highlighted in the texts, it is mainly as subjects taught at the various universities. However, traces of internationalisation, global cooperation and reasons for language use are occasionally expressed.

The perspectives that are presented in the reports in this period concern rather different issues. One of these latter concerned the importance of being exposed to the language of native-born speakers. A strategy for this was to hire native-born speakers as foreign lecturers³¹. This is expressed in wordings such as “[assist at] practical language exercises in Russian” (U33, p. 169), “arrange practical exercises in modern Danish” (U33, p. 175) and a Finnish lecturer “[providing for] a more practically oriented language teaching” (U45, p. 116). Several languages are named in discussions of the need for foreign lecturers. These are Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian,

³¹ The function, but not the position, “foreign lecturer” appears in U33. In U45 and U55 the position is a matter of course.

Serbian, Spanish, and the modern languages³², i.e. English, French, and German (U45). However, the need for skills and abilities to be taught by native speaking lecturers does vary over the years.

Another strategy was students going abroad for a study period to learn the language. Highlighted in U55 (p. 132f), this could be seen as a considerable relief on teaching demands in Sweden (*ibid.*). In U55, it is stated that exchange with British and Irish universities had already been established.

A second issue concerned proficiency in specific languages to respond to a (possible future) demand in trade and industry. Based on Sweden's trade relations, U45 argues the need for Iranian languages and Turkish as academic subjects. A case is also made for Czech owing to "the intensified growing cultural exchange that is to be expected between Sweden and Czechoslovakia" (U45, p. 106).

A third issue concerned the Nordic language community, especially the Scandinavian one. Some of the Nordic languages were seen as means of creating and maintaining a Nordic fellowship. It is stated that a lecturer in Danish is seen as a means to "strengthen the spiritual community between the Nordic people" (U33, p. 167). The basic purpose of the lectureship in Danish and Norwegian was to educate future teachers, because the Nordic people's knowledge of their various languages is generally dependent on teaching in school.

U68

U68, a university inquiry, set up five general goals for HE: personal development, welfare development, democracy, internationalisation and social change. 'Bildung' was put forward as an integrated part of the goals. For example, it is stated that: being deeply rooted in the national culture of one's own is significant for personal development and democracy; and, internationalisation implies language skills and knowledge of other countries and their cultural life. Communicative skills were presented as important for personal development, democracy and internationalisation. Solidarity was seen as central in developing the society and the individual. It was pointed out that a broad frame of references did not concern only Nordic and European countries, but also states outside Europe.

³² The term 'modern languages' (*Sv. moderna språk*) is used in the inquiry.

Three policy areas affecting higher education

Traditionally, language learning and teaching have mainly been the concern of future language teachers and, possibly, theological education. However, after U68, a major investigation of *internationalisation* and education was carried out between 1972 and 1974. This emphasised the importance of language competences for large parts of HE. The investigation published five reports, the final one of these being used in the study. In the 1980s, there were a few inquiries regarding foreign students in HE. In 1984, a government bill addressing the situation for guest students was presented. This bill is also used in the study. In the 1990s, Sweden joined the European Union (1995) and, in the HE sector, there was the Lisbon Recognition Convention (1997). Under this latter, HE qualifications were recognised throughout Europe. This is part of the Bologna process, which, as a large-scale project, started when the Bologna Declaration was adopted in 1999. The process has created the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), which has the main goals of increasing staff and student mobility and facilitating employability across the EU. In the wake of all these European initiatives, a government report about increasing the number of foreign students was presented in 2000. This report is also part of present study. In 2005, drawing on much of the work done earlier on, the government presented a new internationalisation strategy for HE. This government bill, along with an evaluation report on internationalisation (conducted by the Swedish Council for Higher Education in 2005) and another government bill on internationalisation in 2008 (presented by a government different to the one in 2005) are also used in the study.

In the policy area of *widening participation*, there have not been as many government initiatives as in *internationalisation*. Nonetheless, there are two relevant texts, a government report, *Diversity in Higher Education* (SOU 2000:47) and a government bill, *The Open University* (Prop. 2001/02:15). Both these texts are used in the study. In 2017, there was an additional initiative. This is described in a memorandum to *Wide participation in higher education*³³. Said memorandum suggested that, in the Higher Education Act, ‘broadening recruitment’ should be replaced by ‘widening participation’, thereby emphasising that reception and pedagogical initiatives at universities were also

³³<http://www.regeringen.se/4a0cf3/globalassets/regeringen/dokument/utbildningsdepartementet/hogre-utbildning/brett-deltagande-i-hogskoleutbildning.pdf>, 16 Nov 2017.

to be included. Because the policy texts for the present study were collected between 2012 and 2015, this memorandum is not included.

Throughout the first decade of the new millennium, initiatives towards a *Swedish language legislation* were pursued. In 2009, the Swedish Language Act (2009:600) was passed. The preparatory work comprised, for example: an action programme for the Swedish language, *Speech*³⁴ – *Draft action programme for the Swedish language* (SOU 2002:27); a government bill, *Best language – an integrated Swedish language policy* (Prop. 2005/06:2); and, an inquiry with the remit of drafting a language act, *Guard the language – a Language Act draft* (SOU 2008:26). All three of these texts have sections that, addressing the question of language in HE, have been used in the study.

The thesis has thus briefly and basically presented how language issues in Swedish university investigations up until the 1970s are described. From that, it has moved onto presenting the three policy areas generating the bills and reports in this study. The findings from analysing the eleven policy texts are presented in chapters 6 and 7.

³⁴ The English summary of the action programme is called *Speech*, a title adopted in the thesis. However, in some policy texts, the action programme is referred to as *Being able to express oneself*. This is a more exact translation of the Swedish title, *Mål i mun*, which means having power of speech.

Chapter 4 Theoretical framework

Theoretically, the present study is positioned within a critical tradition that puts education policy in a broader social context (e.g. Ball, 1993; Simons, Olssen & Peters, 2009). In more general terms, such critical studies have a questioning approach and focus on societal change and the effect on social life. Hence, the aim of critical social research is a better understanding of: how societies work and generate positive and negative effects; and, how negative effects can be diminished (Fairclough, 2003). Critical studies see conditions as contingent, and discourse is seen as a social practice (Simons et al., 2009). Social reality within critical social analysis is seen as conceptually mediated. This means:

that there are no social events or practices without representations, construals, conceptualizations or theories of them; or to put it differently, that social realities have a reflexive character, i.e., how people see, represent, interpret and conceptualize them is part of these realities (Fairclough, 2013, p 178).

Therefore, it is the representations and construals of/in a social practice that can be studied. A social practice is made up of different dimensions, language (discourse included therein) being one of these dimensions, or spaces (e.g. Kemmis, 2005). In a policy study, it is relevant to study linguistic constructions, especially if they appear in policy text. A policy text can be both oral and written. However, in this study, it is only written texts that have been collected and subjected to analysis.

Policy and the study of policy

Broadly speaking, policy studies are about investigating political decisions, reforms and the content and effects of both these. In this study, the focus is on understanding language policy in the HE sector. The meaning of policy is not easy to define, but a conceptualisation of *policy as text* and *policy as discourse* (Ball, 1993) is a way of addressing this.

According to Ball (*ibid.*), *policy as text*, exhibits a number of characteristics. In this connection, policies are textual interventions into practice. As policy texts seldom are the product of a single writer, the texts (i.e. the policies) might not be clear, closed or complete. Depending on context and the circumstances

of the interpreter, the interpretation of purposes and intentions in policies changes over time. Many policy texts are not read first hand by those they concern. However, there are often key persons mediating policies in a particular setting.

Policy as discourse means that policies “exercise power through a production of ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’, as discourses” (Ball, 1993, p. 14). In other words, they create and propel a certain perspective of the social world. Discourses constitute specific perspectives and, in doing so, conceal their own intervention (Foucault, 1977). Viewing *policy as discourse* turns the spotlight towards discursive circumstances and a discursive frame that enables and constrains possible interpretations (and enactments). Thus, investigation of the existence of dominant discourses seems called for, especially as one of the effects of policy is that “it changes the possibilities we have for thinking ‘otherwise’” (Ball, 1993, p. 15). Policy discourses provide ways of thinking and talking about the people within an institution, thereby enabling people in that setting to perceive, for example, their identity in a specific way (Ball, 2015).

Educational policies (state or institutional) have an interpretational and representational history (Ball, 1993). They are negotiated and drawn up. Thus, the final policy text (e.g. a document) is most likely to be a compromise of different interests. At an institutional level, the text might be influenced by insight into how local enactment processes work.

The enactment of policy is not always linear and rational; policy work is often a piecemeal process of ‘fixing’ problems (Ball, 2015, p. 309)

Knowledge of how policy enactment works might lead to a more modest and cautious way of formulating intent and purpose in a policy text.

This study, like many policy studies, sees language as an obvious and complex part of social life. Language is dialectically connected to material aspects, hence the importance of taking language into account in social analysis and research (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This does not mean that everything in social life is language. However, the importance and productivity of focussing on language in social research (and, hence, of using some sort of discourse analysis) is implicit (Fairclough, 2003). Viewing discourses as ‘socially embedded’ (Mulderigg, 2012), is one of the premises in critical discourse analysis. From this standpoint it can be argued that:

education policy texts do not exist in a social vacuum, but have a complex, historically changing, and mutually constitutive relationship with their social context (Mulderigg, 2012, *ibid.*, p. 563)

Hence, the study of policy texts makes it possible to say something about ongoing transformations and perspectives in society. The idea of change always denotes the alteration of present conditions (Steger, 2005). As a form of critical policy study, this study aims to show how perspectives of the experienced world are constructed in policy text. Ball (2015) criticise policy studies for being more occupied with text than discourse, i.e. that they focus more on *what* is written and said than they do on *how* the relevant statements are made possible. This *how* can, in the view of this study, be interpreted in different ways. For example, the *how* may relate to how a policy is enacted by people. However, it could also be about how the perspectives in a policy (the discourses) are related to current societal change and certain power relations. This study aims to be able to say something about the latter *how*.

The theory and methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is informed by critical theory. This study uses CDA as developed by Fairclough (e.g. 2003; 2010; 2013) and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). Later in this chapter, CDA is presented. After that, there is a presentation of the theoretical base of a grammar that focuses on function and meaning, namely, systemic functional grammar (SFG) – (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014)³⁵. SFG is useful when conducting in-depth linguistic analysis within CDA. This is not to imply that all approaches to CDA are influenced by SFG. However, SFG is very useful for critical discourse analyses that aim to study, for example actions and agency.

Before describing CDA and SFG in detail, concepts of major relevance to this thesis will first be explicated.

Concepts

The concepts in this section are of two kinds: (1) content-based concepts, i.e. *language policy* and *language*; and (2), theoretical concepts, i.e. *discourse* and *text*.

³⁵ SFG was developed by M.A.K. Halliday and colleagues from the 1970s and onward.

Language policy

In a thesis about language policy in HE, it is important to define the concept of language policy. There have been national language policies since early history³⁶. Although policies have existed for a very long time, official national language legislation is of a much later date. For example, the Swedish Language Act was passed in 2009. National language policy functions as an act of governance. It legitimises specific economic, cultural and political projects of interest groups in the state arena. Thus, it is seen “as a deliberate intervention and therefore embodies a concrete expression of power” (Rassool, 1998, p. 89). It centres on language ideology, where certain language varieties or variants are promoted as ideals and/or given societal rights. Drawing on Spolsky’s (2012; 2018) framework (described below), what is legitimised at state level may very well be challenged by different speech communities at other levels and in different domains. The same is true of self-regulating language management.

For educational institutions, language policy often takes the form of ‘organised management’ (Nekvapil, 2016) via documents that, compiled by the institution’s staff, identify language problems needing a commonly agreed approach (Corson, 1999). Such policy de(pre)scribes what the institution intends to do and includes “follow-up, monitoring, and revision of the policy itself in the light of changing circumstances” (ibid. p. 1). Consequently, such language policy is about action. The philosophy of the educational institution thus needs to be established prior to policymaking. Such language policies are “concerned less with where the students in a school are going, and more with how they are going to get there” (Corson, 1999, p. 4). Hence, language policies are dynamic and changes with an institution’s contextual changes (ibid.). These sorts of documents regulating and guiding language issues are relatively recent. In Swedish HE, the first institutional language policies appeared in 2006³⁷. However, most were issued after 2008 when the then Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (HSV) urged universities to formulate language policies (Karlsson, 2017). Language policies do not stand by themselves and it is not unlikely that they are incorporated in internationalisation strategies of HE

³⁶ “Language policy is concerned with official efforts to affect the relative status and use of one or more languages. Language policies of one sort or another have featured in human history from the earliest times” (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/language-policy/>) [2015-09-17]

³⁷ In 2006, two language policies at an institutional level were presented: one by a faculty, the language policy of the Faculty of Technology and Natural Sciences at Uppsala University; and, one by a university, the language policy for the University of Gothenburg (Brock-Utne, 2007).

(Cooper, 2007). They can be viewed as approved representations of local language ideologies (Källkvist & Hult, 2016) comprising language requirements and linguistic regulations as well as decisions about language use.

As a field of study, language policy emerged after World War II. Initially, language policy focused on solving national language problems in the aftermath of the war and in the rebuilding of nations. For many decades, language policy at a national level was about (classical) ‘language planning’ in the form of, for example, ‘status planning’. This was embodied as: the allocation of (new) functions for languages (e.g. selecting official languages for governmental and educational use); and, ‘corpus planning’, i.e. making national languages work in new functions by, for example, standardisation and terminological development (Spolsky, 2012). However, as locating language policies solely at national level was proven to be an incomplete approach, more complex ways of understanding language policy were developed.

Spolsky (2012) sees language policy as made up of three inter-related, but independent, components: (1) the actual language *practices* of members of a speech community; (2) the *values* assigned to language varieties and variants by speech community members and their *beliefs* regarding the importance of these values; and (3), what used to be called ‘language planning’, i.e. the *management* of language varieties or variants by authoritative (self-appointed or not) members of the speech community (p. 5). The language management component consists of three different actors/actions. These are: (a) managers with authority; (b) advocates, i.e. individuals or groups who wish to change language practices; and (c), self-management, i.e. individual speakers who set out to expand their linguistic repertoire, e.g. by learning another language (Spolsky, 2018).

Language Management Theory (LMT) recognises that language policy is present not only at a national level, but also in other domains and speech communities, in which views of language rights may be strong (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012). The main focus of LMT is, as the name implies, management of language. It is a broad theory and relevant in the linguistic as well as the socio-cultural and socio-economic spheres (Nekvapil, 2016). It is concerned with the use of language and is grounded on two premises: (1) the process of generating communicative acts; and (2), the process of managing communicative acts. Thus, it is directed towards the communication and not only the language in itself (Nekvapil, 2016). It deals with problem solving. In LMT, agents can, as in the Spolsky framework (2012; 2018), be individuals,

groups or institutions (Nekvapil, 2016). In present study, it is the management component that is studied recognising a national as well as an institutional level.

Halonen et al. (2015) and Saarinen (2017) see policies as ‘multi-sited’ by nature. They emphasise the importance of policy formation being multi-layered and multi-sited. In other words, there are essential links between different levels (vertical layers) and different policy sectors and actors (horizontal sites). These need to be taken into account if, for example, language policy is to be fully understood and the networked way in which policy operates fully recognised. Consequently, policymaking involves historical and contemporary layers (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017) at different levels, e.g. supranational, national and institutional (cf. Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017) that are interlinked. In other words, policy is made when “the global, local and the various times are brought together into interaction with each other” (Halonen et al., 2015, p. 18). Hence, because of the complexity of interests and forces operating at different levels, it is difficult to formulate and promote a workable language policy (Spolsky, 2018).

In HE, when the study of ‘organised management’ (Nekvapil, 2016) is via analysis of documents, it is important to acknowledge the complexity and ‘multi-sitedness’ of language policy and remember the limits of such study. The present study tries to grasp parts of the complexity and multi-sitedness of language policy by: analysing national and institutional policy; examining three different policy areas relevant to language issues; and, going back in time. In this study, language policy is considered to be interlinked with history as well as with other levels.

Language

Language is often described as a formal and symbolic system used by groups of people for communication and meaning-making processes. Commonly, it is divided in separate branches (e.g. Swedish, English or Amharic). However, language can also be described as “a functional societal practice that has a role in knowledge construction” (Saarinen, 2017, p. 553). Relevantly for this thesis, these two descriptions can be combined and expressed as illustrating the roles or functions of separate languages in the construction of knowledge (e.g. learning, teaching, research and dissemination) as advocated in language policy. Language should not be seen only as a communication tool; it needs to be acknowledged as “a localised and situational element in the learning process”

(Saarinen & Taalas, 2017, p. 599) This leads to a new focus on language(s) in HE policy (ibid.). However, a language is often dealt with as if it is an instrument, a mere tool. This is elaborated upon below.

Language is considered to be an *instrument* when: it is used to achieve goals and objectives that are valued; and, the relative value of what is to be achieved impact on the relative value of the language (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). In language policy, the self-managing aspect (Spolsky, 2018) fits into this instrumentalist approach. For example, people deciding to learn/develop their language proficiency in a language because they think it will be useful for private or professional reasons. Robichaud & De Schutter (2012) propose that an instrumental (or extrinsic) value of languages should be contrasted with an intrinsic value of languages, i.e. value for its own sake. They describe eight different arguments that represent “language as an instrument giving access to other valuable goods” (p. 126): (1) *effective communication*; (2) *economic success*; (3) *autonomy and liberty*; (4) *nationalism, unity and solidarity*; (5) *democracy*; (6) *dignity*; (7) *cultural diversity and human knowledge*, and (8), *equality*.

(1) *Effective communication* is the most fundamental instrumental interest. People want to learn languages that are beneficial for their interests and/or will give them advantages. Thus, many people want to learn vehicular languages³⁸. These languages have ‘high functionality’, i.e. they have many functions and large numbers of speakers. Languages also gain in value every time someone learns to speak and use them. They are what economists call ‘hypercollective goods’.

(2) Language as an instrument for *economic success* relies on minimisation of transaction costs (when there is a common language in production and exchanging of goods, there is no need for costly services such as translation and interpretation). Language can also be seen as an investment, where putting resources into acquiring a certain language may attract rewards that represent a good return. Here, it may also be that the bigger the language community, the greater the number of opportunities. Language choice has consequences for the individual as well as for the status of the language.

They [e.g. scientists] /.../ face a dilemma: either they produce cultural goods in a vernacular language, and face little competition but benefit from a small market; or they try to produce goods in a vehicular language, facing harsher competition but on a huge market. The decisions they make will in turn have

³⁸ The term ‘vehicular language’ can be used interchangeably with ‘lingua franca’ or ‘common language’.

an impact on the value of the chosen language due to the hypercollective nature of language as a good. (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012, p. 131)

There is thus an inclusion/exclusion logic of languages' when people invest in a vehicular language (for wider access), or a vernacular language (for access to smaller communities).

(3) The instrumental view of *autonomy and liberty* deals with inherent cultural feature of language. For example: that the perception of the world and the value of objects are to some extent shared in the language; that the language in a speech community discloses the world in situated ways; and, that "the limits of our language are the limits of our horizon" (Taylor, 1976, p. 64 in Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012).

(4) A common national language can function as a *unifying* instrument. It can promote a *national* identity that, in turn, may promote *solidarity* among the nation's people.

(5) From an instrumental point of view, a common public language is valuable because, through collective debates available for every citizen, it makes *democracy* easier.

(6) The self-respect and *dignity* felt by people are affected by the esteem their language is accorded by others and/or by the state. Hence, from an instrumental viewpoint, using and recognising different languages in society is important for the dignity of individuals.

(7) Because cultural knowledge is embedded in language, language is an instrument in/of maintaining *cultural diversity*. Linguistic diversity alone does not guarantee the preservation of *human knowledge*. To be preserved, knowledge has to be important to individuals and communities. This importance may or may not be affected by a language shift. However, linguistic diversity contributes to maintaining cultural diversity, which tends to safeguard cultural knowledge.

(8) Language can operate as an instrument for political and socio-economic *equality*. When a language that is associated with privilege and opportunity becomes widely spread, there is a levelling out of privilege and opportunity.

It has to be remembered that language is more than an instrument. However, to understand language policy as well as arguments and motives for language use, it is important to understand the instrumentalist view of language.

In a study such as this, it is relevant to consider discourses about language issues. Heller and Duchêne (2012) argue how two different discourse perspectives (*pride* and *profit*) shape our understanding of what counts as legitimate language. In the modern nation-state, it is important to have control

over such legitimation. Discursive rationales result from, for example, dominant group exercising their influence via state bodies such as schools. This tends to have restraining effect on those with less power. Language competences are one of the ‘standards’ often built into concepts of citizenship.

If you don’t speak the language of the nation, and speak it properly, you show that you lack the ability to reason and the strength to prevail that citizenship requires; you therefore can’t claim access to political and economic power. (Heller & Duchêne, 2012, p. 5)

Pride is part of being a citizen and language is part of the concept of national citizenship. However, there has been a shift into a discursive frame of ‘added value’ as a construct of language competences. *Profit* moves the idea of language away from modern ideologies of language, culture and identity towards treating it as a technical skill (ibid.).

“Pride” no longer works as well as the sole trope of nation-state legitimization; rather, the state’s ability to facilitate the growth of the new economy depends on its ability to legitimize the discourse of “profit”. (Heller & Duchêne, 2012, p. 10)

There is an evident shift towards ‘economic discourses’ where the *discourse of pride* is replaced (or defined) by the *discourse of profit* (ibid.). Being both carrier of culture and a signifier of cultural ‘belonging’, language has potent cultural and symbolic power and, being functional (i.e. in communication) it also has potent political and economic currency, i.e. as an exchange value (Rassool, 1998).

language provides not only a central identity variable but also constitutes a key means by which people can either gain access to power or, conversely, be excluded from the fight to exercise control over their lives. (Rassool, 1998, p. 89)

In the globalised new economy, language is not only part of the commodification of national identity as authenticity, but also a technical skill, disconnected from authenticity. Heller and Duchêne (2012) have identified what they refer to as “linguistic taylorism” (p. 12 f.). In this, by decoupling language from identity, language is constructed as something measurable.

Finally, this thesis also uses the terms *language competence* and *language proficiency*. *Language competence* is the broader of the two terms. It is also more situation-sensitive. The description of competence as a “means sufficient for the

necessities of life”³⁹, may capture the situational side of language competence. *Language proficiency* though is more about skills and linguistic knowledge. Broadly speaking, it can be said that a person who knows a language well has language proficiency. When the person can use the language well, he or she has language competence. That being said, it is not always easy to make a distinction between knowledge and use. Consequently, the two terms are occasionally used interchangeable in this thesis.

Discourse

Discourses are socially embedded. In an abstract sense, discourse is an element of social practice that is dialectically related to other social elements in social practice.

‘Discourse’ is used, as an abstract noun for language /.../ seen as an element of social events and, more abstractly, social practices, which is dialectically related to other elements (forms of activity, social relations and institutional forms, persons with knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values, and elements of the material world) (Fairclough, 2010, p. 381)

In a more concrete sense, it can be said that, in social practice, discourse occurs in three different ways. It figures as: part of social activity within a practice (genres); ways of being (styles); and, a means of representing (discourses), i.e. “representation of some area of social life from a particular perspective” (Fairclough, 2010, p 289). Language as social semiotic incorporates representation of ideas about the world (ideologies and social interests) with the language used being an integral part thereof (cf. Halliday, & Matthiessen, 2004). Hence, discourses contribute to specific understandings of the world and are also shaped by ideas of the world. In this study, it is the representational part that is of interest. Hence constructions in written texts are analysed.

The concept of discourse can be construed only in relational terms (e.g. Fairclough, 2010). Discourse as an entity is understood through its relational character. The relational characteristic in discourse is dialectic, i.e. a reciprocal affecting of discourse and other social realities.

Epistemologically, discourses are abstract entities which established on the basis of repetition and recurrence over time in diverse social sites, but

³⁹ *Britannica online [Elektronisk resurs]*. (1994-). Chicago, IL: Britannica Online.

ontologically they appear in the concrete form of particular texts. (Fairclough, 2010, p. 460)

Discourses are characterised by both specific vocabulary and specific lexicogrammar (i.e. words having certain functions in specific discourses). ‘Globalisation’ is one example here. In a corporate or economic discourse, it can figure as an actor with an ergative role (agent), e.g. “globalisation increases the rate of change in society”⁴⁰, i.e. ‘globalisation’ is the causal actor in the material process. Such specific lexical understandings and functions are dependent on the operating discourse in question. However, it is not always easy to establish discourses or to describe the boundaries of them. In its analyses, this study makes use of the concepts of *discursive knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) and *discourse strands*. Said concepts are described in the analysis chapter (chapter 5).

In relation to international and national economic and societal changes, Waldow (2008) describes: five different key periods in Swedish educational politics, 1930-35, 1943-48, 1958-63, 1973-78, 1990-95; and, major discourses in each period. The 1930-35 period was characterised by modernisation and crisis awareness. 1943-48 embraced ideas of education for societal good and ‘right man in the right place’. With a differentiated society and education increasingly placed in an economic framework (construed in terms of ‘investment’ and ‘consumption’), 1958-63 was a time of change. Simultaneously, democratic processes were relevant. 1973-78 was a time of criticism and conflict; economic discourse was not explicit. It was a time when planning and education for the labour market was questioned and life-long learning was introduced. The reform period 1990-95 was characterised by a strong market rationale. Economic discourse and education policy went hand in hand. The present study overlaps the 1973-78 and 1990-95 reform periods. It also has policy texts from the period after the new millennium.

Discourse, as in discourse analysis, means the study of “language in use”, i.e. written or oral texts. However, there is a contextual difference between the Anglo-Saxon and Swedish tradition. What in Anglo-Saxon contexts is frequently referred to as discourse analysis is, in Swedish context, more or less referred to as text analysis (Nord, 2011, p. 156). Thus, text analysis in present study is also to be regarded as discourse analysis.

⁴⁰ From a Swedish government bill: *Globaliseringen ökar förändringstakten i sambället*. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 27)

Text

Similar to discourse, ‘text’ is a central concept in this study. It can broadly be defined as referring “to any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 3). In slightly more detail: “any instance of language” covers the different forms of communication (verbal, non-verbal, pictorial, multi-modal etc.); “in any medium” refers to the way it is distributed (as sound, in print, by gesture etc.); and, “that makes sense to someone” relates to the fundamental meaning-making and communicative part of the language instance. In present study, this broad definition is narrowed to text being the language used in written national publications and institutional language policies in Sweden’s HE.

Shaped by social structures and social practices as well as social agents, text is seen as parts of social events (Fairclough, 2003). Text is the linguistic realisation of event and social structures are to be seen as “a set of possibilities” (ibid. p. 23) that might affect a social event. A policy document is just such an event. However, events are not direct effects of social affordances. They are mediated through social practices (ibid.). Social practices are

“ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time” (Fairclough, 2003, p 23f).

If texts are elements of social events, elements of social practices are defined as orders of discourses⁴¹. These orders of discourses constitute “ways of controlling” in social practices, i.e. as “social structuring of semiotic difference” (Fairclough, 2003, p 206). Furthermore, a:

“particular social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic, /.../ which sustains relations of domination” (Fairclough, 2003, p 207).

It is important to acknowledge that an order of discourse is a fairly open system. As it is not totally rigid, this structuration is not just deterministic.

As seen in the description above, language obviously operates as an element in all three of the mentioned levels, i.e. social structures, social practices and social events. As such an element, it manifests itself as discourses, genres and styles. Social practices (orders of discourses) define specific ways of acting, e.g. articulation at a particular time and space (context). When analysing text,

⁴¹ *Orders of discourse* (L’ordre du discours) was introduced by Foucault in his 1970 inaugural lecture.

because the complex dialectical relationship of meanings has to be recognised, attention has to be paid to several levels (and the relationship between these levels). Aspects of meaning in texts (i.e. semiotic meaning) are either: articulated through genres, styles and discourse (representation); or, in social practices, manifested as different ways of acting discursively or different ways of being (discourse) (Fairclough, 2003). In the present study, where the texts are either documents outlining Swedish national policies impacting on HE from 1974 to 2009 or language policies from Swedish universities 2012/2015⁴², analysis focuses specifically on discourse as described by Fairclough.

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis⁴³ is to be regarded as both a “theory of” and a “methodology for” dialectic and dynamic analysis of language in relation to a social world (e.g. Fairclough, 2013, p. 178). Using CDA opens the way for a developmental approach in the research process.

Unlike some forms of discourse-based research, CDA does not begin with a fixed theoretical and methodological stance. Instead, the research process begins with a particular topic [...] and the theoretical and methodological tools are then developed as the object of research is progressively refined (Mulderigg, 2011a, *ibid.*, p. 564)

A social world exists alongside a natural world. As the social world is socially constructed, it exists through, and is dependent on, human action. Fairclough (2010) describes the social world as being discursively construed and points out that which of these construals has socially constructive effects depend on: a variety of conditions (e.g. power relations); or, which aspect of life is being construed.

CDA is about social analysis of language. It deals with links between language and social and political structures. It is also about clarifying ideological standpoints within the contingency of language. Like any discourse analysis⁴⁴, it is grounded in:

⁴² See footnote 19.

⁴³ In the following, the focus is primarily on the theoretical perspective. However, there might be overlaps with the analytical perspective, which is presented in chapter 5.

⁴⁴ CDA is especially suitable for analysing “the arena of political action” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009), i.e. the arena to which the policy texts in this study belong.

the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language. (Fairclough, 2003, p 2)

A social practice includes the following elements: activities; subjects, and their social relations; instruments; objects; time and place; forms of consciousness; values and, discourse (Fairclough, 2003, p 205). The relationship between these elements is dialectic. The elements are different but not discrete and each of them “‘internalizes’ the others without being reducible to them” (ibid.). There is a dynamic relationship between text and context. This relationship is realised as a reciprocal influence; society and social practice influence language in use, and, at the same time, the constructed language influence society (Nord, 2011, p. 156). The aim of CDA is to analyse the dialectical relationship between discourse and other elements of social practices. In other words, every choice in a text is of potential interest for studying how the text contributes to reproducing or reshaping ideas of the world and making certain views and attitudes natural (ibid.).

CDA ditto links social analysis with linguistic analysis, thereby contributing to focusing on discourses and the relationship to other social elements, e.g. power, ideology and social identity (Fairclough, 2013). By analysing *how*, for example, texts work on/in societal transformation, the linguistic analysis functions as a complement to the way sociological research has acknowledged language. A detailed analysis can show how desires are represented as facts and how the imaginaries of policies are represented as the way the world actually is (Fairclough, 2003, p 204).

CDA is about analysing linguistic constructions based on an assumption that language is an integral part in the creation of society (e.g. Fairclough, 2010). It is about analysing how language can reproduce or reshape ideals by constructing them as natural and uncontroversial. Fundamentally, CDA is relational, dialectical and transdisciplinary. The fact that discourses are dialectically related to other social practices and other discourses make this dialectical relation of interest (Fairclough, 2010). A dialectical relationship can be understood as “an interactive relationship between two variables in which each affects the other in a continuing iterative process” (Marsh & Smith, 2000, p.5). It is a “way of thinking and arguing” (Fairclough, 2003, p 214), hence its major implications for how a study is conducted.

To give institutions reasons to act in specific ways, narratives of ‘how things are’ (representations of current states of affairs) have to be presented at the

same time as imaginaries of ‘how things should be’ (representations of desirable future states of affairs).

Below, there is an adaptation of Fairclough and Fairclough’s (2012) proposal for an analytical model and an explanation of how this study interprets the model (figure 1).

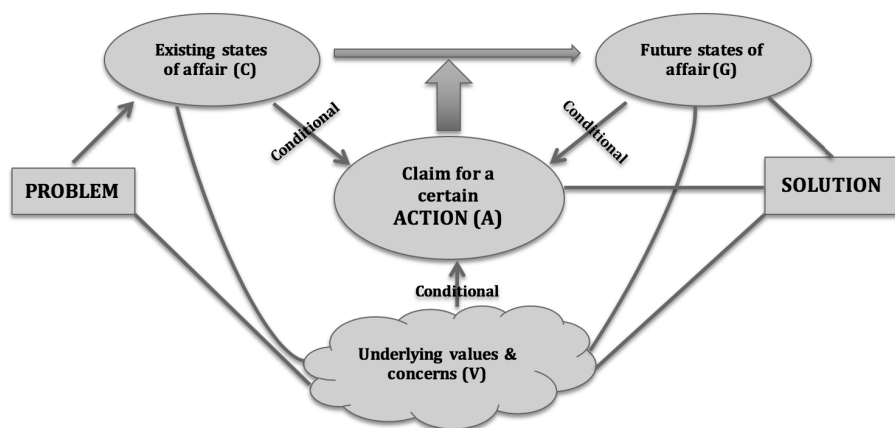


Figure 1: Model of political discourse analysis

Adaptation of an analytical model of political discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 45; Fairclough, 2013, p. 183)

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) and Fairclough (2013), a practical argument comprises: a circumstantial premise (C); a goal premise (G); a means-goal premise and a value premise (V); and, a claim. In the circumstantial premise (C), existing states of affairs are represented and problematised. In the goal premise (G), possible and desirable states of affairs in the future are constructed. Both existing and future states of affairs are represented and constructed: in accordance with each other and underlying values and concerns (V); and, in relation to a problem and its solution. In practical argumentation, a claim for a particular course of action is suggested. In the means-goal premise, this claim for certain action (A) is presented as a means of progressing, in accordance with underlying values (V), from a current state of affairs (C) (represented as problematic) to a desirable state of affairs (G). Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) suggest that “values restrict the set of actions that are compatible with the goals, seen as desirable or normatively appropriate states of affairs” and that values also “restrict the goals that can be

imagined or desired by an agent” (p 46).⁴⁵ Fairclough (2013) points out not only that “[p]roblems (problematizations) are associated with the Circumstantial premise” (p 183), but also that values and concerns inform what is chosen and represented as relevant circumstances.

Circumstances are described in ways that fit in with the claim that is being made. We not only imagine goals in relation to values, but we ‘see’ problems around us in relation to our values. (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p 46)

In the model, the value premise (V) is linked to problems as well as to circumstances (C).

Fairclough (2013) underlines that “the treatment of solutions is more complex” (p 183). As noted before, future states of affairs are seen as solutions and the imaginary is textured in accordance with particular problematizations associated with certain values and concerns that are compatible with certain solutions, but exclude others. Means could also be seen as part of the solution, in the sense that a solution could be the means for achieving further goals, and so on (Fairclough, 2013). In short, solutions are closely connected to future or desired states of affairs. They are constructed in association with underlying values and concerns, which are (dialectically) related to the representations of existing states of affairs. Solutions also affect the claimed course of action in the sense that they (can) become means for new solutions.

In analysing (educational) policy texts, it is important to investigate representations of different kinds. However, it is crucial to focus on the representations of actions, e.g. how actors are constructed and how the process is constructed in response to narrated circumstances (current state of affairs) and the underlying values. One way of addressing these issues may be ideational text analysis, as within the SFG (see p. 66ff.).

In CDA, it is important to study what socially constructed effects or implications there might be from the perspectives of the experienced world that are represented in/by linguistic constructs. The use of CDA in this study, allows analysis of the linguistic representations in relation to implications for academics and students.

The choice of CDA was guided not only by the relevance and adequacy of the method itself, but also by a more progressive ideal. In studying how, as part of social practice, linguistic representations mirror and contribute to

⁴⁵ In the model (figure 1), this is shown by connecting the value premise (V) to both action (A) (conditional) and goal premise (G)

consolidating, for example, inequality, it is hoped that the study may increase the linguistic awareness of its readers. Fairclough advocates the importance of critical awareness of language, i.e. people having insight into: the discursive practice of which they are part when using language and consuming text; and, how social structures and power relationships are discursively reproduced and reshaped (Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough advocates what can also be seen as a discursive awareness, the awareness of perspectives constructed by and in language. It is hoped that this study may contribute to highlighting this.

Legitimation and purpose

In CDA, *legitimation* is a concept that links action to a value system. It is a particular kind of justification. It has to refer to publicly shared rules and norms (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) and take into account two levels of justification, namely:

“a justification of action in virtue of some reason and a justification of that reason in virtue of a publicly recognized system of norms, values and beliefs” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 110).

In the process of recontextualising social practices by transformation into discourses, the social practices are also contextually legitimated, answering spoken or unspoken questions about why something specific should be done and why it should be done in a certain way (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 105). Legitimation is constructed in different ways and can be categorised in *authority* legitimation, *moral* legitimation, *rationalization* legitimation and *mythopoesis*⁴⁶ (van Leeuwen, 2008). The interpretation of this is that the legitimation of an action may build on: *authorities* (e.g. laws and traditions); *morals* (i.e. values regarding what is perceived as, superior, inferior or the natural order of things; or, *rationality* (appealing to goals, means and effects or giving definitions, explanations or predictions of actions) – (van Leeuwen, 2008). To put the concept into the model of political discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), legitimation needs to be related to argumentation. In the model, legitimation is viewed as a type of argumentative justification “in which an action can be justified in terms of reasons and those reasons can themselves be

⁴⁶ Mythopoesis is using storytelling as a way of legitimating certain actions. This is likely not common in policy texts.

justified as collectively accepted and recognized” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 112).

The construction of *purpose* is directed towards answering what action should be taken and is oriented towards *goals, means* or *effect* (van Leeuwen, 2008). There are inevitably similarities between purpose and legitimation, but they are not identical (ibid.). Legitimations have to refer to values; purpose needs not have such a reference. However, when philosophical views have, over time, become accepted truths and behaviour, legitimations may be built into purposes, i.e.:

[e]xpressions like “it is purposeful” “it is useful,” “it is effective,” and so on are themselves legitimating, descendants of philosophical traditions such as utilitarianism and pragmatism, which explicitly argued for purposefulness, usefulness, and effectiveness as criteria of truth and foundations for ethical behavior (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 126).

What van Leeuwen regards as early legitimations that have now become accepted truths and behaviour, this thesis recognises as analogous to the assertion by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) that justified reasons for action have to be collectively accepted and recognised. In the analysis of national policy texts, this study uses ‘legitimation’ and ‘purpose’.

Systemic functional grammar

Systemic functional grammar (SFG)⁴⁷ sees language as dynamic and living. Mirroring and creating context, it operates through text(s). It is not only functional, it is systemic functional, i.e.: “SFG describes the language systemically organised according to the overall functions it has to serve” (Holmberg, 2011, p. 97). Two images (figure 2 and figure 3 in the thesis) from *Funktionell textanalys* [Functional text analysis] by Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord (2011) can illustrate the theory behind SFG, which forms the foundation for the analytical part of this study of university policies.

First, language is seen as a ‘potential’ in SFG, a resource to use when formulating or interpreting text. Texts are seen as instances in which the language occurs. Texts are shaped by a ‘subpotential’ (or ‘instance type’). This is usually referred to as ‘register’. Register limits the language choices that can

⁴⁷ The theoretical base of SFG is presented by Halliday & Matthiessen in *Introduction to functional grammar*, third edition, 2004. During the course of work on the thesis, a fourth edition was published: *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar* by Halliday and revised by Matthiessen, 2014. In the thesis, they are both referenced (depending on when the text in question was written).

be made and also contributes to texts being similar (Holmberg et al., 2011). In other words, what can be said in a specific context of ‘situation’ is related to, restricted by and dependent on register. Translated and adapted from Holmberg et al. (2011), figure 2 shows the relationship between language as potential and text as instance.

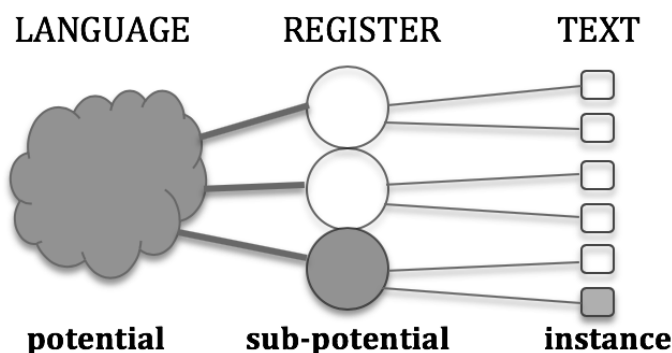


Figure 2: Language-register-text relation

The relation between language as potential and text as instance (translation and adaptation from Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord, 2011, p. 9)

Second, SFG focuses on how language works, i.e. how meaning is created in communicative situations. This cannot be described using only traditional ‘grammar’ (e.g. semantics, lexicon, morphology, syntax, phonology) in traditional ways. SFG divides the language into four different strata: context; semantics; lexicogrammar; and, phonology and orthography. To this, SFG adds three metafunctions: ideational; interpersonal; and, textual (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)). This is usually depicted using circles. Context is the outer circle surrounding all the others. Metafunctions cut through context, semantics and lexicogrammar (see figure 3). The phonology and orthography stratum is where language is expressed. The lexicogrammar stratum is to be regarded as a continuum of content, with vocabulary at one pole of the continuum and grammar at the other.

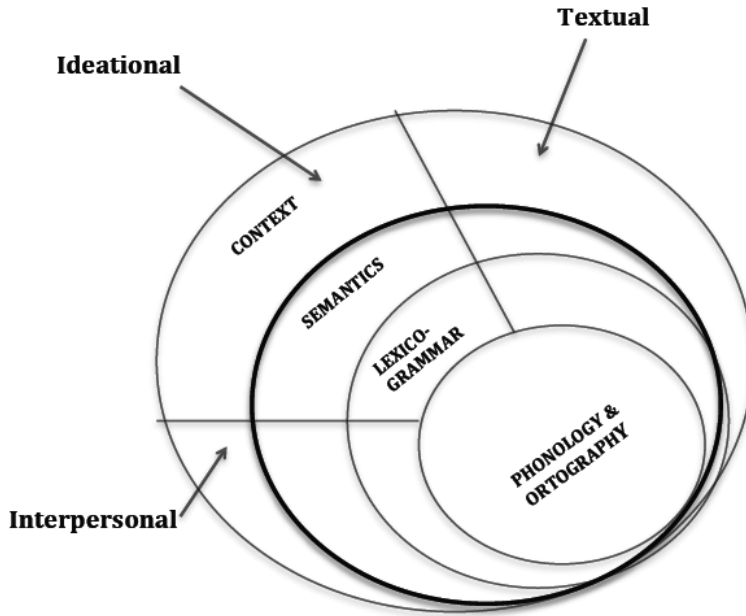


Figure 3: Stratification and metafunctions

Model of stratification and metafunctions in SFG (translation of model from Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord, 2011, p. 10)

The context is realised as meaning, which is realised via lexicogrammar, which is realised in sound and writing. The relationship between semantics and lexicogrammar is essential in SFG. As Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord (2011) point out, SFG sees these two strata as “content”. Hence, meaning is created through both semantic and lexicogrammatical choices. This combination, or the “friction” (ibid.) that semantics and lexicogrammar create, has consequences for the analytical approach. Said approach has to determine what to focus on: the meaning that is expressed; the form whereby the meaning is expressed; the combination of meanings created in a clause in a specific text (Holmberg et al., 2011); or, a combination of any of these. Although all strata work together, the SFG model is useful (for analytical purposes) in a study like the present one.

Ideational, interpersonal and textual (figure 3) are metafunctions that operate both in context and in the use of language (in semantics and lexicogrammar). They occur in every type of context. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) point out that the metafunction label (instead of just function) is a way of showing that

functionality is intrinsic to language and that these metafunctions are integral components within the architecture of language.

It is clear that language does – as we put it – **construe** human experience. It names things, thus construing them into categories; and then, typically, goes further and construes the categories into taxonomies, often using more names for doing so. [...] the fact that these differ from one language to another is a reminder that the categories are in fact construed in language [...] language provides a **theory** of human experience, and certain of the resources of the lexicogrammar of every language are dedicated to that function. We call it the **ideational** metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 30).

The ideational metafunction concerns ideas or imaginations of the world. Both these draw on and shape our experiences of the world. Linguistically they are expressed in clauses made up of process, participant and circumstance, i.e. something happens and someone takes part in it in some situation, or something/someone is related to or characterised by something (e.g. Karlsson, 2011). In this study, the *ideational metafunction* is used to analyse the character and dynamics of institutional language policy and how perspectives of an experienced world are realised in policy text (how the analysis was conducted is described in chapter 5).

Two of the metafunctions are not used in the text analysis: *the interpersonal metafunction*, which deals with how language makes interaction between people possible in text and conversation; and, *the textual metafunction*, which deals with the overall construction of text in relation to context and revolves around the construction of themes and messages and ways of communicating (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

As written above, *the ideational metafunction* concerns ideas or imaginations of the world. Ideational meaning is realised in systemic ways. SFG has ways of describing this. First, *the transitivity system*, i.e. how experiences of the world are realised and organised in clauses and second, *the ergativity system*, i.e. whether or not actors, via processes, are affected by others (Karlsson, 2011). Both these systems focus processes, but with different and complementary perspectives.

The transitivity system acknowledges a number of process types. These are related to *participants* in different *circumstance*. Prototypically, six process types are recognised: *material*, *behavioural*, *mental*, *verbal*, *relational* and *existential* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Every process type has a core area. This represents the prototypical way of understanding this type. However, throughout analysis, the difficulty of establishing clear boundaries must be borne in mind. In line with

Holmberg and Karlsson (2013), this study follows a division of the process types into four categories, namely, *material*, *mental*, *relational* and *verbal*. *Existential* processes are seen as a subcategory of *relational* processes and *behavioural* as a subcategory of *material* processes.

Table 1 below shows how the material and relational process types relate to the world of experience and *the ideational metafunction* and what they are prototypically about.

Table 1: Process types

Process type	About (prototypically)	World of experience
Material <i>doing</i>	doing (to), acting	Physical world
	creating, changing	
	happening (being created)	
Relational <i>being</i>	having attribute	World of abstract relations
	having identity	
	symbolizing	
	existing	

The material and relational process types (adaptation from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 172)

The *material* processes describe happenings as dynamic, as outer changes, as having a clear direction and often a concrete actor; the *relational* processes often deal with conditions and more abstract and unclear directions (Karlsson, 2011). In a *material process*, there is at least one participant, the Actor. If the outcome of the process is limited to the Actor itself, the clause represents a *happening*. If the outcome of the process includes another participant, the Goal, the clause represents a *doing*. When there is another participant in a material process, it is most likely a Goal. However, other participants may also be involved, for example a Recipient⁴⁸. The difference between a Goal and a Recipient is that the Goal is the ‘directly involved’ participant impacted by the process; a Recipient is the ‘obliquely involved’ participant benefiting from a process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 239 & p. 311).

In *material processes*, it is also possible to study the Circumstances. These include time, place, way, cause, condition, companionship and angle. They are realised as adverbial groups and prepositional phrases. It is important to note

⁴⁸ There are also other participants that can be indirectly involved in the process, but no use was made of them in the analysis.

that clauses are not seen as Circumstances. Processes are found in independent clauses (often called main clauses) and in dependent clauses (often called subordinated clauses) and both these types of clauses can have Circumstances. Table 2 gives an overview of the SFG terms (with prototypical examples) used in the analysis of this study.

Table 2: An overview of relevant SFG terms

	FIRST PARTICIPANT	PROCESS CORE	OTHER PARTICIPANTS	CIRCUMSTANCES
MATERIAL PROCESS	Actor		Goal	
	<i>The student</i>	<i>completed</i>	<i>the essay</i>	<i>in June.</i>
	Actor		Goal & Recipient	
	<i>Counsellors</i>	<i>can give</i>	<i>advice to students.</i>	
RELATIONAL PROCESS	Carrier		Attribute	
	<i>Many academics</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>supervision skills</i>	<i>due to extensive experience.</i>
	Token		Value	
	<i>The first university in today's Sweden</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>Uppsala University.</i>	
	Existent			
	<i>Academic fraud</i>	<i>occurs</i>		<i>in all countries.</i>

An overview of material and relational processes, participants and circumstances with prototypical examples.

The *ergative system* deals with who/what affects who/what, i.e. if participants, through processes, are affected by others or not (Karlsson, 2011). A clause can be either non-ergative or ergative. In a non-ergative clause, e.g. “the toy car moves”⁴⁹, the process affects the grammatical subject; the latter is not affected by anything else. In this example, the toy car moves by itself and is seen as a *medium* in the process. In an ergative clause, e.g. “the child moves the toy car”, there is someone affecting the medium (the toy car). In this clause, the child is seen as an *agent*. Karlsson (2011) points out that in the ergative system all processes have a medium, but only processes with at least two participants have an agent.

Analysing ergativity is useful “in order to show how ergativity (actions and doings, agent and medium) are interplaying with process type and roles of participants” (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013, p. 110). Clauses with material processes can be both ergative and non-ergative, whereas clauses with relational processes are typically non-ergative.

⁴⁹ The examples on ergativity are translations from Karlsson, 2011, p. 28

As mentioned above, the *relational processes* deal with conditions. This makes it possible to study how ‘things’ are connected and what assumptions and bases there are. There are three types of relational processes, i.e. *attributive*, *identifying* and *existential* (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013)⁵⁰. These are shown in table 2. In an *attributive process*, the first participant (*carrier*) is linked to an *attribute* (the second participant), which describes the character of the first participant, or what it has or consists of, in other words the characteristics of the carrier (ibid.). In an *identifying process*, the first participant (*token*) is linked to a *value* (the second participant), which points out the identity of the first participant by labelling it (ibid.). In an *existential process*, there is only one participant (the *existent*) (ibid.). Relational processes describe actual facts. They also show opinions and beliefs. Thus, they can aid analysis when ‘unpacking’ (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013) operating discourses.

Finally, in this section, the thesis takes up *grammatical metaphors* and adds a few more word about *register* and *genre*. Even though these important concepts in SFG are not used in the study, it is relevant to say a few words about them.

One of the characteristics of a highly specialised language is that it has to be incongruent to be efficient, implying several meanings being put together in what can be described as *grammatical metaphors* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Nominalisations often function as a grammatical metaphor; instead of representing an ongoing process by using clauses with subjects and verbs that would describe it, it is represented as an entity, i.e. a clause is transformed into a nominal or noun-like entity (Fairclough, 2003). The use of nominalisation is an indispensable resource, for instance in science when it comes to generalising and abstracting phenomenon (Fairclough, 2003) and in politics to get to the point without having to mention all details (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013). Therefore, it is likely that grammatical metaphors occur in policy texts as, for example, participants.

As is mentioned earlier on, *register* is an important concept in functional grammar. A “register is a functional variety of language” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 29). Registers are functional in the sense that they are to be seen as historically developed resources for appropriate communication in

⁵⁰ The analysis uses the process types described by Holmberg & Karlsson. This is because the authors’ functional grammar is built on the Swedish language. However, the terms coined by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004; 2014) are used, i.e. the Swedish terms have not been translated. The only time when the terms are not transparent is when *token* is used in the English context, and *utpekad* is used in the Swedish.

specific types of situations (Nord, 2011). It can be said that every instance of text uses the subpotential of language embedded in the register due to context. This means that the context and possible types of instance (registers) are related to each other.

Within CDA, *genre* relates to ways of acting discursively (Fairclough, 2010). Register can be seen as operating within genre where register is constructing a genre (Martin, 2016) in a context of ‘situation’. Consequently, register and genre are highly interrelated. Thus, when a policy text acts as political genre, it is constructed by a register that is appropriate in that context; a historically and culturally embedded situation. Texts are not ‘in’ a particular genre, “rather they draw upon the socially available resource of genres in [...] complex and creative ways” (Fairclough, 2003, p 69) in accordance with the situation.

The present study sees the concept of genre as something texts, in their nature of being goal-oriented, are participating in. In other words, the texts are ways of acting discursively to accomplish certain communicative goals within a cultural context. The (written) policy texts used in the study are all part of a particular social activity, a genre (Fairclough, 2010), namely a political genre⁵¹ and, specifically, that of educational policy.

⁵¹ Fairclough (2003) acknowledges that the concept of genre can be defined on different levels of abstraction and e.g. political genre is on what can be referred to as a high level of abstraction.

Chapter 5 Analysis

This chapter presents both how the study was carried out and the procedure used for the selection of texts that make up the analytical corpus. It starts by presenting how policy texts were sampled. Policy texts from both a national level (i.e. government publications and publications from HE bodies) and an institutional level (i.e. universities) were collected to form two kinds of text samples. The analytical tools used in the study are then presented and explained after this. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) – (e.g. Fairclough, 2010; 2013;) inspired by the model of political discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) and systemic functional grammar (SFG) – (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014) provide the theoretical framework (presented in chapter 4). Analysis of the national policy level was carried out as a thematic text analysis. Here, the concepts of *legitimation* (van Leeuwen, 2008), *discourse strands* and *discursive knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) were used at different stages of the analysis. Analysis of the institutional level was carried out mainly as a linguistic text analysis making use of the *ideational metafunction* (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013; Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord, 2011; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014).

The data sampling was conducted at two different levels. Firstly, there was sampling in the selection of relevant national policy texts, i.e. reports, inquiries and bills regarding language issues in HE. All of these texts operate in ‘the arena of political action’ in a specific ‘field of action’ (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) that addresses topics in order to change or regulate HE. Secondly, there was sampling in the selection of relevant institutional policy texts on language. These texts can be viewed as an interpretation of national policy.

Table 3 shows all texts that were used in the analysis as well as when and from where the texts were collected

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Table 3: The analytical corpus

Title (translated into English)	publication year	type of text	source	date of collection
<i>National policy texts</i>				
Report from the Swedish committee for internationalising university education – no. 5, Internationalising education: final report	1974	Report from a HE body	the University Library of Gothenburg	30/7/2012
On visiting students in higher education	1984	Government bill	www.riksdagen.se	28/1/2015
Diversity in higher education	2000	Government report	www.regeringen.se	12/10/2015
Advantage Sweden – a concerted initiative for increased foreign student recruitment to Sweden	2000	Government report	www.regeringen.se	28/1/2015
The open university	2001	Government bill	www.regeringen.se	12/10/2015
Speech	2002	Government report	www.regeringen.se	12/10/2015
New world – new higher education	2005	Government bill	www.regeringen.se	30/7/2012
Best language	2005	Government bill	www.regeringen.se	12/10/2015
Borderless higher education? Internationalisation of first, second and third cycle education	2005	Report from a HE body	www.uka.se	28/1/2015
Safeguard the language	2008	Government report	www.regeringen.se	12/10/2015
Borderless knowledge – Higher education in the era of globalisation	2009	Government bill	www.regeringen.se	28/1/2015
<i>Institutional policy texts</i>				
Chalmers University Language Policy	2013	policy document	personal contact	25/4/2014
Language Policy (University of Gothenburg)	2015	policy document	www.gu.se	1/3/2015*
Language Policy (Dalarna University)	2013	policy document	www.du.se	21/1/2014
Karlstad University Language Policy	2013	policy document	www.kau.se	14/1/2014
Royal Institute of Technology Language Policy 2010	2010	policy document	www.kth.se	14/1/2014
Lund University Language Policy	2014	policy document	personal contact	7/10/2015**
Malmö University Language Policy	undefined	web based policy	www.mah.se	14/1/2014
Language Policy (Mid Sweden University)	2012	policy document	www.miun.se	14/1/2014
Stockholm University Language Policy	2011	web based policy	www.su.se	9/1/2014
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences Language policy	2010	policy document	www.slu.se	31/1/2014
The Quality Handbook 2012-2014 (Södertörn University)***	2011	policy document	www.sh.se	25/2/2014
Umeå University Language Policy	2012	policy document	www.umu.se	9/1/2014

A language policy from 2006 was collected 9/1/2014 and replaced with a new policy from 2015. ** A draft of the language policy was collected 20/3/2014 and replaced with the approved policy. * Södertörn University Language Policy for Official Documents is included in the handbook.*

The chapter closes with a discussion of methodological consistency.

Identifying national policy texts

The policy areas dealing with HE language issues are, as many researchers have identified, *internationalisation* and *national language legislation* (e.g. Ljosland, 2015). However, the language debate in HE in Sweden has also been influenced by issues arising from the domestic diversity of students (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). This made it relevant for the study to include the policy area of *widening participation*.

Waldow (2008) and Andrén (2013) offer solid lists of government sources on educational issues from the early 1900s onwards. From the Swedish Ministry of Education, yearly lists of publications, 1996–2014, are similarly solid. In selecting relevant policy texts, these sources were used alongside a review of government web pages (regeringen.se; riksdagen.se) and library catalogues of government publications (Libris). Building on the assumption that language issues have long been relevant, there was the ambition that at least one publication from each decade, (1930s until the first decade of the new millennium) would be chosen.

Owing to the general character of the early government publications in the first decades, this ambition had to be renounced. Eventually, the publications became more specialised and directed towards specific policy areas. This made them more relevant to this thesis and its studying of language policy. Nevertheless, the general university investigations (i.e. 1930s–1960s) are included in the thesis as a background that merely describes language issues of that time (reported in chapter 3).

A policy area that could be followed for a comparatively long period is *internationalisation*, where the first policy texts emerged in the 1970s. No 1990s' texts were found on internationalisation in/of HE. The majority of such texts came from the new millennium and onward. The *Swedish language legislation* policy area started in the latter part of the 1990s. Here, at the request of the government, the Swedish Language Council presented (in a report) a draft action plan for the Swedish language. At the beginning of the 2000s, this was followed by a parliamentary inquiry, a government bill and, finally, a report with proposals for a language act. The *widening participation* policy area had only two major texts, both from the first two years of the new millennium. These were a government report followed by a government bill. However, in 2017, there was a memorandum addressing the question of replacing 'broadening recruitment'

with ‘widening participation’. This policy text came after the sampling process had finished.

Table 4 below gives a list of the national-level text samples used in the study by policy area.

Table 4: National policy texts in the study

Internationalisation	
<i>Betänkande från UKÄ:s internationaliserings-utredning, 5, Utbildningens internationalisering: slutbetänkande</i> [Report from the Swedish committee for internationalising university education – no. 5, Internationalising education: final report]	UKÄ-rapport nr 21, 1974 [Report no. 21 from the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities]
<i>Om gäststuderande i högskolan</i> [On visiting students in higher education]	Prop. 1983/84:115 ⁵²
<i>Advantage Sweden – en kraftsamling för ökad rekrytering av utländska studenter till Sverige</i> [Advantage Sweden – a concerted initiative for increased foreign student recruitment to Sweden]	SOU 2000:92 ⁵³
<i>Ny värld – ny högskola</i> [New world – new higher education]	Prop. 2004/05:162
<i>En gränslös högskola? Om internationalisering av grund- och forskarutbildning</i> [Borderless higher education? Internationalisation of first, second and third cycle education]	HSV 2005:1 [Swedish Council for Higher Education]
<i>Gränslös kunskap – högskolan i globaliseringens tid</i> [Borderless knowledge – Higher education in the era of globalisation]	Prop. 2008/09:175
Widening participation	
<i>Mångfald i högskolan</i> [Diversity in higher education]	SOU 2000:47
<i>Den öppna högskolan</i> [The open university]	Prop. 2001/02:15
A Swedish language legislation	
<i>Mål i mun</i> [Speech]	SOU 2002:27
<i>Bästa språket</i> [Best language]	Prop. 2005/06:2
<i>Värna språket</i> [Safeguard the language]	SOU 2008:26

Allocated by policy area, national policy texts from 1974–2009.

Six texts from the policy area of *internationalisation* were selected, two from *widening participation* and three from the *Swedish language legislation*. Altogether, the policy texts comprise 2,072 pages. All these pages were skimmed through, but not all of them were subjected to a more detailed methodical analysis. This chapter later discusses how the analysis was conducted.

Below, there are short descriptions of all the national policy texts.

Internationalising education – UKÄ report 21, 1974

In 1974, an action plan for internationalisation was published in a final report, *Internationalising education* (UKÄ-rapport 21, 1974). The action plan set out three different aims in respect of attitudes, knowledge and skills. It gave three

⁵² Prop. is in Swedish short for *Proposition*, which means government bill.

⁵³ SOU stands for *Statens offentliga utredningar*, which in English is Swedish government official reports.

concrete means for achieving these aims. These aims centred on content, training in language for specific purposes and exchanges. The investigation was in response to demands from different interest groups. These demands revolved around professional skills in international activities, language proficiency, general knowledge of global conditions, and exchange activities. One of the most important reasons for internationalised education was international solidarity and the need of a ‘world citizen’.

One of the report’s fundamental conclusions was that internationalisation was inseparable from education. This indicated that, to varying degree, all education needed to be internationalised. Under such circumstances, three steps were suggested: general internationalisation of study programmes; developed language education for all study groups⁵⁴; and, exchanges for students and teachers.

Specialised terminology, now referred to as language for special purposes (LSP) was seen as something both students and staff needed to develop. Sweden’s Employers’ Association and the Federation of Swedish Industries had stated there was market demands for professionally trained people with LSP competences in foreign languages (rather than market demands for language specialists). The report referred to this as technical language or terminology⁵⁵ that was branch-specific, trade-exclusive and professions-oriented. Examples included “Legal French, German for Economics, Mathematical Russian, Textile Chinese, Japanese for Electronic industry, Bank English, Tourist agency English, Conference English, Computer English” (UKÄ-rapport 21, 1974, p. 94).

In the report, four different constraints on exchanges were identified: structural, formal, communicative and economic impediments. The communicative constraint related to language competences, information and documentation. Exchanges were seen as both a motive for and a means of developing language competences. They were also seen as ‘bringing surplus’ to individuals, HE institutions and Sweden as a country. For students studying languages, the usefulness was evident. However, any student should gain from studying abroad for part of his/her HE period. The adduced arguments related

⁵⁴ Nowadays, there is a research field and an applied field called language for specific purposes (LSP). The 1970s’ initiatives to develop the language of larger groups of students (in a variety of languages) can be seen as LSP. Said language development in the 70s was not talked about and understood as broadly as LSP is today. Nonetheless, the approach of that time fits into the field of LSP.

⁵⁵ *Sw. fackspråk.*

to quality, access to perspectives that could not be found in Sweden, international networking in relevant fields and foreign language competences enabling international contacts in (future) professional life.

Visiting students – Prop. 1983/84:115

The *Visiting students*⁵⁶ in higher education government bill (Prop. 1983/84:115), dealt mainly with HE admission regulations for non-Nordic foreign students and, in Sweden, making the most of the visiting student system. Although it addresses three different student categories (non-Nordic visiting students, Nordic visiting students and immigrant students), most of the bill focused on non-Nordic students. The bill made three suggestions: prior the arrival to Sweden, visiting students should meet the English-proficiency HE entry requirements; full programmes as well as shorter courses should be offered to visiting students (the shorter courses instructed in different languages were seen as having developmental potential); and, to be able to successfully participate in such programmes, visiting students entering full programmes needed preparatory Swedish language training.

Advantage Sweden – SOU 2000:92

The *Advantage Sweden* government report (SOU 2000:92), dealt with issues similar to those in *Visiting students* (Prop. 1983/84:115). However, the perspective was wider and addressed the following areas: information on Swedish HE in other countries; the experience of visiting students and possible constraints; how to increase the number of visiting students (especially from countries outside EEA); and, visiting student study fees and their possible consequences. The report suggested a five-year action plan. This included a national strategy, more EMI courses and programmes, reciprocal recognition

⁵⁶ In the selected policy texts, the Swedish term *gäststudent* is used. Translating the term is a delicate matter. When directly referring to the specific text, summarising or referencing, *visiting student* is used in line with the Swedish texts of the 1980s. However, nowadays a number of terms are used when talking about students who are studying in a country different from their origin. One such term is *international students*. This often refers to students on mobility programmes (also referred to as *exchange students*). However, international students can also be what are often referred to as *free movers*, i.e. students applying from abroad with the purpose of studying but without being part of a mobility programme. Nowadays, also the term *transnational* is used for students who move between countries. An overall term is *foreign student*, which not only covers international students in the above-mentioned interpretations, but also includes *immigrant students*, i.e. students who have come to a country with the purpose of living there. In this latter connection, the thesis mainly uses *foreign student*. However, when relevant to make a distinction between immigrant students and foreign students who are not immigrants, both terms are used. Also, *transnational student* is used.

of foreign education, Swedish language courses for foreign students, student accommodation, residence permits for students at all levels, contract education with foreign partners, increased number of visiting lecturers and foreign doctoral students in relevant fields, an information and marketing strategy for Swedish HE, a 5,000 increase in foreign students over five years, and an increased number of bursaries.

New world - new higher education – Prop. 2004/05:162

The *New world – new higher education* government bill (Prop. 2004/05:162), was preceded by a number of investigations and reports (e.g. on the Bologna process, exchange programmes, internationalisation of education and the widening participation/access). The bill was part of a series of initiatives for internationalising Swedish HE, e.g.: *Internationalising Education* (UKÄ-rapport 21, 1974); agreements within the Nordic Council of Ministers (in the 1970s) leading to mutual acknowledgement of exams and HE credits from Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden; a new student finance system that enabled international mobility; exchange programmes within EU; and, the Swedish Institute being commissioned to coordinate and promote Swedish education. The aims of the bill were to raise the power of attraction of Swedish HE, increase the internationalisation of education, create national and international eligibility and comparability, contribute to higher quality and widening participation, and to create clearer admission regulations. A national strategy for internationalisation of HE presented five goals.

- 1) Sweden was to be an attractive country to study in for foreign students.
- 2) Graduate students should be attractive to national and international labour markets.
- 3) Universities were to pursue active internationalisation with the aim of promoting the quality of education and the understanding of other countries and international conditions.
- 4) Obstacles to internationalisation were to be removed nationally as well as internationally.
- 5) Evaluation of the internationalisation of HE was to be developed and improved.

The intermediate goals of the strategy stated that Swedish universities should offer internationally competitive education of high quality, internationalisation should be included in the quality assurance and developmental procedures of universities, the content of education was to be internationalised, rules and regulations were to be revised, and the authorities concerned were to be active

in issues relevant to the internationalising of HE. Also, according to the strategy, the following phenomena should increase: recruitment of foreign students, the employability of graduate students, the international mobility of Swedish students, international mobility of university staff, and international mobility among students in teacher education.

Borderless universities – HSV 2005:01R

Borderless universities (HSV, 2005:01R) was a report evaluating how HE institutions in Sweden were, as part of a national quality audit system within HE, working with the internationalising of education. It was initiated by the University Chancellor (*Sn. universitetskansler*). An overall aim of such evaluations was to encourage universities to develop and improve, in this case, their internationalisation initiatives. The evaluation found that the number of incoming exchange students had increased, especially at master's level (where EMI courses and programmes were attracting many students). However, fewer Swedish exchange students were leaving Sweden for studies abroad. Strategic cooperation and international networking were increasing, but the policy documents needed to be updated. Exchange activities had developed, and international agreements had been entered into, but evaluations and follow-ups needed to be improved. The Bologna process was on the agenda at a third of Sweden's universities. There was limited cooperation between Swedish and international students. This made it important to rethink internationalisation at home. Exchange opportunities for teaching staff and doctoral students needed to be reconsidered. Equality and diversity issues needed to be incorporated in the internationalisation process.

Borderless knowledge – Prop. 2008/09:175

The *Borderless knowledge – higher education in the era of globalisation* government bill (Prop. 2008/09:175), drew on the 2005 national strategy in *New World – New University*. It developed parts of this to meet global challenges such as: increased global student mobility, intensified competition between universities worldwide, and a growing educational market. These required a consolidating of the attractiveness of Swedish universities and a reconsideration of fees for students outside EEA and in Switzerland. Strengthened internationalisation was also to be achieved through coordinated spreading of information, improved marketing and providing information about Swedish HE to other countries. The bill proposed additional paragraphs for Sweden's Higher Education Act,

to make it possible for Swedish and foreign HE institutions to award joint degrees.

Diversity in higher education – SOU 2000:47

The aim of the *Diversity in Higher Education* government report (SOU 2000:47), was to propose a number of measures in order to increase social and ethnic diversity within HE institutions, support new groups of students, and offer complementary education for immigrant academics. The reporting commission saw HE playing a major role in the development of society. Consequently, HE needed to reflect social and ethnic diversity. The commission proposed a bullet list of fourteen measures to promote diversity. Three of these concerned language issues:

- Elective Swedish language courses in a compulsory introductory course for all new students.
- Special support so that students could learn Swedish.
- University courses in the Swedish language for immigrant academics.

The Open University – Prop. 2001/02:15

The Open University government bill (Prop. 2001/02:15), drew on (among many other reports and inquiries) *Diversity in Higher Education*, hence its support of increased social and ethnic diversity. The bill also dealt with issues such as: prior learning, lifelong learning, learning and teaching development, ICT and internationalisation, and mobility. Openness was to be directed inwards as well as outwards; nationally as well as internationally; and, at widening recruitment as well as increasing it.

Speech – SOU 2002:27

The *Speech* action programme had two purposes: to advance the position of Swedish, and to ensure that everyone in Sweden had equally good opportunities to acquire Swedish. The need for such a programme was due to a changed language situation in Sweden.

- English had won an increasingly strong position internationally, thereby also becoming a more and more important language in Sweden.
- Sweden had become an increasingly multilingual country, primarily because of immigration, but also as a result of the elevation, some years previously, of five languages to the status of national minority languages.

- There was greater demand in society at large for an ability to use language well, both orally and in writing. (Text adapted from SOU 2002:27, p. 2, English summary)

Via its recommendations, the programme aimed to ensure three points: that Swedish should be a complete language, serving and uniting Swedish society; that Swedish in official and public use should be correct and should function well; and, that everyone should have a right to language – Swedish, their mother tongue and foreign languages.

Best language – Prop. 2005/06:2

Very much in line with the *Speech* actions programme (SOU 2002:27), the *Best language* government bill proposed four goals for national language policy: 1) Swedish should be the principle language in Sweden, 2) Swedish should be a complete language, serving and uniting Swedish society, 3) Swedish in official and public use should be cultivated, simple and comprehensible, and 4) everyone should have a right to language. The latter covered developing and acquiring Swedish, developing and using mother tongue and national minority languages, and having the opportunity to learn foreign languages.

Safeguarding the Language – SOU 2008:26

Safeguarding the Language (SOU 2008:26) was a preparatory inquiry ahead of the formulation of Sweden's Language Act. Working from the changed language circumstances outlined in the *Speech* action programme (SOU 2002:27) – see above – it highlighted three different factors influencing this change. First, growing internationalisation (with increased use of English in many areas) was construed as having the greatest impact on the status of Swedish in Sweden. Second, the plurality of different mother tongues spoken in Sweden was also connected to issues involving the status of Swedish. Third, the official recognition of five national minority languages in Sweden highlighted language status and diversity.

The purpose of a Swedish Language Act was to be twofold: safeguarding of the Swedish language, and acknowledgement of the language diversity in Sweden. It was proposed that the Language Act should protect and promote Swedish sign language and the five minority languages: Sámi, Finnish, Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish), Romany chib, and Yiddish.

Concluding this section on the national level, the findings from analysing these policy texts are presented in chapter 6 and 7. So that the analysis is

transparent, quotations from the national policy texts are included in the presentation.

Identifying institutional policy texts

Data at an institutional level was sampled in two steps. First, HE institutions were selected, based on the number of registered students at a specific time. Next, policy texts from all of these institutions were collected.

The aim was that HE institutions in the sample should be the ones affecting the major part of students and staff in Sweden. To determine this, the number of semester registrations in autumn 2012 was examined. The Swedish Higher Education Authority website (www.uka.se) showed the net numbers of registered students in first and second-cycle education. These were presented in a list of 48 different institutions plus 'the rest' (appendix A). The first 28 institutions had between 3,913 and 35,574 registered students. The 29th had 1,813 registered students. Disregarding figures for 'the rest', the lowest number was 26 registered students. Based on what seemed to be a natural leap in numbers, the selection line was drawn after the first 28 institutions. This meant that 97,6% of that semester's registered students were studying at the selected institutions. The 28th institution on the list was in the process of merging with one of the biggest universities in Sweden and was, because of that, added to that university. Hence, the sample comprised 27 Swedish HE institutions. The staff statistics for 2012 showed a pattern similar to that of registered students (appendix B). In 2012, there were 75,983 employees at the 48 different institutions, plus 'the rest'. Of these, 73,794 (just above 97% of the total) were employed at the selected institutions.

After selecting the HE institutions⁵⁷, local policy texts were collected from each university. This was done from their websites and through personal contact with the universities. The data comprised the following types: (i) language policies, (ii) Erasmus Charter application, (iii) annual reports, and (iv) policies on internationalisation.

All the universities had an annual report and had applied for a European charter. Fifteen of them had a policy or an action plan on internationalisation

⁵⁷ All institutions in the study provide tertiary education, but not all of them are independent universities. As is mentioned earlier, the term university is used in the thesis irrespective of status.

and twelve of the universities had an approved language policy⁵⁸ (appendix C). In the study, only the twelve language policy texts were analysed. This was because all the language policy texts have comprehensive descriptions of linguistic issues, whereas the other texts only have sections dealing with language issues.

The university language policies were anonymised for two reasons: (1) to prevent any bias or preconception in the analysis, it was considered wise not to know which policy text came from which university; (2) as it was the overall/dominating discourses that were of interest in the study, the university policy texts were considered as ‘one text’ (this making it irrelevant to know the origin of every single language policy). Any sign of identity was removed of each policy by first changing any university name into ‘university A’, ‘university B’⁵⁹ etc. and then compiling everything into one empirical text. This was done approximately half a year before the analysis was conducted.

The texts⁶⁰ are quite different in size, ranging from 19 sentences to 125. This is shown in the figure 4.

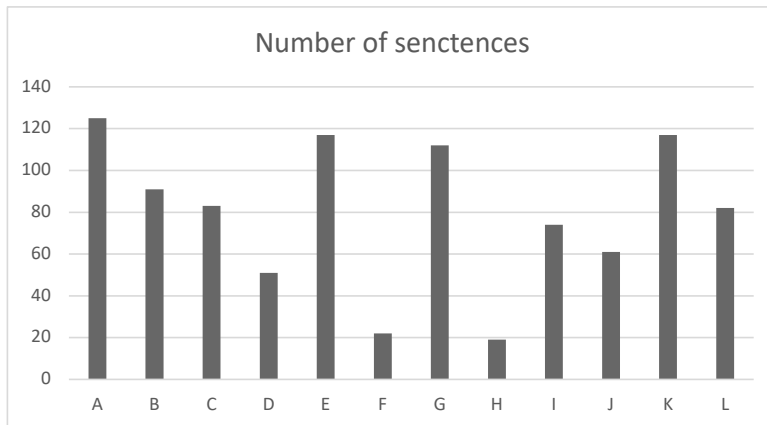


Figure 4: Sentences in university language policy

University A-L and, calculated as number of clause complexes (i.e. sentences), the size of their language policies.

⁵⁸ If communication strategies and diverse guidelines were to be included in language policies, many more would discuss language issues.

⁵⁹ Sw. ‘lärosäte A’, ‘lärosäte B’ etc.

⁶⁰ The corpus of language policy comprises 18,424 words divided into 954 clause complexes, i.e. sentences.

In the analysis, only the so called ‘policy text’ was analysed. Consequently, formalities (i.e. dates for decision, names of administrators, etc.) and introductory texts (if any) were omitted. The ‘policy text’ comprised 954 sentences. Table 5 shows which clause complexes (sentence) derive from which language policy.

Table 5: Language policy by sentences

University	Sentence number
A	1-125
B	126-216
C	217-299
D	300-350
E	351-467
F	468-489
G	490-601
H	602-620
I	621-694
J	695-755
K	756-872
L	873-954

Language policies, universities A-L, and sentence identification numbers

Chapter 8 presents the findings from the analysis at institutional level. So that the analysis is transparent, quotations from the university policy text are included in the presentation.

Analytical framework

Spolsky (2018) points out that, when language policies are produced, there is a complexity of interests and forces operating at different levels. Furthermore, there are a number of premises to consider: discourses are ‘messy’ with fluid and hard-defined borders (Riesigl & Wodak, 2009); discourses have an interpretational and representational history (Ball, 1993); educational policies have a complex, historical and constitutive relationship with their social context (Mulderrig, 2012); and language policy is linked to different levels (Halonen et al., 2015; Saarinen, 2017; Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017) as well as history (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Consequently, it is relevant to study several levels and history

concurrently. Although, this may seem an impossibly gargantuan task, the point of departure was that even though the study was complex, it was still possible.

Complementary analytical approaches within CDA were used in the study. The analytical model of political discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), focussing on action, functioned as a framework. Here, both a *thematic text analysis* of national policy texts and a *linguistic text analysis* of university language policy texts fit in. Both analyses aim to elucidate the prevailing assumptions and underlying values (e.g. premises for action). Hence, they show what perspectives of an experienced world are brought forward (i.e. operating discourses). The thesis borrows the term ‘unpack’. In the Holmberg & Karlsson (2013) examples, this term is used for analysing ideational grammatical metaphors (i.e. for separating out several meanings that, often in nominalisations and nominal phrases, have been packed together). However, here, the term is used more widely and is applied to the analytical work as a whole. Consequently, it is not only grammar that is ‘unpacked’, but also representations (when identifying discourses, i.e. perspectives of an experienced world).

To answer RQ1 (How are the language ideals of HE in Sweden represented at a national level?) and RQ2 (How are the language competences expected of (a) students and (b) academics in Sweden represented at a national level?), the concepts of *legitimation* and *purpose* (van Leeuwen, 2008) were used in finding representations of actions in relation to ‘language’. Said concepts were then used in ‘unpacking’ the representations in the thematic text analysis, described below.

To answer RQ3 (How are language ideals and competences, for students and academics alike, represented at an institutional level in Sweden?), the *ideational metafunction* within Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013; Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord, 2011) were used in ‘unpacking’ constructions of ‘language’. This linguistic text analysis is described below.

As mentioned above, the two different analytical approaches both fit into CDA. Analysing the grammar of a text (thus revealing assumptions and values) is a productive way of analysing discourse. However, it is only feasible if the amount of text is not too vast. Hence, SFG could only be chosen for analysing the institutional level, where the text amount was reasonable. The great amount of text at the national level did not allow for such in-depth analysis. Hence, the

choice of a thematic approach was guided not only by the research questions but also by the need for manageability.

Thematic text analysis

The analysis of the national-level texts was conducted as an empirically informed thematic analysis (i.e. themes emerging from patterns in the analysis). Since the material was so vast (over 2000 pages), the analytical work was started by skimming through the text marking pages relevant for the research questions. For the texts on *internationalisation* and *widening participation*, this meant marking pages where questions of language or communication were discussed. For *Swedish language legislation*, it meant marking pages where questions about higher education were discussed. Table 6 shows text parts relevant for the next analytical step.

Table 6: Selection of relevant parts in national policy

Policy text	Relevant parts	Number of pages
UKÄ report no. 12, 1974	Chapter 1, 2, 7, 8	109
Prop. 1983/84:115	The entire government bill	40
SOU 2000:92	Summary, chapter 1-5, appendix 1	111
Prop. 2004/05:162	Chapter 4-8, appendix 2	181
HSV 2005:1	The entire report	193
Prop. 2008/09:175	Chapter 4-8	66
SOU 2000:47	The entire government report	257
Prop. 2001/02:15	Chapter 5-17, appendix 1, 7	186
SOU 2002:27	Summary, chapter 2, 3, 6, 7, section 4.2	140
Prop. 2005/06:2	The entire government bill	59
SOU 2008:26	Section 2.5, 5.1, chapter 1, 10, 12	85

The relevant parts of each national policy text and the number of pages, in total 1,427 pages.

The next step applied the framework of *legitimation* and *purpose* as proposed by van Leeuwen (2008). This was because it helps to put focusing on the ‘why’ and ‘what’ questions in relation to action, thereby offering a base for determining what was to be regarded as significant. Because the reading of national policy was more overall than in-depth, and the material was vast, the approach to using the framework was more general than that for which it is designed. Using *legitimation* and *purpose*, sentences where constructions of actions related to language issues were identified.

Once these sentences had been identified, the thematic work started. Based on the legitimation for action, the material was categorised into different themes. It is difficult to say exactly how many themes there were. This is

because the first round led to the realisation of two things: (1) that some of the themes were connected to each other and could be construed from a higher level of abstraction; and (2) to make sense of these themes, it was necessary to try to understand them from a perspective of operating discourses. Consequently, attention shifted to looking for discourses in the different themes, i.e. perspectives of how the experienced world was represented when legitimating actions. It was quite early realised that the operating discourses were not very sharply defined and that they were intertwined. To be able to describe this fuzziness, the final stage of the analysis used two different concepts, i.e. *discursive knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) including *discourse strands*.

When a text deals with a number of issues it will have several operating discourses. To create understandings, or perspectives, of a topic, a text dealing with a general issue will have several discourses operating in the present and over time. These can be viewed as strings of discourses, i.e. *discourse strands*. In this study, the term *discourse strand* is used for dominant discourses that operate throughout the timeframe and scope of the study. The use of discourse strands enabled discovering of how discourses were intertwined in their operation. One way of describing the entanglement of discourses is to use *discursive knot* (Jäger & Maier, 2009). The entanglement can be more or less intensive (*ibid.*). Consequently, a prominent discourse can influence the perspective of another operating discourse. A *discursive knot* can consist of both discourse strands and single discourses.

The entire analysis was a process of induction, going back and forth, trying to understand and describe the discursive complexity in the policy texts. Before this thesis' next section on the ideational text analysis, it has to be made clear that only the most extensive themes detected in the early stage of analysis were used.

Ideational text analysis

CDA strongly relies on linguistic categories and linguistic concepts (Fairclough, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Linguistically oriented discourse analysis can make use of functional grammar because this latter has a clear focus on meaning in context and, by finding (for example) different processes and categories of participants, it can capture how the constructed language shapes our view of reality (Holmberg et al., 2011). This section describes the linguistic concepts used in the analysis of institutional language policy. The analysis of policy texts

in Swedish uses the interpretation of systemic functional grammar (SFG) formulated in a Swedish context by Holmberg, Karlsson and Nord (2011) and Holmberg and Karlsson (2013).

As described earlier on, the metafunctions in SFG (see chapter 4) are useful concepts when analysing how perspectives of the social world are constructed linguistically. In the analysis, use is made of the *ideational metafunction*, which concerns ideas or imaginations of the world. In answering RQ3, the *ideational metafunction* has the potential to analyse what perspectives are constructed in processes, who are constructed as active or responsible (or not) in processes, and who are subjected to actions/processes (Karlsson, 2011). This is useful when analysing language ideals and language competences in relation to possible actors such as students and academics.

Analysing processes, and not only verbs, directs thought towards the analysis of meaning. It requires analysis of the whole construction, i.e. *participants*, the *action* and, sometimes, the *circumstances*. Essentially, it boils down to understanding how meaning is being constructed. Hence the need to employ multiple perspectives when analysing. Holmberg et al. (2011) suggest the combination of three different perspectives: 1) from above, i.e. by meaning; 2) from below, i.e. by form; and 3) from the side, i.e. by how the lexicogrammar of specific clause constructs meaning (e.g. through a certain type of participant or choice of process). All these perspectives were used in the analysis.

As noted above, ideational meaning (ideas or imaginations of the world) can be described by using *the transitivity system* (how experiences of the world are constructed and organised in clauses) and *the ergativity system* (if actors, via processes, are affected by others or not) – (Karlsson, 2011). By examining the grammar of clauses, analysis can focus on *transitivity* and *ergativity*, e.g. the quality of impersonality and to what extent a process has (material) effects, in other words, relations and directions in the process and in what way the process impacts on, or relates to, students and academics, in this case (Fairclough, 2010; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Holmberg et al., 2011).

When using the *transitivity system* in analysis, it is the (core) process that is central. Circumstances are seen as related to the core of the process (for an overview of the terms, see table 2, p. 69). The analysis of *participants* and *circumstances* in relation to *material* and *relational processes* is used to show how language ideals and language competences are constructed and how/if they are connected to students and academics.

It is also relevant to investigate *ergativity*, e.g. if agents are constructed explicitly and if the agent is human. Since there are choices in the representation of social actors, it is of relevance to study “whether actions are represented in ways which specify or conversely elide the agency of actors” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 135). Analysing *actor-process-goal* in material processes from an ergative perspective (i.e. if participants in the process have the function of *agent* or *medium*) makes it possible to gain a picture of how the roles of participants are constructed. When participants are constructed as causing a process, actor and agent (often) conflate and the participant is acting intentionally. When passive constructions are used, participants are constructed as a goal in the process and as a medium in the doing, i.e. as being subjected to the action. Non-ergative processes create the same role, i.e. the actor in the role of medium of the doing.

As mentioned earlier, the *relational processes* deal with conditions. This makes it possible to study how ‘things’ are connected and what assumptions and bases there are. Relational processes describe actual facts. They also show opinions and beliefs. It is therefore useful to analyse them when unpacking the operating discourses of language ideals and language competences.

Concluding the presentation of analytical tools from SFG, it is important to emphasise the possibilities inherent in the use of such linguistic tools. Digging deep into the linguistic construction of a text unearths how assumptions and perspectives of a perceived reality are mirrored in its construction and construal. By analysing the *material processes* in the language policies, it was possible to find how/which core processes operate together and, via dependant processes in clause complexes, who/what function as actor and who/what work as goal or medium. The analysis of *transitivity* was intertwined with an analysis of *ergativity*, i.e. if the process had impact or not on anyone or anything, who/what then functioned as agent and who/what had the role of medium. By analysing the *relational processes*, it was possible to find what is constructed as having specific characteristics (the present state of affairs) and thereby serves as a basis for action. This analytical mode of procedure made it possible to answer the questions about language ideals, language competences expected of students and academics, and the discourses operating in constructing these.

Methodological consistency

The study uses a set of tools appropriate for each part of the analysis. In the thematic analysis, the concept of *legitimation* (van Leeuwen, 2008) is used as a

compass to provide orientation towards relevant parts of the text. *Discourse strands* and *discursive knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009) are then used to describe how ‘discourses’ operate over time and together. Using the concept of ‘discourse’ is challenging because the borders of a ‘discourse’ and the differentiation of one ‘discourse’ from another are partly fluid, making such divisions limited (Riesigl & Wodak, 2009). This is one reason why the concepts of *discourse strands* and *discursive knots* are useful in the analysis. In a way, their descriptions of entanglement and transformation over time accommodate the fluidity of borders. Consequently, the findings might not appear as clean-cut as might be desired. The use of *discourse strands* and *discursive knots* is an attempt to address this.

Aiming for interpretative consistency and, at the same time, dealing with the instability of ‘discourse’, two colleagues co-analysed quotes selected from the thesis during the analytical process. Presented with a list of potential discourses, they were asked to assign operating discourses to each of the quotes. This was a way of validating the analysis.

In the ideational analysis, the apparatus of *systemic functional grammar* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014) is used. The grammar is developed for an English language environment and concerns the functions and functionality of the English language. This might be an issue when applied on a Swedish language corpus. However, there are also interpretations and translations of functional grammar for the Swedish language (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013; Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord; 2011). These were used alongside the original grammar. Even though the grammatical apparatus offered a robust set of analytical tools, the translation into English of the examples from the Swedish corpus called for a special sensitivity in the thesis. As the data is in one language and the findings are presented in another, translation-related decisions which had an impact on the validity of the research as well as its report had to be made (Birbili, 2000). Translation quality is influenced by knowledge of the language and the culture of the source that is being studied, and fluency in the language of the write-up (ibid.) In the study, the author, as a researcher, made all the translations. However, Swedish-English bilingual colleagues also assisted. A potential translation-related problem is the comparability of grammatical forms (Birbili, 2000). This is of essence in this study. To remain true to the analysis of the Swedish text, the guiding principle was ‘meaning’ before word-for-word translation. Original text excerpts are found next to the translations in the analysis. There are a few exceptions where the original texts are given in

footnotes. An overview of the spread of excerpts from national as well as university policy is found in appendices D and E.

For it to be possible to scrutinise a research process and its findings, it is essential to present a study in a way that allows for such evaluation. In this study, findings are presented along with numerous empirical examples. By providing transparency in how analytical tools were used and interpreted, this allows scrutiny. When using a concept such as ‘discourse’, analysis is always dependant on the perspective of the analyst, this opening the way for alternative interpretations, reinterpretations and continuations (Riesigl & Wodak, 2009). A way of meeting this challenge is to demonstrate examples from the corpus.

Finally, the selecting of text and the choosing of parts for in-depth analysis needs consideration. When using critical discourse analysis, it is not relevant to analyse all texts parts equally carefully/in-depth. Had the study aimed at investigating patterns in the text or the transformation of core concepts related to language issues, a corpus analysis would have been appropriate. However, as the aim of the study was to investigate the operation of dominant discourses with a critical intent, the text samples can be seen as representatives of prevailing discourses and, consequently, a larger amount of text would not add further insight (Fairclough, 2010).

Chapter 6 Constructing language ideals

This chapter addresses the research question about language ideals of HE in Sweden and how they are represented at a national level (RQ1). It does this by analysing eleven national-level texts from three different policy areas. The latter are: (i) *internationalisation* (from 1974-2009), (ii) *widening participation* (2000-2001), and (iii) *Swedish language legislation* (2002-2008) (see p. 76ff). The findings indicate that there were at least three dominant discourses. The thesis regards these as *discourse strands* that operate to position various languages in these policy areas. Positioning creates status and significance. In other words, it is an indicator of what is valued at a certain time in a certain context for certain reasons and what is considered desirable (i.e. language ideals).

The analysis identified three strands in the dominant discourse, namely, *economy*, *inclusion* and *success* (see table 7). These were considered discourse strands because they were intertwined with each other and other operating discourses in threadlike ways, for example as *discursive knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009). However, there were also signs of operation over a long period of time (even transformation in some cases) and operation across policy areas. Table 7 sets out the characteristics of each *discourse strand*.

Table 7: Discourse strands in respect of language ideals

Characteristics of an <i>economy discourse</i>		Characteristics of an <i>inclusion discourse</i>		Characteristics of a <i>success discourse</i>	
<i>Consumer relations</i>	gain, attraction, individual	<i>Participation</i>	sharing, exchange, joint language	<i>Individual</i>	study opportunity, work opportunity, future-orientation
<i>Competition</i>	competitiveness, assert one's position	<i>Justice</i>	language recognition	<i>Organisational</i>	university gain, attraction, good position
<i>Commodification</i>	mobility, exchange	<i>Equity</i>	solidarity, democracy, a public good	<i>National/global</i>	economic growth, trade & industry

The operating discourse strands described by core meaning/orientation and representations in the text.

For each *discourse strand*, the left-hand column shows the core meaning or orientation of the *discourse strand*. The right-hand column shows how it operates,

i.e. which kinds of representations there are in the text. However, the table does not say anything about the extent to which each orientation and representation occur.

The findings are presented under four subheadings: (1) Swedish, (2) English, (3) multilingualism, and (4) minority languages and the Scandinavian languages. As the findings show, Swedish and English have exceptional positions in Swedish HE. The last two sections deal with the positioning of, and the value credited to different forms of multilingualism, the Swedish minority languages, and the Scandinavian languages.

Swedish

The position of the Swedish language as an obvious ideal in a Swedish HE sector is, on the one hand, intrinsic and thus in no need of positioning. On the other hand, it needs positioning because of the different *discourse strands* that are operating in HE and creating and forming a ‘new’ and complementary language landscape, a so called *linguascape*.

Below, there is a description of how the construct of Swedish-language proficiency and the operating *discourse strands* differ depending on policy area, i.e. *internationalisation*, *widening participation*, and *Swedish language legislation*. Table 8 shows the policy area, the people it primarily targets, and operating *discourse strands* (perspectives within each strand included therein).

Table 8: The Swedish language ideal

	Internationalisation	Widening participation	Language legislation
Primary targets	visiting foreign students	immigrant students	academics and students
Discourse strands	economy working life, recruitment	success education, working life	inclusion protection, participation, democracy, communication, complement
	inclusion conversation, participation	inclusion integration, common language	
	success education, possibility	economy employability	economy protection, trade and industry

Operating discourse strands in constructing Swedish language ideals in different policy areas.

Swedish language legislation

As regards Swedish language legislation, the Swedish language was positioned in relation to the importance of safeguarding it, averting any threat to the HE sector.

... for the position of the Swedish language within the country and its development as a complete language, the dominant position of English within parts of higher education creates problems. If some areas are completely lost for Swedish [...] Swedish ceases to develop in this domain. [...] The possibilities to disseminate knowledge in society, the conditions for public control of research and for discussions of development, consequences of findings etc., are then dramatically impaired. Such a development can also be to the detriment of Swedish trade and industry. [...] If such knowledge [new technical competency] cannot be expressed in Swedish, it can obstruct the possibilities to pass on innovations to small and middle-size companies, which may restrain the development of these. (SOU 2002:27, p. 90)

...för svenskans ställning inom landet och dess utveckling som komplett språk, skapar engelskans dominerande position inom delar av högskoleverksamheten problem. Om vissa områden förloras för svenskan helt och hållet [...] upphör svenskan att utvecklas inom denna sfär. [...] Möjligheterna att sprida kunskaperna ut i sambället, förutsättningar för insyn i forskningsverksamheten och till diskussion av utvecklingen, konsekvenserna av olika upptäckter m.m. försämras då drastiskt. En sådan utveckling kan också vara till men för det svenska näringslivet. [...] Om sådan kunskap [ny teknisk kompetens] inte kan uttryckas på svenska kan det försvara möjligheterna att föra innovationerna vidare till små och medelstora företag, vilket kan hämma utvecklingen av dessa. (SOU 2002:27, p. 90)

Swedish was positioned as essential and as a complete and all-round language, not least for societal and democratic reasons, but also for economic reasons, (i.e. safeguarding Swedish enterprise). The societal importance of HE personell being proficient in Swedish was emphasised not least by the requirement in respect of knowledge exchange with laypersons, this requiring “ability to discuss the subject in Swedish”⁶¹ (SOU 2002:27, p. 93)⁶².

An *inclusion discourse strand* operates strongly in constructing Swedish as a participatory language and a democratic language, or, in other words an inclusive language. However, an *economy discourse strand* also operates in constructing a perspective of Swedish as an important safeguard (e.g. protecting Swedish business interests).

The value of Swedish in HE was largely constructed in relation to the dominance of English. The necessity to employ English in many contexts, should not be hindered.

it is important to strengthen the position of Swedish within the university world. This can, however, not be at the expense of English. Both Swedish and English are needed. (SOU 2002:27, p. 90)

⁶¹ A reference to § 9 of chapter 1 of Sweden’s Higher Education Act.

⁶² *utbyta kunskaper även med personer utan specialkunskaper inom området* (SOU 2002:27, p. 93)

UNPACKING DOMINANT DISCOURSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION LANGUAGE POLICY

det är viktigt att stärka svenskans ställning inom universitets- och högskolevärlden. Detta får dock inte ske på bekostnad av engelskan. Både svenska och engelska behövs. (SOU 2002:27, p. 90)

There was a cautiousness about proposing a stronger status for Swedish in HE. Any strengthening must not be at the expense of English. It was ‘both-and’, not ‘either-or’.

it is important that teachers as well as students have a command of both Swedish and English. [...] it is positive that the parallel use of Swedish and English in higher education is developed. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

det är viktigt att såväl lärare som studenter behärskar både svenska och engelska. [...] det är positivt att den parallella användningen av svenska och engelska inom högre utbildning utvecklas. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

Swedish and English were constructed favourably and as complementary languages. Using the notion of complementarity helped in positioning Swedish as important in disciplines where Swedish had for a long time been ‘under-used’ and undervalued, e.g. natural and technical sciences and medicine.

The language of doctoral theses differs between scientific fields. Within medicine, technical and natural sciences, doctoral theses are mainly written in English. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 46f)

Avhandlingsspråket skiljer sig åt mellan vetenskapsområden. Inom medicin, teknik och naturvetenskap författas huvudsakligen avhandlingarna på engelska. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 46f)

In order to safeguard Swedish terminology, to keep the Swedish language living and disseminate new knowledge to the surrounding society [...] doctoral theses written in other languages than Swedish shall contain a summary in Swedish and an abstract in Swedish and English. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

För att värna den svenska terminologin, hålla det svenska språket levande och sprida ny kunskap till det omgivande samhället föreslår språkkommittén att ett tillägg görs i högskoleförordningen om att avhandlingar skrivna på annat språk än det svenska ska innehålla en sammanfattning på svenska samt ett referat på svenska och engelska. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

The language ideal of a parallel Swedish-English use⁶³, promoted Swedish for protective and communicative reasons. Here an operating *inclusion discourse strand* equalled Swedish to democracy and participation.

⁶³ The parallel use of Swedish and English as a language ideal is only mentioned in this section about the positioning of Swedish and not in the next section about the English language ideal.

Swedish-language proficiency as a means of making scientific knowledge accessible and comprehensive for the public was constructed in relation to *democratic processes*. The importance of terminological development within the HE sector, especially in some disciplines, was viewed in the light of possibilities for public power, democratic involvement and control. Here, lack of Swedish terms and concepts would create communication problems.

it is necessary that Swedish expressions and terms can be developed in specialised fields like natural sciences, medicine and technical science. If not, the communication between laypersons and experts will be obstructed, which would be fatal from, inter alia, a democratic viewpoint. (SOU 2002:27, p. 165)

det är nödvändigt att svenska uttryck och termer kan utarbetas inom specialiserade områden som naturvetenskap, medicin och teknik. Om så inte sker kommer kommunikationen mellan lekmän och experter att försvåras, vilket vore olyckligt från bl.a. demokratisk utgångspunkt. (SOU 2002:27, p. 165)

everybody has to contribute to the continuation of the Swedish language as a language that can be used in all part of society, e.g. [...] at all levels in the educational system [...] The government noted the use of English in more and more fields and that this can decrease the possibilities for public control and democratic participation and governing. This implies that the lack of terms and expressions can create communication problems in society and affect attitudes towards own language. (SOU 2008:26, p. 65, cf. Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 16)

alla måste medverka till att svenska språket förblir ett språk som kan användas inom alla delar av samhället, t.ex. [...] på alla nivåer inom undervisningsväsendet [...] Regeringen noterade engelskans användning på allt fler områden och att detta förhållande kan minska möjligheterna till insyn och demokratisk delaktighet och kontroll. Man menade att brister på termer och uttryck kan skapa kommunikationsproblem i samhället och påverka attityden till det egna språket. (SOU 2008:26, p. 65)

Such perspectives emphasised, from a societal standpoint, the importance of Swedish having a prominent position in research fields. To maintain democratic processes and share knowledge, it was essential that universities, as part of the public sector, used Swedish to engage in scientific conversations with society at large.

At the same time, the position of Swedish as a scientific language was constructed from a perspective of *protection*. To sustain and guard the development of Swedish for scientific purposes, Swedish was positioned as something at risk and in need of maintenance and strengthening.

The development of scientific Swedish was part of a process of securing Swedish as a complete (*Sw. samhällsbärande*) language, serving and uniting the society and relevant in all societal domains. In HE, there was a concern that

English might eventually supersede (displace) Swedish. Consequently, this latter needed to be safeguarded. If a language other than Swedish was considered an ‘elite language’ (which might happen in HE), this could affect the value of Swedish and pull society apart. Thus, it was vital that public authorities indicated that Swedish was the complete language in/of Sweden

There may be reasons for the government to demand public bodies to account for measures taken in order to fulfil the responsibility they have according to the language act when it comes to the use and development of the Swedish language and thereby the safeguarding of its position as a principal language. (SOU 2008:26, p. 222)

Det kan finnas skäl för regeringen att kräva att offentliga organ redovisar vilka åtgärder som vidtagits för att fullgöra det ansvar de enligt språklagen har för att använda och utveckla det svenska språket och därmed värna dess ställning som huvudspråk. (SOU 2008:26, p. 222)

Swedish, as a language to safeguard and develop in HE, was constructed in relation to its position as principal language.

Widening participation

As regards widening participation in HE (a phenomenon that occurred in the 2000s,) Swedish-language proficiency was positioned in relation to immigrant students.

The culturally reconciling actions are about [...] practicing certain skills that are crucial in order to pass one’s exam, e.g. the Swedish language for immigrants, and communicative skills. (SOU 2000:47, p. 111)

De kulturellt överbyggande åtgärderna handlar [...] om att träna vissa färdigheter som är avgörande för att klara av studierna, t.ex. svenska språket för invandrare och kommunikationsfärdigheter. (SOU 2000:47, p. 111)

Swedish was constructed as ‘cultural’. Consequently, immigrants should improve their language skills. The language of value for immigrants was Swedish, possibly overlooking the benefit of having expertise in other languages. Hence, valued language proficiency was Swedish-language proficiency and the lack of such was considered an impediment to HE.

When it comes to immigrants, there is the cultural barrier that deficient knowledge of the Swedish language might imply, regardless of cultural capital. (SOU 2000:47, p. 75)

När det gäller invandrare finns här dock det kulturella hinder som bristande kunskaper i svenska språket kan innebära, alldeles oavsett kulturellt kapitalinnehav i övrigt. (SOU 2000:47, p. 75)

A common language is crucial in all social interplay and can therefore be a condition for participation in different mutual activities that are important for social integration of the individual, it can concern work, club activities of organisations and education. (SOU 2000:47, p. 83)

Ett gemensamt språk är avgörande i allt socialt samspel och kan därför vara en förutsättning för deltagande i olika gemensamma aktiviteter som är viktiga för individens integration i samhället, det kan gälla arbete, föreningsliv och utbildning. (SOU 2000:47, p. 83)

Swedish as a cultural key to overcoming barriers and enabling participation had an evident role. Swedish was positioned as the common language, the language of integration and social interplay. Thus, people who were not proficient in Swedish would have difficulties. Immigrant students and students with a foreign background⁶⁴ were constructed as having ‘language difficulties’ (also SOU 2000:47, p. 121)⁶⁵.

An *inclusion discourse strand* operated in the positioning of Swedish in relation to immigrant students. There was a *success discourse strand* here too. *Inclusion* and *success* were combined to achieve a perspective of successful *integration* in, for example, HE.

Swedish was positioned as essential not only for HE but also for future working life.

The need for proficiency in Swedish is of utmost importance in higher education as well as working life. (SOU 2000:47, p. 121)

Behovet av goda kunskaper i svenska är av största vikt såväl i högskolan som i arbetslivet. (SOU 2000:47, p. 121)

Proficiency in the Swedish language influences successful studies in higher education, but also future working life. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 50)

Goda kunskaper i det svenska språket har stor betydelse för att högskolestudier skall kunna bedrivas framgångsrikt, men också för det framtida arbetslivet. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 50)

The *success discourse strand* constructed Swedish as a valuable work language for immigrant students. But it was not any Swedish, it was a Swedish suitable for future professional life, i.e. related to specific professions.

⁶⁴ ‘Foreign background’ means persons born abroad or born in Sweden with two parents born abroad. (SCB, MIS, 2002:3)

⁶⁵ *Språkproblem gäller inte bara den som själv invandrat, utan även för personer födda i Sverige med utländsk bakgrund. (SOU 2000:47, p. 121)*

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It is important that Swedish language courses for persons with foreign higher education are directly adapted to professional life. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 170)

Det är viktigt att kurser i svenska språket för personer med utländsk högskoleutbildning anpassas direkt till yrkeslivet. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 170)

Swedish was thus positioned as a means of obtaining a job. It was intertwined with a perspective of *integration*, an operating perspective within an *inclusion discourse strand*. For immigrants, general knowledge of Swedish and, for employment reasons, knowledge of professional Swedish was positioned in integrational terms: “[t]he language is a salient instrument of integration” (SOU 2000:47, p. 83)⁶⁶. Concurrently, an *economy discourse strand* operated in creating a perspective of usefulness for the labour market.

a labour market prognosis or a prediction of the “employability” of the person is done. Thereafter follows language training in Swedish which often is adapted to the terminology of the profession in question, so called occupation-oriented Swedish. (SOU 2000:47, p. 164f)

en arbetsmarknadsprognos [görs] eller en prognos av personens “anställningsbarhet”. Därefter följer språkträning i svenska som ofta är anpassad till terminologin inom aktuellt yrke, s.k. yrkessvenska. (SOU 2000:47, p. 164f)

All three *discourse strands* (*success*, *inclusion* and *economy*) operated as a *discursive knot* in the positioning of Swedish as important for immigrant inclusion. Swedish-proficiency ‘led to a successful outcome, employment and integration’. It seemed to be a tight knot where the three strands of *economy*, *inclusion* and *success* were intertwined and all contributed to an understanding of Swedish in relation to immigrant students.

Internationalisation

Internationalisation is the only policy area in the study with texts as early as the 1970s. This enabled examination of discourse changes. In this policy area, Swedish-language proficiency was positioned in relation to (visiting) foreign students, and over time, there was a transformation in the way Swedish was valued in relation to their studies in Sweden. In the 70s and 80s, Swedish-proficiency was constructed as the basis for studying in Sweden.

...non-Nordic visiting students often have great difficulties in managing their studies in Sweden. [...] the main reason for this is their inadequate knowledge

⁶⁶ *Språket är ett centralt integrationsinstrument* (SOU 2000:47, p. 83)

of Swedish. [...] sufficient proficiency in Swedish is crucial for the study success of foreign students. The preparatory Swedish language course should therefore be improved and made more effective. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 14f)

...utomnordiska gäststudier ofta har stora svårigheter att klara sina studier i Sverige. [...] den främsta anledningen härtill är att de har bristfälliga förkunskaper i svenska. [...] tillräckliga färdigheter i svenska är avgörande för utländska studerandes studieframgång. Förutbildningen i svenska för utländska studerande bör därför förbättras och effektiviseras. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 14f)

Hence, to successfully complete their studies, visiting foreign students needed to be proficient in Swedish. However, these visiting students were expected to leave Sweden after completing their studies⁶⁷ (regardless of length of study). Consequently, Swedish-language proficiency was positioned as essential for a successful education.

Around the turn of the new millennium, Swedish-proficiency was no longer positioned as a requirement for (visiting) foreign students. However, the constructions are ambiguous. They acknowledged Swedish as a language of instruction for foreign students after an “English-language entrance” (SOU 2000:92, p. 85) and as an individual complement of little relevance to their studies in Sweden.

Universities should to a greater extent than today offer foreign students Swedish language courses alongside other studies aiming for them to be able to follow the education in Sweden. (SOU 2000:92, p. 88)

Universitet och högskolor bör i större omfattning än idag jämsides med övriga studier erbjuda utländska studenter kurser i svenska språket med sikte på att de skall kunna följa utbildningen på svenska. (SOU 2000:92, p. 88)

However, interest in the preparatory Swedish language course has been low and the course is now stopped in its early form. [...] Some shorter courses in Swedish are organised mainly for exchange students in order to manage the daily intercourse with Swedish students. (SOU 2000:92, p. 94)

Intresset för preparandutbildningen har emellertid varit lågt och den har numera helt upphört i sin tidigare form. [...] Vissa kortare kurser i svenska anordnas främst för utbytesstudenter för att klara den dagliga samvaron med svenska studenter. (SOU 2000:92, p. 94)

Swedish was positioned not as a necessity for education, but as both a means for taking part where Swedish was a medium of instruction and a means for interacting with Swedish-speaking students.

⁶⁷ However, Nordic visiting students could stay in Sweden after completing their studies. This was not the case for non-Nordic visiting students. These had to leave on finishing their education.

Later in the 2000s, Swedish was no longer constructed as a medium of instruction for visiting foreign students. Instead, it was constructed as important for a future working life.

It is also important that Swedish language education is developed so that foreign/international students have real opportunities to remain in the country after their studies. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 56; HSV 2005:1, p. 149)

Det är också angeläget att utbildningen i svenska utvecklas så att utländska/internationella studenter har reella möjligheter att efter studierna stanna kvar i landet. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 56; HSV 2005:1, p. 149)

Unlike in the 1970s and 1980s, the justification for foreign students learning Swedish was directed towards personal benefit outside studies, interaction with other students, and being able to stay in Sweden after a degree. Consequently, there were shifts in how Swedish was valued for visiting foreign students. From essential for attending Swedish HE, it became optional/secondary. From being of little value in working life, it became valuable.

Success and an *inclusion discourse strand* were operating perspectives in positioning Swedish in the policy area of *internationalisation*. Perspectives of participation and possibility operated when constructing Swedish as essential to the educational success of foreign students in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 2000s, the same perspectives operated when constructing Swedish as a means for participating in conversations with Swedish-speaking students, Swedish society, and working life. This, perhaps, acknowledged the cultural and relational dimension of language.

Swedish was also positioned as a means for universities to attract foreign students.

There is great interest in the Swedish language abroad. It should be considered if Swedish language education should be scaled up abroad. Education in the Swedish language should be strengthened specially in countries that are considered specially interesting from a future point of recruitment. Such a strengthening should support Swedish enterprise and culture and form the basis for future recruitment of students. (SOU 2000:92, p. 95)

Det finns ett stort intresse för svenska språket utomlands. Det bör övervägas om inte utbildning i svenska språket skall förstärkas utomlands. Utbildning i svenska språket bör särskilt förstärkas i länder som bedöms vara särskilt intressanta ur framtida rekryteringssynpunkt. En sådan förstärkning skulle verka främjande för svenskt näringsliv och kultur samt vara grunden för en framtida rekryteringsbas av studenter. (SOU 2000:92, p. 95)

From other parts of the policy, it is evident that “countries that are specially interesting” here meant that they were of national strategic relevance and that economics was a major factor. An *economy discourse strand* positioned Swedish as strategically important for recruitment reasons. This is interesting since it was usually English that was constructed in this way (see next section on the positioning of English).

According to the policy texts, the Swedish language was not only valuable for attracting foreign students but, construed in economic terms, also for Swedish trade, industry and culture. Consequently, Swedish had an economic value even in a policy such as *internationalisation*.

English

The spread of English is, in some ways, indisputable in HE, not only in Sweden. Its dominance is not equally distributed through the different sites and functions of universities. For example, the language has an almost indispensable position in research and a growing position as a medium of instruction. The two main *discourse strands* operating in constructing how English is valued in HE are *economy* and *inclusion* (with an implicit assumption of *success*). These strands operate separately and together. Over the timeframe of this study, they created different perspectives (visualised in table 9). Two periods, an early and a late, illustrate the transformation in how an English language ideal was constructed in the timeframe.

Table 9: English language ideals

	<i>Economy discourse strand</i>	<i>Inclusion discourse strand</i>
Early policy period (1970s & 1980s)	future oriented, labour market 'one' of the world languages	solidarity, world responsibility
Late policy period (2000s)	inevitable language, global market, inclusion, competitiveness, attractiveness, 'the' international language	~~~~~

Operating discourse strands constructing English language ideals early and late during the policy period.

The *economy discourse strand* underwent transformation during the period. From constructing English as ‘one among other potential world languages’ it became the ‘only viable world language’. From being a language of the future, it became an inevitable, competitive and powerful language. During the period, the *inclusion discourse strand* disappeared or was incorporated into the *economy discourse*

strand. In other words, English as a means of solidarity and world responsibility vanished. Instead, English was constructed as a means of competing on a global market.

In Sweden, English had been positioned as a desirable language ever since the expansion of HE in the 1970s.

We cannot [...] accept the argument that, because it results in increased time of study and poorer understanding and learning of the subject matter, course literature in English should not exist. A demand of university education must – with regard to the needs of the working life – be that graduated students can communicate within their academic field in a world language, normally English. This demand has to be imperative. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 115)

Vi kan inte [...] godta argumentet att kurslitteratur på engelska inte bör förekomma, eftersom den medför längre studietid och sämre förståelse och inläring av fackstoffet. Ett krav på universitetsutbildningen måste - med hänsyn till yrkeslivets behov - vara att de utbildade inom sina fackområden kan kommunicera på ett världsspråk, normalt engelska. Detta krav måste vara oeftervärligt. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 115)

Positioning English as the ‘normal’ choice among ‘world languages’ was to be construed from a perspective of a growing international labour market. It was not constructed as the only choice, but the normal one. It was not primarily for educational reasons, but for working life.

Simultaneously in the 1970s, the *inclusion discourse strand* was directed towards *solidarity*. English was positioned as the primary choice for the joint enterprise of cooperating through research and education.

The fact that we emphasise the general motive for internationalisation [education for international solidarity], the comprehensive view and the complete global perspective do not prevent [...] that language education [subject-specific terminology] must be dominated by the principal European languages of the civilised world quantitatively, which are of importance outside Europe as well. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38)

Det förhållandet att vi framhäver det allmänna internationaliseringsmotivet [utbildning för internationell solidaritet], helhetssynen och det totala globala perspektivet, hindrar naturligtvis inte [...] att språkutbildningen [[fackspråk] kvantitativt måste domineras av de stora europeiska kulturspråken, som ju har räckvidd även utanför Europa. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38)

The position of English as primary was embedded in international relations and international processes construed from a perspective of a *responsibility* for the whole world. The latter was constructed as “the growing understanding that crucial questions of survival are global and can only be solved by collaboration

between countries and people” (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 26)⁶⁸. English was still one choice among a few other language choices.

Some 30 years later, the position of English as evident and unquestioned was constructed from a perspective of *inevitability*.

that course literature other than in English and Nordic languages does not exist in other courses than language courses. It is simply not possible to create student groups with a third common language besides Swedish and English. (HSV 2005:1, p. 95)

att annan kurslitteratur än engelska och de nordiska språken inte förekommer i annat än språkkurser. Det går helt enkelt inte att skapa studentgrupper med ett tredje gemensamt språk utöver svenska och engelska. (HSV 2005:1, p. 95)

It has become common to study and work abroad. Many companies carry out business with subdivisions all over the world. The cooperation between nations has become more extensive [...] Obviously, this development leads to demands for people from different linguistic backgrounds to be able to communicate across language borders. A consequence is that English has been developed into the common language of our time. (SOU 2008:26, p. 39)

Det har blivit vanligt att studera och arbeta utomlands. Många företag driver verksamhet med förgreningar världen över. Samarbetet nationer emellan har blivit mer omfattande [...] Uppenbarligen leder denna utveckling till krav på att människor från olika språkområden ska kunna kommunicera över språkgränserna. En följd har blivit att engelskan utvecklats till något av vår tids gemensamma språk. (SOU 2008:26, p. 39)

English was positioned as a necessity, both for taking part in education when it was not in Swedish and for communication when there was no other mutual language. English was also positioned as a natural language of (higher) education and of a global working life. The *economy discourse strand* was thus operative in the positioning of English. This strand also incorporated a perspective of *inclusion*.

The spread of English was additionally entangled with perspectives that operated to create a liberalised market (i.e. self-regulated market). Discursively, it was, for example, constructed as *competitiveness* and *attractiveness*.

In order for Sweden to assert itself as a nation of knowledge and research, to have competitive trade and industry etc., it is evident that a good command of English is required. (SOU 2002:27, p. 51)

⁶⁸ *den växande insikten om att avgörande överlevnadsfrågor är globala och endast kan lösas i samverkan mellan länder och folk. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 26)*

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För att Sverige skall kunna hävda sig som kunskaps- och forskningsnation, ha ett konkurrenskraftigt näringsliv, vara ett internationellt verksamt land m.m. är det självklart att det behövs goda kunskaper i engelska (SOU 2002:27, p. 51)

The large and increasing range of programmes and courses in English is another important prerequisite for international competitiveness and to make Sweden an attractive country to study in. It is important that there are courses in English at all levels in higher education. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

Det stora och ökande utbudet av program och kurser på engelska är en annan viktig förutsättning för den internationella konkurrenskraften och Sveriges attraktivitet som studieland. Det är viktigt att kurser på engelska finns på alla nivåer i högskolan. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

English was constructed as a requirement and, as regards *attractiveness* and *competitiveness*, it was positioned as ‘the’ international language, i.e. it was positioned as an economic driver.

The *economy discourse strand* created and ‘economised English language’ in HE.

The growing global educational market is characterised by growing student flows among other things, 2 million students in all, between nations and continents. In this market, primarily the English-speaking countries are very active. (SOU 2000:92, p. 19)

Den växande globala utbildningsmarknaden kännetecknas bland annat av växande studentströmmar, sammanlagt drygt 2 miljoner studenter, mellan nationer och kontinenter. På denna marknad är framför allt de engelskspråkiga länderna mycket aktiva. (SOU 2000:92, p. 19)

The English language enabled participation in a global educational market. Through the use of English, *inclusion* became part of *economy*, i.e. English was propelled by English-speaking countries and thus became natural and beneficial for international activities.

Multilingualism

Multilingualism as a construct rarely occurred in the policy. In relation to HE, ‘multilingual’ was for example found explicitly only three times. However, there were other ways of constructing multilingualism. One way was when multilingualism beyond English was constructed via an *inclusion discourse strand* from a perspective of *interaction* with other countries.

Our country constitutes a small speech community. Swedes have to communicate with the world in the major languages. It is not realistic to expect an exclusive use of English as a secondary language. That would

exclude us from closer contact with large parts of the world. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 102)

Vårt land utgör ett litet språkområde. Svenskarna måste kommunicera med sin omvärld på de stora språken. Det är inte realistiskt att räkna med att vi uteslutande skall kunna använda engelska som sekundärspråk. Det skulle avstånga oss från närmare kontakt med stora delar av världen. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 102)

The English-only bilingual perspective was constructed as *non-realistic*, thereby implicitly valuing a multilingual ideal of other ‘major’ languages. This kind of implicitly valuing of more languages than English also occurred in constructions of English as too dominant.

There appears to be unity on the fact that among other things, the dominant position of English as a secondary language has resulted in a far too one-sided Anglo-Saxon direction in many kinds of relations. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38)

Det synes däremot råda enighet om att bl a engelskans dominerande ställning som sekundärspråk lett till en alltför ensidig anglosachsisk inriktning i många typer av förbindelser (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38)

The continuous concentration on English implies that many exchange places in non-English-speaking countries risk being vacant and will lead to Sweden eventually having large problems in trade and industry as well as in the public sector. (HSV 2005:1, p. 149, cf. Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 56)

Fortsätter koncentrationen till engelska riskerar många utbytesplatser i icke engelsktalande länder att stå tomma och Sverige så småningom att få stora problem i såväl näringsliv som offentlig sektor. (HSV 2005:1, p. 149, jfr. Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 56)

In the constructs, the dominance of English was challenged. In the latter example, the absence of more languages beyond English was related to problems in large parts of society. In constructions of English-only bilingualism as a risk, multilingualism was constructed implicitly, and the non-desirable position of English-only bilingualism was constructed from the perspective of being *detrimental* for Sweden.

Another way was when named languages were constructed as real alternatives. In the 1970s and 1980s, French and German multilingualism were explicitly constructed as desirable.

Reading lists should therefore have elements of alternative literature in French and German when possible. It is desirable in order to facilitate a broadening of the contacts our country has with parts of the world other than the English-speaking ones. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 116)

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Litteraturlistorna bör därför där det är möjligt erbjuda inslag av alternativ kurslitteratur på franska och tyska. Det är önskvärt för att underlätta en breddning av vårt lands kontakter till andra delar av världen än de engelskspråkiga. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 116)

an exemption from the English language requirement in some cases should be given to those having equivalent competences in French or German. [...] [there can] be cases where a non-Nordic visiting student has proficiency in French or German and where English-language literature can be replaced by any of these two languages if possible. (1983/84:115, p. 9)

dispens från kravet på kunskaper i engelska i vissa fall skall kunna lämnas den som har motsvarande kunskaper i franska eller tyska. [...] [det kan] finnas fall där en utomnordisk gäststuderande har kunskaper i franska eller tyska och där utbildningens innehåll gör att den engelskspråkiga kurslitteraturen kan ersättas av litteratur på något av dessa andra språk. (1983/84:115, p. 9)

The construct of French and German multilingualism was created from an *inclusive* perspective of *interaction*.

Multilingualism was also constructed in relation to a global educational market, i.e. that foreign languages were important for Sweden to be an appealing country to study in.

An overall aim in the strategy [of internationalisation] is that Sweden should be an attractive country to study in for foreign students. That includes universities developing EMI-courses at all levels in higher education, but also providing instruction in other foreign languages than English to a higher degree than today. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 48; cf. Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

Ett övergripande mål i strategin är att Sverige ska vara ett attraktivt studieland för utländska studenter. I det ingår att lärosätena utvecklar kurser på engelska på alla nivåer i högskolan, men även att i högre grad än i dag erbjuda undervisning på andra främmande språk än engelska. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 48; jfr. Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

An *economy discourse strand* operated in constructing English from a perspective of *attraction*. But, interpretation of ‘other foreign languages’ is more difficult. It raises the question; which languages could be possible?

To conclude, in the 2000s, dominant discourses such as *economy* and *inclusion* did not create perspectives of multilingualism as desirable in higher education. Multilingual ideas were represented in constructions of ‘another language’, ‘other languages’ and ‘foreign languages’. Hence, it is likely that ‘other foreign languages’ was just a rhetorical device and multilingualism was not constructed as a language ideal.

Minority and Scandinavian languages

Discussions about minority languages⁶⁹ in Swedish HE policy were rare. Consequently, minority languages were seldom constructed in such policy. In the policy area of *internationalisation* and *widening participation*, constructions were more or less totally absent. ‘Minority language’ is mentioned once. ‘Finnish’ is mentioned six times, but not as a minority language. Instead, Finnish is discussed in relation to the Nordic cooperation on the mutual recognition of student admission qualifications. In the preparatory texts for a *Swedish language legislation*, the national minority languages of Sweden were, through their legal position, indeed part of the content, but seldom in relation to HE specifically. ‘Minority language’ was mentioned five times, ‘Finnish’ seven times, ‘Meänkieli’ five times, ‘Romany’ once and ‘Sámi’ six times.

In HE, minority languages and immigrant languages were constructed in relation to communication obligations of Swedish public authorities.

it is a matter of course that information from Swedish public authorities, published on websites on the global net, should normally be in Swedish. [...] This should of course not restrain public authorities with internationally interesting business to translate parts of any website site to other languages. When relevant, the public authorities should also have information in national minority languages and some foreign languages. (SOU 2002:27, p. 124)

det är självklart att information från svenska myndigheter som läggs ut på webbplatser på det globala nätet normalt skall vara på svenska. [...] Detta skall naturligtvis inte vara något hinder för myndigheter med internationellt intressant verksamhet att ha delar av webbplatserna översatta till andra språk. I relevanta fall bör även myndigheterna ha information på de nationella minoritetsspråken och vissa invandrarpråk. (SOU 2002:27, p. 124)

As a matter of relevancy, minority languages were constructed in relation to the obvious position of Swedish. Consequently, it had to be judged if and when it was relevant for universities to communicate in minority languages. Thus, minority languages were constructed in a *position of dependence*. They were dependent on being judged relevant by universities. Operating in such constructions was an *inclusion discourse strand*. However, since it was from a perspective of dependence, it might as easily result in exclusion.

As mentioned above, constructions of minority languages were few, possibly mirroring their weak position in HE. Likewise, constructions of the other

⁶⁹ See footnote 16.

Scandinavian languages were few. Throughout the policy period of the study, 1974-2009, 'Danish' was mentioned twelve times and 'Norwegian' twelve times, primarily in relation to the Nordic cooperation. The small number of constructs of Scandinavian languages could be mirroring the taken-for-granted nature of the cooperation. The collaboration between academics was so established and obvious that it was as if they were collaborating with colleagues within the country.

It happens that teachers and researchers in the two countries do not regard the cooperation between Norway and Sweden as internationalisation. (HSV 2005:1, p. 172)

Det händer till och med att lärare och forskare i båda länderna inte uppfattar samarbetet mellan Norge och Sverige som internationalisering. (HSV 2005:1, p. 172)

Hence, Norwegian was implicitly constructed as in the same position *as Swedish*, provided Norwegian was used in the cooperation. At the same time, constructions showed that close languages like Danish and Norwegian might not be considered convenient and easily accessed.

At Swedish universities and university colleges, course literature in English is being used to a large extent. Studies show that considerably more Swedes think that they understand English better than Norwegian and Danish. But, at the same time, there are indications of us overrating our knowledge of English and maybe underestimating our understanding of the neighbouring languages. (SOU 2002:27, p. 183f)

Vid svenska universitet och högskolor används i stor utsträckning kurslitteratur på engelska. Undersökningar visar att betydligt fler svenskar anser att de förstår engelska bättre än norska och danska. Men samtidigt finns det indikationer på att vi överskattar våra kunskaper i engelska och kanske underskattar vår förståelse av grannspråken. (SOU 2002:27, p. 183f)

The construct of Danish and Norwegian was from a perspective of *deficiency*. A language ideal comprising proficiency in the Scandinavian languages was downplayed while English-language proficiency was taken for granted.

Chapter summary

The findings indicate that when language ideals in Swedish HE were constructed, there were three main operating *discourse strands*: *economy*, *inclusion* and *success*. They operated separately and entangled with each other. However,

depending on policy area and/or language, the ways they operated were different.

A Swedish language ideal in relation to Swedish language legislation was mostly positioned by an *inclusion discourse strand* and construed from protective and democratic perspectives (even though economic perspectives were also present). Swedish was, to a high degree, constructed in relation to English. The two languages were constructed as complementing each other, thereby creating a Swedish-English parallel-lingualism ideal. A Swedish language ideal in the policy area of *widening participation* was positioned via a *discursive knot* formed, in relation to immigrant students, by the *discourse strands* of *success*, *inclusion* and *economy*. Swedish was construed as integration for these students. In the policy area of *internationalisation*, a Swedish language ideal in relation to foreign students underwent transformation over the period. In the early years, Swedish was positioned from perspectives of possibility and participation in education by *success* and *inclusion discourse strands*. This extended also to visiting foreign students. Around the new millennium, the positioning of Swedish was more ambiguous. Swedish was primarily constructed via an *inclusion discourse strand* and from perspectives of participation and interaction. Later on, Swedish for foreign students was positioned from a perspective of a future working life in Sweden, this being similar to the *discursive knot* constructing Swedish for immigrant students.

An English language ideal went from being ‘one language among others’ in the 1970s and 1980s, to being positioned as ‘inevitable for international cooperation’. Because the transformation took place within the *discourse strands*, the perspectives of the discourses changed. *Discourse strands* of *economy* and *inclusion* went from incorporating solidarity and worldwide responsibility in positioning English as an important language, to constructing English as the necessary language for a liberalised education market.

Compared to the 1970s and 1980s when languages such as French and German were acknowledged as alternatives to English, multilingualism beyond English-knowing bilingualism was not constructed as a language ideal in the 2000s. Contemporary constructions of ‘other foreign languages’ might only be rhetorical device. Minority languages and Scandinavian languages as language ideals seldom occurred in the policy texts.

Chapter 7 Constructing language competences

This chapter addresses the research question about the language competences expected of (a) students and (b) academics in Sweden and how they are represented at a national level (RQ2). As in the previous chapter, eleven national policy texts from the areas of: (i) *internationalisation*, (ii) *widening participation*, and (iii) *Swedish language legislation* were analysed. For further details of the policy texts, see p. 76ff.

The findings show that, similar to the findings in respect of language ideals, the *discourse strands of success* and *inclusion* operated in constructing language competences expected of students and academics. The analysis identified that these two *discourse strands* were frequently entangled with what can be described as a *market discourse strand*. The *market discourse strand* is to be seen as subordinate to an *economy discourse strand* as described in chapter 6, i.e. a *market discourse strand* incorporates and implies economy, but an *economy discourse strand* does not necessarily imply a market. The operating discourse strands were, to a high degree, entangled in *discursive knots* (Jäger & Maier, 2009). The language competences expected of students and academics can be divided into Swedish language competences, English language competences and multilingual competences. Below, starting with students as language actors followed by academics as language actors, there are details of the findings.

Students as language actors

In constructing language competent students, the *discourse strands* operated in *discursive knots*. These *discursive knots* operated at both an individual and a collective level. However, they are not separated in the findings. The two dominant *discursive knots* comprise, on the one hand, of the operating *success* and *market discourse strands* and, on the other, the operating *inclusion* and *market discourse strands*. These two knots are in some cases entangled with discourses of *deficiency* or of *governmentality*. Table 10 presents an overview of the construction of a language competent student.

Table 10: Language competency of students

	<i>discursive knot of success & market</i>	<i>discursive knot of inclusion & market</i>	<i>discursive knot of inclusion & success</i>	<i>entanglement with deficiency & governmentality</i>
Students as Swedish-language actors	asset, national gain, future working life, educational success	strategic relations, cooperative resource*	instrument of integration**	<i>deficiency (*)** = lack of, difficulties governmentality = state ambitions, national aims</i>
Students as English-language actors	attractive, good, competitive employable, the study environment	parallel-lingualism, normal, cultural keys, access to, global		
Students as multilingual actors	targeted languages, competitive	solidarity, exchange, alternative language, desirable, strategic		<i>governmentality = state need, gain of individual & state</i>

Discursive knots and how they are represented in constructing language competency of students.

* Foreign students; ** Immigrant students

Below, there is a presentation of how the *discourse strands* operated as *discursive knots* in constructing students as Swedish-language, English-language and multilingual actors.

Students as Swedish-language actors

Irrespective of the main focus of the policy text (i.e. *internationalisation*, *widening participation* or *Swedish language legislation*) proficiency in Swedish was constructed as an essential *asset* in successfully completion of HE.

Proficiency in the Swedish language is of great importance in order to undertake studies in higher education successfully, but also for future working life. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 50; SOU 2002:27, p. 88)

Goda kunskaper i det svenska språket har stor betydelse för att högskolestudier skall kunna bedrivas framgångsrikt, men också för det framtida arbetslivet. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 50; SOU 2002:27, p. 88)

Swedish-language proficiency was constructed by a *discursive knot* of *success* and *market*. Knowledge of Swedish was incorporated into perspectives of a successful study and working life. This Swedish-proficient construct was a common way of constructing Swedish-language competence. As regards two defined student groups (foreign students and immigrant students) Swedish-proficiency was constructed differently over time. Below, foreign students are dealt with first and then immigrant students.

In the 1980s, preparatory courses for visiting students were offered so that foreign students could study for longer periods in Sweden.

Foreign students coming here for a complete study programme are in a special situation. They have to learn Swedish to be able to follow the programme. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 5) [...] sufficient proficiency in Swedish is crucial for the educational success of foreign students. (ibid., p. 14)

Utländska studerande som kommer hit för en fullständig svensk utbildning befinner sig i en särskild situation. De måste lära sig svenska för att kunna följa utbildningen. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 5) [...] tillräckliga färdigheter i svenska är avgörande för utländska studerandes studieframgång (ibid., p. 14)

Proficiency in Swedish for foreign students was constructed as necessary. At that time, studying a degree programme in Sweden meant studying in Swedish. In the example, the *success discourse strand* is the main operator. However, *market* values were also operating (see below).

In the policy text from the 2000s, foreign students were not constructed as needing to be Swedish-language actors if they were to successfully undertake a degree programme.

The international recruitment of students to first-cycle programmes is for most Swedish universities something relatively new. [...] it is a way of strengthening the position in the international scientific and educational community, and a way of recruiting the best students internationally [...] A few universities report that they have a bachelor's programme in English [...] At master's level, there are many more programmes. (HSV 2005:1, p. 99–100)

Internationell rekrytering av studenter till grundutbildning är för de allra flesta svenska lärosäten något relativt nytt. [...] det är ett sätt att stärka positionen i det internationella vetenskaps- och utbildningssambället, och ett sätt att rekrytera de allra bästa studenter internationellt [...] Från några få lärosäten redovisas hela kandidatprogram på engelska [...] På magisternivå finns mångfaldigt fler program (HSV 2005:1, p. 99–100)

The transformation from Swedish proficient foreign students to English proficient students took place in this period of the study. However, the *discursive knot of success* and *market* was additionally operating in the construct of English-language actors. In recruiting good (i.e. 'the best') English-proficient students, the *success* and *market discourse strands* were intertwined. The *market discourse strand* was operating where English-speaking students were constructed as helping universities to a better position in what can be viewed as a scientific and educational competition.

Going back to the Swedish-speaking foreign student, the perspectives of individual prosperity and organisational and national gain were intertwined throughout the policy period.

The Swedish language studies that the students attend give not only the proficiency essential for completing the programme. It can also bring about other values as far as the parties concerned preserve and make use of their Swedish proficiency in their future profession. This is likely to strengthen the bonds between Sweden and their native country. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 5)

Den svenskundervisning som de studerande genomgår ger inte bara nödvändiga kunskaper för att genomgå utbildningen. Den kan därtill ge ytterligare värden i den mån som de berörda under sin framtida yrkesverksamhet bevarar och utnyttjar kunskaperna i svenska. Det stärker rimligen banden mellan Sverige och resp. hemland. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 5)

... education is more and more seen as a strategic investment in order to develop and strengthen future relations with people, institutions and business in other countries. (SOU 2000:92, p. 9) However, for recruitment reasons, education has to be offered in English. At the same time, it is important that efforts are made for education in Swedish and in the Swedish language for foreign students at Swedish universities. Swedish language education should also be reinforced in countries of strategic significance. (Ibid. p. 12)

... utbildning [ses] mer och mer som en strategisk investering för att kunna utveckla och förstärka framtida förbindelser med personer, institutioner och företag i andra länder. (SOU 2000:92, p. 9) Av rekryteringsskäl måste dock utbildningar erbjudas på engelska. Samtidigt är det angeläget att insatser görs för utbildning på svenska och i svenska språket för utländska studenter vid svenska lärosäten. Utbildning i svenska språket bör även förstärkas i länder av strategisk betydelse. (Ibid. p. 12)

There is an assumption that foreign students who had studied Swedish would end up in decision-making positions in their native countries. Here, a positive experience of Sweden might eventually prove strategically important for Swedish working life as well as Swedish HE. Thus, a perspective of strategical benefit (the students as a resource) operated in constructing the Swedish-speaking foreign student. The resource was beneficial for Sweden as well as for the individual. The *discursive knot* of *success* and *market* operated in construing Swedish language acquisition by foreign students as valuable.

The *inclusion discourse strand* also operated in the construct of a Swedish-proficient foreign student. Foreign students were constructed as having a potential to build international relations through (limited) experience of Sweden and knowledge of Swedish.

They [foreign students] may constitute an important resource in widening and deepening the cooperation between Sweden and other countries, not

least within trade and industry. For this reason, among other things, it is important that foreign students are offered Swedish language courses. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 60)

De [utländska studenter] kan komma att utgöra en viktig resurs för breddat och fördjupat samarbete mellan Sverige och andra länder, inte minst inom näringsliv och handel. Bland annat av denna anledning är det viktigt att utländska studenter erbjuds undervisning i svenska. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 60)

The *inclusion discourse strand* operated together with the *market discourse strand*, constructing foreign students' skills in Swedish as assets in building international relations outside Sweden. Knowledge of Swedish was, via construals of strategic benefit and assets, mainly to be construed as *market-driven inclusion*.

The discursive knots of *success*, *inclusion* and *market* were also entangled with what might be defined as a *discourse of governmentality*. When Swedish-language proficiency for foreign students was constructed as part of political ambitions for Sweden, it became a means of fulfilling national aims. Hence, constructing foreign students as Swedish-language actors became suitable for political reasons, i.e. *governmentality*.

Swedish-proficiency for immigrant students was also constructed via a *discursive knot* of *inclusion* and *success*. This constructed an understanding of Swedish-proficiency as *inclusive* in integrational terms and as important for *succeeding* in society.

A common language [Swedish] is crucial in all social interplay and can therefore be a condition for participation in different mutual activities that are important for societal integration of the individual, it can concern work, activities of organisations and education. Language is an essential instrument of integration and we want to emphasise the value of good teaching in the Swedish language for immigrants at all levels within the education system. (SOU 2000:47, p. 83)

Ett gemensamt språk är avgörande i allt socialt samspel och kan därför vara en förutsättning för deltagande i olika gemensamma aktiviteter som är viktiga för individens integration i samhället, det kan gälla arbete, föreningsliv och utbildning. Språket är ett centralt integrationsinstrument och vi vill understryka värdet av god undervisning i svenska språket för invandrare på alla nivåer inom utbildningssystemet. (SOU 2000:47, p. 83)

For immigrants, knowledge of Swedish was essential as a means of participation. All levels of education should offer teaching so that immigrants could be *integrated*. Compared with foreign students' skills in Swedish (constructed as assets in building international relations outside Sweden)

immigrant students' competence in Swedish was constructed as an essential part in building national relations, i.e. integration. As integration was often only associated with the labour market and work opportunities, a *market discourse strand* was implicit.

It may be interpreted that foreign and immigrant students were constructed differently as Swedish-language students. Foreign students were constructed in terms of 'resources' and 'assets' while immigrant students were constructed as 'problems' and 'inadequate'. The latter exemplify as an operating *discourse of deficiency*.

[exclusion that is manifested in] school problems for immigrant children who do not have a command of the Swedish language. (SOU 2000:47, p. 16) [...] However, when it comes to immigrants, there is the cultural impediment that inadequate knowledge of the Swedish language can imply, irrespective of cultural capital in other areas. (ibid. p. 75) [...] One way of treating language difficulties of immigrants could be by conceiving them as disabilities and developing a support system such as those for dyslectics. (ibid. p. 83f)

[utanförskap som tar sig uttryck i] skolproblem för invandrarbarn som inte behärskar svenska språket. (SOU 2000:47, p. 16) [...] När det gäller invandrare finns här dock det kulturella hinder som bristande kunskaper i svenska språket kan innebära, alldeles oavsett kulturellt kapitalinnehav i övrigt. (ibid. p. 75) [...] Ett sätt att hantera invandras språksvårigheter skulle vidare kunna vara att uppfatta dem som funktionsbinder och utveckla ett stödssystem i likhet med det som finns för dyslektiker. (ibid. p. 83f)

Thus, the *discursive knots* comprised not only *discourse strands* of *success*, *inclusion* and *market*, but also a *discourse of deficiency*. This discourse operated in construing the Swedish-language student as lacking language competences. Over the timeframe of the study, it operated in relation to both foreign and immigrant students.

In the 1970s and 80s, foreign students were constructed as needing proficiency in Swedish so that they could undertake their programmes.

Foreign students coming here for a complete study programme are in a special situation. They have to learn Swedish to be able to follow the programme. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 5) [...] adequate proficiency in Swedish is crucial for the educational success of foreign students. (ibid., p. 14)

Utländska studerande som kommer hit för en fullständig svensk utbildning befinner sig i en särskild situation. De måste lära sig svenska för att kunna följa utbildningen. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 5) [...] tillräckliga färdigheter i svenska är avgörande för utländska studerandes studieframgång (ibid., p. 14)

Later on, in relation to *widening participation*, immigrant students' possibility of successfully completing higher education was constructed in relation to proficiency in Swedish.

Today, the cultural obstacles for participation in higher education appear, if anything, as the most important, and language is in that respect a central factor when it comes to immigrants. [...] When it comes to immigrants, there is nevertheless the cultural obstacle that inadequate proficiency in the Swedish language might imply (SOU 2000:47, p. 75)

Idag framstår snarare de kulturella hindren för deltagande i högre utbildning som de viktigaste och språket är därvidlag en central faktor när det gäller invandrare. [...] När det gäller invandrare finns här dock det kulturella hinder som bristande kunskaper i svenska språket kan innebära (SOU 2000:47, p. 75)

Both foreign and immigrant students were constructed in relation to what they lacked in order to study. In the 1980s, a *discourse of deficit* was also apparent in constructing an understanding of foreign students causing problems through their lack of Swedish-language proficiency.

... it is difficult to carry out meaningful teaching if the number of foreign students within a programme/course is too large. The difficulties are, among other things, due to foreign students neither fully being in command of the Swedish language nor being acquainted with the working methods in Swedish education. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 12)

... det är svårt att bedriva en meningsfull undervisning om andelen utländska studerande inom en utbildningslinje/kurs är för stor. Svårigheterna beror bl. a. på att utländska studerande inte till fullo behärskar svenska språket och inte heller i övrigt är bekanta med arbetsformerna i det svenska utbildningsväsendet. (Prop. 1983/84:115, p. 12)

Consequently, foreign students not only needed to have Swedish-proficiency in order to succeed in their studies, but they also needed to have Swedish-proficiency in order to enable good teaching. This perspective moved the responsibility from just being individual to also being collective. It additionally highlighted the insufficiency of the group.

Students as English-language actors

Students as English-language actors were, to a large extent, constructed within a *discursive knot* of *success* and *market discourse strands*. English-language proficiency was largely constructed as a means of success for the individual, the institution and the nation. English-proficient actors were constructed as having attractiveness. Furthermore, competitiveness was embedded (as something

good) in the notion of attractiveness. This *discursive knot* also had perspectives of *global integration*, i.e. the operating of an *inclusion discourse strand* and constructs of internationalisation.

The tight relation between *success* and *global market* experience was evident. Language skills were part of such an entanglement.

[a goal in the national internationalisation strategy is] to support the attractiveness of university-trained persons in a labour market characterised by increasing international features and increased international mobility. To reach that goal, improved knowledge of languages as well as increased knowledge and understanding of people in other countries and their conditions are required. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 48) [...] The internationalisation of higher education and the labour market that higher education prepares for enhances the value of good language skills, in English as well as in other European and non-European languages. (ibid.)

[ett mål i den nationella internationaliseringsstrategin är] att främja de högskoleutbildades attraktivitet på en arbetsmarknad med ökande internationella inslag och ökad internationell rörlighet. För att nå det målet krävs såväl förbättrade språkkunskaper som ökad kunskap och förståelse för människor i andra länder och deras förhållanden. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 48) [...] Internationaliseringen av den högre utbildningen och den arbetsmarknad som högskoleutbildningarna förbereder för förstärker värdet av goda språkkunskaper, såväl i engelska som i övriga europeiska eller utomeuropeiska språk. (ibid.)

Language proficiency was part of constructing an attractive student. The English-language was the only defined language in the construct. Even though European and non-European languages were mentioned, they were not part of any other particular constructs of success on a global market,

In Sweden, when creating *attractiveness* on a global educational market, English was the valuable language. It was the language that generally enabled international experience through exchanges or through an internationalised classroom. The English-language actor was constructed in construals of an international environment.

Foreign students at Swedish universities enrich the study environment at Swedish institutions through their presence and contribute to an internationalisation of higher education and research. (SOU 2000:92, p. 67)

Utländska studenter vid svenska universitet och högskolor berikar genom sin närvaro studiemiljöerna vid de svenska lärosätena och bidrar till en internationalisering av den högre utbildningen och forskningen. (SOU 2000:92, p. 67)

The number of foreign students at Swedish universities has increased continuously. The increase can be related to the fact that more and more EMI courses and programmes have been developed. Through the presence of

incoming students, the environment of the campus has become more international. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 56)

Antalet utländska studenter vid svenska lärosäten har ökat kontinuerligt. Ökningen kan kopplas till att alltfler kurser och program på engelska har utvecklats. Genom de inresande studenternas närvaro har miljön på campus blivit mer internationell. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 56)

... the element of foreign students contributes to the increasing necessity of using English as a medium of instruction. When Swedish researchers use English in teaching, you might generally assume that the quality is poorer. On the other hand, the cultural gain from the international exchange is so much bigger. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

... inslaget av utländska studenter gör det alltmer nödvändigt att undervisa på engelska. När svenska forskare undervisar på engelska kan man nog generellt anta att kvaliteten blir sämre. Däremot är den kulturella vinsten av det internationella utbytet så mycket större. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

The construction of English as creator of an ‘international’ environment, shows how perspectives of *global integration* were incorporated in the operation of a *market discourse strand*. There was a cause-and-effect relationship between presence of foreign students at Swedish universities and an international environment (i.e. an English-speaking one). Even though foreign students could be viewed as multilingual, they were foremost constructed as English-language actors. The expected and valued communication was in English. This led to the construal of an international environment as an English-only one and constructed the international classroom as English-speaking students (and academics).

An *inclusion discourse strand* operated to construct English-proficient students as keys to cultural. These constructions were found in relation both to foreign students (as creators of an international environment) and to exchanges of domestic students.

There are multiple reasons for increasing the recruitment of foreign students to Swedish universities. They are an asset in the development and quality of education and research environments in that they are able to contribute new perspectives. They can also contribute to strengthening the international environment and diversity, which supports the understanding of other cultures and traditions, at the same time as it is of great value for the development of trade and industry. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

Det finns flera skäl att öka rekryteringen av utländska studenter till svenska universitet och högskolor. De är en tillgång för undervisnings- och forskningsmiljöernas utveckling och kvalitet genom att de kan bidra med nya perspektiv. De kan också bidra till att stärka den internationella miljön och mångfalden, vilket främjar

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förståelsen för andra kulturer och traditioner samtidigt som det kan ha stort värde för näringslivets utveckling. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

Students participating in an education organised by universities in Sweden as well as abroad improve their knowledge of languages. They also get a better understanding of foreign cultures and working methods. These students should therefore have good chances of being attractive in the labour market. (Prop. 2008/09:175, p.44)

Studenter som deltar i en utbildning som anordnas av lärosäten såväl i Sverige som i utlandet förbättrar sina språkkunskaper. De får även bättre förståelse för utländska kulturer och arbetsätt. Dessa studenter bör därför ha goda förutsättningar att vara attraktiva på arbetsmarknaden. (Prop. 2008/09:175, p.44)

Exchange activities contributed to cultural understanding. As most exchange activities took place in English, students with English-language proficiency were constructed as keys to other cultures. As culturally aware and English-proficient, these students were also to be construed from a perspective of usefulness for the labour market. Therefore, a *market discourse strand* was also intertwined in the construction of a valuable, attractive English-speaking culturally sensitive student.

The *market discourse strand* also operated in construing English-speaking students as part of a *competitive* enterprise in which countries and universities competed in being *attractive*.

The large and increasing range of programmes and courses in English is another important prerequisite for international competitiveness and to make Sweden an attractive country to study in. It is important that there are courses in English at all levels in higher education. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

Det stora och ökande utbudet av program och kurser på engelska är en annan viktig förutsättning för den internationella konkurrenskraften och Sveriges attraktivitet som studieland. Det är viktigt att kurser på engelska finns på alla nivåer i högskolan. (Prop. 2004/05:162, p. 59)

The language of the country and the language of instruction are relevant when choosing a country to study in. Regardless of where in the world the students come from, most of them will study in an English-speaking country. (SOU 2008:26, p. 174)

Det språk som talas i landet, och som undervisningen bedrivs på har betydelse för valet av studieland. Oavsett varifrån i världen studenterna kommer studerar de flesta i engelskspråkiga länder. (SOU 2008:26, p. 174)

Attractiveness, constructed as student request for an English-speaking environment, was part of an operating *market discourse strand* in which, by making choices, students became consumers.

A final perspective in the later policy texts is parallel lingualism. This latter entailed using both subject-specific Swedish and English. This concept was constructed via the operating *discursive knot* of *inclusion* and *market* as exemplified immediately below:

A consequent parallel language policy means: • that both the Nordic languages and English should be used as scientific languages [...] • that teaching in scientific terminology, especially in writing, should be held in both English and the Nordic languages. (SOU 2008:26, p. 101)

En konsekvent politik för parallellspråkeighet innebär: • att såväl Nordens samhällsbärande språk som engelska bör kunna användas som vetenskapliga språk [...] • att undervisning i vetenskapligt fackspråk, särskilt i skrift, bör ges både i engelska och i Nordens samhällsbärande språk (SOU 2008:26, p. 101)

that universities in some cases should [...] reinforce course components that develop the oral and written skills of students in both Swedish and English. (SOU 2008:26, p. 169)

Det föreslogs också att universitet och högskolor i vissa fall borde [...] förstärka moment i utbildningen som förbättrar studenternas muntliga och skriftliga färdigheter i både svenska och engelska. (SOU 2008:26, p. 169)

English-language proficiency was obvious in the construct of parallel-lingualism for domestic students in Sweden⁷⁰, especially in relation to scientific language e.g. subject-specific terminology.

Students as multilingual actors

As shown above, students as Swedish-English bilingual actors were constructed from a number of perspectives. But, if multilingualism is considered as something other than just Swedish-English bilingualism, it was only in the policy of the 1970s that students were constructed as multilingual. In the policy then, there were discourses constructing more languages than English as complementing languages. Hence, students as multilingual actors were to be found at that time.

In the 1970s, a wider *inclusion discourse strand* operated. In this, *inclusion* encompassed a variety of languages. *Solidarity* was embedded in this *discourse strand*. Throughout this period, solidarity strongly influenced the perspectives of inclusion.

⁷⁰ Under the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (2007), this applies not only for Sweden, but for all the Nordic countries.

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An internationalisation of higher education aims at supporting international cooperation and international solidarity, which is in line with long-term national interests. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 12, 32)

En internationalisering av universitetsutbildningen syftar till att främja internationellt samarbete och internationell solidaritet, vilket också ligger i linje med långsiktiga nationella intressen. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 12, 32)

when it comes to a developed language education, priority should be given to the large European languages, as they also open communication paths to large parts of the third world. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38)

när det gäller den utbyggda språkutbildningen bör satsningen ske på de stora europeiska språken, så mycket mer som de öppnar kommunikationsvägar också till stora delar av tredje världen. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38)

Language matters were included in a global mission of higher education, i.e. international solidarity and international responsibility, while, owing to “the dominant position of English as a secondary language” (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 38), a fear was also expressed regarding too narrow cooperation, i.e. a ‘one-sided Anglo-Saxon’ cooperation. This applied to HE in general, not only students.

Multilingual students were constructed in relation to earlier school experience of foreign languages. Students with upper-secondary school grades in French and German “should through tangible actions be encouraged and given opportunity to maintain and develop their skills in this [French or German] and deepen them within their discipline” (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p.13)⁷¹. Multilingualism was construed as foreign language acquisition in an education context.

The same multilingualism was constructed in relation to exchange.

if one could establish a programme for studies abroad enabling Swedish students to spend up to a year at for example an English-speaking, French-speaking or German-speaking university. As well as solid subject-specific knowledge, they could also achieve skills for working in at least one foreign language, something that is necessary in order to be useful in international business. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 139)

om man kunde etablera utlandsprogram som möjliggjorde för svenska studerande att tillbringa upp till ett år vid t ex något engelsk-, fransk- eller tyskspråkigt universitet. Vid sidan av solida ämneskunskaper skulle

⁷¹ de studerande som har franska eller tyska som B-språk eller C-språk från gymnasieskolan skall genom olika konkreta åtgärder uppmuntras till och beredas tillfälle att uppehålla eller förbättra sina färdigheter i detta och fördjupa dem inom sitt fackområde. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p.13)

de också kunna skaffa sig färdighet att arbeta på minst ett främmande språk, något som är nödvändigt för att vederbörande skall vara användbar i internationell verksamhet. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 139)

The *inclusion discourse strand* constructed a perspective of relations that was broader than just English-speaking. Construing these foreign languages as a necessity in international parts of working life, a *market discourse strand* also operated in the construct.

Although centred on traditionally strong school languages in Sweden, the necessity was constructed as a multilingual choice, not only an English one, i.e. a broader construction than just English.

... practically all university students need to understand course literature in foreign languages and in future work be able to use foreign specialist literature. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 112)

... praktiskt taget alla universitetsstudierande behöver inhämta kurslitteratur på utländska språk och i den kommande yrkesverksamheten kunna ta del av utländsk facklitteratur. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 112)

... that required course literature, normally in English, is to a large degree included in literature lists, and that alternative course literature in French or German is offered, when it is possible. One should to a larger extent, especially in second- and third-cycle courses and study programmes, use foreign languages, mainly English, as a medium of instruction and in presentations of assignments. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p.19)

... att obligatorisk kurslitteratur på engelska normalt och i betydande grad ingår i litteraturlistorna samt att där det är möjligt inslag av alternativ kurslitteratur på franska och tyska erbjuds. Man bör i ökad utsträckning, särskilt på påbyggnads- och forskarutbildningsnivå, använda främmande språk, främst engelska, i undervisningen och i redovisning av arbetsuppgifter. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p.19)

English was emphasised but students were still constructed as multilingual (in, at least, French and German). The *inclusion discourse strand* operated in constructing English as normal and French and German as alternatives.

Students as multilingual actors were also constructed as a *competitive* means. An example here was engineering students improving their labour-market competitiveness via language studies rather than subject-specific studies.

[an engineer often chooses] to continue his education by further studies in technical subjects but more seldom to complement his education with language studies. [...] [engineers] can improve their competitiveness in the labour market through studies in French, Spanish or German rather than by adding to their technical competence. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 134–135)

[en ingenjör väljer ofta] att fortsätta sina studier med att fördjupa sig i de tekniska ämnena men mera sällan att komplettera sin utbildning med språkstudier. [...] [ingenjörer] skulle förbättra sin konkurrenskraft på

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arbetsmarknaden i högre grad genom att studera franska, spanska eller tyska än genom att bygga på sin tekniska kompetens. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 134–135)

A *discursive knot* of *market* and *success* operated in the perspective of competitiveness through multilingualism. A *market discourse strand* operated in constructing students as more attractive for working life if they had proficiency in French, German or Spanish. Intertwined in this perspective of *competitiveness* was a *success discourse strand*, i.e. through multilingualism, the individual having an advantage that resulted in profit on the labour market.

The positive and inclusive attitude towards a variety of languages was also constructed via a perspective of national gain. Sweden needed professionals with proficiency in several foreign languages and, therefore, students should be able to develop subject-specific terminology in those.

As far as the demands of working life are concerned as well as cultural-political reasons and the ambitions of internationalisation, the study of other foreign languages apart from English must be encouraged more than hitherto. We need numerous professionals who can work in languages like French and German as well as Russian and Spanish, and a certain number of professionals with proficiency in for example Japanese and Chinese. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 110)

Såväl med hänsyn till arbetslivets krav som av kulturpolitiska skäl och som led i allmänna internationaliseringssträvanden måste studiet av andra främmande språk än engelska främjas mera än hittills. Vi behöver ett stort antal fackmän, som kan arbeta på språk som franska och tyska respektive ryska och spanska samt ett visst antal fackmän med färdighet i t ex japanska och kinesiska. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 110)

A *market discourse strand* definitely operated in constructing multilingual students as part of a national benefit. Sweden, needed these students on the labour market and for cultural-political reasons. Also operating was an *inclusion discourse strand* as:

[an] internationalisation of higher education aims at supporting international cooperation and international solidarity. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 32)

En internationalisering av universitetsutbildningen syftar till att främja internationellt samarbete och internationell solidaritet. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 32)

The *discursive knot* of *market* and *inclusion* was evident in constructing multilingualism as collaborative and at the same time as useful for working life.

In later policy (the 2000s), the dominant discourses did not construct students as multilingual. However, there were constructions opening paths for recognition of the multilingualism of immigrant students.

As an example, applicants with a foreign language should be able to refer to special selection criteria when it comes to education for professions in need of bilingual personnel, for example within the social services or the educational sector. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 66)

Till exempel borde sökande med ett invandrarspråk kunna åberopa särskilda skäl när det gäller utbildning till sådana yrken som har behov av tvåspråkig personal, exempelvis inom det sociala området eller inom undervisningssektorn. (Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 66)

When society needed certain languages, students with those language proficiencies were acknowledged. The perspective of societal as well as individual benefit was constructed via a *discursive knot of market and inclusion*. The *market discourse strand* constructed a perspective of *governmentality*, i.e. the state governed through, for example, recognition of specific values or competencies, e.g. language proficiency. Here, it was incorporated in the labour market. The *inclusion discourse strand* constructed a perspective of *integration*, i.e. the individual could become part of the working community through multilingual proficiency.

Concluding this section on student multilingualism, the dominant *discourse strand* throughout the 1970s was *inclusion* (with a strong perspective of *solidarity*). It constructed perspectives of reciprocity (in exchange) and responsibility (for foreign students in need of education). At times, it was intertwined with a *market discourse strand*. However, in the interpretation of perspectives, *inclusion* stood out as dominant.

Academics as language actors

Comparable to the language-proficient student, the language-proficient academic was constructed via a few dominant *discourse strands*, i.e. *inclusion*, *success* and *market*. As shown below, these strands were often intertwined with each other in for example *discursive knots*.

The construct of a Swedish-proficient academic was found both as a Swedish-language actor and in relation to academics as language actors in other languages (in principle English). Primarily, three *discourse strands* operated in constructing Swedish-language academics in relation to societal functions and the benefit for students, universities and even the nation. These were *inclusion*, *success* and *market* (see table 11)

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Table 11: Swedish-language academics

	<i>inclusion</i> <i>discourse strand</i>	<i>success</i> <i>discourse strand</i>	<i>market</i> <i>discourse strand</i>
Swedish- language academics	Societal: (i) communication, (ii) service, and (iii) responsibility democracy linguistic protection and progress	development efficiency	attractiveness competitiveness

Discourse strands and their representations in constructing academics as Swedish-language actors.

The Swedish-proficient construct embodied two different understandings of academics: first, academics as protectors and developers of Swedish terminology, and second, academics as facilitators of the learning of Swedish terminology.

The construct of an English-proficient academic occurred in all policy areas. The *discourse strands* of *inclusion*, *success* and *market* operated jointly and entangled (see table 12). The *market discourse strand* defined perspectives of *inclusion* and *success*.

Table 12: English-language academics

	<i>Discursive knot of inclusion & market</i>	<i>Discursive knot of inclusion, success & market</i>
English- language academics	inevitable language choice – course literature, journals professional modification – natural, rational language of scientific exchange – mutual, natural	developmental – improving language skills of students beneficial – as a qualification, in teaching deficient – lacking EMI skills

Discursive knots and their representations in constructing academics as English-language actors.

The constructions occurred in relation to the scientific community. They were constructed via combinations of perspectives. Here, naturalness as well as development was intertwined with market values.

Academics as Swedish-language actors

Swedish-proficient academics were constructed in relation to societal service and communication.

Swedish terminology shall be nurtured and developed so that science can be communicated with non-specialists. The university shall strive to use adequate Swedish terminology within all scientific fields. (SOU 2008:26, p. 180)

CONSTRUCTING LANGUAGE COMPETENCES

Svenskt fackspråk ska värdas och utvecklas för att vetenskap ska kunna kommuniceras till icke-specialister. Universitetet ska eftersträva att inom samtliga vetenskapsområden använda en adekvat terminologi på svenska. (SOU 2008:26, p. 180)

University researchers should consider their responsibility for developing the Swedish language in scientific communication between Swedes by maintaining existing terminology and contributing to an adaptation of the English used in Swedish linguistic usage. (SOU 2008:26, p. 181)

Universitetets forskare bör beakta sitt ansvar för utvecklingen av det svenska språket i vetenskaplig kommunikation mellan svenskar genom att upprätthålla befintlig terminologi och bidra till att den engelska som används lätt kan anpassas till svenskt språkbruk. (SOU 2008:26, p. 181)

That there should be a summary in Swedish in all doctoral theses is considered natural and justified in the research community. Researchers bear a responsibility for the trust they are given when society puts resources for research at their disposal. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

Att det ska finnas en sammanfattning på svenska av alla avhandlingar betraktas inom forskarvärlden som ett naturligt och berättigat krav. Det finns ett ansvar för det förtroende en forskare får när sambället ställer medel till förfogande för forskningsverksamheten. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

The Swedish-language academic was constructed from a perspective of societal responsibility for knowledge dissemination. The public should be guaranteed new knowledge in Swedish. An *inclusion discourse strand* operated in constructing academics as *responsible* for using and developing Swedish terminology.

Democracy was implicitly part of the construct. This was because the perspective of societal responsibility was to be construed in relation to democratic values such as communication outside universities. Similarly, a democratic perspective underlay the construction of Swedish-proficient academics in relation to potential threats of the language losing power in some areas of HE.

If some disciplines are totally lost for the Swedish language [...] Swedish will cease to develop in this sphere. [...] The possibilities to disseminate knowledge in society, the conditions for public control of research and for discussions of development, consequences of findings etc., are then dramatically impaired. (SOU 2002:27, p. 90)

Om vissa områden förloras för svenskan helt och hållet [...] uppstår svenskan att utvecklas inom denna sfär. [...] 9 Möjligheterna att sprida kunskaperna ut i sambället, förutsättningar för insyn i forskningsverksamhet och till diskussion av utvecklingen, konsekvenserna av olika upptäckter m.m. försämras då drastiskt. (SOU 2002:27, p. 90)

Academics were construed from a perspective of *safeguarding* Swedish in the name of *democracy*.

it is necessary that expressions and terms in Swedish can be developed in specialised fields like the natural sciences, medicine and technical science. If that is not the case, communication between laypersons and experts will be difficult, which would be unfortunate from a democratic aspect among other things. (SOU 2002:27, p. 165)

det är nödvändigt att svenska uttryck och termer kan utarbetas inom specialiserade områden som naturvetenskap, medicin och teknik. Om så inte sker kommer kommunikationen mellan lekmän och experter att försvåras, vilket vore olyckligt från bl.a. demokratisk utgångspunkt (SOU 2002:27, p. 165)

Consequently, perspectives of *progress* and *protection* were intertwined with a *democratic* perspective in the *inclusion discourse strand*, thereby constructing academics as Swedish-proficient and as Swedish-language developers.

Another kind of construct of academics as Swedish-language actors concerned the Swedish-proficient lecturer who was expected to facilitate language improvement. This construct often occurred in combination with English.

Faculty teachers should be able to teach effectively and at a high oral and written level in Swedish as well as English. (SOU 2008:26, p. 181)

Fakultetens lärare ska kunna undervisa effektivt och på hög nivå muntligt och skriftligt på såväl svenska som engelska. (SOU 2008:26, p. 181)

In the wake of a more widespread use of English [...] many students risk not having Swedish terminology within their field of study. [...] it is important that teachers as well as students have a command of both Swedish and English. [...] universities should strengthen educational components that improve the oral and written skills of students in both Swedish and English. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

I kölvattnet av den allt mer utbredda användningen av engelska riskerar [...] många studenter att gå miste om en svensk terminologi inom det studerade området. [...] det är viktigt att såväl lärare som studenter behärskar både svenska och engelska. [...] universitet och högskolor bör förstärka moment i utbildningen som förbättrar studenternas muntliga och skriftliga färdigheter i både svenska och engelska. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

Reinforcement of course components that improve the oral and written language proficiency in Swedish and English should generally be considered in higher education. It is also desirable that competences in other languages are increased. [...] Universities should therefore develop courses in scientific communication that include practice in speaking, writing and reading. Such courses should be integrated in different programmes. [...] this can be

economically profitable through an increased student completion rate. Furthermore, the students' labour market attractiveness should increase, which in turn should be a competitive advantage for the university (SOU 2002:27, p. 91)

En förstärkning av moment som förbättrar den muntliga och skriftliga språkfärdigheten i svenska och engelska bör generellt övervägas i universitets- och högskoleutbildningen. Det är också önskvärt att kunskaperna i andra språk ökas. [...] Universitet och högskolor bör därför utveckla kurser i vetenskaplig kommunikation som omfattar träning i att både tala, skriva och läsa. Sådana kurser bör integreras i de skilda utbildningsprogrammen. [...] detta kan löna sig även rent ekonomiskt genom att genomströmningen kan öka. Dessutom bör studenternas attraktionskraft på arbetsmarknaden därigenom öka, vilket i sin tur bör vara ett konkurrensmedel för den enskilda högskolan. (SOU 2002:27, p. 91)

Proficiency in Swedish for teachers was constructed via a *success discourse strand* from perspectives of *efficiency* and *development*. At the same time, these perspectives were, as in the latter example, to be construed within a *market discourse strand*. Swedish-proficient, language-developing academics were constructed for reasons of student *attractiveness* and university *competitiveness*.

Academics as English-language actors

Swedish academics as English-language actors were constructed in relation to English as the taken-for-granted lingua franca for global scientific communication. The natural position of English as 'the' language of knowledge dissemination and scientific sharing was, for example, constructed in relation to becoming researchers (i.e. doctoral students).

In most third-cycle programmes, course literature in English dominates, teaching and seminars are in English and the students write reports, articles and doctoral theses in English. (SOU 2002:27, p. 82)

På de flesta forskarutbildningarna dominerar engelskspråkig kurslitteratur, undervisning och seminarier är på engelska och studenterna skriver rapporter, artiklar och avhandlingar på engelska. (SOU 2002:27, p. 82)

the number of doctoral theses written in English [has] increased in recent decades. [...] Within medicine, technical and natural sciences, doctoral theses are mainly written in English. One reason is that [...] study resources are only in English. Another reason is [...] compilation theses, i.e. doctoral students publish a number of articles in scientific journals to be critically examined by other researchers. These journals are to a great extent in English. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p 46)

antalet doktorsavhandlingar skrivna på engelska [har] ökat de senaste decennierna. [...] Inom medicin, teknik och naturvetenskap författas huvudsakligen avhandlingarna på engelska. Ett skäl är att det [...]

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nästan enbart finns engelskspråkigt material att tillgå. Ett annat är [...] s.k. sammanläggningsanhandlingar, dvs. doktoranderna publicerar ett antal artiklar i vetenskapliga tidskrifter för kritisk granskning av andra forskare. Dessa tidskrifter är i stor utsträckning engelskspråkiga. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p 46)

Doctoral students as English-language actors were constructed from a perspective of an inevitable English language use. The naturalness was supported by external circumstances such as available study resources and referee systems. English-language naturalness was also constructed as professional ‘adaptation’ and as incorporated in rationality.

In the phase when you have started postgraduate studies, you are considered as having begun your work life career and language adaptation has to take place on professional grounds. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

I det skede då man påbörjar en forskarutbildning får man anses ha påbörjat sin yrkesverksamhet och språkpassningen måste ske av yrkesmässiga skäl. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

Research is international by nature and there is a need for uniformity as far as research language is concerned. For rational reasons, the common language is English within large parts of the research community. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

Forskningen är internationell till sin natur och det behövs enbetslighet i fråga om forskningspråk. Av rationella skäl är engelska det gemensamma språket inom stora delar av forskningsvärlden. (SOU 2008:26, s. 183)

Construed from a perspective of professional modification, English was constructed as a language norm for parts of academic work.

In the exchange of scientific ideas and findings, a common language was required.

Higher education and research are by nature international activities. [...] The globalisation of higher education and research means that the individual, the department and the university can cooperate and communicate with whomever, wherever, whenever. [...] It means that researchers, lecturers and students today exchange information and ideas and also meet in person more freely than one or a couple of decades ago. (SOU 2000:92, p. 20f.; almost the same formulation in Prop. 2001/02:15, p. 173)

Högre utbildning och forskning är till sin natur internationella verksamheter. [...] Globalisering av den högre utbildningen och forskningen innebär att den enskilda individen, institutionen och universitet eller högskolan kan samarbeta och kommunicera med vem som helst var och när som helst. [...] Det innebär att forskare, lärare och studenter idag utbyter information och idéer samt träffas personligen mer obehindrat än för ett eller ett par decennier sedan. (SOU 2000:92, s. 20f; liknande formulering i Prop. 2001/01:15, s. 173)

By using wordings like “the individual ... can communicate with whomever”, a mutual language proficiency was indicated. English was the language on which multilingualism was founded. Representing HE and research as “by nature international” established English as natural.

An English-language academic was constructed via simultaneously operating *inclusion* and *market discourse strands*. Professional language adaptation led to integration (as eligible participators) into the research community. At the same time, it contributed to acceptance as a researcher. Embedded in the perspective of Sweden and universities as attractive and competitive on a global educational market was a construction of academics as English-language teachers (shown in earlier examples). Consequently, the English-proficient academic was constructed via *inclusive* perspectives of *participation* incorporated in *market* values of *attractiveness* and *competitiveness*.

Throughout the policy period, the English-proficient transnational academic was taken for granted and was constructed in perspectives of *development*.

Foreign visiting lecturers [...] enable English to be used, in a natural way, as a medium of instruction. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 117)

Utländska gästlärare [...] medför, att engelska på ett naturligt sätt kan användas som undervisningspråk. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 117)

One way to improve English as a medium of instruction could be by employing foreign teachers. (HSV, 2005:1, p. 63)

Ett sätt att förbättra undervisningen på engelska kan vara att anställa utländska lärare (HSV, 2005:1, p. 63)

The use of English has of course many positive points, such as students gaining access to the latest textbooks, in particular from English-speaking countries, and having the possibility to participate in lectures by foreign visiting research fellows. (SOU 2008:26, p. 171)

Själklart har användningen av engelska många positiva sidor, som att studenterna får tillgång till de senaste läroböckerna, i alla fall från engelskspråkiga länder, och kan ta del av föreläsningar av utländska gästforskare. (SOU 2008:26, p. 171)

The naturalness of English was evident and, as a language actor, foreign academics were constructed as EMI teachers enabling EMI classes. These constructions were made in relation to internationalisation, which was about both *participation* and *competition*. A perspective of *success* was also embedded in these constructions, i.e. that foreign visiting lecturers had such a command of

English that the instruction would be of good quality. Thus, a *discursive knot* comprising *discourse strands* of *inclusion*, *success* and *market* was simultaneously operating in constructing transnational academics as English-language actors.

Furthermore, English-proficient academics were constructed as language teachers within a perspective of *development*. Lecturers were responsible for the improvement of students' language proficiency. As early as in the 1970s, subject experts were constructed as language teachers.

practice in speaking and writing as part of the subject studies; otherwise known as integrated subject-specific language practice. [...] Often course literature in foreign languages is an integral part of subject studies. In lectures and seminars, foreign languages can be used as well as in accounts of assignments (orally or in writing). (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 94)

... språkträning som en del av fackämnesstudiet; den betecknar vi som fackintegrerad språkträning. [...] Det vanligaste är att kurslitteratur på främmande språk ingår i fackämnesstudiet. I föreläsningar och seminarieövningar kan främmande språk användas liksom vid redovisning av arbetsuppgifter (muntligt eller skriftligt). (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 94)

Later on, they were similarly constructed from a perspective of *development* of linguistic skills (in both Swedish and English).

Universities should strengthen educational components that improve the oral and written skills of students in both Swedish and English. (SOU 2002:27, p. 23; Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 47)

Universitet och högskolor bör förstärka moment i utbildningen som förbättrar studenternas muntliga och skriftliga färdigheter i både svenska och engelska. (SOU 2002:27, p. 23)

In order to form a basis of English language use at higher levels, course literature should be in English at first-cycle levels, at least in some parts, and elements of English should occur in teaching, so that the understanding of English is increased and improved. (SOU 2008:26, p. 180)

För att lägga en grund för användningen av engelska på högre nivåer bör kurslitteraturen, åtminstone till vissa delar, inom grundnivån vara på engelska och inslag av engelska i undervisningen förekomma, så att språkförståelsen ökas och stärks. (SOU 2008:26, p. 180)

The *developmental* perspective prevailed throughout the policy period and, in a sense, constructed academics as language teachers enabling study *success* for students. The importance of academics being able to use English as a medium of instruction was also found as a construct of the academic appointment procedure.

Several universities assert that they now demand English language competences in order to teach at the university. (HSV 2005:1R, p. 61)

Flera lärosäten hävdar att man nu kräver kompetens i engelska för att få undervisa vid lärosätet. (HSV 2005:1R, p. 61)

Hence, English-language proficiency of academics was constructed as a perspective of qualification.

When Swedish researchers use English as a medium of instruction, you may generally assume that the quality is worse. However, the cultural benefit of the international exchange is so much greater. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

När svenska forskare undervisar på engelska kan man nog generellt anta att kvaliteten blir sämre. Däremot är den kulturella vinsten av det internationella utbytet så mycket större. (SOU 2008:26, p. 183)

Lecturers as English-language actors were constructed from perspectives where their English-proficiency was regarded with approval and constructed from a perspective of ‘goal serving the means’.

However, a perspective of *deficiency* also operated in constructing academics as English-language actors.

Many universities pay for language courses for their staff, generally for teachers but in some cases also for administrative staff. However, some universities claim that English as a medium of instruction courses for students are restrained by the lack of proficiency in foreign languages of the staff, especially subject-specific language/terminology. (HSV 2005:1, p. 61)

Många lärosäten bekostar språkkurser för sin egen personal, i allmänhet för lärare men i vissa fall också för administrativ personal. Vissa lärosäten hävdar dock att kursutbudet på engelska för studenter begränsas av personalens brist på kunskaper i främmande språk, särskilt fackspråk. (HSV 2005:1, p. 61)

The lack of proficiency in English at Swedish universities had to be construed in relation to internationalisation and, this being the case, the English-speaking academic was constructed in a *discursive knot* where the *market discourse strand* was the major operator. The English-language deficient teacher was constructed from a perspective of EMI courses being natural. Hence, at that time, the foreign language norm in Sweden was constructed as English.

Academics as multilingual actors

It has to be emphasised that, throughout the examined policy period, academics rarely occurred as multilingual actors. The language proficiency valued in

constructions was English. Other potential linguistic competences were, thereby, overlooked.

In the 1970s, however, a construct of a multilingual academic did exist. In the policy, a variety of languages were mentioned: for example, ‘Russian’ thirty-two times, ‘Spanish’ twelve times, ‘Chinese’ eight times and ‘Japanese’ five times. This showed an interest in more foreign languages than English. Then, multilingual competences among visiting lecturers were constructed as *assets* in teaching subject-specific terminology to Swedish colleagues and students. Construction was in relation to specific courses for students. For example:

Legal French, German for Economics, Mathematical Russian, Textile Chinese, Japanese for Electronic industry, Banking English, Tourist agency English, Conference English, Computer English. (UKÄ-report, 1974, p. 94)

juridisk franska, ekonomisk tyska, matematisk ryska, textil kinesiska, elektronisk japanska, bankengelska, resebyråengelska, konferensengelska, datorengelska. (UKÄ-rapport, 1974, p. 94)

Visiting lecturers were undeniably constructed as English-language actors. However, the construct went beyond English. The construct of a multilingual academic was in relation to subject-specific terminology.

The construct of multilingual academics in the 1970s needs to be understood in relation to the the *inclusion discourse strand* that was dominant at that time.

Our country constitutes a small speech community. Swedes have to communicate with the world in the major languages. It is not realistic to expect an exclusive use of English as a secondary language. That would exclude us from closer contact with large parts of the world. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 102)

Vårt land utgör ett litet språkområde. Svenskarna måste kommunicera med sin omvärld på de stora språken. Det är inte realistiskt att räkna med att vi uteslutande skall kunna använda engelska som sekundärspråk. Det skulle avstänga oss från närmare kontakt med stora delar av världen. (UKÄ-rapport 12, 1974, p. 102)

When academics were constructed as multilingual actors, it was from a perspective of *global inclusion*. In the 2000s, domestic academics, irrespective of linguistic origin, were constructed as Swedish-English bilingual. Transnational academics were constructed as English-language actors.

The not-recognition of multilingualism among academics (with the exception being English) was exemplified in relation to employment.

the fact that publications in foreign languages can be hard to assess contributes to native Swedish-language researchers having an advantage over, on the one hand, those having Swedish as a second language, and on the other hand, those having published in their native language (English of course being an exception). (SOU 2000:47, p. 70)

att publikationer på främmande språk kan vara svåra att bedöma gör att från början svenskspråkiga forskare har ett försteg framför dem som dels har svenska som andraspråk och dels har publicerat sig på sitt hemlands språk (engelska är naturligtvis ett undantag). (SOU 2000:47, p. 70)

The only languages recognised in the construct were Swedish and English. The disregard of academics who were proficient in any other languages was constructed from a perspective of *disadvantage*.

Multilingualism was constructed as a *liability*. In comparison, Swedish-English bilingualism (i.e. parallel-lingualism) was constructed as a language *ideal*. If multilingualism in the 1970s was constructed via the *inclusion discourse strand*, multilingualism in the 2000s was constructed entirely oppositely.

Chapter summary

The findings from national policy show that ‘marketisation’ was integrated in the construction of language actors in HE via *discursive knots* of *success* and *market* as well as of *inclusion* and *market*. Sometimes all three operated together. This is especially apparent in the constructing of English-language actors. English-proficient students were constructed as having attractiveness, being competitive, and contributing to a desired international environment. An English-speaking environment was essential when students were consumers on a global education market. For academics, English was constructed as inevitable and as a professional adaptation. Transnational academics were always constructed as English-proficient. Academics were also constructed as English-language teachers from a developmental perspective. Swedish-speaking academics were constructed as deficient in English.

As regards Swedish, perspectives of progress and protection operated in constructing language actors. Academics were constructed as protectors of Swedish terminology and as facilitators of the learning of Swedish terminology. The latter was from a developmental perspective, the former from an inclusive perspective. Both perspectives were intertwined with democracy. However, via perspectives of success and strategic benefit operate, marketisation was part of constructing foreign and immigrant students as Swedish-language actors. Swedish became an educational as well as a working life asset (in Sweden as well

as in relation to Sweden). Consequently, language was understood as an added value.

Similar to the language ideals presented in previous chapter, multilingualism was not part of construing what constituted a language actor. However, in the 1970s, discursive knots of, on the one hand, *inclusion* and *market* and on the other, *market* and *success* operated in constructing multilingual actors from perspectives of necessity for future international working life and of future working life advantage. At that time, school languages such as French and German were constructed as alternatives.

In conclusion, it could be said that when students and academics were constructed as ‘communicative’ from a variety of perspectives, university also became constructed as ‘communicative’. The entangled *discourse strands* of *inclusion*, *success* and *market* operated at both a personal and organisational level.

Hence, if they adapted to English-language demands, HE institutions in Sweden would become attractive, and, thereby, make Sweden as an attractive country for study and work. English-language adaptation towards an international market operated in constructing attractiveness and successful outcomes for universities. Constructions of attractiveness for HE institutions were found in all the three policy areas, i.e. *internationalisation*, *widening participation* and *Swedish language legislation*.

The analysed policy texts show that, from perspectives of progress and democracy, Sweden’s HE institutions had a responsibility to develop and use Swedish terminology in their fields. Constructions of the societal function of HE institutions were mainly found in relation to academics.

During the policy period, there was a transformation as regards multilingual actors. The constructions of the 1970s were no longer around in the first decade of the 2000s. Multilingualism had transformed into Swedish-English bilingualism and English had been conflated into ‘international’. Although it might be argued that Swedish-English bilingual proficiency is to be regarded as multilingualism, this chapter distinguishes between English-language actors and multilingual actors.

A final remark is that the embeddedness of operating discourses is so evident that it is hard to separate them from each other. How the discourse strands of *inclusion*, *success* and *market* jointly operated is shown in this last example.

International cooperation gives access to a larger research community than the Swedish. [...] The use of languages other than Swedish, mainly English,

has [...] become a condition in order for Sweden to be able to actively participate and to continue to assert itself in international research cooperation. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 45)

Internationellt samarbete ger tillgång till ett större forskarsambälle än det svenska. [...] Användningen av andra språk än det svenska, främst det engelska, har [...] blivit en förutsättning för att Sverige ska kunna delta aktivt och fortsätta hävda sig i det internationella forskningssamarbetet. (Prop. 2005/06:2, p. 45)

For *inclusive* reasons, i.e. participation and access, Swedes were to use English (primarily), this leading to a better position for Sweden (a *successful* one) in a global education and research *market*. In discursive knots like this one, the market perspective was the strongest.

Chapter 8 Construing language policy at universities

This chapter reports the findings of the analysis of twelve university language policies⁷² and addresses the research question about how language ideals and language competences, for students and academics alike, are represented at an institutional level in Sweden (RQ3). For two reasons, the twelve policies are considered as ‘one text’. First, because the analytical approach focuses on identifying that time’s dominant discourses. Second, because of the liturgical character of the policies, i.e. they tend to follow, rhetorically and structurally, a predefined ‘texturing’. For example, the similarities between the texts (i.e. intertextuality) are many contributing to a notion of them being one body⁷³, or one text⁷⁴. There are differences between the policies, but the similarities are greater.

Documents like these are what can be described as ‘one-question-documents’. Even though they address this one question in numerous ways, they direct all attention to the question that is being considered. It is here surmised that this characteristic, in combination with the policy texts being institutional, contributes to fairly small size of the documents. Within CDA, this small text volume presents possibilities for the in-depth use of linguistic tools. A larger amount of text would have made this impossible. The point of departure was that grammar constructs images of the world and that analysing the grammar would reveal the images constructed in the text in question. Using linguistic analytical tools would reveal the ‘language ideal’ and ‘language competence’ images in the universities’ policy text.

The text was analysed from an *ideational* perspective, making use of the transitivity and ergativity systems within SFG (see p. 88ff.). The frame for the analysis was a *political discourse analysis* model (see p. 61ff.) that focuses on assumptions and premises for action, and the exercise of power (through

⁷² The language policies are listed in appendix C.

⁷³ Cf. the biblical metaphor of a united body e.g. 1 Corinthians 12:12, 20

⁷⁴ In the chapter, both *policy text* and *policy texts* are used. As explained above, for the purpose of analysis, the thesis regards the twelve language policies as one *policy text*. However, *policy texts* is sometimes used as a reference to the different policy documents.

virtuous features). The analysis was conducted by scrutinising relational processes (i.e. processes of characteristics and identifications), the lexicogrammar, and material processes (i.e. processes of actors, goals, agents and medium). This included examining the modal strength⁷⁵ of the processes.

The findings are given under the following three headings: The regulated language actor, Language concern as visioning, and Commodifying language.

The regulated language actor

An institutional language policy can be understood as regulating and governing the actions of the people it concerns. A policy governs through ideals, values and circumstances that are presented as natural and obvious and through explicit regulations and principles, in which the actor might be explicit, implicit or unknown. There now follows presentation of how, through the grammar of the university policy text, academics and students were construed as regulated language actors. This also reveals language competences and ideals in HE.

One recurrent way of HE regulation was the constructing of Swedish as a medium of instruction at lower levels and the increase in English as a medium of instruction at higher levels. This was, for example, achieved not only through relational processes with non-humans functioning as participants, but also through passive material processes with non-humans as participants. Constructions of non-humans as participants exercising regulatory power may seem strange. However, the point is that these constructions embody a construal of what HE is or should be, thereby, regulating academics and students. Here are a few examples⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ Modality is about changing the meaning of a clause. The area of this meaning lies between yes and no (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Hence, modality is about the strength of values and processes. The system uses four different types of modality: (a) probability and (b) usualness – from *is* to *is not*, and (c) obligation and (d) inclination – from *do* to *do not*. In the analysis, the system of modality was considered when analysing the lexicogrammar.

⁷⁶ Each sentence, or clause complex, in the empirical material has a number. A table of which sentence or clause complex comes from which language policy document is found in table 5, p. 85.

CONSTRUING LANGUAGE POLICY AT UNIVERSITIES

The main part of instruction	should be	in Swedish in bachelor level education, (450)
Participant	Relational process	
Swedish	shall normally be	the main language of instruction in first-cycle courses. (161)
Participant	Relational process	
First-cycle education	is given	in Swedish in the first place (60)
Participant	Passive material process	
English	shall be used	to a larger extent at second-cycle and third-cycle education than in first-cycle education (62)
Participant	Passive material process	

Under utbildning på kandidatnivå bör huvuddelen av undervisningen vara på svenska, (450)

Svenska ska normalt vara det huvudsakliga undervisningsspråket i kurser på grundnivå. (161)

Utbildning på grundnivå ges i första hand på svenska (60)

På avancerad nivå och i utbildningen på forskarnivå ska engelska användas i större utsträckning än på grundnivån. (62)

The function of relational processes is to identify and characterise. Here Swedish is identified as the language of teaching or Swedish characterises teaching. When, in a passive construction, material processes are realised by non-human participants, they function almost as relational processes, i.e. as characterising how things are. It is not only that actors are left out, but also that there are hardly any dynamics. This creates a fact-like understanding. Even though they are constructed as the material processes of ‘give’ and ‘use’, it is as if “education” *is* in Swedish and “English” *exists* at certain levels. Such construals contribute to constructing language norms to which students and academics must adhere. Prototypically, the construal of language norms is realised in relational processes.

UNPACKING DOMINANT DISCOURSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION LANGUAGE
POLICY

Swedish	is and shall be	the principle language at University ⁷⁷ D, while
Participant (token)	Relational process	
English competence	shall be	good at all levels:
Participant (carrier)	Relational process	
the range of courses offered	may well be	in English in second-cycle courses and study programmes, while
Participant (carrier)	Relational process	
the range of courses offered in first-cycle courses and study programmes	may, if possible, be designed	so that
	Passive material process	
there	are	EMI courses every semester. (308)
	Relational process	Participant (existent)

Svenska är och ska vara huvudspråk på Lärosäte D, medan kompetensen i engelska ska vara god på alla nivåer: på avancerad nivå kan kursutbudet med fördel vara på engelska, medan kursutbudet på grundläggande nivå om möjligt utformas så att det finns kurser på engelska varje termin. (308)

Swedish is construed as the (obvious) principle language and English is construed as important and increasingly present as the level gets higher. Consequently, first-cycle teaching primarily requires Swedish-language competence for most academics. At higher levels, more academics need to have competence in using English as a medium of instruction.

The notion of parallel use (or existence) of Swedish-English as an ideal is evident in the language policy. As already mentioned, Swedish is construed as the principal instructional language, English as the additional one. Hence, academics are constructed as being competent to use English as an instructional language.

All teachers	shall have	a preparedness for using English as the medium of instruction. (348)
Participant	Relational process	

Samtliga lärare ska ha en beredskap för att undervisa på engelska. (348)

⁷⁷ In the empirical material, i.e. the language policy documents, the names of universities were replaced with the term *higher education institution* [Swedish *lärosäte* which is a neutral way of labelling these institutions]. In the English translation of examples from this corpus, the term *university* is used.

The parallel ideal regulates academics towards using both languages in their teaching. Even though Swedish is not part of this example, it is reasonable to interpret it as implicit, owing to other constructions of Swedish as essential.

However, academics are construed not only as language users, but implicitly as language teachers. This is done via constructions in the text where English-language elements and English-language progression are participants (existents or goals).

Elements of English in the teaching	should exist	so that
Participant	Relational process	
language comprehension	is increased and strengthened. (172)	
Participant	Passive material process	
The progression towards increased degree of difficulty in English	is taking place	at a well-balanced pace. (735)
Participant	Passive material process	

Inslag av engelska i undervisningen bör förekomma, så att språkförståelsen ökas och stärks. (172)

Progressionen mot ökad svårighetsgrad i engelska sker i en väl avvägd takt. (735)

Neither students nor academics are visible in the constructions (which is comparable with earlier examples of language norms construction with non-human participants). Indeed, the language teaching is obscured, but since there is a facticity about the construct (relational and passive material processes), it is not unreasonable to interpret this as a construction of academics being responsible for some kind of language development.

A similar construct occurs where ‘the university’ or ‘the development’ is the participant in student language development.

UNPACKING DOMINANT DISCOURSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION LANGUAGE
POLICY

The university	shall work for	a development of the language proficiency of students, so that
Participant (actor)	Material process	
the students	have	a command of scientific language use in Swedish and English,
	develop	their knowledge about and ability to use subject-specific terminology in Swedish, and
	can communicate	their knowledge in other languages. (73)
Participant	Relational/material processes	
<hr/>		
The development of general competences regarding oral and written work	is integrated	in education (733)
Participant (medium)	Passive material process	

Lärosätet ska verka för att studenternas språkfärdigheter utvecklas så att studenterna behärskar vetenskapligt språkbruk på svenska och engelska, utvecklar sin kunskap om och förmåga att använda fackterminologi på svenska samt kan kommunicera sina kunskaper på andra språk. (73)

Utvecklingen av de generella kompetenserna kring muntlig och skriftlig framställning integreras i utbildningarna. (733)

Consequently, academics are implicitly construed as language teachers. The responsibility of academics is obscured by constructions leaving out the teachers.

Academics are also constructed as language teachers via construals of students as receivers in processes of giving possibility or opportunity of language development or practice.

The students	shall be given	possibility to practice their language proficiency in English, when appropriate. (271)
Participant (recipient)	Passive material process	

Studenterna ska, där så är tillämpligt, ges möjlighet till träning i den egna språkfärdigheten i engelska (271)

Students at all levels	shall be given	the opportunity to systematically practice their communication, written and oral, in Swedish as well as English, with feedback from teachers regarding language as well. (446)
Participant (recipient)	Passive material process	

Studenterna på alla nivåer ska ges tillfälle att systematiskt träna skriftlig och muntlig kommunikation, på såväl svenska som engelska, med återkoppling från lärare också med avseende på språk. (446)

These constructs focus on the receiving party instead of the acting party. However, implicitly teachers are constructed as having responsibility for language development through, for example, linguistic feedback as a complement to other kinds of feedback (usually content-based feedback). To deliver on this, teachers need to have language-assessment competences.

A final construction regulating academics as language developers is the construal of students having acquired certain language proficiency during their education.

The ambition of University E	is	that
Participant		
Bachelor graduates [...]	have developed	subject-specific terminology to some extent [...] (414)
Participant	Material process	

The ambition	is	that
Participant		
Master graduates in engineering and architecture [...]	have developed	subject-specific terminology in both Swedish and English [...] (416)
Participant	Material process	

Lärosäte E:s strävan är att studenter när de examineras på grundnivå [...] har utvecklat en viss grad av fackspråkskompetens... (414)

Ambitionen är att examinerade civilingenjörer och arkitekter [...] har utvecklat fackspråkskompetens på både svenska och engelska [...] (416)

Even though this construct may be considered weak from a perspective of regulating academics (i.e. ‘ambition’ as a participant and focus on the process of students), the premise for action relies on the same assumption as above, namely, that academics have a to work with language development.

UNPACKING DOMINANT DISCOURSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION LANGUAGE
POLICY

Consequently, there is a in-built expectation of academics acting as language developers. This is not something for which all academics have the relevant competence. In the policy text, teachers (and students) are constructed as in need of language support or language education.

An ambition	is	that
Participant		
all teachers and students at all levels	are offered	language support when necessary. (548)
Participant (recipient)	Passive material process	

All staff with student-contact	are given	possibilities of English language development. (742)
Participant (recipient)	Passive material process	

En strävan är att alla lärare och studenter på alla nivåer erbjuds språkstöd vid behov. (548)

All personal som har kontakt med studenter ges möjligheter att utveckla sina engelska språkkunskaper. (742)

This construct has academics as receivers of linguistic in-service training (addressing their own language proficiency) and not as language developers. The same construct of academics as recipients appears when the question of teachers as language teachers is realised.

Teachers	shall be offered	education in language assessment, so that
Participant (recipient)	Passive material process	
the feedback to students	is	of high quality. (447)
Participant	Relational process	

Teachers	shall (as part of pedagogical development) be offered	education in handling different types of deficiencies and uncertainty in the language use of students. (615)
Participant (recipient)	Passive material process	

För att återkopplingen till studenterna ska hålla hög kvalitet ska lärare erbjudas fortbildning i språklig bedömning. (447)

Lärare ska som en del av den pedagogiska utvecklingen erbjudas utbildning i att hantera olika typer av brister och osäkerhet i studenters språkanvändning. (615)

Teachers are constructed as receivers of a language training targeted at improving students' language proficiency. Two premises are provided for this: 1) the idea of language progression and 2) the ideal of linguistic correctness.

Teachers and boards must [...] watch the integration of such activities within an education where the students are trained to master a clear and appropriate scientific language. Already from the beginning of education, teachers shall draw students' attention to the importance of clear and correct language use. (610–611)

Lärare och nämnder måste således också bevaka att det inom en utbildning integreras sådana moment där studenter tränas i att erövra ett klart och ändamålsenligt vetenskapligt språk. Ända från utbildningens början ska lärare göra studenter uppmärksamma på vikten av en klar och korrekt språkanvändning. (610–611)

To conclude this section, language competence for academics is not only about language proficiency, but also about linguistic development skills. Language ideals cover not only Swedish and English, but also correctness and appropriateness of/in scientific language.

Another regulating element having an explicit impact on university language policy is Swedish language legislation, in particular, the Swedish Language Act. The Act is referenced and quoted, but the policy text often simply incorporates expressions and terminology from the Act, thereby, making them its own. By referencing the Language Act, explicitly or implicitly, the university as a public authority is highlighted and the Swedish language is emphasized. To understand how the Swedish language norm operates as a 'public authority' at Swedish universities, three linguistic perspectives were identified: the 'language of administration', 'the language of significance', and 'the language of commonality'. These are shown in table 13 (the Swedish excerpts are at the end of this chapter).

Table 13: A Swedish language ideal

Administration	Significance	Commonality
administrative language of the university (35, 427, 631) ⁱ	first hand language (236) ⁱⁱ	communicative language of the university (126, 152, 211, 769, 818, 824) ⁱⁱⁱ
language for exercise of authority (589, 893) ^{iv}	principle language (218, 308, 474, 697) ^v	language of meetings (315, 596, 903) ^{vi}
		common work language (619) ^{vii}

The Swedish language norm as a 'public authority' – three perspectives.

This language ideal is constructed in relational processes⁷⁸ where Swedish ‘is’ construed in any of the three perspectives. In relation to this positioning of Swedish, the character of the language is defined as ‘plain’ (*Sw. klarspråk*), ‘cultivated’ (*Sw. vårdat*) and ‘comprehensible’. This terminology is used in the Language Act.

The constructs of Swedish are without human participants, are realised in relational processes, attribute non-human bearers with language characteristics, and via passive material processes function as relational processes.

Documents	shall be characterised by	an cultivated, plain and comprehensible language (665) ^{viii}
Communication		plain language (230, 883) ^x
Contacts with society	shall ‘happen’ (=be)	in a clear, plain and comprehensible language (434) ^x
Meetings (decision-making, preparatory)	shall ‘be held’ (=be)	in Swedish (315, 644, 903) ^{xi}
	shall be	in Swedish (596) ^{xii}
Participant (bearer)	Relational process	Participant (attribute)
Administrative documents (decisions – authority/local, rules, regulation, minutes etc.)	shall be written	in Swedish (39, 70, 589, 591, 846) ^{xiii}
	shall be formulated	in Swedish (428, 476, 771) ^{xiv}
Texts	shall be written	in attentive (<i>vårdat</i>) and comprehensible language (37) ^{xv}
Participant (medium)	Passive material process	

The processes above are of two kinds, both without human presence. In the first (an attributive relational process), bearers, here non-human, are to be construed as bringing about the construct, which has certain characteristics. In the second (a material process), the bringing about is passive, hence bringing about a goal that has the ergative role of medium. The function of the processes is similar in each case. The material process almost functions as a relational process in which the circumstances characterise the medium, and the attributes almost function as circumstances in material processes. The omission of a human actor is common to these ways of realising Swedish.

Regulatory power relies on the naturalness and facticity that is created in the constructions. In other words, ‘this is how it is and people are expected to act accordingly’. The premise for action is built into *what is*. The combination of

⁷⁸ When it comes to the ‘language of meetings’, it is realised as a material process, i.e. as ‘meetings should be held in Swedish’. However, this have been analysed as having the same function as a relational one (because it states the characteristics of meetings).

relational processes, passive material processes and non-humans contributes to a notion of inevitability.

The regulating of academics is realised in relation to this Swedish language ideal, a language norm that is intertwined with a parallel Swedish-English ideal.

Communication in English at University K	follows	the basis of the Sweden's language policy:
Participant		
the official language	shall be	attentive (<i>vårdad</i>), plain and comprehensible. (794)
Participant	Relational process	
All scientific fields	shall be able to communicate	in clear and comprehensible Swedish and English (42)
Participant	Material process	

Lärosäte K:s kommunikation på engelska följer grunden för den svenska språkpolitiken: det offentliga språket ska vara vårdad, enkelt och begripligt. (794)

Alla vetenskapsområden ska kunna kommuniceras på klar och begriplig svenska och engelska. (42)

These constructs addressing communication follow the same previously mentioned pattern, i.e. relational processes and/or non-human participants. Via ‘adaptation of communication’, the same purpose is also constructed in a more embedded way.

Doctors educated at University J *have the ability to adapt their oral and written communication* so that research becomes available for research colleagues and for other concerned groups in society. (740) (authors italics)

Doktorer utbildade vid Lärosäte J har förmåga att anpassa sin kommunikation i tal och skrift så att forskningen blir tillgänglig för forskarkollegor och för andra berörda grupper i samhället. (740)

As a university with a global perspective, University B should therefore contribute to the development of students’ language proficiency, to scientific linguistic use and to the *ability to communicate one’s knowledge in different languages and also to people outside higher education.* (156) (authors italics)

Som ett lärosäte med ett globalt perspektiv ska Lärosäte B därför bidra till utvecklingen av studenternas språkfärdighet, till ett vetenskapligt språkbruk och till förmåga att kommunicera sina kunskaper på olika språk även till personer utanför högskolevärlden. (156)

Consequently, for the purpose of the popular dissemination of knowledge, academics need to have communicative skills in both Swedish and English.

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Another concern in the Language Act, i.e. the development of subject-specific Swedish terminology (for which public authorities have a special responsibility) is often constructed via human presence. Academics are constructed as actors. However, not in processes of development, but in processes of ‘contribution’ and ‘achievement’.

All researchers	shall contribute to	the development of subject-specific Swedish terminology within their fields. (576)
Participant (actor)	Material process	

The leaders and colleagues of the university	shall actively work for	Swedish continuously being developed as a scientific language in all subject fields within the university. (823)
Participant (actor)	Material process	

Alla forskare ska bidra till svensk terminologibildning inom sina områden. (576)

Lärosäte K:s ledare och medarbetare ska aktivt verka för att svenska ska fortsätta utvecklas som vetenskapspråk inom lärosätets alla fackområden. (823)

It could be said that the regulating power of developmental action is downplayed. Even though academics are realised as actors, the process diminishes the responsibility for development. Yet, academics are construed as language developers, though the construct is rather weak as regards the developmental aspect.

However, there are material processes of development realising the Swedish terminological responsibility, but either in passive or with a non-human realisation.

The ambitions of the university are as follows: [...]		
The university	develops	Swedish linguistic usage and Swedish subject-specific terminology. (715)
Participant (actor)	Material process	Goal

Swedish terminology	shall be regarded and developed	(so that)
Participant (goal)	Passive material process	
science	can be communicated	to non-specialists. (167, 332)
Participant (goal)	Passive material process	Participant (recipient)

Lärosäte]:s ambitioner är följande: [...] Lärosäte] utvecklar svenskt språkbruk och svensk terminologi inom sina fackområden. (715)

Svensket fackspråk ska värdas och utvecklas för att vetenskap ska kunna kommuniceras till icke-specialister. (167, 332)

Even though a ‘developing actor’ is realised, because it is the university there is a feeling of generality and that there might be little regulatory impact power on action. The passive construction omits the ‘developing actor’. However, there is a connection to a social practice, i.e. societal communication or knowledge dissemination. This creates a more concrete direction for the development, a direction that may have stronger regulatory impact than the generality of the construction in the preceding example.

To conclude the above-mentioned impact of Swedish language legislation, authoritative Swedish (i.e. clear, cultivated and comprehensible) is a communicative language ideal that also influences communication in English. Language competence is directed towards scientific language development (i.e. terminology), but the developmental responsibility is downplayed.

Scientific writing is a third area of regulatory actions in which language ideals and language competences are constructed. The regulations address all levels (academics and students) and have a variety of aims. For students, the regulations in the policy are both explicit and implicit as regards degree or independent projects. In first-cycle courses and study programmes, the taken-for-granted language is Swedish. Thus, an exception needs to be constructed, e.g. if written in English, “there has to be a summary in Swedish” (272)⁷⁹. The same regulation applies to second-cycle projects; if written in ‘other languages’, the projects “shall have rich summaries in Swedish (164)⁸⁰. For third-cycle studies, the language regulations mainly have a parallel Swedish-English language ideal.

⁷⁹ *Om uppsatser skrivs på engelska ska de ha en sammanfattning på svenska. (272)*

⁸⁰ *Självständiga arbeten på avancerad nivå och avhandlingar på annat språk än svenska ska ha fylliga sammanfattningar på svenska. (164)*

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Doctoral thesis written in Swedish	shall be followed	by a summary in English and
Participant	Passive material process	
doctoral thesis in another language than Swedish	shall be followed	by a summary in Swedish. (339)
Participant	Passive material process	

De avhandlingar som skrivs på svenska ska åtföljas av en sammanfattning på engelska och avhandlingar på annat språk än svenska ska åtföljas av en sammanfattning på svenska. (339)

These constructs are all realised in relational processes (or material processes functioning as a relational), e.g. ‘follow’ (which, in this context, is to be understood as ‘have’ – in other words, projects at different levels have specific language characteristics). Consequently, academics (and students) need to have proficiencies appropriate for navigating in this.

A prototypical way of constructing the parallel Swedish-English ideal is by including all academic writing at all levels in one construction.

All degree or independent projects, doctoral theses and reports have, respectively, a summary in Swedish if the main text is in English and in English if the text is in Swedish. (752)

Alla examensarbeten, avhandlingar och rapporter har en sammanfattning på svenska om huvudtexten är på engelska respektive på engelska om texten är på svenska. (752)

The constructions of scientific writing are fact-like and occur mainly in the form of relational processes or processes that function as relational ones.

To conclude the section about scientific writing, there is a Swedish-English parallel lingual ideal in scientific writing. The premise for action is twofold: (1) it is important that Swedish is relevant at all levels (therefore it has to be guarded, used and developed), and (2) the international language of knowledge dissemination is English (therefore it has to be used). Language competences are implicitly constructed in the regulation of such a linguistic ideal.

Finally, the construction of explicit language ideals other than Swedish, English or parallel Swedish-English seldom occur in the policy text. But, there are constructions of ‘another language’ and ‘other languages’ (ninety-three times) and of ‘foreign languages’ (eight times). Yet, it cannot be said that these constructions create a language ideal beyond Swedish and English. They are likely to be rhetoric device.

In Sweden, public authorities have responsibilities as regards Sweden's minority languages⁸¹. There are also universities with explicit responsibilities in this connection. In the policy text, three different universities are responsible for: (a) Sámi language, (b) Finnish language, and (c) Yiddish.

The language act also includes the national minority languages, and in this respect,		
University C	has	a special responsibility for the Sámi language. (219)
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute

Språklagen omfattar även de nationella minoritetsspråken, och i det avseendet har Lärosäte C ett särskilt ansvar för samiska. (219)

Under the National Minority and Minority Languages Act, the municipality of XX is a so-called Finnish administrative area. In an administrative area, the linguistic demands on public authorities are greater than those authorities outside the area. For University I, this means that

it [University I]	has	responsibility to assist with written translations of decisions and explanations of decision into Finnish in cases when a person lacks legal assistance. (659-661)
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute

XX kommun är enligt lagen om nationella minoriteter och minoritetsspråk ett så kallat förvaltningsområde för finska. I ett förvaltningsområde är kraven på språkkunskaper inom myndigheter större än för myndigheter utanför det området. För Lärosäte I innebär det att man har skyldighet att bistå med skriftlig översättning till finska av beslut och beslutsmotivering i fall då person som är part i ett ärende saknar juridiskt biträde. (659–661)

The university	has been given (<i>has received</i>)	national responsibility
Participant (recipient)	Material process	Goal
for maintaining competence in order to develop and carry out teaching, but also in order to pursue research in the national minority language of Yiddish. (927)		

Lärosätet har fått nationellt ansvar för att upprätthålla kompetens för att utveckla och ge undervisning, men också för att bedrive forskning, i det nationella minoritetsspråket jiddisch. (927)

The university is attributed, or is a recipient of, responsibility for a minority language. The constructions are on an abstract level and non-human. However,

⁸¹ See footnote 16.

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there are examples where competence in a minority language or sign language is constructed with human presence.

For administrative staff, proficiency in Finnish, Meänkieli, Sámi and sign language	can be considered	a special qualification. (55)
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute

För administrativ personal kan kunskaper i finska, meänkieli, samiska och teckenspråk vara särskilt meriterande. (55)

When unpacking this construction, language competence in Finnish, Meänkieli, Sámi or Swedish sign language is attributed the characteristic of being an additional qualification for administrators. Hence, minority and sign language competence are valued in administrative positions.

There are two further constructions of sign language; once in relation to teaching and once in relation to providing interpretation.

At first, second and third-cycle levels, some teaching		
	is held	also, in sign language, with or without an interpreter. (66)
Goal	Passive material process	

På grundnivå, avancerad nivå och forskarnivå ges viss undervisning även på teckenspråk med eller utan tolk. (66)

University L	shall offer	a sign language interpreter when needed. (906)
Actor	Material process	Goal

Lärosäte L ska erbjuda teckenspråkstolk när behov föreligger. (906)

The constructions are vague and without human actors. In the first example, the lexicogrammatical choice of the non-specific *some teaching* and, in the second *when needed* together with the *university* as actor might contribute to an impression of little responsibility as regards sign language. Conversely, the mere mentioning of sign language might be a way of achieving the contrary, i.e. acknowledging sign language as relevant in HE language policy.

In conclusion of other languages than Swedish and English, the national minority languages and Swedish sign language are rarely visible in university language policy. When they are mentioned, it is primarily when quoting language legislation. As for the competences in these languages, the

constructions are abstract and non-human. They do not value people in HE who have minority language competences.

Language concern as visioning

The previous section describes how language use, language rights and choice of language are regulated, both by concrete principles and by values and norms. This section shows how the policy text in many ways functions as a vision, and how visioning is effected. The visioning is characterised by a combination of linguistic constructions. Subordination creates visioning through not constructing language matters in the main process of the clause complex. Instead, language issues are subordinated/bound to the core process. Lexicogrammar such as *strive*, *work for*, *encourage*, *support*, *contribute* etc. in the free material process constructs processes with a weak meaning, in other words, a visioning. Non-human actors are constructed via general concepts such as *the university* and *education*. The process is constructed passively and/or the actor has the role of medium (and not agent) in the doing. These features create a vision-like character.

The university	shall strive towards	having parallel language competences to the highest possible extent
Actor	Material process	Goal
which	means	that Swedish and English work as parallel scientific languages (17)
	(Relational process)	

Lärosätet ska sträva mot att i så hög grad som möjligt vara parallellspråkigt, vilket innebär att svenska och engelska fungerar som parallella vetenskapspråk. (17)

Even though striving could indicate great efforts to achieve something or, as in The Oxford Dictionary of English, “struggle or fight vigorously”, here it is not to be understood in such a strongly determined and material sense. In this Swedish context, it lacks the base where great efforts and struggle is the principal meaning. Here, the meaning is more directive, a compass pointing out a way and thereby visioning a way ahead. The language issue of concern is constructed as a goal, i.e. what the material process affects. In the clause complex above, there is a relational process defining parallel language use (i.e. the language issue in question).

One reason why the realisation becomes vision-like lies both in the lexicogrammatical construction of the material process and in the subordination of the language concern. The free material process is constructed to show, i.e. envision, what a desirable experienced world should be like in the future. For the language concern above to be ‘regulating’ and not ‘visioning’, it would need to be textured as a free material process with a concrete construction, e.g. “the university shall use Swedish and English as parallel scientific languages”. Preferably, this would be complemented with information about when, where, how, who etc.

Another way of visioning is to construct free material processes lexicogrammatically as ‘be able to do’ something. This demands interpretation of what actually calls for action. If, for example, researchers shall “be able to convey their knowledge” or “be able to present their research findings”, the construction of communication is somewhat ambiguous.

Researchers at the university	shall be able to convey	their knowledge in clear and understandable Swedish. (200)
Actor	Material process	
All Swedish researchers at the university	shall be able to present	their research findings in good and understandable Swedish. (949)
Actor	Material process	

Forskare vid lärosätet ska därför kunna förmedla sitt vetande på klar och begriplig svenska. (200)

Alla svenskspråkiga forskare vid lärosätet ska kunna presentera sina forskningsresultat på god och begriplig svenska. (949)

The construction allows for at least two different interpretive perspectives. First, researchers shall have *the skills* to communicate in a certain way. Second, researchers shall *communicate* in a certain way. The former perspective of the construction downplays the action, and focuses on the ability. Acquiring the necessary skills might still require another kind of action. The latter perspective addresses the communicative action, thereby implicitly defining the competence of researchers. By slightly shifting emphasis from the communicative action to language skills, it is the first perspective that contributes to the vision-like character of the policy text. Interpreted this way, it is less about what to do and more about the character of academics. Even

though the perspective differs, the regulatory impact might be equally strong in both cases.

Yet, another construction that creates a visionary feature is the use of *possibility*, which functions as a modifier of goals. In the examples below, the lexicogrammatical constructions of “get/give possibilities” downplays the language action, which is embedded in the goal.

Doctoral students	shall get	the possibility of additional practice in academic writing aiming at publishing according to disciplinary conventions. (283)
Actor	Material process	Goal

Forskarstuderande ska få möjlighet till förstärkt träning i akademiskt språkbruk med sikte på publicering enligt den egna disciplinens konventioner. (283)

Constructing the language action as a nominalisation, “practice in academic writing”, and connecting it to “possibility” makes the action less important, obscures the responsibility for the language action and diminishes the importance of accomplishing the language action. As regards responsibility and accomplishment, the lack of explicitness makes it less probable that the practice will take place. The same perspective is constructed when “colleagues are given possibilities” of language development.

Colleagues	shall be given	possibilities of developing their language skills in Swedish as well as English, since
Recipient	Passive material process	Goal
there	are	great demands on language competences nowadays. (806)
	Relational process	Existent

Medarbetare ska ges möjligheter att utveckla sina språkliga färdigheter i såväl svenska som engelska, då det i dag ställs höga krav på språkkompetens. (806)

The action of developing language skills might be interpreted as insignificant when constructed as a “possibility to be given”. The passive form together with the construction of possibilities creates a weaker action than a perspective where colleagues ‘shall continuously develop their language skills’.

The excerpts above (of get/give possibilities) show the vagueness of language policy. Rather than regulating, it points out a direction.

A similar perspective is constructed through the lexicogrammar of *offering*.

Language guidance for teachers, students and administrative staff	is	a quality measure that
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
University F	shall try to aim at offering. (488)	
Actor	Material process	

Språklig handledning för lärare, studenter och administrativ personal är en kvalitetsåtgärd som Lärosäte F ska eftersträva att erbjuda. (488)

In the example “language guidance” is “a quality measure”, but its implementation is downplayed by the process connected to “language guidance” being constructed as *offering* in combination with *try to aim at*. The latter examples all indicate the vision-like character of the policy text.

Language in commodifying processes

The findings indicate that ‘language’ in policy is part of commodifying processes. Commodification in this context means that ‘language’ is constructed and construed as a technical matter. It is an external value that is objectified and has the status of an instrument. This separates it from other core meanings/values of language (e.g. identity and culture). The constructs are of different kinds but add up to ‘language’ being externalised; e.g. being about performance and skills (i.e. *measurable*) and about quality and gain (i.e. *added value*). However, ‘language’ is not entirely commodified. Constructs of ‘language’ as relational also occur.

In constructions of global perspectives, ‘language’ is commodified in constructs of attractiveness and quality.

University B	shall be	an attractive university for foreign researchers, teachers and students, within and outside the Nordic countries.
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
A condition for the internationalisation of University B	is	an attractive range of courses and programmes in English of first-rate quality. (169–170)
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
University D	shall be	an attractive university for foreign students, teachers and researchers.
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
Instruction and research in English	is	a condition for this. (326–327)
Attribute	Relational process	Bearer

Lärosäte B ska vara ett attraktivt lärosäte för utländska forskare, lärare och studenter inom och utom Norden. En förutsättning för Lärosäte B:s internationalisering är att det finns ett attraktivt utbud av utbildningar på engelska, som håller hög kvalitet. (169–170)

Lärosäte D ska var ett attraktivt lärosäte för utländska studenter, lärare och forskare. Undervisning och forskning på engelska är en förutsättning för detta. (326–327)

A global perspective is construed in relational processes and English-language proficiency functions as an attribute that characterises the university. ‘Language’ adds a value of attraction

In material processes, language is constructed as a goal for universities.

The university	shall encourage	linguistic diversity in the organisation
Actor	Material process	Goal
	aiming at being	an attractive place for foreign students, teachers and researchers. (52)
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute

Lärosätet ska främja språklig mångfald i organisationen i syfte att vara en attraktiv plats för utländska studenter, lärare och forskare. (52)

Via global talk of linguistic diversity, attractiveness functions as an attribute of the university. Universities are attributed with attractiveness and as such, ‘language’ is construed as an added value. Even though the material process is constructed as ‘encourage’, which is of a visionary character, ‘language’ is still an instrument for becoming attractive.

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Simultaneously, 'language' is construed as something that makes a difference to how the university is perceived.

In order to aim at a uniform impression		
British English	shall be used	in all translations to English. (670)
Goal	Passive material process	

*För att eftersträva ett enhetligt intryck ska brittisk engelska användas i samtliga översättningar till engelska.
(670)*

To achieve a uniform impression, British English is the goal in the process of using English in translations. This is similar to construals of attractiveness. Via the choice of linguistic usage, an idea, a feeling or an opinion about the university is created. 'Language' is construed as an instrument creating value for universities.

Constructed as attractiveness and quality, knowledge of foreign languages creates an added value for universities.

University C	shall be	a language friendly university,
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
	encouraging	language diversity among students and employees.
Actor	Material process	Goal
With good knowledge in foreign languages,		
the university as well as its students, teachers and researchers	become	attractive, both nationally and internationally.
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
Thus,		
it	is	a question of quality for both education and research. (242-244)
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute

Lärosäte C ska vara ett språkvänligt lärosäte, som uppmuntrar språklig mångfald hos studenter och anställda. Med goda kunskaper i främmande språk blir såväl lärosätet som dess studenter, lärare och forskare attraktiva både nationellt och internationellt. Detta är således en kvalitetsfråga för både utbildning och forskning. (242-244)

'Language' is construed as something that adds essential features to a global and national university, to people at the university, and to a university's processes. The commodifying of language turns 'language' into something useful and valuable in relation to market values.

‘Language’ is also constructed in relation to other market values (e.g. competitiveness).

Good and conscious diction/style (<i>språkbehandling</i>)	is	a condition for a nationally and internationally competitive business (<i>verksamhet</i>) and
Attribute	Relational process	Bearer
	is	an important part of quality management. (496)
	Relational process	Bearer

God och medveten språkbehandling är en förutsättning för en nationellt och internationellt konkurrenskraftig verksamhet och är en viktig del i kvalitetsarbetet. (496)

‘Language’ is given attributes in relation to national and international competitiveness and to quality. As an attribute in the competitive business of universities, language skills are incorporated in perspectives of profit and gain. As an attribute in quality management at universities, language skills are part of a performance culture, thereby measurable, valued and assessed.

Similarly, language proficiency is constructed as a goal with researchers as the actors in a material process of achieving and receiving.

In order for researchers of University C to acquit themselves well,		
it	is	necessary (that)
	Relational process	Attribute
they (either themselves)	can achieve	good enough language proficiency (or)
Actor	Material process	Goal
	receive	the language support needed, e.g. advanced language check-up or translation aid. (290)
	Material process	Goal

För att Lärosäte C:s forskare ska kunna bärdra sig väl är det nödvändigt att de antingen själva kan uppnå tillräckligt goda språkkunskaper eller får det språkliga stöd som krävs t.ex. avancerad språkgranskning eller översättningshjälp. (290)

Framed by the global “researchers acquitting themselves”, necessity is attributed to the achieving and receiving of language skills. ‘Language’ as a goal can be understood as a gain in the process of internationalisation.

An external value is created by ‘language’ being construed as a resource in achieving internationalisation aims.

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To sum up,		
English	shall be used	to a greater extent, in order to
Goal	Passive material process	
	encourage and stimulate	the mobility of students (and)
	attract	incoming students
	improve	the ability of cross-border actions and communication of all students
	improve	the possibilities of students of being accepted in research programmes in other countries
	attract	highly qualified foreign researchers and teachers
	encourage and stimulate	the mobility of domestic teachers and researchers (341)
	Material process	Goal

Sammanfattningsvis ska engelska användas i större utsträckning, för att -uppmuntra och stimulera studenternas rörlighet och attrahera inresande utbytesstudenter -förbättra alla studenters gränsöverskridande handlings- och kommunikationsförmåga -förbättra studenternas möjligheter att antas till forskarutbildning i andra länder -attrahera högt kvalificerade utländska forskare och lärare -uppmuntra och stimulera inhemska lärares och forskares rörlighet. (341)

English as a goal in a process of being used more extensively is related to material processes that affect mobility and exchange. Even though the use of English is not nominalised, it (i.e. English usage) is to be construed as the actor in these processes. Hence, 'language' is construed as a resource in encouraging, stimulating, attracting and improving. When the use of English is understood as a condition for mobility and exchange on the educational market, 'language' becomes commodified.

'Language' is also construed as participatory and, as such, not always entirely commodified. As regards a participatory perspective, 'language' is indeed constructed as technical and objectified, but there are also constructs of a more relational and cultural kind. However, the commodifying of language is evident also in this perspective.

With an adequate capability of expressing themselves in Swedish and with good knowledge of English and other languages,		
the students, teachers and researchers of the university	become	attractive, both nationally and internationally, and
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
	can take part in and contribute to	the international research community. (478)
Actor	Material process	Goal

Med en fullgod förmåga att uttrycka sig på svenska och med goda kunskaper i engelska och andra språk blir lärosätets studenter, lärare och forskare attraktiva både nationellt och internationellt och kan ta del av och bidra till det internationella forskarsambället. (478)

Students, teachers and researchers are constructed as both bearers of attraction (through language skills) and as the actors of a participatory process. With skills in focus, ‘language’ becomes an enabler. It is construed as a technical matter related not only to participation, but also to attractiveness.

University K is best developed with a culture where		
both students and members of staff	have	a good command of both languages.
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
The knowledge of languages	is also	the basis (for)
Attribute	Relational process	Bearer
the university	to be able to develop	a greater societal responsibility (through)
Actor	Material process	Goal
members of staff and students	cooperating	with the surrounding society,
	informing	about the work that is done and
	working for	education and research findings being of use. (762–763)
Actor	Material process	Circumstances/goal

Lärosäte K utvecklas bäst i en kultur där både studenter och medarbetare har goda kunskaper i båda språken. Språkkunskaperna är också grunden för att lärosädet ska kunna utveckla ett större samhällsansvar genom att medarbetare och studenter samverkar med det omgivande samhället, informerar om den verksamhet som bedrivs och verkar för att utbildning och forskningsresultat kommer till nytta. (762–763)

Language proficiency is attributed to both students and staff and as the basis for university development. Hence, ‘language’ is construed as an enabler of development in the material processes. As a facilitator, ‘language’ becomes an instrument for improvement.

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A participatory perspective is construed when English is identified as dominant and important in constructions via identifying relational processes.

University L	constitutes	a part of an international academic environment, and
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
the dominating international scientific language	is	English.
Token	Relational process	Value
Also, for international educational cooperation and other forms of international collaboration, English	is	the most important language. (908–909)
Value	Relational process	Token

Lärosäte L utgör en del av en internationell akademisk miljö, och det dominerande internationella vetenskapsspråket är engelska. Även för internationella utbildningssamarbeten och andra former av internationell samverkan är engelska det viktigaste språket. (908–909)

English is identified as the dominant and most important language. It is construed as ‘the’ international language, both in educational and scientific cooperation. There is a contingency in constructing ‘language’ in this way. At the moment, English equals dominance and importance. However, it could be different.

Yet, ‘language’ in a participatory perspective is not constructed solely as an external value and as something that can be replaced. It is also constructed as a means of achieving societal involvement and democracy. As such, it might not be replaceable.

Through the use of Swedish in scientific contexts,		
effective communication with the surrounding society	is enabled,	so that
Goal	Passive material process	
the democratic aspect	is met. (241)	
Goal	Passive material process	

Genom att använda svenskan i vetenskapliga sammanhang möjliggörs effektiv kommunikation med det omgivande samhället så att den demokratiska aspekten tillgodoses. (241)

The goal is societal communication and democracy through Swedish. Thus, ‘language’ is construed as an inter-human feature. Democracy calls for equity, and Swedish is constructed in just such a way.

It is similar when responsibility for Swedish-language development is attributed to academics.

All researchers and teachers at University G	have	a responsibility to contribute to the development of subject-specific terminology in Swedish.
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
It is important that		
the knowledge of the scientific fields	is disseminated and discussed	widely in society.
Goal	Passive material process	
This	is	not just a matter of knowledge, but
		very much a matter of democracy
	Relational process	Value
that	involves	everyone's opportunity for responsibility and participation in the public conversation. (571–573)
	Material process	Goal

Alla forskare och lärare vid Lärosäte G har ett ansvar att bidra till att fackspråk utvecklas på svenska. Det är viktigt att vetenskapsområdenas kunskaper kan spridas och diskuteras brett i sambället. Detta är inte bara en kunskapsfråga utan i högsta grad en demokratifråga som rör allas möjlighet till ansvar och delaktighet i det offentliga samtalet. (571–573)

At the same time that 'language' is construed in a technical way when researchers and teachers are attributed developmental responsibility, it is also construed as a democratic means with the goal of public opportunity and participation ('language' in the service of democracy). Hence, in this construct, language has a quality different from that in internationalisation processes.

The same is true when Swedish is constructed as a goal in developmental processes.

Swedish terminology	shall be nurtured and developed	so that
Goal	Passive material process	
science	should be communicated	to non-specialists. (167, 332)
Goal	Passive material process	

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Swedish terminology	shall be created and preserved	in all the research and educational fields of the university alongside English terminology. (426)
Goal	Passive material process	

Svenska fackspråk ska värdas och utvecklas för att vetenskap ska kunna kommuniceras till icke-specialister. (167, 332)

Svensket fackspråk ska skapas och vidmakthållas inom alla Lärosäte E:s forsknings- och utbildningsområden vid sidan av det engelska fackspråket. (426)

In the first-mentioned example, Swedish terminology is construed as the goal in a process of growth. It is connected to a process of communication to non-specialists in which science is the goal. Here, outside the market rationale, ‘language’ becomes a goal and a means for the popular dissemination of knowledge. In the last-mentioned example, Swedish terminology is also construed as a goal in a process of creation and preservation that is connected to research and education. Swedish, as an object, is to be kept safe from harm and preserved (i.e. maintain its original state).

This is akin to constructions of language proficiency as a means for cultural understanding.

Knowledge of languages	(also) offers	shortcuts to an understanding of other cultures
Actor	Material process	Goal
and	supports	the knowledge development of one's own. (189)
	Material process	Goal

Språkkunskaper erbjuder också gemägar till förståelse för andra kulturer och främjar den egna kunskapsutvecklingen. (189)

‘Language’ is construed as something more than just an instrument, an object, a technical feature or a commodity. Dimensions of culture and identity are embedded in knowledge of languages.

The commodifying process can also be looked at from a perspective other than the already mentioned ones. ‘Language’ is constructed, both as goal and actor, as an instrument for phenomena such as cooperation, internationalisation, integration and diversity.

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Integration and diversity	often demand	two parallel languages. (797)
Actor	Material process	Goal

The internationalisation of research and education	makes	great demands on good language skills. (760)
Actor	Material process	Goal

Integration och mångfald kräver ofta två parallella språk. (797)

Internationaliseringen av forskning och utbildning ställer stora krav på goda språkliga färdigheter. (760)

'Language' functions as a goal in material processes of demand in which the actors are nominalised real-life processes. This constructs 'language' as an item with no connection to people.

The construct can also have 'language' as the actor and the real-life process (e.g. integration) as (part of) the goal.

Simultaneously, the language	puts up	limitations for integration between Swedish-speaking and non-Swedish-speaking employees (400)
Actor	Material process	Goal

Samtidigt sätter språket upp begränsningar för integrationen mellan svenskspråkiga och icke-svenskspråkiga anställda. (400)

'Language' is construed as having responsibility, as if it is a well-defined entity with human-like characteristics. This construction makes 'language' accountable for solving the issue of integration. Humans are constructed as circumstances.

'Language' is part of an externalisation process. An example of this is when researchers are constructed as actors in the process of choosing language.

Language choice concerning research publication	is done	by the individual researcher. (574)
Goal	Passive material process	

Språkval vad gäller publicering av forskning görs av den enskilde forskaren. (574)

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The individual researcher	has great liberty of choosing	language of publication regarding the practice of the research field and possibility of dissemination in the research community. (567)
Actor	Material process	Goal

Den enskilda forskaren har stor frihet att välja publiceringspråk med hänsyn till praxis inom forskningsområdet och möjligheten till spridning i vetenskapsambället. (567)

‘Language’ is given an external value that the researcher has to be aware of in relation to practices within the research discipline and within the research community. This needs to be understood in relation to constructions of English.

The language of publication	is	almost exclusively English. (789)
Token	Relational process	Value

Publikationsspråket är nästan uteslutande engelska. (789)

As regards the practice of publication, English is construed in what can be interpreted as an identifying relational process, i.e. as token-value. Consequently, English is construed not only as an external value, but also as ‘the’ value.

The same construct is also found in realisations of employment processes.

Knowledge of languages	shall be considered	an additional qualification (when becoming employed at the university, and)
Attribute	Relational process	Bearer
competence in using English as a medium of instruction	shall normally be stated	as a demand for a teaching post. (595)
Attribute	Relational process	Bearer

Språkkunskaper ska vara meriterande vid alla anställningar vid lärosätet, och kompetens att undervisa på engelska ska i normalfallet anges som ett krav för läraranställning. (595)

Knowledge of languages and English-medium-of-instruction competence are attributed in the employment process.

The fact that language is embodied in people is acknowledged in processes of recognition and utilisation.

The university	has	a considerable international recruitment of staff.
Bearer	Relational process	Attribute
The extensive language diversity	thus, being created	at the university
	shall be recognised	and
Goal	Passive material process	
its strengths	be utilized. (617–618)	
Goal	Passive material process	

Lärosätet har en betydande internationell rekrytering av personal. Den omfattande språkliga mångfald som därmed skapas vid Lärosätet ska bejakas och de styrkor den för med sig tillvaratas. (617–618)

The recruitment of staff from abroad is attributed to the university and creates language diversity at the university. Language diversity and its strengths function as a goal in processes (constructed without any actors) of recognition and utilisation. With no actors and undefined or abstract processes, ‘language’ is construed as something that is but used (i.e. it is construed as an external value). This is similar to when ‘language’ is constructed as something to be taken advantage of and used.

A language inventory among the staff of the university	is done	on a regular basis
Goal	Passive material process	
	aiming at taking advantage of and utilizing	the already existing linguistic competence. (346)
(Actor)	Material process	Goal

En språkinventering bland lärosätets anställda genomförs regelbundet i syfte att ta tillvara och nyttja den språkliga kompetens som redan finns. (346)

An inventory of linguistic competences function as the goal (and possibly also as actor) in the utilisation process. Even though ‘language’ is not construed as an external and replaceable value, it is construed as countable and well-defined. In a sense, this objectifies ‘language’.

Consequently, ‘language’ becomes a valuable asset in commodification processes in HE.

Chapter summary

The analysis of institutional language policy shows how a parallel Swedish-English language ideal is present throughout these documents. For example, legitimation of Swedish is effected via reference to language legislation and the

Swedish language norm is constructed in relation to Swedish universities as public authorities. As such, it is construed from three perspectives: (1) as the language of administration, (2) as the language of significance, and (3) as the language of commonality of universities. English is legitimated via reference to research traditions and as ‘the’ international language. In this sense, academics are regulated by *authorization*.

In teaching, Swedish is the principle language with the use of English increasing at higher levels of education. Consequently, first-cycle teaching primarily requires Swedish-language competences for most academics. At higher levels, more academics need to have competence in using English as a medium of instruction. In knowledge dissemination (scientific writing included therein) both languages are constructed as relevant: (a) popular communication in Sweden requires Swedish to be used and developed at all levels; and (b) international communication equals English. The developmental perspective is directed towards academics who are constructed as language developers of both subject-specific Swedish terminology and of students. When academics are constructed as language teachers responsible for improving students’ language, many teachers require linguistic in-service training. However, such training is seldom found in the policy.

The analysis of the institutional level shows that language policy also has a vision-like character that prevents it from regulating. This is due to obfuscation of responsibility for taking action. Said obfuscation is achieved via the lexicogrammatical use made of material processes and the subordination of language issues.

Finally, the findings indicate that ‘language’ in policy is part of commodifying processes. Language adds values such as attractiveness, competitiveness and quality. Language is also part of a performance culture. Additionally, it is an instrument, a technical matter, a tool, an object, and a resource that gives external value. There are indications that, for example, English is construed not only as an external value, but as ‘the’ value. However, language also exists as an inter-human feature in language policy.

ⁱ Svenska är lärosätets administrativa språk. (35) Lärosäte E:s administrativa språk är svenska. (427)
Enligt språklagen är förvaltningspråket i Sverige svenska. (631)

- ⁱⁱ Lärosäte C är ett svenskspråkigt lärosäte, och svenska är det språk som i första hand ska användas inom administration, utbildning och – där så är möjligt – forskning. (236)
- ⁱⁱⁱ Det officiella kommunikationsspråket vid Lärosäte B ska vara svenska. (126, 211) Det officiella kommunikationsspråket vid Lärosäte B är svenska men internationalisering kan innebära att engelska används parallellt. (152) Det officiella kommunikationsspråket på Lärosäte K är svenska. (769, 818) Det officiella kommunikationsspråket vid Lärosäte K är svenska, vilket bland annat betyder att alla beslut skrivs på svenska. (824)
- ^{iv} Därför är handläggningspråket svenska och lokala myndighetsbeslut ska fattas och skrivas på svenska. (589) Språklagen föreskriver att myndighetsspråket är svenska, och att svenska myndigheter har ett särskilt ansvar för att svenska terminologi inom olika fackområden finns tillgänglig, används och utvecklas. (893)
- ^v Av lagtexterna framgår bland annat att svenska är huvudspråk i Sverige, samt att klarspråk ska prägla offentliga myndigheters språkbruk. (218) Svenska är och ska vara huvudspråk vid Lärosäte D /.../ (308) Svenska är huvudspråket på Lärosäte F. (474) Policyn baseras på *språklagen* som slår fast att svenska är huvudspråk i Sverige, att språket i offentlig verksamhet ska vara svenska och att det ska vara vårdat, enkelt och begripligt. (697)
- ^{vi} Sammanträden i beslutande och beredande organ ska hållas på svenska om inte omständigheterna kräver engelska eller annat språk. (315) Eftersom Lärosäte G är en svensk myndighet ska mötesspråket normalt vara svenska. (596) Sammanträden vid Lärosäte L ska som grundregel hållas på svenska. (903)
- ^{vii} Det gemensamma arbetspråket vid Lärosäte H är dock svenska och för att all personal ska kunna engagera sig fullt ut i Lärosätets liv förväntas inflyttande personal förvärva funktionell kompetens på svenska inom något år. (619)
- ^{viii} Lärosäte I:s samtliga dokument ska präglas av ett vårdat, enkelt och begripligt språk (665)
- ^{ix} Skriftlig kommunikation, både internt och externt, ska präglas av klarspråk, till exempel intyg, blanketter, information och marknadsföring liksom officiella dokument som beslut, remissvar osv. (230) Lärosäte L ska ha en god nivå på språkanvändningen och all kommunikation som utgår från lärosätet ska präglas av klarspråk oavsett vilket språk som används. (883)
- ^x Lärosäte E:s kontakter med det omgivande samhället (framträdanden i massmedia, föredrag, populärvetenskapliga artiklar) ska ske på klart, enkelt och begripligt språk. (434)
- ^{xi} Sammanträden i beslutande och beredande organ ska hållas på svenska om inte omständigheterna kräver engelska eller annat språk. (315) Sammanträden i beslutande och beredande organ ska i första hand hållas på svenska. (644) Sammanträden vid Lärosäte L ska som grundregel hållas på svenska. (903)
- ^{xii} Eftersom Lärosäte G är en svensk myndighet ska mötesspråket normalt vara svenska. (596)
- ^{xiii} Strategiska dokument, regler och riktlinjer ska skrivas på svenska och i möjligaste mån översättas till engelska. (39) Betygsbeslut ska skrivas på svenska. (70) Därför är handläggningspråket svenska och lokala myndighetsbeslut ska fattas och skrivas på svenska. (589) Alla strategiska dokument, regler och riktlinjer ska skrivas på svenska och översättas, helt eller i sammanfattad form, till brittisk engelska i största möjliga utsträckning (591) Betygsbeslut ska skrivas på svenska. (846)
- ^{xiv} Verksamheten på Lärosäte E styrs av lagar och förordningar på svenska och alla lokala beslut ska formuleras på svenska. (428) Lärosäte F är en svensk myndighet som därmed styrs av lagar och förordningar på svenska. Det innebär att alla lokala beslut ska formuleras på svenska. (475–476) Lärosätets verksamhet styrs av lagar och förordningar på svenska. Alla beslut ska därför formuleras på svenska. (770–771)
- ^{xv} Texter ska skrivas på ett vårdat och begripligt språk där onödigt komplicerade meningsbyggnader undviks. (37)

Chapter 9 Discussion

There are three research questions in the study. The first research question addresses how the language ideals of HE in Sweden are represented at a national level (RQ1). The second research question addresses how the language competences expected of (a) students and (b) academics in Sweden are represented at a national level (RQ2). The policy areas that have been identified as having an impact on university language policy and, therefore, have been used for answering these two research questions are: (a) internationalisation, (b) widening participation, and (c) Swedish language legislation. The third research question addresses how language ideals and language competences, for students and academics alike, are represented at an institutional level in Sweden (RQ3). In this chapter, the findings of each question are discussed.

The thesis describes how discourse strands of *economy/market*, *inclusion* and *success* operate in shaping language ideals and language competences in HE policy and that these discourse strands have a history. They are also entangled with each other in different ways and with changing intensity. For example, economic reasons and market values have become more and more salient in creating an understanding of 'language'. Such reasons and values have come to define participation and prosperity. It is important for academics (and students) to understand and acknowledge not only material frames and structures but also discursive ones. Hence, it is essential to discuss the findings of the study in relation to the discursive dimensions of teaching and knowledge dissemination.

A Swedish-English language ideal

The overall findings show that it is primarily Swedish and English, separately and together, i.e. as parallel languages, that are construed within policy texts as language ideals in HE in Sweden. The discourse strands of *economy*, *inclusion* and *success* operate separately and entangled in discursive knots, in representations of several interests and forces, constructing specific views of the social world.

The first issue to discuss concerns how a Swedish language ideal was construed for a complex of reasons: for *protective* reasons, for *democratic* reasons, as a means of *integration*, for *participatory* reasons, as a means for *successful* studies, for *social* reasons, and for *facilitative* reasons.

At a national policy level, Swedish was construed in the texts as an essential language in HE for protective and democratic reasons, mainly in relation to possible threats from English. Swedish scientific terminology needed continuous development in order to maintain Swedish as a relevant research language. Democracy was connected to (popular) knowledge dissemination and public debate about new findings in Swedish. Swedish was also construed as an essential language in HE for reasons of integration. Swedish for immigrant and transnational students facilitates successful studies, participation, social interaction and a future working life. Interestingly, transnational academics were not construed as Swedish-proficient. As will be discussed later in the chapter, language representation in relation to transnational academics involved only English after the new millennium.

The protection of Swedish is in line with what is going on in all the Nordic countries, where the safeguarding of national languages in HE is an ethos, regardless of the legislative status of the languages (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). The protectionist stance operates in relation to the spread and threat of English when democratic processes are challenged and, also, for economic reasons. Swedish is construed as important for knowledge dissemination and public debate within society in the name of democracy. This confirms the findings of Ihalainen and Saarinen (2015), who found that the concept of democracy operates in Swedish context when positioning Swedish as an essential main language.

It is interesting to note that perspectives of *inclusion* and *economy* are intertwined in representations of Swedish in HE. In other words, Swedish is positioned both for inclusive reasons and in terms of economic interests. The representations indicate that it is not enough for Swedish to be relevant in all research areas for democratic and societal reasons; it also has to be for the benefit of trade and industry. Additionally, it is not enough for Swedish to be essential for education and social interaction; it must also be useful for future working life.

The second issue to discuss concerns the English language ideal. The findings show that an English language ideal has transformed since the 1970s. *Economy* and *inclusion* discourse strands have gone from incorporating solidarity and worldwide responsibility in construals of English as an important language, to creating English as the essential, or inevitable, language for a liberalised research and educational market. When English is created as the natural common language, *inclusion* becomes integrated in and defined by *economic*

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interests. The importance of English in the 1970s was highlighted for two interlinked reasons: collaboration and world responsibility. In the 2000s, the necessity of English was emphasised for rational reasons as well as for economic ones. It was construed as a means to achieve qualities such as attractiveness and competitiveness, both for individuals and institutions. The transformed justifications for English are likely to be affected by changes in HE and society. We know that economic discourses affect and change what we count and perceive as legitimate language and within a discourse of profit, language becomes a technical matter (Heller & Duchêne, 2012). In the case of internationalisation in Sweden's HE, English is promoted as the only valid language. But, the findings indicate that it has not always been like that.

The transformation of English from being a means for solidarity and worldwide responsibility to being a means for economic success can also be discussed in relation to the societal discourse trends identified by Waldow (2008). In the 1970s, education for the labour market was questioned and the economised discourse was not explicit, compared to the 1990s, which was characterised by a strong market rationale and the inseparability of economic and education policy discourses. What is evident is that the English ideal in the 2000s, being construed in market terms, echoes the societal discourses of the 1990s. At the moment, there seems to be no change of direction. Regarding the English ideal of the 1970s, the correlation between a non-explicit economised discourse and solidarity and worldwide responsibility is not that obvious. However, the entanglement of economy and inclusion indicates that there was more to an English ideal than simply economy. The English language was represented much more broadly.

A final issue to discuss is multilingualism as a language ideal. The findings reveal that, except for Swedish-English bilingualism, there are no such constructs in HE of the 2000s. Neither world languages nor Swedish minority or immigrant languages were found in relation to HE. There was a multilingual approach in the 1970s and 1980s, when school languages like French and German were created as alternatives to English. What is found in contemporary policy are representations of, for example, 'other languages' and 'foreign languages', but they are likely to be rhetorical. Soler et al., (2018) report similar invisibility of minority and immigrant languages in Swedish and Estonian HE contexts.

In the case of Sweden, these findings can be understood in light of a perceived linguistic hierarchy, where Swedish and English have the highest

status (Josephson, 2013). Next in the hierarchy are the major European and Scandinavian languages (*ibid.*). At the bottom, which is stratified, large immigrant languages and national minority languages are in a better position than the rest of the languages in Sweden (*ibid.*). Kuteeva (2018) draws attention to how this perceived linguistic hierarchy reflects a bias for a parallel-lingual standard language norm in HE. Sweden's national minority languages are of importance and if they are not represented as natural and obvious parts of HE language policy, there is a risk that the perceived language hierarchy is naturalised. This can be compared to bilingual regions where higher education institutions take an active part and a social responsibility in strengthening the local language(s) (e.g. Bull, 2012; Cots et al., 2012).

Language competences – more than skills

The representations of expected language competences of students and academics are in many ways intertwined with the language ideals. Similar to the language ideals, several discourse strands work in combination and it is primarily a *market discourse*, often together with both *inclusion* and *success discourses* that shape how language competences are understood. The discussion of students' and academics' language competences will start where the discussion of language ideals ended, namely with multilingualism.

It is interesting to highlight how multilingual students (transnational and immigrant students) are construed in relation to Swedish-language proficiency. One group of multilingual students is not represented, namely minority language students. The full multilingual competences of transnational and immigrant students are not seen as assets or resources (except for English-language proficiency). Instead, their lack of Swedish is emphasised. As is described in the findings, a *discourse of deficit* operates in the construct of language proficiency of immigrants. This is a discourse that has a long history in relation to immigrants and minorities. As an example, already in the 1980s, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) described how two opposing conceptions of immigrants and minorities prevailed; an idea of deficit, where their lack of majority language proficiency caused problems and an idea of enrichment, where their multilingual and cultural capacity enriched society. In the 1990s, Pirjo Lahdenperä (1997) conducted a text analytical study of intervention programs written for students with immigrant background in a Swedish school context and found that a discourse of deficit prevailed in many cases. The only

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time the multilingualism of immigrant students is recognised in the policy text is when they are valued for labour market reasons. In a way, this also applies for transnational students according to the findings. There are indications that once they become proficient in Swedish, irrespective of their linguistic repertoire, they become a Swedish-speaking asset to Swedish economy.

Consequently, multilingualism of students is only valued outside HE, with the exception of English proficiency, and within universities, a diverse linguistic repertoire is not valued. On the contrary, there are indications of an emphasis on what is lacking. If a *discourse of deficit* prevails, it is likely to impact on how teachers view students with a non-Swedish linguistic background in classes where Swedish is the medium of instruction. It may also impact on how these students view themselves, since, as Ball (2015) indicates, policy discourses provide ways of thinking and talking about the people within the institution, impacting on the way people perceive themselves and others.

The contemporary multilingualism of transnational academics is like that of students: not valued. English-language competence is the exception. Academics are construed as English proficient, and only as English proficient. There are even indications that a multilingual competence that does not include Swedish or English proficiency is a liability to the academy and academics. Realities like these are likely to affect the perception of transnational academics and not contribute to promoting any alternatives to English. Phillipson (2015) points out the importance of having language policies that include proficiency in immigrant and minority languages to some extent, and not only competence in a national language and international languages. The findings show that there are no such initiatives at the moment.

A second issue worth discussing is the dual representation of academics as language experts. The findings show that academics are construed as: (1) protectors and developers of Swedish scientific terminology, and (2) facilitators of Swedish scientific learning. This is all in line with national aims. As discussed earlier, it is clear that the safeguarding of Swedish is construed for societal democratic reasons. The development of Swedish scientific terminology is taking Swedish-language research for granted. However, the safeguarding of Swedish by terminological development is seen in relation to the spread and threat of English, implicitly directing the terminological responsibility towards academics primarily using English as a research language. This becomes problematic if the researchers are not Swedish-proficient. There seems to be no preparedness for a scenario where a research group is working in English and

where no-one is proficient in Swedish. The representations of transnational academics strongly emphasise their English-language proficiency and their (potential) proficiency in Swedish is completely absent. Consequently, there is no expected Swedish-language proficiency of all academics in Sweden. As will be discussed below, the findings indicate the same in the language policies of universities.

When it comes to facilitating Swedish language learning, the representations of language improvement often combine Swedish and English language learning. These representations put pressure on the linguistic competence of academics. It needs to be of such a character that it enables linguistic improvement and language learning of students. The representations do not state which academics. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that it involves all academics, domestic as well as transnational. Since transnational academics are represented solely as English-speaking, the linguistic competence can only regard English. However, the responsibility to organise teaching so that students improve their scientific language in Swedish and/or English has to be interpreted as being the same.

The linguistic competence of academics is also put under pressure by constructs of *deficiency*, for example that academics do not have good enough command of English in order to teach well. There are indications that this only applies to domestic academics, not transnational ones. On the contrary, the representations of transnational academics' language proficiency is that of high English quality.

There are studies that have investigated the language learning dimension among subject-lecturers. Facilitating English-language learning through the use of course literature in English is perceived as positive by subject teachers, but incorporating formal language learning objectives in course plans is not something teachers request (Pecorari et al., 2011). In order to optimise the language learning experience of students in Swedish-English parallel language environments, any second-language teacher would assert that it is essential to plan for and work with both content and language.

The depiction of English as the obvious and natural foreign language of Swedish-speaking academics is evident in the policy texts. This also applies to all non-Anglophone transnational academics in Swedish HE. English-language proficiency is construed for professional, rational and participatory reasons, especially in relation to scientific communication. In order to become part of the international research community, English-language competence is needed.

The reasons can be understood through the notions of ‘hypercollectivity’ and ‘Q-value’ (Ferguson, 2012; Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). This means that the more people use a language, the more valuable it becomes, the more others want to use it, the more its value increases, and so forth. When English is legitimated by professional, rational and participatory arguments, it becomes incredibly difficult to question its relevance – an established privileged position becomes taken-for-granted.

Finally, the construct of English-speaking students has been touched upon above. It is obvious that all transnational students are construed as English proficient, irrespective of linguistic background. English-language students are construed as essential for universities via a *market discourse strand*. Market values and market forces shape how success for students is understood, but also for universities through these students. The findings show the complex ways that the *market discourse* operate in when creating an understanding of English as the answer to a global education market: (a) English-language proficiency creates internationally attractive and competitive students; (b) EMI-programmes and courses create internationally attractive universities; (c) the presence of English-speaking students creates an international environment (high quality being implied); and (d) the international environment created by English-speaking students creates internationally competitive universities. English-speaking students become both the means and the goal in internationalising universities, directing focus towards the educational market.

A disparate university language policy

The constructs of language ideals and competences in language policy of Swedish universities are interdiscursively connected to national policy. National discourses are recontextualised in university language policy when representing language ideals and competences. Hence, discourses operating at a national level are embedded, also, at university level. Also, Björkman (2014) notices the intertextuality in university policy, especially when it comes to referring to documents aiming at maintaining and promoting the use of Swedish. In the following, I will discuss three points of the findings in relation to this: (1) the tension between concreteness and vagueness in relation to the ideal of parallel language use, (2) the impact of Swedish language legislation and, (3) the consequences of market forces and economic interests shaping language matters.

First, this study has revealed that there is a vagueness in university language policy that contributes to obfuscation of responsibility for some of the language-related actions. The vagueness is, for example, in relation to the idea of linguistic progress for both students and academics and, the idea of subject-lecturers as language teachers. Similar to other studies (e.g. Salö, 2010; Salö & Josephson, 2013), the findings confirm the parallel-lingual ideal, where Swedish is construed as principle and English as additional and more relevant at higher educational levels. The constructions of linguistic improvement relate to this parallel ideal. However, this study shows that the constructions generally obfuscate any responsibility of improving scientific Swedish and English. Human actors are left out and abstractions such as ‘the university’ operate as actors instead. The language-related actions are downplayed when main processes are not about language development, but instead about giving or experiencing the opportunity to improve language in some way. Concurrently, other language-related actions are concrete and created as facts, for example, communication as a public authority. The disparity between these concrete regulations and the vision-like directives risk creating an obscurity and uncertainty regarding responsibility of academics. Even though the fact-like constructions are easy to understand, the responsibilities are unclear. The vision-like constructions obscure *de facto* the responsibility and, hence, risk any attempt that language policy have to govern and support academics.

Yet, an example of vagueness and of obscured responsibility is the representations of academics as developers of Swedish scientific language. When the actors (researchers) are explicit, the developing part is constructed in vague ways, for example, that researchers should contribute to or work for development. When the developing part is clear, the actor is obscured. Consequently, obscurity and uncertainty regarding responsibility of academics are, also, created in relation to academics as scientific language developers.

Other studies show how the policy of parallel language use can be understood as clashing or opposing discourses: an internationalisation or internationalist discourse (driven by economy and market) and a societal language or culturalist discourse (driven by protection) operate simultaneously (Fabricius et al., 2017; Hultgren et al., 2014). Such parallel-lingual policy has the dual purpose of strengthening international dimensions and ensuring national language terminology development (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Källkvist and Hult (2016) show how, in the crafting of a university language policy, the concept of parallel language use is created by drawing both on other local policies and on

discourses of Swedish language legislation. Thereby, a prevalent way of understanding the concept of parallel-lingualism is reproduced.

This study reveals that the division between clarity and obfuscation in responsibility do not directly coincide with the duality of international and national language interests. Instead, the analysis shows a greater complexity. Irrespective of language in question, constructs of language improvement, language assessment and language development are often vague, ambiguous or lack responsible actors. There is clarity, for example, in the explicit language requirements of scientific writing, i.e. Swedish as well as English. These regulations are concrete, revealing the importance of a parallel Swedish-English use in the practise of writing. They build on the protection, development and use of Swedish at all levels, but, also, on the natural position of English in international knowledge dissemination. This is in line with points made by Karlsson (2017), who highlights the difference in interpretation of translated summaries: one standpoint relies on terminological development in two languages, meeting the language legislation and, the other on popularising research, meeting societal demands. As for the contemporary prevailing standpoints, they are likely to only open up for translation into Swedish and English.

This being said about clarity and vagueness not directly coinciding with a division of domestic and international interests, it is possibly true that the constructs of communication in Swedish as a public authority are clear. This would indicate that when there are domestic interests, and Swedish is to be used, the constructs are clearer. Worth noting is the clarity is aligned with matters of administration, not education. Authoritative and administrative Swedish is clearer in university policy and lacks the vagueness that characterises constructions of academics as language teachers and language developers.

Second, and connected to the final point made in the discussion above, the Swedish language legislation impacts strongly on university language policy. A distinctive feature is how ‘plain language’ is represented extensively in university policy. The Swedish language ideal of universities is to a high degree construed in relation to the plain language movement⁸², which is not specifically directed towards HE institutions in the language legislation. Universities obviously feel

⁸² The plain language movement has a long history dating back to the end of the 1960s. It has, and still is, occupied with encouraging the use of plain language within public agencies and municipalities. The Language Council, being a part of the central government agency regarding language issues, the Institute for Language and Folklore, give lectures and advice about plain language all over Sweden.

inclined, or obliged, to incorporate plain language in their policy. The reasons behind this are similar to those of Swedish for democratic reasons: that it is essential for communication with the public. This is in accordance with what Karlsson (2017) notes in her mapping of university language policy, that the paragraph 11§ in the Swedish Language Act (2009), addressing plain language, is adopted by the universities for external communication. Interestingly, the findings indicate that the ideas of plain language are not solely directed towards Swedish, but have also been adopted for English-language communication. Representations of a plain language ideal put focus on universities as public authorities, not as educational institutions, emphasising the administrative side of academic work.

Finally, it is essential to discuss how market forces and economic interests impact on how 'language' is construed in university language policy. The findings show that commodifying processes operate in the construals of language. This is done by externalising language from people, construing it as added value, an instrument or a technical matter. In the findings, when language proficiency is construed as a competitive tool, 'language' becomes part of a sellable concept. When English-language activities add value to universities and function as an instrument in achieving attraction, it is construed for market reasons. Also, market interests operate when language is construed as an instrument in different participatory processes, such as cooperation and exchange.

This is done by positioning English as a 'common' language. In the 2000s, it is generally for market reasons, defining and incorporating what participation and progress is. The complex of interests that impacts on English as a common language is found within the rationale of a global educational and research market. It is evident in the findings of national policy that English is mainly construed from an inevitable point of view: it is not possible to find another common foreign language; it just happens to be a common language; and it is common for natural and rational reasons. This impacts on the university language policy.

The findings of English as an inevitable common language confirm what Haberland and Mortensen's (2012) and Bull (2012) have found: that English as a global language is construed for reasons of globalisation (i.e. for liberalised market reasons), and at the moment there are no other language alternatives. Hence, 'globalism' can serve as one explanation for English being construed as a contemporary common language. Steger (2005) claims, among other features

of globalism, that “globalization is inevitable and irreversible” (p. 18) – it is perceived as a natural force, and if people want to survive and prosper, they have to adapt to market demands. If/when universities believe that the only way to adapt is through increasing EMI-education, English is construed as inevitable, and transnational academics and students are construed as English-proficient. At the same time, Phillipson (2015) asserts that categorical justifications of English as the ‘only’ and the ‘globally’ used one is exaggerated. Hence, the picture of the inevitability of English needs to be nuanced. On the one hand, the findings show English as obvious for internationalisation. On the other hand, highlighting the inevitability of these constructs might reinforce the notion of English as an inevitable language.

When ‘language’ is disconnected from people and perceived as inevitable, the consequence for pedagogical work is that decisions about a changed instructional language risk being externalised from people and without alternatives. Ljosland (2015) show that the demand for a changed instructional language from the national one to English can occur on the spot, without further discussion about implications for teachers and students. When language becomes externalised, it risks not involving those affected by it, and failure to problematise the consequences.

To conclude the discussion of the results, the findings are likely to be applicable to other non-Anglophone HE settings (even though the data relate to a Swedish context). There are similarities in the global language-related processes due to internationalisation (cf. Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017). Processes of commodification and marketisation of teaching and learning and knowledge production are going on worldwide (e.g. Ball, 2012; Blackmore, 2009; Brule, 2004; Hardy, 2010), as are increases in English-taught programmes (e.g. Hughes, 2008; Maiworm & Wächter, 2014; Salö & Josephson, 2013). Independent of and in relation to internationalisation, there are processes of strengthening national languages going on. The safeguarding and development of domestic languages in relation to a threat and a spread of English are global ongoing processes (e.g. Fabricius et al., 2017; Ferguson, 2012; Hultgren et al., 2014; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Hence, the findings in this thesis can be of relevance for other HE contexts.

Methodological discussion

Conducting discourse analysis is a balancing act. As accounted for in chapter 5, discourses are fluid and ‘messy’. However, they are not only that. They are also subject to interpretation. In discourse analysis (or any qualitative data analysis), it is not possible to separate analysis from interpretation, “because words⁸³ themselves are interpretations and are to be interpreted” (Cohen et al., 2011).

One methodological difficulty lies in the translation of data and analysis, because also in translation there is an interpretational dimension. This means that there are double interpretational points in the research process: (1) interpreting the data in Swedish, and (2) interpreting the Swedish interpretations in English. The analysis has been conducted in Swedish, but the reporting has been done in English. There is a possibility that important meanings are lost on the way, not necessarily because the translation is poor, but because the full interpretational width of the wording is lost in English, due to the cultural embeddedness of interpretations. My translations and interpretations are no doubt shaped by my proficiency in English as a non-native English speaker. But, on the other hand, once a text is written, it is always in the hands of the reader, co-creating and interpreting the meaning of the text.

Birbili (2000) draws attention to the risk of jeopardising the validity of the research by the translation-related decisions that are made. In the study, it has been an advantage that Swedish and English are both Germanic languages, which means that many grammatical features are similar, facilitating the translation. As accounted for in the analysis chapter, the translations have been guided by ‘meaning’ before word-for-word translations. Word order is one of the grammatical features where Swedish and English differ slightly. This is only an issue in the SFG analysis, but since focus there is on function and the functions are the same in Swedish and English, it has not mattered that the word order is different. In that sense, the analytical tool has contributed to levelling out that grammatical difference.

The choice of writing a thesis in English, in a Swedish context, with a Swedish data set was not an easy choice. Investigating language policy, where the spread of English is a central theme, it might seem questionable to choose English as the thesis language. However, after deliberating potential problems

⁸³ I am aware that the view of Cohen et al. (2011) is limited; that it is not only ‘words’ that are interpretations to be interpreted. Also, for example images are on a par with ‘words’ and can be subject to discourse analysis.

in the translation process of the analysis, English was seen as a possible means of reaching outside Sweden. Language policy in HE is very much a global issue, hence it is worthwhile to reach outside the local context.

Another difficulty lies in the analytical process itself. The analytical work has had a very inductive approach, were the analysis have been more of a spiral with ‘refuelling’ pit stops, i.e. trying to make sense of what is showing in the data at specific points. As described in the analysis chapter, a way to describe the entanglement that the tentative discourses operated in was searched for and discursive knots (Jäger & Maier, 2009) were found. In pursuing the metaphor of knots, discourse strands as a concept was applied to describe the complexity in which they operated across levels and policy areas as well as over time. Throughout the rest of the analytical work, discourse strands and discursive knots were used as tools. In a sense, this is also a finding – a finding that confirms the view by other researchers, that language policy consists of a complexity of interests and forces (e.g. Spolsky, 2018). Going back to the 1970s has also afforded possibilities for describing how discourse strands transform in the discourse entanglement. The findings show, for example, that economy/market rationales have influenced language policy for a long time, but the ‘intensity’ on impacts on other discourses changes over time.

Finally, I want to draw attention to one of the differences in my sampling of policy texts compared to other studies. HE policy has been studied as part of internationalisation processes (e.g. Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017), and as part of domestic (or regional) language processes (e.g. Cots et al., 2012; Ihalainen & Saarinen, 2015). Generally, the tension between these two processes are in focus (e.g. Björkman, 2014; Bull, 2012; Källkvist & Hult, 2016; Saarinen & Rontu, 2018; Saarinen & Talas, 2017). However, to my knowledge there are no other studies where the policy area of *widening participation* is included in the set of data when studying language policy, even though Bolton & Kuteeva (2012) point out that the language debate in Swedish HE has included questions about the domestic diversity of students. Including the policy area of *widening participation* has contributed to revealing how students with a foreign background are viewed in relation to language matters.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

Researching dominant discourses in relation to language policy in higher education has revealed the complexity in which language matters are construed. Investigating language ideals and expected language competences in policy texts have given insight into inherent tensions in the representations. The main conclusions drawn from the findings concern (a) concurrent contrasting aspects, (b) responsibility for implementation, and (c) instrumental and commodified notions of language.

Most striking is how opposing interests operate in parallel in the policy texts. Even though these interests are intertwined in more complex ways, they are for the sake of clarity elaborated upon in pairs. The policies are turned towards both domestic language processes and internationalisation. This is seen, not least, in how Swedish and English are combined as a pair in the texts. For example, students' English-language improvement is to be understood from the interests of internationalisation and global markets, while students' Swedish scientific language improvement is to be understood from the domestic interests of a complete language in all areas of society. When the two languages are represented in combination, it obfuscates that the interests are different.

The language policies are, also, turned towards both democracy and economic exploitation, which is connected to the above-mentioned. The policies indicate a responsibility for democracy and represent Swedish as important to protect and preserve – to develop and use – for democratic reasons. At the same time, economic interests operate in representing English as crucial for higher education. The findings show, for example, that EMI-teaching is construed as the answer to market demands such as attractiveness and competitiveness on a liberalised educational market.

Furthermore, the language policies are turned towards equality and eliteness. The representations of, for example, a 'common' language in higher education are Janus-faced. On the one hand, English as a common language is represented as natural and giving access to knowledge and communication, hence, operating in the interest of equality. On the other hand, English as a common language is challenged by representations of Swedish as essential for societal knowledge dissemination and communication, i.e. as a 'common' language. The

representations of ‘common’ English is, therefore, likely to be understood in the interest of a smaller group, an elite, and not in terms of equality.

Another conclusion to be drawn concern responsibility for implementation, or rather the lack of responsibility in the language policies of higher education institutions. As has been discussed earlier (in chapter 9), these policies are both disparate and vague as well as obfuscate actors and downplay language related activities. By representing language actors and language activities in such ways, the aspect of implementation, also, becomes vague. Interestingly, when it comes to the more tangible activities, like writing, the language policies are clearer, but when it comes to more complex matters, like language development, the language policies are less concrete. However, the responsibility for implementing these language matters, clear or abstract, are not specified in the policies.

In the construals of academics as Swedish and English ‘language teachers’, responsibilities are not clear either. The expectations of language improvement and language assessment of students are not very specific, obscuring which academics, at what levels, in which disciplines or subject they concern. Neither are language improvement nor language assessment defined in the policies, contributing to an uncertainty about the whole matter. Consequently, responsibilities for the implementation of these expectations are unclear in university language policies.

The concurrent contrasting interests and the disparateness combined with the fact that university language policies do not allow for disciplinary differences (Kuuteva & Airey, 2014; Airey et al., 2017), are not research-informed (Björkman, 2014), and do not specify responsibility for implementation (Phillipson, 2015) reveal the shortcomings of language policy.

The last conclusion concerns representations of ‘language’ as an instrument or commodity serving interests outside the language itself. As is discussed in chapter 9, market forces and economic interests shape how language is perceived as an added value to universities and individuals and as externalised from people. A consequence, when economic considerations become preferential in the representations of language, might be that administrative parts of academic work is primarily nurtured in language policy. Additionally, representations of ‘language’ as a commodity might only nurture language ideals that are already privileged. Earlier research has reported of English as a cost-efficient tool (Ljosland, 2011) and how the instructional language can be changed into English on the spot (Ljosland, 2015). In the findings, economic

incentives shape an understanding of language that neglects other aspects of language, such as cultural and identity-creating aspects.

In my final remarks, I would like to draw attention to how the dominant discourses impact on how academic work is perceived via, for example, what is at the forefront and what is downplayed. There are indications that the domination of economic/market discourses impact on language matters in general. It is obvious when one language alone, English, is naturalised in the interest of a global research and education market. No other language is construed in such ways – the position of English is so evident that there is a risk that it will be neither questioned nor problematised. The strength of the discourses makes it almost impossible to think otherwise.

Further research

This study provides a useful basis on which to conduct future research. The study has shown that ‘language’ is included in commodifying processes in HE and that the premises for language-related actions often rely on market-oriented discourses, constituting discursive frames. It has also been shown that there is an interdiscursivity between university policy and national discourses and that university policies have opposing interests and are disparate. However, there is still not enough research about the enactment of language policy in HE, i.e. how academics act and make sense of these language policies.

Educational policies are mediated, struggled over, ignored and enacted, where enactments are collective, collaborative, inter-connective constituting ongoing responses to policy (Ball et al. 2012). Having this as a point of departure, it is relevant to study these ‘responses to policy’, and the findings of the thesis can be used in such a study. This thesis shows, for example, that transnational academics are solely constructed as English-language academics. The fact that most studies of English-medium education only involve speakers of the majority language, and that broader linguistic repertoires are used in nominally English-medium education (e.g. Söderlundh, 2010; 2012; 2013) calls for an inclusion of transnational academics (cf. Kuuteva, 2018) in such studies.

Therefore, further research is needed into how academics make use of their linguistic repertoires in education and research, including transnational academics. I suggest a comparative enactment study involving both Swedish-language academics and transnational academics.

Summary in Swedish

Syfte och bakgrund

Högre utbildning, nationellt och internationellt, är under omvandling, vilket många studier vittnar om. Internationalisering, definierat som den process som integrerar internationella, interkulturella och globala dimensioner i syftet med, funktionerna för eller genomförandet av högre utbildning (Knight, 2003), är den förändringsprocess där språkfrågor ofta aktualiseras. Det handlar till exempel om organisatoriska och administrativa justeringar på grund av inresande studenter och/eller personal från andra länder. Det tar sig många gånger uttryck i undervisning och personalmöten på engelska. Språkfrågor i högre utbildning i Sverige påverkas också av den språkliga mångfald som finns i samhället. Källor gör gällande att det talas och skrivs uppemot 200 olika språk i Sverige idag (Parkvall, 2015). Ytterligare ett område som påverkar språkfrågor i högre utbildning är svensk språklagstiftning. Sverige fick en svensk språklag 2009 (SFS 2009:600) och sedan 2010 erkänns fem nationella minoritetsspråk: samiska, finska, meänkieli, romska och jiddisch (SFS 2009:724).

Det språklandskap⁸⁴ som framträder i dagens högre utbildning är i hög grad ett dialektiskt resultat av diskursiva perspektiv och materiella processer. Engelska som undervisningsspråk ökar lavinartat över världen. I Europa har det varit en enorm ökning av engelskspråkiga program i icke-engelsktalande länder mellan 2001 och 2013 (Maiworm & Wächter, 2014). I Sverige, till exempel, erbjöds 200 masterprogram på engelska 2003 (Hughes, 2008) och hösten 2011 erbjöds ca 1100 kandidat- och masterprogram på engelska (Salö & Josephson, 2013). Förändringar av språkanvändning och kring språkfärdigheter sker i hög utsträckning som en del av i lärosätenas internationaliseringsarbete, där engelska har blivit det självklara valet. Diskurser som stödjer detta poängterar till exempel förlust av konkurrenskraft om engelska inte väljs. Även idéer om språkhierarkier som poängterar 'hyperkollektivitet' och 'Q-värde' (Ferguson, 2012) stödjer engelska.

⁸⁴ Språklandskap (*linguascap*) kan ses som en analogi för Appadurais 'ethno-', 'media-', 'techno-', 'finan-' och 'ideoscape' metaforer (Appadurai, 1990, s. 296ff)

Ur ett samhällsperspektiv är det viktigt att studera alla typer av språkförändringar som sker i högre utbildning. När språkdebatten handlar om studenters och akademikers transnationella mobilitet och inhemska studenters mångfald (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012) är det viktigt att diskutera lärosätenas möjligheter som samhällsaktörer (jfr. Giroux, 2011; Hursh & Wall, 2011; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017) utifrån språkperspektivet. Eftersom engelska språket har stor spridning och hög status inom utbildning behandlar språkpolicy inom högre utbildning framför allt två frågor: lokala språks position i relation till engelska och hur lokala språks position ska kunna stärkas i högstatus domäner (som högre utbildning) i samhället (van der Walt, 2010). I svensk kontext är det intressant och relevant att studera diskurser i relation till språkfrågor när: internationalisering har blivit liktydigt med engelskspråkig undervisning och svenskspråkig undervisning utmanas av internationaliseringsintressen samt förståelsen av vad som menas med ett 'legitimt språk' (jfr. Heller & Duchêne, 2012) håller på att förändras.

Språkpolicy inom Europa, speciellt inom EU, kan sägas vara motstridig när målet både är att bibehålla kulturell och språklig mångfald och att främja europeisk mobilitet, demokrati och ekonomisk framgång genom engelska i form av ett pan-europeiskt lingua franca (Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012). Sådana språkförändringsmål sträcker sig från hyllandet av språklig mångfald till hävdandet av engelska som globaliseringsnyckel (Phillipson, 2006). Denna komplexitet brottas även högre utbildning med.

Ett ökat internationellt utbyte har bidragit till att frågor om genomgripande språkpolicy inom högre utbildning kommit på dagordningen (Jansson, 2008b). I Europa har denna process pågått länge och Bologna överenskommelsen 1999 samt förklaringsutkastet i Berlin 2001 drev på processen att ta fram språkpolities på lärosätena som en del av skapandet av ett europeiskt utbildningsområde för högre utbildning (EHEA). Även en europeisk strategi 2013 (*European higher education in the world strategy*) behandlade språkfrågor, t.ex. mobilitet för anställda som instrument i tillägandet av språkfärdigheter och undervisningsmetoder, samt språkutbildning som integrationsåtgärd för studenter och forskare vid lärosätena. Strategin problematiserar spänningen mellan kurser på engelska för att attrahera begåvade studenter å ena sidan, och flerspråkighet som en europeiska tillgång, å andra sidan.

Ur ett nordiskt perspektiv har språkfrågor alltid varit närvarande. De nordiska länderna har både en överenskommelse kring tillträde till högre utbildning med ömsesidigt erkännande av behörighet och en gemensam

språkpolicy. Studenter med danska, färöiska, isländska och norska som modersmål anses uppfylla kraven på svensk språkfärdighet i de allmänna behörighetskraven, medan studenter med finska som modersmål behöver ha studerat svenska för att uppfylla kraven. Deklarationen om nordisk språkpolitik (2007) poängterar vikten av att alla invånare i de nordiska länderna ska ha rätt att tillägna sig ett språk som är grundläggande för nordiskt samhälle och sådana språkfärdigheter i skandinaviska språk att de kan delta i den nordiska språkgemenskapen. Människor i Norden anses ha relativt goda språkfärdigheter i engelska så även engelskans roll tas upp i deklamationen. Vikten av engelsk språkfärdighet poängteras i relation till parallellspråkighet, som definieras som en samtidig användning av flera språk inom ett eller flera områden där det ena språket inte slår ut eller ersätter det andra.

Språkpolicyer på lärosäten i Sverige försöker i hög grad säkerställa samexistensen mellan svenska och engelska. Parallellspråkighet är huvudprincipen för användningen av dessa båda språk (Kuteeva, 2011). Även om dessa policyer är skiftande i innehåll, strategier, ambitionsnivå och omfattning (Jansson, 2008b; Karlsson, 2017; Salö, 2010), så främjar de alla ett svensk-engelskt parallellspråkigt ideal som princip (Salö, 2010; Salö & Josephson, 2013). Detta uppmuntras även i statliga utredningar (t.ex. SOU, 2002:27). För att garantera att svenska universitet blir konkurrenskraftiga på en internationaliserad marknad omfattar det parallellspråkiga idealet både undervisning och forskning (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012).

Det forskningsfält som är relevant för den här studien kan delas in i två områden: forskning kring språkpolicy i högre utbildning, framför allt i relation till förändringsprocesser (som internationalisering) samt forskning kring engelskans spridning inom högre utbildning, framför allt som lingua franca och som undervisningsspråk. Det finns några generella drag i kunskapen om språkpolicy för högre utbildning: 1) att inhemska språk ska främjas och bevaras, 2) att nationella språk ska skyddas i relation till engelskan samt, relaterat till detta, 3) att internationalisering ska åstadkommas genom användning av engelska.

På nationell nivå har studier funnit att svenska positioneras som nödvändigt huvudspråk i Sverige i relation till demokratiska motiv (Ihalainen & Saarinen, 2015), och att det är viktigt att skydda och bevara de nationella språken i högre utbildning i de nordiska länderna (t.ex. Saarinen & Taalas, 2017).

På institutionell nivå har studier funnit att innehåll och argument i lärosätenas språkpolicy varierar från sådant som relationen mellan nationellt

och internationellt språk och engelskans position till sådant som språksyn, flerspråkighet och internationalisering på hemmaplan (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Undersökningar av språkpolicy vid svenska lärosäten visar att svenska ska användas på de lägre utbildningsnivåerna och engelska ska öka allteftersom utbildningsnivån ökar (Karlsson, 2017; Salö, 2010; Salö & Josephson, 2013). Det finns en kritik mot och en problematisering kring att disciplinspecifika kunskapstraditioner inte beaktas i lärosätenas språkpolicy (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Hultgren et al., 2014; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014) samt att de inte är relevanta för lärare (Airey et al., 2017; Björkman, 2014). Vid skapandet av en lokal språkpolicy har det framkommit att diskursiva mekanismer (externa texter och diskurser) i hög grad påverkar policyarbetet (Källkvist & Hult, 2016).

Komparativa studier av språkpolicy i icke-engelskspråkiga länder indikerar att trots olikheter på nationell nivå brottas dessa lärosäten med samma frågor relaterat till internationalisering och språkval (Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017). Detta sker i ett sammanhang där internationalisering har blivit liktydigt med användning av engelska i undervisning och forskning (Phillipson, 2008), något som upprätthålls av marknadskrafter genom t.ex. tilldelning av forskningsmedel, Bolognaprocessen och tidskriftsredaktörer (Phillipson, 2015). Språkpolicy på lärosäten motiveras utifrån ett behov av internationalisering via engelska (Saarinen & Rontu, 2018), vilket företrädesvis verkar vara av praktiska skäl (Björkman, 2014; Soler-Carbonell et al., 2017).

Undersökningar i tvåspråkiga områden visar att lärosäten som uttrycker ansvar för närsamhället har en språkpolicy som stärker de språk som finns lokalt/regionalt (Bull, 2012; Cots et al., 2012). Av detta kan man dra slutsatsen att hur lärosäten förstår sitt (samhälleliga) uppdrag påverkar hur deras språkpolicy ser ut (Bull, 2012).

Studier av parallellspråkighet i högre utbildning har funnit att huvudsyftet med en svensk-engelsk parallellspråkig policy är dubbelt: (1) för att stärka den internationella dimensionen och (2) för att säkerställa utveckling av svenska som vetenskapligt språk inom alla discipliner (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Detta parallellspråkiga policyideal kan förstås utifrån två motstridiga diskurser som opererar samtidigt i någon sorts balansakt. Å ena sidan en internationaliseringsdiskurs eller 'internationalist' diskurs med ekonomiska och marknadsintressen i fokus, å andra sidan en samhällelig språkdiskurs eller 'kulturalist' diskurs med försvarandet av nationella språk i fokus (Fabricius et al., 2017; Hultgren et al., 2014). När internationaliseringsdiskursen främjar det engelska språket, fruktar den samhälleliga språkdiskursen detsamma (Fabricius

et al., 2017). När internationalisering genom ekonomiska metaforer ser engelska som en möjlighet, använder nationella språkprocesser ekologiska metaforer och ser engelska som en angripare (Ljosland, 2015). Den parallellspråkiga policyn ses som en pragmatisk lösning på den ökade engelskspråkiga användningen i nordisk högre utbildning (Airey et al., 2017). Även om ett parallellspråkigt policyideal erkänner högre utbildnings flerspråkiga kontext är det dels enbart standardvarianter av svenska och engelska som främjas (Kuteeva, 2018), dels enbart en monolingvistisk ram som reproduceras, vilket hindrar att andra språk ses som resurser (Fabricius et al., 2017; Salö, 2010). Engelska är inbyggt i begreppet parallellspråkighet, vilket gör att det snarare är frågan om en medveten engelsk tvåspråkighet (van der Walt, 2010). Oro över detta har rests och det har framförts argument för att det är viktigt att språkpolicyer visserligen behöver säkra nationella och internationella språk, men att fler varianter behöver inkluderas, framför allt invandrarspråk och minoritetsspråk (Phillipson, 2015)

Studier har även uppmärksammat hur skillnader i kunskaps- och undervisningstraditioner inom olika ämnen och discipliner i högre utbildning påverkar språkvalet. Dessa variationer tas inte hänsyn till i generell språkpolicy på lärosäten (Salö & Josephson, 2013), vilket ifrågasätts på olika sätt (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Kuteeva & Airey, 2014).

Engelska ses emellanåt som ett 'lingua franca', d.v.s. ett språk som har en överbyggande funktion i kommunikationen mellan (grupper av) människor med olika modersmål. Det talas om det i termer av vetenskapligt lingua franca (Jansson, 2008a; Shaw 2008), eller som 2000-talets latin (Brock-Utne, 2007). Jämförelsen med latin haltar på många plan, då latin var en integrerad och naturlig del av universiteten medan engelskans naturlighet bygger på antagandet att det är marknadens självklara språk (Mortensen & Haberland, 2012). Engelska som lingua franca ska inte ses som ett neutralt kommunikationsinstrument, utan man ska vara medveten om att det tjänar vissa syften (Phillipson, 2008; 2015). Engelskans position som lingua franca upprätthålls av materiella och ekonomiska strukturer som t.ex. belöningssystem för publikationer (Brock-Utne, 2007), vilket gör att kunskapsresurser i allt högre utsträckning enbart finns tillgängliga på engelska (Costa & Coleman, 2013).

Språkfrågor i högre utbildning diskuteras i Sverige framför allt med två utgångspunkter: utifrån, som en del av mobilitet och utbyte för studenter och akademiker och inifrån, genom den inhemska mångfalden av studenter (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012). I relation till mobilitet och utbyte finns ett antal positiva

språkrelaterade antaganden som har visat sig inte stämma. Antaganden om att utbyte t.ex. leder till språklig pluralism stämmer inte, eftersom engelska fungerar som lingua franca används inte några andra språk (Fabricius et al., 2017). Det finns också indikationer på att en ökad användning av engelska löper parallellt med en minskad betydelse av andra utländska språk och minoritetsspråk (Doiz et al., 2011). När den rådande situationen med engelska som lingua franca är så stark och kopplas till antaganden om framtida framgång befrias transnationella studenter från kravet att lära sig det lokala språket (Fabricius et al., 2017; Ljosland, 2015). Studier av språksituationen relaterat till internationalisering i högre utbildning har framför allt fokuserat på spridning och användning av engelska och inte uppmärksammat den flerspråkiga potential som finns där (Söderlundh, 2012).

Engelskan har uppmärksamrats utifrån två olika sätt som språket spelar roll: som globalt språk och som internationellt språk (Bull, 2012; Haberland & Mortensen, 2012). Som globalt språk styrs engelskan av marknadskrafter, av kommodifieringen av undervisning och lärande och av det som man uppfattar som krav i en kunskapsekonomi. Som internationellt språk fungerar engelskan för transnationell kommunikation och samarbete. Engelskans roll legitimeras olika utifrån hur lärosäten legitimerar sin uppgift med omvärlden. 'Internationell (eller transnationell) engelska' är då något som används för att stärka relationerna med andra parter, idealt på jämlika grunder, medan 'global engelska' är något som används för att befrämja globalism, som en lingvistisk lösning på en fri marknad (Bull, 2012). Medan global engelska inte har några alternativ, eftersom det för tillfället inte finns några konkurrenter på världsmarknaden, finns det alternativ för internationell engelska som kommunikationsmedel (Haberland & Mortensen, 2012; jmf Söderlundh, 2012).

Engelska som undervisningsspråk har undersökts i en mängd studier. Framför allt har denna forskning fokuserat på inhemska studenter och lärares svårigheter samt olikheter i undervisning och lärande när undervisningsspråket har ändrats. Få studier har dock studerat transnationella studenter och lärares erfarenheter (Kuteeva, 2018). Det som studier har visat är att även om en kurs eller ett program är definierat som engelskspråkig så används såväl det inhemska språket som studenternas modersmål i olika delar av utbildningen och skapar på så sätt lokala språknormer (Söderlundh, 2012; 2013). Även språkanvändning som går utanför de vanliga gränserna för språk där den fulla språkliga repertoaren används (*translanguaging*) förekommer mellan studenter (Kuteeva, 2018). Undersökningar av lärares erfarenheter av engelskspråkig undervisning

visar t.ex. att de inte alltid hade valt engelska som undervisningsspråk om de hade kunnat (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012), att de är medvetna om sina begränsningar, saknar tillräckligt med tid för förberedelser och byter undervisningsspråk alltför sporadiskt (Airey, 2011) samt att de tycker att bytet till engelska är bra eftersom det leder till att studenterna lär sig engelska utan att det är huvudsyftet, men att de ifrågasätter explicita språkmål (Pecorari et al., 2011). Ett vanligt scenario är att engelskspråkig undervisning bedrivs av lärare med icke-engelsk språkbakgrund i studentgrupper med en variation av språkliga bakgrunder (Björkman, 2011).

Marknadsföringen av engelskspråkiga kurser och program är strategisk och syftar till att attrahera både transnationella studenter och inhemska studenter som vill förbättra sina engelska språkkunskaper och sin interkulturella förmåga (Hultgren et al., 2014). För inhemska studenter används internationella program i Finland som ett erbjudande till icke-finsktalande studenter och som en förberedelse för ett engelskspråkigt internationellt arbetsliv (Saarinen, 2012). Dessa kurser och program används också för att förbättra lärosätets profil (Doiz et al., 2011; Kerklaan et al., 2008), framför allt nationellt (jfr. Ljosland, 2015; Salö & Josephson, 2013).

Det forskningsfält som har beskrivits här ovan är relativt komplext. Det är nödvändigt då språkpolicy är ett område som inbegriper många olika aspekter av språk. På en övergripande nivå handlar det om den språkliga praktiken inom en språkgemenskap, om olika språkvarianters värden och tilltron till dessa värden inom språkgemenskapen samt om styrningen av språkgemenskapens språk (Spolsky, 2012). Språkpolicy finns inte enbart på nationell nivå utan också i andra domäner och språkgemenskaper (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012). Språkpolicy kan också förstås som lokaliserad på flera platser i tid och rum (*multi-sited*) och på flera nivåer och i olika sektorer (*multi-layered*) – (Halonon et al., 2015; Saarinen, 2017). Detta leder till att policy innehåller både historiska och samtida lager (Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Detta leder till att det också är svårt att formulera en användbar språkpolicy (Spolsky, 2018). Den här studien använder Sverige som ett exempel när den undersöker de dominerande diskurserna i språkpolicy i högre utbildning, både på nationell och institutionell nivå samt genom att gå tillbaka i tiden.

Den kontextualisering och det kunskapsläge som beskrivs ovan avslöjar en betydande komplexitet när det gäller språkpolicy i högre utbildning. Kortfattat handlar det om: spänning mellan nationella språk och engelska; flerspråkighet som ambition eller retorik; sammansmältning av 'internationellt språk' och

engelska; spänning mellan engelska och flerspråkighet; effekter av den europeiska harmoniseringen: förhållningssätt som samtidigt skyddar och främjar språk; kommodifieringsprocesser osv. I denna komplexitet är det kanske extra viktigt att undersöka hur diskurser påverkar språkliga ideal och språklig kompetens i högre utbildning, speciellt i relation till studenter och akademiker.

Den här studien, som tar Sverige som exempel, undersöker dominerande diskurser i språkpolicy i högre utbildning. Utgångspunkten för studien är att inga texter produceras utan kontext och historiska kopplingar samt att utbildningspolicy behöver förstås i en historisk såväl som en global kontext (t.ex. Ball, 1993; Waldow, 2008), inklusive påverkan av supranationella organ inom den europeiska policysfären (Lawn & Grek, 2012). Den studerar både nutida och äldre policy och kontextualiserar dessa policy i en nordisk och europeisk kontext.

I analysen har språkpolicy på både nationell och institutionell nivå 'packats upp' (jfr. Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013). Analysen av nationella policytexter från 1974 till 2009 erbjuder en förståelse av dominerande diskurser, inklusive eventuella förändringar, under en 35-årig tidsperiod. Analysen av institutionella policytexter i form av tolv lärosätens språkpolicy erbjuder en förståelse av nutida dominerande diskurser. Genom att studera policynivån inom pedagogiskt arbete är förhoppningen att resultaten av denna studie ska vara användbara för akademiker i diskussioner och förhandlingar kring språkanvändning, språkfärdigheter och språkideal.

Frågeställningar

Den övergripande frågeställningen i föreliggande studie rör vilka dominerande diskurser som verkar i/för en förändrad högre utbildning vad gäller språkpolicy och krav på språkfärdighet samt vilka implikationer sådana förändringar kan tänkas ha.

Detta studeras på två sätt: dels genom att analysera nationella utredningar, propositioner och rapporter med relevans för högskolesektorn från 1970-talet, när den första internationaliseringsutredningen kom, fram till 2010-talet, dels genom att analysera universitetens språkpolicy insamlade 2014/2015⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ Se fotnot 22.

Språkfrågor är av betydelse i all praktik inom högre utbildning, men som policy på nationell nivå är det framför allt tre policyområden som lyfter språkfrågor och språklig kompetens, nämligen (i) internationalisering, (ii) mångfald och breddat deltagande samt (iii) den svenska språklagstiftningen. Dessa tre policyområden har därför varit föremål för analys utifrån följande två forskningsfrågor:

1. Hur representeras språkideal för högre utbildning i Sverige på nationell nivå?
2. Hur representeras förväntade språkfärdigheter för (a) studenter och (b) akademiker i Sverige på nationell nivå?

Analysen av språkpolicy på institutionell nivå, d.v.s. lärosätenas språkpolicy, har gjorts utifrån följande forskningsfråga:

3. Hur representeras språkideal och språkfärdigheter för såväl studenter som akademiker på institutionell nivå i Sverige?

Genom att analysera såväl nationella texter som institutionella ges en möjlighet att diskutera rekontextualiseringen av opererande diskurser, d.v.s. hur diskurser och diskurssträngar på nationell nivå, påverkade av ideationella perspektiv på supranationell och global nivå, påverkar och präglar lärosätetsnivån när de översätts lokalt.

Teoretiskt och metodologiskt ramverk

Teoretiskt positionerar sig denna studie inom en kritisk tradition där utbildningspolicy förstås och sätts i en bredare social kontext (t.ex. Ball, 1993; Simons et al., 2009). Generellt sett kan sägas att sådana studier ifrågasätter och problematiserar samhällsliga förändringar och dess konsekvenser för människor. Syftet med kritisk forskning är att bättre förstå hur positiva och negativa konsekvenser skapas och hur negativa konsekvenser kan minskas (Fairclough, 2003). Kritiska studier ser villkor som tillfälliga och betingade och diskurser som social praktik (Simons et al., 2009). En social praktik utgörs av olika dimensioner där språk, inklusive diskurser, utgör en av dessa dimensioner (t.ex. Kemmis, 2005).

Policystudier kan bland annat ses som undersökningar av politiska beslut och dess innehåll och konsekvenserna av dessa båda. I den här studien analyseras representationer och konstruktioner i skriftlig policytext med fokus på språkpolicy i/för högre utbildning. Policy kan konceptualiseras som 'text' och som 'diskurs' (Ball, 1993) och i föreliggande studie används 'policy som diskurs' som utgångspunkt. Med det menas att policyer utövar makt i form av

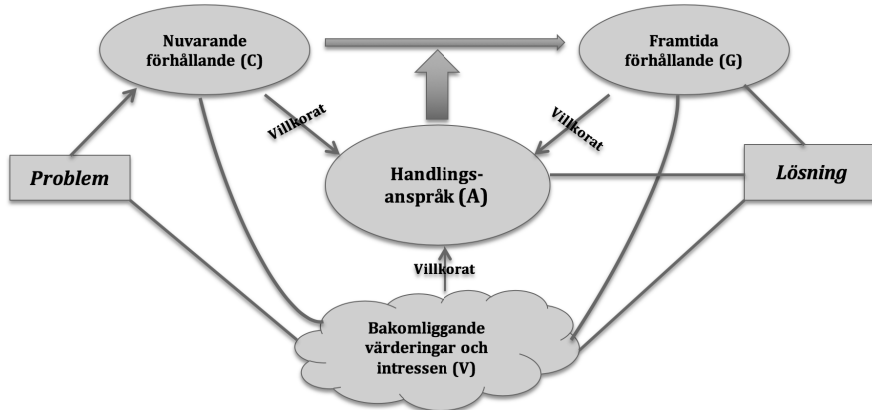
de perspektiv – 'sanningar' och 'kunskap' – av den social världen som produceras i dessa. Genom att se 'policy som diskurs' läggs sökarmånet på diskursiva omständigheter och villkor, vilket gör det rimligt att undersöka de dominerande diskurserna. Policydiskurser bidrar till sätt att tänka och tala om människor inom ett område vilket påverkar hur människor inom detta område, till exempel, uppfattar sig själva (Ball, 2015).

Den här studien, liksom många andra, utgår från att språk är dialektiskt kopplat till materiella aspekter och ser det därför som både viktigt och produktivt använda sig av någon sorts diskursanalys (Fairclough, 2003). I det här fallet används kritisk diskursanalys (CDA) utvecklad av Fairclough (t.ex. 2003; 2010; 2013) och av Fairclough och Fairclough (2012). Dessutom används systemisk funktionell grammatik (SFG), utvecklad och beskriven av Halliday and Matthiessen (2004; 2014), för lingvistiska analyser. CDA och SFG är att betrakta både som teoretiska och analytiska ramverk.

Kritisk diskursanalys är såväl en teori om som en metodologi för dialektisk och dynamisk analys av språk i relation till en social värld (Fairclough, 2013). Den sociala världen, som existerar parallellt med den naturliga världen, existerar genom och är beroende av mänskligt handlande. Den sociala världen är diskursivt konstruerad och huruvida dessa konstruktioner får sociala och materiella konsekvenser beror på vad som konstrueras och vilka villkor som är inbäddade i konstruktionerna (Fairclough, 2010). CDA analyserar språk och är intresserad av kopplingen mellan språk och samhällsliga strukturer samt de ideologiska utgångspunkterna som är inbäddade i språkliga konstruktioner. Det finns en dynamisk relation mellan text och kontext. Nord (2011) poängterar reciprociteten i denna relation, där samhälle och social praktik påverkar det språk som används och samtidigt påverkar det språk som används i samhället. Därmed blir varje val i en text potentiellt intressant att studera utifrån hur texten bidrar till att reproducera eller omskapa idéer om världen och att göra vissa synsätt och attityder naturliga (ibid.).

CDA kopplar ihop social och lingvistisk analys, där den lingvistiska analysen kan visa hur det som är exempelvis politiskt önskvärt, en tänkt bild av världen, representeras som faktum och hur det är (Fairclough, 2003). Analysen av lingvistiska konstruktioner bygger på antagandet om att språk är en integrerad del av skapandet av samhället (Fairclough, 2010). I policytexter behöver människor och institutioner ges anledningar till att agera på specifika sätt. Därför presenteras narrativ över 'hur saker och ting är', d.v.s. representationer över sakernas tillstånd (C) och imaginär över 'hur saker och ting borde vara',

d.v.s. representationer över framtida förhållanden (G) samtidigt. Fairclough och Fairclough (2012) har gjort en modell över hur agerandet (A) hänger ihop med övriga representationer och villkor.



Anpassning av analytisk modell för politisk diskursanalys (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, s. 45; Fairclough, 2013, s. 183f)

Enligt Fairclough och Fairclough (2012) samt Fairclough (2013) består ett praktiskt argument av dessa delar, vilket är det sätt som policytexter använder sig av för att motivera och legitimera agerande. I korthet utgörs delarna av ett antagande om nuvarande omständigheter (C), ett antagande om mål (G), ett antagande om medel-mål, bakomliggande värderingar och intressen (V) samt ett handlingsanspråk (A). Pilarna i modellen visar hur delarna hänger ihop och påverkar varandra.

I analysen av policytexterna är det viktigt att undersöka representationer av handling, t.ex. hur aktörer konstrueras, hur handlingsprocesser konstrueras i relation till antaganden om nuvarande omständigheter och vilka de bakomliggande värderingarna och intressena är. I detta har ovanstående modell fungerat som en teoretisk ram, kompletterat med legitimering (van Leeuwen, 2008) och ideationell textanalys inom SFG (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014).

Inom CDA är legitimering ett begrepp som kopplar ihop handling med värderingar. När social praktik rekontextualiseras i språklig form legitimeras den sociala praktiken kontextuellt genom att svara på uttalade eller outtalade frågor om varför något specifikt ska göras eller varför det ska göras på ett specifikt sätt (van Leeuwen, 2008). Legitimeringen av handling kan bygga på auktoritets-

grunder (lagar och traditioner), på moraliska grunder (värderingar eller naturlighet) eller på rationella grunder (ibid.).

Systemisk funktionell grammatik (SFG) har en teoretisk bas som innebär att språk ses om dynamiskt och levande och att det speglar och skapar kontext genom text(er). Eftersom studiens genomförts i en svensk kontext med det empiriska materialet på svenska har inte bara Halliday och Matthiessen (2004; 2014) använts, utan även en svensk uttolkning av SFG av Holmberg, Karlsson och Nord (2011) samt Holmberg och Karlsson (2013).

För det första ses språk inom SFG som en potential, en resurs att använda vid formulering och uttolkning av text. Texter ses som instanser. Texterna formas av en subpotential, också kallad register. Registret begränsar vilka språkliga val som är möjliga och bidrar också till att texter har likartade mönster (Holmberg et al., 2011). Vad som kan sägas i en specifik situation är relaterat till, begränsat av och beroende av registret.

För det andra fokuserar SFG på språkets funktion, d.v.s. hur mening skapas. SFG delar in språket i fyra olika skikt (strata): kontext, semantik, lexikogrammatik och fonologi och ortografi samt i tre metafunktioner: ideationell, interpersonell och textuell (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014). Metafunktionerna skär genom kontext, semantik och lexikogrammatik och det lexikogrammatiska skiktet ska ses som ett innehållskontinuum med vokabulär i ena änden och grammatik i den andra. Holmberg et al. (2011) poängterar att sambandet mellan semantik och lexikogrammatik är grundläggande i SFG då båda dessa skikt ses som innehåll. Mening skapas därmed genom en kombination, eller friktion (ibid.), av de semantiska och lexikogrammatiska valen.

Den ideationella metafunktionen handlar om idéer och föreställningar om världen och dessa idéer och föreställningar både konstrueras av och formar våra erfarenheter av världen. Lingvistiskt uttrycks de i satser som består av process, deltagare och omständighet. I den här studien är det den ideationella metafunktionen som används för att analysera hur perspektiv av den erfarna världen realiserar i de institutionella språkpolicytexterna.

Inom SFG finns sätt att beskriva hur ideationell mening realiserar och organiseras i satser: transitivitetssystemet, som handlar om processtyper och relationer mellan deltagare, samt ergativitetssystemet, som handlar om påverkansrelationer (Karlsson, 2011). Systemen ligger nära varandra, men bidrar med kompletterande perspektiv. I fokus i transitivitetssystemet är hur processer kopplas till deltagare och omständigheter. SFG skiljer ofta på sex

olika processtyper: materiella, beteendemässiga, mentala, verbala, relationella och existentiella, men i linje med Holmberg och Karlsson (2013) räknar föreliggande studie med fyra processtyper: materiella (inklusive beteendemässiga), mentala, relationella (inklusive existentiella) och verbala.

I studien är det de materiella och relationella processerna som analyserats. Materiella processer har minst en deltagare, en aktör. Om det finns ytterligare en deltagare i satsen fungerar den troligen som mål. Som mål fungerar den deltagare som påverkas av processen och som aktör den som orsakar eller förkroppsligar processen. Det kan även finnas andra deltagare, t.ex. mottagare. När materiella processer studeras utifrån agentivitet (med hjälp av ergativitetssystemet) handlar det om ifall någon deltagare har ansvar för eller ligger bakom processen. Då kan man skilja på två olika sorts materiella processer: händelser och handlingar. I en händelse sker processen utan att deltagaren (aktören) orsakar processen – istället förkroppsligar den processen och fungerar som medium. I en handling orsakar deltagaren (aktören) processen och fungerar som agent. Prototypiskt har alla processer i ergativitetssystemet ett medium, men enbart satser med minst två deltagare har en agent. I satser med materiella processer är det också möjligt att studera omständigheter. Dessa handlar exempelvis om tid, plats, sätt, orsak, villkor, sällskap och synvinkel. Satser ses inte som omständigheter, utan de finns i både fria satser och bundna satser.

Relationella processer handlar om förhållanden och tillstånd, vilket gör det möjligt att studera vad som är kopplat till vad och vilka antaganden som ligger bakom detta. Det finns tre typer av relationella processer: attributiva, identifierande och existentiella (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013). I attributiva processer är förstadedeltagaren (bärare) kopplad till ett attribut (andradeltagaren), som beskriver egenskaper eller beskaffenhet hos förstadedeltagaren (ibid.). I identifierande processer är förstadedeltagaren (utpekad) kopplad till ett värde (andradeltagaren), som pekar ut identiteten hos eller etiketterar förstadedeltagaren (ibid.). I en existentiell process finns enbart en deltagare (den existerande).

	FÖRSTA- DELTAGARE	PROCESS- KÄRNA	ÖVRIGA DELTAGARE	OMSTÄNDIGHET
MATERIELL PROCESS	aktör		mål	
	<i>Studenten</i>	<i>färdigställda</i>	<i>essän</i>	<i>i juni.</i>
	aktör		mål & mottagare	
	<i>Studievägledare</i>	<i>ger</i>	<i>råd till studenter.</i>	
RELATIONELL PROCESS	bärare		attribut	
	<i>Många akademiker</i>	<i>har blivit</i>	<i>skickliga handledare</i>	<i>genom lång erfarenhet.</i>
	utpekad		värde	
	<i>Det första lärosätet i dagens Sverige</i>	<i>är</i>	<i>Uppsala universitet.</i>	
	existerande			
	<i>Akademiskt fusk</i>	<i>förekommer</i>		<i>i alla länder.</i>

En översikt av materiella och relationella processer, deltagare och omständigheter utifrån prototypiska exempel.

SFG har både en teoretisk grund och fungerar som analytiskt verktyg i studien, därför kompletteras beskrivningen av SFG i analysdelen nedan.

Analys

I studien har använts policytexter från både nationell och institutionell nivå. Den nationella policyn undersöks över tid, medan den institutionella policyn utgör ett 'stickprov', insamlade vid ett enskilt tillfälle⁸⁶. På nationell nivå analyserades elva texter som kom från tre olika policyområden: (1) internationalisering, (2) mångfald och breddat deltagande och (3) svensk språklagstiftning. De bestod av fyra statliga utredningar (SOU), fem propositioner (Prop.) samt två rapporter från två högskolemyndigheter; Universitetskanslerämbetet (UKÄ)⁸⁷ och Högskoleverket (HSV)⁸⁸. Texterna spände över 35 år, från 1974 till 2009.

På institutionell nivå analyserades tolv språkpolicytexter från tolv olika lärosäten. De skiljde sig mycket åt i omfång, där den kortaste texten bestod av 19 meningar och den längsta av 125 och där medelantalet meningar var cirka 80.

I det föregående har den teoretiska ramen beskrivits, det vill säga kritisk diskursanalys, CDA, (Fairclough, 2003; 2010; 2013,) inkluderat en modell för politiska diskursanalys (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Även den teoretiska

⁸⁶ Se fotnot 22.

⁸⁷ Universitetskanslerämbetet fanns mellan 1964 och 1977. Sedan 2013 används åter denna benämning för en tillsynsmyndighet inom högskolesektorn, med samma förkortning men med en annan stavning (Universitetskanslersämbetet).

⁸⁸ Högskoleverket fanns mellan 1995 och 2012.

grunden för systemisk funktionell grammatik, SFG, (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014) inklusive en svensk uttolkning av densamma (Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord, 2011; Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013) har presenterats. Nedan beskrivs de två olika analyserna som gjordes på det empiriska materialet.

En tematisk analys med hjälp av begrepp som 'legitimering' (van Leeuwen, 2008), 'diskurssträngar' och 'diskursiva knutar' (Jäger & Maier, 2009) användes för analysen av de nationella policytexterna. En lingvistisk analys med hjälp av den ideationella metafunktionen (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014; Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013; Holmberg, Karlsson & Nord, 2011) användes för analysen av de institutionella policytexterna. Både den tematiska textanalysen och den lingvistiska textanalysen syftade till att reda ut rådande antaganden och bakomliggande värderingar och på så sätt visa vilka perspektiv av den erfarna världen som förs fram (d.v.s. diskurser). Avhandlingen har lånat termen 'packa upp' (Holmberg & Karlsson, 2013) och använde den i en vidare betydelse där inte bara grammatiken 'packas upp' utan även representationer.

'Legitimering' (van Leeuwen, 2008) användes som verktyg för att identifiera de delar av texten där agerande i relation till språk fanns representerat. Begreppet hjälpte till att fokusera på agerande utifrån varför något skulle göras och vad som skulle göras. På så sätt erbjöd legitimering ett sätt att identifiera vad som sågs som betydelsefullt. De identifierade textdelarna tematiserades sedan och analyserades utifrån opererande diskurser, d.v.s. vilka perspektiv som representerades när handlingar legitimerades. 'Diskurssträngar' och 'diskursiva knutar' (Jäger & Maier, 2009) användes sedan för att beskriva och förstå hur diskurser var kopplade till och sammanflätade med varandra, verkade över lång tid och över de tre olika policyområdena i studien, samt påverkade och även transformerade varandra.

Inom CDA finns stora möjligheter att genomföra lingvistisk analys på texter som inte är för omfattande. Utgångspunkten är då att grammatiken konstruerar bilder av världen som en lingvistisk analys kan avslöja. Funktionell grammatik har fokus på betydelse i kontext och genom att analysera processer och kategorier av deltagare kan den fånga hur språkkonstruktioner formar en specifik bild av verkligheten (Holmberg et al., 2011). Lärosätenas språkpolicydokument var lämpliga för en sådan analys då de inte var alltför omfattande. Språkpolicytexten⁸⁹ på lärosätetsnivå analyserades utifrån ett

⁸⁹ Lärosätenas språkpolicydokument sågs som EN text utifrån två anledningar: för det första för att dokumenten i sig uppvisade stora likheter med intertextuella kopplingar; för det andra för att syftet med studien

ideationellt perspektiv, där transitivtets- och ergativitetssystemen inom SFG användes. Analysramen var politisk diskursanalys (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), som fokuserar på antaganden och utgångspunkter för handling och därmed maktutövning genom konstruktioner av vad som är rätt och riktigt. I analysen studerades framför allt relationella och materiella processer samt i viss mån lexikogrammatik och modalitet i dessa processer.

Genom grammatisk analys av transitivitet och agentivitet i satser läggs fokus på relationer och riktningar i huvudprocesser och på vilket sätt processer påverkar eller relaterar till, i det här fallet, studenter och akademiker. Analysen av deltagare och omständigheter i relation till materiella och relationella processer (termerna är beskrivna ovan) används för att visa hur språkideal och språkfärdigheter konstrueras och hur eller om de är kopplade till studenter och akademiker. Analysen av agentivitet är viktig för att se om agenter finns i konstruktionerna och om de är mänskliga. Avsaknad av agentskap kan vara ett tecken på att något presenteras som ett faktum och därmed kan exempelvis vem som har ansvaret utelämnas.

Som tidigare har nämnts konstrueras relationella processer förhållanden. De beskriver faktum och visar åsikter och synsätt. Detta gör det möjligt att analysera vad som är relaterat till vad och vilka värderingar och intressen som ligger bakom, vilket är användbart för att analysera språkideal och språkfärdighet i lärosätenas språkpolicy.

Resultat

I följande avsnitt summeras resultatet av studiens tre forskningsfrågor. Som tidigare har redogjorts har både nationell och institutionell policy undersökts. På nationell nivå har elva texter (rapporter, SOU:er och propositioner) från tre olika policyområden från 1970-talet till 2000-talet analyserats. Policyområdena är: (i) internationalisering (1974-2009), (ii) mångfald och breddat deltagande⁹⁰ (2000-2001) samt (iii) svensk språklagstiftning (2002-2008). På institutionell nivå har språkpolities från tolv olika lärosäten analyserats, insamlade 2012/2015⁹¹.

var att analysera de dominerande diskurserna inom området och då minskar behovet av att särskilja de olika dokumenten.

⁹⁰ Fortsättningsvis benämns policyområdet *mångfald och breddat deltagande* för enbart *breddat deltagande*.

⁹¹ Samtliga policydokument samlades in 2012. Inför att analysarbetet påbörjades 2015 gjordes dock en genomgång för att kontrollera ifall något lärosäte hade uppdaterat sin språkpolicy. Det visade sig att ett lärosäte hade gjort detta, varvid den nya versionen ersatte den gamla.

Språkideal

Den första forskningsfrågan rör hur språkideal i högre utbildning i Sverige är representerade på nationell nivå. Här identifieras framför allt tre dominerande diskurser som positionerar olika språk inom de tre policyområdena, nämligen en *ekonomisk*, en *inkluderings-* och en *framgångsdiskurs*. Dessa diskurser betraktas i avhandlingen som *diskurssträngar* (discourse strands) som opererar över tid, över policyområden och ofta sammanflätade och knutna till varandra exempelvis i så kallade *diskursiva knutar* (discursive knots).

Inom svensk språklagstiftning som policyområde positionerades svenska språket inom högre utbildning i relation till eventuella hot från engelska språket. Svenska språket skulle skyddas och utvecklas, oavsett disciplin eller ämne, framför allt utifrån demokratiska och samhällseliga intressen. Studenter behöver kunna sitt professions- eller ämnesområde på svenska och ny kunskap behöver kommuniceras på svenska. Samtidigt fördes ett parallellspråkigt ideal fram där svenska och engelska skulle komplettera varandra. Det var företrädesvis en *inkluderingsdiskurs* som likställde svenska språket med demokrati och deltagande. Genom en *ekonomisk diskurssträng* konstruerades vikten av svenska språket utifrån företagsperspektiv, d.v.s. att näringslivet riskerade att drabbas ifall forskning och högre utbildning inte bedrevs på svenska.

Inom breddat deltagande som policyområde positionerades svenskan som det gemensamma språket och därmed som en förutsättning för integration och social samvaro. Det var det språk som invandrade studenter behövde för att delta och för att lyckas. En kombination av *inkluderingsdiskurs* och *framgångsdiskurs* bidrog till framgångsrik integration för dessa studenter. Svenska språket positionerades även som nödvändigt för framtida arbetsliv, framför allt i form av yrkessvenska. Samtliga tre diskurssträngar, *ekonomisk*, *inkluderings-* och *framgångsdiskurs*, var ihopkopplade i en diskursiv knut när svenska språket konstruerades som nödvändigt för invandrade studenters framtida yrkesliv - för deras integration och användbarhet på arbetsmarknaden.

Inom internationalisering som policyområde förändrades positioneringen av svenska språket under den undersökta policyperioden. På 1970- och 1980-talet var svenska en förutsättning för högre studier i Sverige för transnationella studenter. Runt millennieskiftet var positioneringen av svenskan mer tvetydig. Svenska sågs inte längre som ett krav för högre utbildning för inresande studenter, men det kunde vara det efter en engelskspråkig ingång. Svenska började däremot ses som en individuell och social angelägenhet, d.v.s.

svenskans roll blev ett medel för att interagera med svensktalande studenter. Så småningom konstruerades svenska språket som viktigt för ett framtida arbetsliv. Följaktligen har värdet av svenska språket för transnationella studenter förändrats; från nödvändigt för att delta i svensk högre utbildning till frivilligt och socialt, från ointressant för arbetslivet till värdefullt. Genom en *framgångsdiskurs* konstruerade svenska som nödvändigt för högre utbildning på 70- och 80-talet. Genom en *inkluderingsdiskurs* konstruerade svenska på 00-talet som ett medel för deltagande – socialt och yrkesmässigt.

Förutom ett svenskspråkigt ideal var det tydligt att även ett engelskspråkigt ideal fördes fram. Det var framför allt två diskurssträngar som opererade under den undersökta policyperioden: en *ekonomisk diskurs* och en *inkluderingsdiskurs*. Under 1970- och 1980-talet konstruerades engelska språket i relation till solidaritet och ansvar för världsfrågor. Så småningom kom emellertid denna *inkluderingsdiskurs* att inkorporeras i den *ekonomiska diskursen*. Den förändrade positioneringen av engelska språket gick från att vara ett språk bland andra till det enda internationellt gångbara språket. Det gick från framtidsspråk till obligatoriskt språk. Det gick från att vara ett medium för att solidariskt lösa världsfrågor till ett konkurrensmedel på en global utbildningsmarknad. Genom att konstruera engelska som det naturliga och gemensamma språket införlivades inkludering i ekonomiska intressen.

Ytterligare ett resultat rör flerspråkighet. Som ideal förekom flerspråkighet sällan, om vi bortser från ett svensk-engelskt tvåspråkigt ideal. Utifrån ett inkluderingsperspektiv fördes dock fram att det inte var realistiskt med enbart engelska. Samtidigt som det utifrån ett ekonomiskt perspektiv framfördes att det fanns en risk att Sverige skulle kunna skadas om engelskan blev alltför dominant. På 1970- och 1980-talet konstruerades dock ett flerspråkigt ideal genom en *inkluderingsdiskurs*. Där positionerades framför allt franska och tyska som alternativ för interaktion och lärande. Efter millennieskiftet förekom flerspråkighet i form av 'andra främmande språk' än engelska i relation till att attrahera transnationella studenter till svenska lärosäten. Det finns många exempel på hur engelska konstruerades utifrån ekonomiska intressen. Det går dock inte att säga att något flerspråkigt ideal fördes fram. Det är mer troligt att 'andra främmande språk' enbart är en retorisk konstruktion.

Det sista språkliga idealet rör minoritetsspråk och skandinaviska språk. Det förekom få konstruktioner kring dessa språk, vilket gör att det knappast går att tala om något ideal. Minoritetsspråk konstruerades utifrån ett inkluderingsperspektiv, men positionerades som beroende av relevans-

bedömning, d.v.s. lärosäten kunde själva bedöma relevansen av att använda minoritetsspråk för kommunikation. Även om perspektivet var inkludering riskerade denna positionering att resultera i exkludering. Språkkunskaper i de skandinaviska språken värderades inte och kan mer eller mindre sägas vara osynliggjorda, samtidigt som engelskspråkighet togs för givet.

Studenters språkfärdigheter

Den andra forskningsfrågan rör hur studenters och akademikers förväntade språkfärdigheter i Sverige är representerade på nationell nivå. Detta har undersökts i de tre tidigare nämnda policyområdena. I likhet med de representerade språkidealen samverkar flera diskurssträngar i att skapa studenters och akademikers förväntade språkfärdigheter, som språkaktörer. Det är framför allt en *marknadsdiskurs*, ofta tillsammans med diskurser om *inkludering* och *framgång*, som opererar i form av diskursiva knutar, när svensk språkfärdighet, engelsk språkfärdighet och i viss mån flerspråkighet konstrueras. I det nedanstående beskrivs dessa språkfärdigheter i den ordningen.

För det första var den generella representationen av studenters språkfärdigheter 'en svenskspråkig student'. Den ska förstås utifrån att svensk språkfärdighet sågs som en förutsättning för framgång i studier och på den kommande arbetsmarknaden. Det finns dock två studentgrupper vars svenska språkfärdigheter konstruerades olika och förändrades under den undersökta policyperioden, nämligen transnationella studenter och invandrade studenter.

I likhet med de ovan beskrivna språkidealen förväntades transnationella studenter att lära sig (eller kunna) svenska på 1970- och 1980-talet, för att kunna bedriva studier i Sverige. Efter millennieskiftet fanns inte längre denna förväntade språkfärdighet kvar. Istället förväntades transnationella studenter vara engelskspråkiga. Den engelska språkfärdigheten skulle inte bara möjliggöra studier i Sverige, utan också bidra till att lärosätena blev mer konkurrenskraftiga. På detta sätt knöts individuell och organisatorisk framgång ihop.

Det fanns dock representationer där transnationella studenters kunskaper i svenska konstruerades som en resurs för Sverige, som en strategisk fördel för svenskt arbetsliv såväl som svensk högre utbildning. Den svenska språkfärdigheten var en del i upprättandet av internationella relationer. I detta kopplades den diskursiva knuten (*framgång*, *inkludering* och *marknad*) ihop med politiska intressen.

Invandrade studenters språkfärdighet i svenska representerades inte på samma sätt som transnationella studenters. Deras svenska språkfärdighet konstruerades utifrån ett integrationsperspektiv. Kunskaper i svenska var nödvändiga som medel för att kunna delta i samhällliga aktiviteter, som t.ex. utbildning.

Det är tydligt att även en *bristdiskurs* opererade i att konstruera invandrade studenters kompetens i svenska. Bristdiskursen fokuserade på vilken språklig kompetens som studenterna saknade, inte vilken språklig repertoar de hade. Dock representerades även transnationella studenters språkkunskaper i svenska som ett problem under 1980-talet. Det handlade då inte bara om att det sågs som ett problem för studenterna, utan även för undervisningens kvalitet.

För det andra representerades studenter som engelskspråkiga aktörer, framför allt utifrån marknadsintressen relaterade till en global utbildningsmarknad. Konstruktionen av en attraktiv student innefattade engelska språkfärdigheter, genom att engelskspråkighet kopplades till värden som konkurrenskraft och attraktivitet. Transnationella studenters närvaro vid svenska lärosäten skapade en 'internationell' miljö genom sina förväntade engelska språkfärdigheter.

Både inresande studenter till Sverige och utresande inhemska studenter konstruerades som 'kulturella nycklar' genom sin språkfärdighet i engelska. Dessa utbytesstudenter, som förväntades förbättra sina språkkunskaper och sin kulturella förståelse, blev därmed användbara för arbetsmarknaden. De här engelskspråkiga studenterna konstruerades inte bara som användbara för arbetsmarknaden, utan också som viktiga för lärosätenas (t.o.m. Sveriges) attraktionskraft.

I de senare policytexterna konstruerades de inhemska studenterna som parallellspråkiga i svenska och engelska, framför allt i relation till vetenskapligt fackspråk. Parallellspråkighet konstrueras av en diskursiv knut där diskurssträngar av *inkludering* och *marknad* är ihopkopplade.

För det tredje representerades studenter sällan som flerspråkiga. När det förekom var det i policytexter från 1970-talet, vilket är i likhet med konstruktionen av ett flerspråkigt ideal. På 70-talet konstruerades flerspråkighet i relation till studenternas kunskaper i skolspråken franska och tyska. Studenterna skulle fortsätta utveckla sina språkkunskaper, på lärosätet eller genom utbyte. Franska och tyska fanns som alternativ till engelska för studenterna utifrån ett inkluderingsperspektiv som värderade internationella relationer på fler språk än engelska. Även marknadsintressen opererade när

flerspråkighet konstruerades som ett konkurrensmedel för individen eller som fördelaktigt för Sverige på en internationell arbetsmarknad.

I senare policytexter saknades representationer av flerspråkiga studenter. Dock fanns en öppning för flerspråkigt erkännande i utbildningar som riktade sig till samhällssektorer i behov av flerspråkig kompetens.

Akademikers språkfärdigheter

I likhet med representationerna av studenters språkfärdigheter konstruerades även akademikers språkfärdigheter utifrån de dominerande diskurssträngarna *inkludering*, *framgång* och *marknad*. Trots att studenter och akademiker är olika kategorier konstruerades vissa språkkunskaper likartat. Det gäller t.ex. flerspråkighet som för båda grupperna enbart förekom under 1970-talet och engelsk språkfärdighet som förväntades av både transnationella studenter och akademiker. I det nedanstående beskrivs akademikers svenskspråkighet, engelskspråkighet och flerspråkighet.

För det första representerades akademiker som svenskspråkig med två språkrelaterade roller. I den första rollen konstruerades akademiker som beskyddare och utvecklare av svenskt fackspråk, och i den andra rollen som främjare av studenters lärande av svenskt fackspråk. Att skydda och utveckla svenskt fackspråk skulle förstås utifrån ett samhälleligt perspektiv. Det handlade om ett ansvar för kunskapsspridning till allmänheten utifrån demokratiska värden. Demokrati ingick i en *inkluderingsdiskurs* som opererade utifrån ett potentiellt hot om svenskans försvagning (i relation till engelska) inom vissa områden i högre utbildning.

I den andra rollen, den som lärare, konstruerades akademiker som de som förbättrar studenternas språkfärdigheter i svenska. Denna konstruktion förekom nästa uteslutande i kombination med engelska. De bakomliggande intressena varierade från *inkludering* (studenter riskerar att inte behärska sitt studieområde på svenska) och *framgång* (något som ökar genomströmningen) till *marknad* (studenters attraktionskraft och lärosätets konkurrenskraft ökar).

För det andra representerades akademiker som engelskspråkiga. Detta gjordes utifrån ett förgivettagande om engelska som det naturliga globala vetenskapsspråket. Naturligheten förstärktes genom konstruktioner av ooundvikelighet, som att det bara fanns material på engelska att tillgå eller att vetenskaplig publicering framför allt skedde på engelska. Även konstruktioner av engelska som gemensamt språk bidrog till att naturalisera språket.

Engelskspråkig kompetens konstruerades i termer av professionell anpassning och som rationell norm för delar av akademiskt arbete.

Akademikers engelska språkfärdighet konstruerades följaktligen av en kombination av diskurssträngar där både en *inkluderingsdiskurs* och en *marknadsdiskurs* var tydliga. Den professionella språkanpassningen ledde till integration och acceptans i forskningssamhället genom användning av engelska. Denna språkanpassning var inkorporerad i marknadsvärden som konkurrenskraft och attraktivitet.

Representationen av akademiker som ansvariga för studenters språkutveckling har funnits länge. Redan på 1970-talet konstruerades akademiska ämnesexperter som lärare i fackspråk. På 2000-talet konstruerades de i mer allmänna termer som ansvariga för engelskspråkig utveckling. Samtidigt som dessa representationer fanns förekom också konstruktioner av ett bristperspektiv (att ämnesundervisning på engelska blev sämre). En *marknadsdiskurs* upprätthöll förhållningssättet att 'ändamålet helgar medlen', d.v.s. att även om undervisningen blev sämre så var internationaliseringsvinsterna större.

När det gäller transnationella akademiker konstruerades de, precis som transnationella studenter, som engelskspråkiga, vanligtvis i relation till undervisning. Detta gjordes i en diskursiv knut av *framgångs-*, *inkluderings-* och *marknadsdiskurser*, där dessa akademiker möjliggjorde högkvalitativ engelskspråkig undervisning. Transnationella akademiker representerades inte med någon annan språklig repertoar än engelska.

För det tredje representerades akademiker, på samma sätt som studenter, sällan som flerspråkiga. Konstruktioner av flerspråkiga akademiker förekom enbart på 1970-talet utifrån ett *inkluderingsperspektiv*, där enbart engelsk språkfärdighet ansågs alltför begränsande. Akademikers flerspråkighet konstruerades t.o.m. som en nackdel (att det är svårt att bedöma den vetenskapliga kompetensen) i senare policy.

Språkideal och språkfärdighet på lärosätetsnivå

Avhandlingens tredje forskningsfråga behandlar hur språkliga ideal och språkfärdigheter för såväl studenter som akademiker representeras på institutionell nivå i Sverige. De ideal, värderingar och omständigheter som presenteras som naturliga och självklara samt explicita regler och principer fungerar reglerande och styrande för akademiker och studenter. Analysen visar

att språkideal och språkfärdigheter uteslutande handlar om svenska och engelska och rör såväl forskning och pedagogisk verksamhet som administrativ verksamhet. Dessutom blir det tydligt att reglering och styrning av språkideal och språkfärdigheter till stor del är visionsartad. Slutligen konstateras det att det pågår en kommodifiering av 'språk', framför allt engelska.

Styrande av akademikers och studenters språkfärdigheter

För det första regleras och styrs undervisningsspråket för akademiker (och studenter). Svenskspråkig undervisningen konstrueras som naturligt på lägre utbildningsnivåer genom relationella processer, d.v.s. i processer som karakteriserar och identifierar hur något är. På samma sätt, i relationella processer, konstrueras engelskspråkighet som naturligt för akademiker (och studenter) på högre nivåer. Följaktligen kräver undervisning på grundnivå svenskspråkighet för de flesta akademiker (och studenter), och undervisning på avancerad och forskarnivå kräver att alltfler akademiker (och studenter) har engelskspråkiga färdigheter för dessa nivåer.

Ett parallellspråkigt ideal skapas ofta utifrån engelska som tilläggspråk. Det är underförstått att undervisning sker på svenska och att engelska ska föras in mer och mer så att studenter utvecklar sin engelska. Emellertid saknas det ofta aktörer i dessa konstruktioner, som är passiva eller relationella. När aktörer förekommer är det i inte form av mänskliga aktörer, utan istället i form av abstraktioner (som t.ex. lärosätet). Att de är passiva och relationella skapar en fakticitet och naturlighet – så här är det. Att det saknas aktörer är problematiskt, då det finns en underförstådd mening att undervisningen ska leda till att studenter utvecklar sin engelska. Det är lika problematiskt när aktören är lärosätet, eftersom ansvaret för språkutvecklingen, som rimligtvis är akademikernas, osynliggörs.

Dessa implicita konstruktioner av akademiker som språklärare, i svenskt och engelskt vetenskapligt språk, förekommer också med studenterna både som mottagare av språkträning och språklig återkoppling och som aktörer i materiella utvecklingsprocesser. Följaktligen förväntas akademiker ha kompetens i att utveckla studenters språk samt bedöma studenters språk och deras språkutveckling. Bedömningen av studenters språkfärdighet bygger på två premisser: idén om studenters språkprogression samt språklig korrekthet som ideal. Både akademiker och studenter konstrueras också som mottagare av språkstöd och språkutbildning, utifrån att de behöver utveckla den egna språkfärdigheten.

För det andra regleras och styrs akademiker (och studenter) av och i relation till den svenska språklagstiftningen. Detta sker genom att uttryck, formuleringar och terminologi från lagstiftningen är inkorporerade i policytexten, ofta utan referens. Genom dessa konstruktioner av ett svenskspråkigt ideal läggs fokus på lärosätena som myndighet. Genom analysen framträder tre olika perspektiv på myndighetssvenska: som ett *administrativt språk*, som ett *betydelsefullt språk* och som ett *gemensamt språk*. Myndighetssvenska konstrueras utan mänskliga deltagare, i relationella eller passiva materiella processer och attribuerar språkliga egenskaper till icke-mänskliga bärare. Dessa konstruktioner skapar en fakticitet och ofrånkomlighet – så här är det och du förväntas agera i enlighet med hur det är.

I lärosätenas språkpolicy är dock detta svenskspråkiga myndighetsideal sammankopplat med det parallellspråkiga svensk-engelska idealet. Formuleringar som finns i svensk språklagstiftning används även för engelska (t.ex. i relation till klarspråk). När det gäller konstruktioner av forskningskommunikation är de mer inbäddade. Kommunikationen ska anpassas till forskarkollegor och till människor utanför högskolevärlden. En rimlig tolkning är att akademiker behöver kommunikationsfärdigheter i både svenska och engelska, såväl för kunskapsspridning inom disciplinen som för populärvetenskaplig spridning.

Om akademiker konstrueras implicit som språklärare så konstrueras de explicit i relation till utveckling av svenskt fackspråk. Dock är konstruktionerna lika otydliga som de implicita då själva utvecklingen inte är realiserad som/i den grammatiska processen. Istället konstrueras akademiker som aktörer i processer som ska ”bidra till” utveckling eller ”verka för” utveckling – konstruktioner som tonar ner utvecklingsansvaret. Samma sak gäller för konstruktioner där utveckling verkligen är huvudprocessen. Där är antingen aktören icke-mänsklig (lärosätet), vilket tonar ner ansvaret för akademiker, eller så är den materiella processen i passiv form och helt utelämnar aktören.

För det tredje regleras och styrs akademikers och studenters språkideal och språkfärdigheter i relation till vetenskapligt skrivande. Självständiga arbeten på alla utbildningsnivåer (avhandlingar inkluderat) konstrueras i termer av relationella processer, d.v.s. texterna ska ha vissa språkliga egenskaper. Följaktligen behöver studenter och akademiker ha språkfärdigheter som stämmer överens med dessa egenskaper. Prototypiskt konstrueras en svensk-engelsk parallellspråklig ambition, där åtminstone sammanfattningar ska vara på det språk som huvudtexten inte är skriven på.

Avslutningsvis kan konstateras att andra språkideal än svenska, engelska eller parallellspråkig svensk-engelska sällan förekommer i lärosätenas språkpolicy. Emellertid har några lärosäten ett uttalat ansvar för varsitt av Sveriges minoritetsspråk. Detta konstateras i konstruktioner där lärosätet attribueras språkansvaret eller konstrueras som mottagare av ansvaret – konstruktioner som varken är dynamiska eller lägger språkfrågan i fokus. Dessa konstruktioner är relativt abstrakta. Enda gången språkfärdighet i några av minoritetsspråken (samt svenskt teckenspråk) värderas är i relation till administrativa tjänster. Svenskt teckenspråk konstrueras några gånger i relativt specifika och abstrakta termer, men nämns å andra sidan vilket kan ses som ett sätt att relevantgöra språket.

Språkpolicy som vaga visioner

Lärosätenas språkpolicy konstrueras i hög grad som vision. Den visionslika karaktären åstadkoms genom en kombination av att språkfrågor inte konstrueras i (fria) huvudprocesser i satserna och av att lexikogrammatiken är vag. När fria materiella processer företrädesvis konstrueras i termer av ”sträva mot, arbeta för, uppmuntra till, främja, bidra till” och aktörer konstrueras i termer av ”lärosätet” eller ”utbildningen” blir resultatet väldigt vagt och kan mer liknas vid en vision.

Ytterligare exempel på vaghet i lärosätenas språkpolicy är konstruktioner med exempelvis forskare som ”ska kunna” göra något, t.ex. ”förmedla” eller ”presentera” kunskap. Sådana konstruktioner öppnar för åtminstone två olika tolkningar. För det första kan det avse forskarens färdighet, ”att kunna”. För det andra kan det avse kvaliteten på själva handlingen, ”förmedlandet” eller ”presenterandet” av kunskap. Det är framför allt den första tolkningen som gör policyn vag och visionslik. Den andra tolkningen är däremot handlingsinriktad. Bara det faktum att det finns tolkningsutrymme gör att den reglerande effekten minskar.

Avslutningsvis förstärks den visionära karaktären hos lärosätenas språkpolicy genom att språkaktiviteter kopplas ihop med ”möjligheter” som ges/fås/erbjuds. Språkaktiviteterna konstrueras inte som huvudprocess utan istället som mål och de är inbäddade med ”möjlighet” och ibland även nominaliserade. När själva språkfrågan är konstruerad på det här sättet blir den mindre viktig. Sådana konstruktioner osynliggör dessutom ansvaret för språkaktiviteterna.

Kommodifiering av språk

Analysen visar att 'språk' i lärosätenas språkpolicy håller på att kommodifieras, d.v.s. att 'språk' i det här sammanhanget konstrueras och förstås som något tekniskt, som ett objekt eller instrument eller som ett värde utanför människor. Detta ska jämföras med en förståelse av 'språk' som något relationellt och inommänskligt kopplat till människors identitet och kultur. Gemensamt för de olika kommodifierande konstruktionerna är att 'språk' blir mätbart – i form av prestation och färdighet – och får ett tilläggsvärde – i relation till kvalitet och vinst.

I relation till en global utbildningsmarknad konstrueras 'språk' som attraktivitet och kvalitet. Engelsk språkfärdighet och språklig mångfald fungerar som attribut till eller mål för universitet i konstruktioner av attraktionskraft. 'Språk' lägger till värde för universiteten och fungerar som ett instrument för att bli attraktivt. Även specifik språkanvändning, både organisatorisk och individuell, konstrueras i relation till marknadsvärden. Genom en viss typ av språkbruk, t.ex. brittisk engelska, vill lärosäten skapa en positiv bild av sig själva utåt. God språkbehandling attribueras till nationell och internationell konkurrenskraft och kvalitet för lärosäten. Forskares prestation konstrueras i relation till språkliga färdigheter.

Kommodifieringen av engelska språket blir tydlig när det konstrueras som en resurs i och förutsättning för internationaliseringsprocesser. När utbyte och mobilitet är målet och engelska konstrueras som resursen som ska "stimulera, uppmuntra, förbättra och attrahera" dessa aktiviteter blir engelskan ett medel för att uppnå målet.

Engelska språket konstrueras genomgående som "internationellt" gärna i kombination med hur betydelsefullt det är i en vetenskaplig miljö både för spridning av kunskap och för samarbete. En sådan konstruktion är på ett sätt tillfällig (kontingent) och utbytbar, d.v.s. för tillfället är det engelska som konstrueras som det internationella språket, men det kunde ha varit annorlunda. På ett annat sätt är konstruktionen av engelska språket djupt inbäddad i marknadsintressen och närmast att betrakta som självklart, vilket gör det svårt att förstå det som tillfälligt och utbytbart.

En stark marknadsdiskurs präglar lärosätenas språkpolicy, vilket ger avtryck i hur 'språk' konstrueras. Fokus ligger oftast på språkfärdigheter vilket gör att språk framför allt konstrueras som något tekniskt, gärna kombinerat med

attraktivitet. Det finns dock konstruktioner som i viss mån balanserar upp marknadsintressen, exempelvis när 'språk' konstrueras i inkluderande termer.

Inkluderande konstruktioner av 'språk' innefattar exempelvis konstruktioner av svenska som medel för att åstadkomma samhällsdiskussion, kunskapsspridning och demokrati. Akademiker attribueras svenskspråkigt utvecklingsansvar, vilket i och för sig kan förstås som tekniskt, samtidigt som svenska konstrueras som ett demokratiskt medel med offentligt samtal och deltagande som mål. Svenska språket konstrueras därmed annorlunda jämfört med i internationaliseringsprocesser, där marknadslogik framför allt råder. Här handlar det istället om mellanmännisklighet.

Avslutningsvis visar analysen att 'språk' fungerar som både mål och aktör i relation till fenomen som "samarbete, internationalisering, integration och mångfald" och i konstruktioner av valbarhet. Exempelvis är det "internationaliseringen" som "ställer stora krav på goda språkliga färdigheter", "språket" som "sätter upp begränsningar för integration mellan anställda" samt "lärosätets val av språk" som "ska relateras till målgruppen". I dessa konstruktioner objektifieras 'språk'. Det finns en svaghet i konstruktioner av valbarhet när det gäller engelska språket, eftersom engelska, som tidigare nämnts, konstrueras som "det internationella språket". Engelska som internationellt språk förstås företrädesvis utifrån marknadsintressen. Engelska konstrueras därmed inte bara som ett värde utanför människor, utan som värdet med stort V. Engelska språket blir på detta sätt en tillgång i de kommodifieringsprocesser som pågår i högre utbildning.

Diskussion och konklusion

Avhandlingen beskriver hur diskurssträngar i form av ekonomisk/marknadsdiskurs, inkluderingsdiskurs och framgångsdiskurs konstruerar språkideal och språkfärdighet i högre utbildning. Exempelvis har ekonomiska motiv och marknadsvärden blivit alltmer framträdande i konstruktionen och förståelsen av 'språk'. Dessa motiv och värden har alltmer kommit att definiera inkludering och framgång. I det följande kommer avhandlingens resultat att diskuteras i relation till akademiker och studenter och deras praktik.

Ett övergripande resultat är att de namngivna språken svenska och engelska konstrueras som språkideal, både var för sig och tillsammans, i form av parallellspråkighet. Värt att diskutera är att konstruktionen av svenska språket som ideal i högre utbildning utgår från fler motiv än det som specifikt har med

framgångsrik utbildning att göra. Svenska som ett grundläggande och nödvändigt språk relateras till möjliga engelskspråkiga hot och konstrueras utifrån idéer om beskydd och demokrati. Svenska konstrueras också som medel för integration. Svenska positioneras som ett relevant forskningsspråk och som förutsättning för demokratiska processer i relation till ny kunskap, vilket är helt i linje med annan nordisk forskning (Ihalainen & Saarinen, 2015; Saarinen & Taalas, 2017). Det som är intressant i sammanhanget är att det svenska idealet inte gäller transnationella akademiker, då dessa aldrig konstrueras som svenskspråkiga. Värt att notera är även att inkluderingsmotiv och ekonomiska intressen, som ligger utanför högre utbildning, positionerar svenska som nödvändigt, exempelvis att det är viktigt för näringslivet och för ett framtida arbetsliv. Att svenska representeras i ekonomiska termer är inte överraskande utifrån den självklarhet som ekonomiska diskurser har i utbildning (jfr. Waldow, 2008).

Konstruktionen av engelska språket som en del av högre utbildnings språkideal har förändrats sedan 1970-talet. Då positionerades engelska som ett av flera språk i relation till solidaritet och världsansvar i en stark inkluderingsdiskurs. Numera ses engelska som något nödvändigt och oundvikligt på en oreglerad forsknings- och utbildningsmarknad. Engelska blir ett medel för attraktivitet och konkurrenskraft och genom att konstruera engelska språket som naturligt och gemensamt inkorporeras idéer om inkludering i ekonomiska intressen. Det är rimligt att anta att representationen av engelska språket i policy följer på och påverkas av andra förändringsprocesser i högre utbildning som exempelvis kommersialisering av forskning, kommodifiering av kunskap och lärande samt marknadspåverkade relationer mellan lärare och studenter (t.ex. Ball, 2012; Beach, 2013; Blackmore, 2009; Brule, 2004; Hultgren et al., 2014; Hursh & Wall, 2011). Vi vet att ekonomiska diskurser påverkar och förändrar vad vi räknar och uppfattar som legitima språk och i en kommersialiserad och kommodifierad utbildningsmiljö blir språk något tekniskt utifrån diskurser om vinst och framgång (Heller & Duchêne, 2012). Den här studien visar att i internationaliseringen av svensk högre utbildning är det numera enbart engelska som ses som det giltiga språket, men också att det finns indikationer på att det inte alltid varit så. Det är rimligt att tänka att det engelska språkidealet som konstrueras utifrån marknadsintressen efter millennieskiftet avspeglar samhällliga diskurstrender.

Studien avslöjar också att något flerspråkigt ideal utöver svensk-engelsk tvåspråkighet inte förekommer i texterna från 2000-talet. Varken nationella

minoritetsspråk och stora invandrarspråk i Sverige eller några världsspråk positioneras i relation till högre utbildning. Det finns tal om 'andra språk', men en rimlig tolkning av detta är att det framför allt handlar om retorik. Soler et al. (2018) visar ett liknande osynliggörande av minoritets- och invandrarspråk i studier av svensk och estländsk högre utbildning. Möjligen kan detta resultat förstås i skenet av vad som uppfattas som en språkhierarki i tre skikt, med svenska och engelska i översta skiktet, skandinaviska och stora europeiska språk i nästa skikt och stora invandrarspråk och nationella minoritetsspråk i det understa (Josephson, 2013). En sådan språkhierarki avspeglar den ensidiga svensk-engelska parallellspråkiga normen inom högre utbildning (Kuteeva, 2018). Det finns dessutom en risk att om inte exempelvis nationella minoritetsspråk representeras som en naturlig och självklar del av högre utbildning så kommer den förmodade språkhierarkin att (för)bli självklar. Det kan se annorlunda ut, vilket studier av tvåspråkiga regioner visar, där lärosäten tar aktiv del i och ett socialt ansvar för att stärka lokala språk (t.ex. Bull, 2012; Cots et al., 2012).

I den följande diskussionen av representationer av studenters och akademikers förväntade språkfärdigheter är det viktigt att komma ihåg att dessa på många sätt är ihopkopplade med språkidealen och att det är samma dominerande diskurssträngar som opererar, framför allt en marknadsspråk.

Resultaten visar att engelskspråkiga studenter konstrueras som nödvändiga för lärosäten. Framgång, både för dessa studenter och för lärosätena genom dessa studenter, inkorporeras i marknadsvärden. Det pågår ett antal sammankopplade processer samtidigt: engelsk språkfärdighet skapar attraktiva och konkurrenskraftiga studenter; engelskspråkiga program och kurser skapar internationellt attraktiva universitet; närvaron av engelsktalande studenter skapar en internationell miljö (där hög kvalitet är underförstått) samt den engelskspråkiga miljön som är skapad av engelskspråkiga studenter skapar internationellt konkurrenskraftiga lärosäten. På detta sätt blir engelskspråkiga studenter både medel och mål i lärosätenas internationalisering.

Ett annat intressant resultat är att flerspråkiga studenters språkliga repertoar inte ses som tillgångar eller resurser, förutom deras engelska språkfärdighet. Istället betonas andra delar, exempelvis deras brist på svenskkunskaper. Denna bristdiskurs har lång historia i relation till minoriteter och invandrade personer. Redan på 1980-talet beskrev Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) hur två motsatta föreställningar om minoriteter och invandrade personer rådde: en utifrån ett bristperspektiv där deras brister i majoritetsspråket orsakade problem, och en

utifrån ett berikande perspektiv där deras flerspråkighet berikade samhället. På 1990-talet fann Pirjo Lahdenperä (1997) att en bristdiskurs i många fall rådde i den svenska skolan. De få gånger som studenters flerspråkighet, utöver engelska, värderas i policytexterna är det i relation till ekonomiska och marknadsintressen och inte i relation till värden inom högre utbildning. Om någon form av bristdiskurs råder finns det risk att det kan påverka hur lärare ser på studenter med icke-svenskspråkig bakgrund i svenskspråkig undervisning. Möjligen påverkar det även hur studenterna själva uppfattar sig, då policydiskurser erbjuder sätt att förstå och prata om de som berörs av policyn, vilket påverkar hur människor uppfattar sig själva och andra i den kontexten (Ball, 2015).

I likhet med flerspråkiga studenter värdesätts inte heller flerspråkighet hos transnationella akademiker, med engelsk språkfärdighet som undantag. Akademiker konstrueras och förstås enbart som engelskspråkiga. Att resultatet är sådant bidrar sannolikt inte till att främja några andra alternativ än en förväntad engelsk språkfärdighet hos transnationella akademiker. Det finns inga indikationer på några initiativ utöver engelsk språkfärdighet, vilket Phillipson (2015) efterfrågar som en viktig del i utvecklingen av språkpolicy i europeisk högre utbildning.

Ett annat resultat som behöver diskuteras är den dubbla representationen av akademiker som svenska språkexperter, d.v.s. som beskyddare och utvecklare av svensk vetenskaplig terminologi samt som lärare i/av svenskt (och engelskt) vetenskapligt språk. Utvecklingen och skyddandet av svenskt vetenskapsspråk är konstruerat i relation till engelskans spridning och hot, och därmed riktas implicit ett terminologiskt ansvar till akademiker som primärt använder engelska som forskningsspråk. Detta blir problematiskt ifall forskaren inte är svenskspråkig. Det verkar inte finnas någon förberedelse för ett scenario med en engelskspråkig forskningsgrupp där ingen har svensk språkfärdighet. Transnationella akademiker representeras enbart som engelskspråkiga. Följaktligen förväntas inte alla akademiker i Sverige kunna svenska. Det är därför föga förvånande att inte heller lärosätenas språkpolicy konstruerar transnationella akademiker som mer än engelskspråkiga.

Konstruktioner av akademiker som möjliggörare för studenters språkutveckling och språktillägnande sätter press på akademiker att ha sådan språklig kompetens. Lärandet av svenskt vetenskapligt språk konstrueras vanligtvis tillsammans med engelska, vilket betyder att såväl inhemska som transnationella akademiker behöver ha språklig kompetens som möjliggör

lärande för studenterna. Oavsett språk (svenska eller engelska) är det rimligt att tolka utvecklingsansvaret som samma, d.v.s. att organisera undervisning på ett sådant sätt att studenter utvecklar sitt vetenskapliga språk i något av dessa båda språken. I studier av ämneslektors erfarenheter av engelsk språkutveckling anger de undervisande lärarna att det är positivt att använda engelsk kurslitteratur, men de efterfrågar inte formella språkmål i kursplanerna (Pecorari et al., 2011).

Engelska som det självklara och naturliga främmande språket för svensktalande och alla icke-engelsktalande akademiker i Sverige är tydligt. Det konstrueras utifrån professionella, rationella och inkluderande motiv – för att bli deltagare i den internationella forskningsgemenskapen krävs engelsk språkfärdighet. Detta kan exempelvis förstås utifrån idéerna om 'hyperkollektivitet' och 'Q-värde' (Ferguson, 2012; Robichaud & De Schutter, 2012), vilket betyder att ju fler som använder ett språk, desto mer värdefullt blir det och ju mer värdefullt det blir, desto fler vill använda det osv. När engelska legitimeras med professionella, rationella och inkluderande motiv blir det oerhört svårt att ifrågasätta dess relevans och privilegierade position.

Konstruktionerna av språkideal och språkfärdigheter på lärosätetsnivå är interdiskursivt kopplade till den nationella nivån när nationella diskurser rekontextualiseras i lärosätets språkpolicy. Det finns tre delar av resultaten på lärosätetsnivå som är intressanta att diskutera: (1) spänningen mellan konkretion och vaghet i relation till parallellspråkighet, (2) svensk språklagstiftnings påverkan och (3) konsekvenserna av marknadskrafter och ekonomiska intressen på språkfrågor.

För det första, visar studien att konstruktioner som rör språkutveckling, både för studenter och akademiker, är vaga och därmed blir ansvaret för agerande otydligt. Mänskliga aktörer utelämnas och huvudprocesserna handlar inte om språkutvecklingen. Samtidigt är konstruktioner som rör akademiskt skrivande och kunskapsspridning konkreta, men är oklara när det gäller vägen dit och huruvida det gäller alla discipliner och alla akademiker. Denna spänning mellan explicit reglering och visionslika direktiv skapar en otydlighet och osäkerhet och riskerar att varken styra eller stödja akademiker.

Andra studier talar om oförenliga eller motstridiga diskurser i relation till en parallellspråkig policy. Det handlar om en ekonomiskt och marknadsdriven internationaliseringsdiskurs kontra en beskyddande samhällelig diskurs (Fabricius et al., 2017; Hultgren et al., 2014) som verkar samtidigt och där syftet

är tvådelat, d.v.s. att både stärka den internationella dimensionen och säkerställa nationell terminologisk utveckling (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014).

Enligt resultaten av studien verkar inte skillnaden mellan tydlighet och vaghet sammanfalla med uppdelningen i internationella och nationella intressen. Analysen visar snarare en större komplexitet. Oavsett språk är frågor om språktillägnande, språkbedömning och språkutveckling ofta vaga, tvetydiga och saknar ansvariga aktörer. Det är dock möjligt att konstruktioner av kommunikation på svenska för lärosätena som myndighet är klara, vilket i så fall skulle indikera att tydlighet sammanfaller med nationella intressen. Värt att notera är dock att denna tydlighet har med administration att göra, inte med utbildning. Administrativ svenska är tydlig i lärosätenas policy och saknar den vaghet som karakteriserar konstruktionerna av akademiker som språkutvecklare och språklärare.

Det andra resultatet som är värt att diskutera är att svensk språklagstiftning i hög grad påverkar lärosätenas språkpolicy. Intressant är att klarspråk⁹² förekommer i hög grad i policytexterna, trots att den typen av språkvård inte företrädesvis är riktat mot högre utbildning. Motiven är desamma som när svenska ska användas av demokratiska skäl, d.v.s. att det är nödvändigt i kommunikationen med allmänheten. Detta är i linje med vad Karlsson (2017) har funnit i sin kartläggning av språkpolicy i svensk högre utbildning. Intressant nog visar resultaten att klarspråk inte bara gäller svenska, utan också engelskspråkig kommunikation. Genom konstruktioner av klarspråk som ideal läggs fokus på lärosäten som myndigheter, inte som utbildningsinstitutioner, och därmed betonas den administrativa delen av akademiskt arbete.

Den tredje delen att diskutera rör hur marknadskrafter och ekonomiska intressen påverkar hur 'språk' förstås i lärosätenas språkpolicy. Resultatet indikerar att språk är en del av de kommodifieringsprocesser som pågår i högre utbildning. Språk kommodifieras genom att det kopplas bort från människor och förstås som ett extra värde, ett instrument eller något tekniskt. När språkfärdighet konstrueras som ett konkurrensmedel blir 'språk' något säljbart. När engelskspråkiga aktiviteter ger extra värde till lärosäten och fungerar som instrument för att nå attraktivitet får engelska ett värde på utbildnings-

⁹² Klarspråk handlar om språkvård för myndighetssvenska och dess historia sträcker sig tillbaka till slutet av 1960-talet. Det är Språkrådet, inom Institutet för språk och folkminne, som arbetar med frågan och utbildar exempelvis myndigheter, landsting och kommuner i att använda klarspråk i sin kommunikation.

marknaden. När engelska konstrueras som ett instrument för samarbete och utbyte läggs fokus på språket som något tekniskt.

Konstruktionen av engelska som 'gemensamt språk' sker generellt utifrån marknadsintressen, där framgång och inkludering bäddas in. Det är tydligt i resultaten att på nationell nivå är engelska oundvikligt som gemensamt språk och detta påverkar lärosätenas språkpolicy också. Engelska som ett oundvikligt gemensamt språk bekräftar andra studier som funnit att engelska som globalt språk konstrueras utifrån globaliseringsmotiv, d.v.s. en avreglerad marknad, och för tillfället finns inga alternativ (Bull, 2012; Haberland & Mortensen, 2012). Om/När lärosäten tänker att enda sättet att fungera på en global utbildningsmarknad är genom ökad engelskspråkighet kommer engelska att fortsätta att konstrueras som oundvikligt gemensamt språk och transnationella akademiker och studenter som engelskspråkiga. Samtidigt varnar Phillipson (2015) för kategoriskt rättfärdigande av engelska språket som 'det enda'. Därför behövs en viss försiktighet. Å ena sidan visar analysen att engelska är självklart för internationalisering. Å andra sidan kan betoningen på engelska som oundvikligt språk bidra till en starkare föreställning (än nödvändigt) om dess oundviklighet.

När 'språk' bortkopplas från människor och samtidigt uppfattas som oundvikligt kan konsekvensen bli att beslut om förändrat undervisningsspråk riskerar att kopplas bort från människor och sakna alternativ. Ljosland (2015) har visat att en sådan förändring kan ske på direkten och utan diskussion om eventuella konsekvenser för lärare och studenter.

Avlutande kommentarer

Avslutningsvis är det viktigt att kommentera de spänningar som finns inom språkpolicy, avsaknaden av implementeringsansvar samt kommodifieringen av språk i språkpolicy.

Något som är slående är hur diametralt olika intressen verkar i policy-texterna. För det första samsas både inhemska språkprocesser och internationalisering. Detta syns inte minst i hur svenska och engelska konstrueras i par i texterna. Exempelvis kan studenters engelskspråkiga utveckling förstås utifrån en global utbildningsmarknad, medan studenters svenskspråkiga utveckling kan förstås utifrån en inhemsk strävan om ett komplett språk inom alla samhällssektorer. När de två språken representeras i par blir inte dessa båda intressen särskilt synliga.

För det andra samsas demokratiska och ekonomiska intressen, vilket är ihopkopplat med ovanstående spänning mellan inhemska språkprocesser och internationalisering. Policytexterna för fram ett demokratiansvar och representerar svenska som centralt för högre utbildning och som viktigt att bevara, utveckla och använda. Samtidigt representeras engelska som centralt för högre utbildning utifrån ekonomiska intressen och marknadskrav.

För det tredje samsas idéer om jämlikhet och elitänkande. Representationer av ett 'gemensamt' språk i högre utbildning är som ett janusansikte. Å ena sidan representeras engelska som gemensamt språk som naturligt och att det ger tillträde till kunskap och kommunikation – en representation utifrån jämlikhetsintressen. Å andra sidan utmanas engelska som gemensamt språk av representationer av svenska som nödvändigt för samhällelig kunskapsspridning och kommunikation, d.v.s. som ett gemensamt språk. Det är därför rimligt att anta att engelska som gemensamt språk snarare tjänar en mindre grupps intressen, en elit, än ska förstås i termer av jämlikhet.

En annan kommentar handlar om ansvar för implementering av språkpolicy på lärosäten, eller snarare om avsaknaden av sådant. Policytexterna är vaga och disparata, exempelvis med abstrakta aktörer och med språkaktiviteter som tonas ned. Att representera språkaktörer och språkrelaterade handlingar på sådana sätt gör att implementeringen också blir vag och otydlig.

Ytterligare en implementeringsfråga rör akademiker som 'språklärare' i svenska och engelska. Ansvar för detta är också oklart. Förväntningarna om språkutveckling och språkbedömning av studenter är inte särskilt exakta vilket gör det oklart vilka akademiker det gäller, på vilka nivåer, i vilka discipliner eller ämnen osv. Det är inte heller definierat vad som menas med språkutveckling eller språkbedömning, vilket bidrar till en osäkerhet kring detta. Utifrån detta kan sägas att ansvaret för implementering av akademiker som 'språklärare' är oklart i lärosätenas språkpolicy. De disparata konstruktionerna och de olikartade intressena i kombination med att lärosätenas språkpolicy inte beaktar disciplinspecifika olikheter (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014; Airey et al., 2017), inte är forskningsinformerade (Björkman, 2014) och inte specificerar hur implementering ska gå till (Phillipson, 2015) avslöjar svagheter i språkpolicy.

En sista kommentar rör representationerna av 'språk' som instrument eller handelsvara. Marknadskrafter och ekonomiska intressen skapar hur språk uppfattas som tilläggsvärde för lärosäten och individer och som bortkopplat från människor. En konsekvens när ekonomiska avvägningar kommer först i representationer av språk kan vara att det framför allt är administrativa delar av

akademiskt arbete som ges näring i språkpolicy. Dessutom kan det vara så att representationer av språk som handelsvara enbart uppmuntrar språkideal som redan är privilegierade. Tidigare forskning har visat att engelska ses som ett kostnadseffektivt verktyg (Ljosland, 2011) och att undervisningsspråket kan ändras till engelska på direkten (Ljosland, 2015). Resultaten av studien visar att ekonomiska motiv skapar en förståelse av språk som åsidosätter andra aspekter av språk, till exempel kulturella och identitetsskapande aspekter.

Avslutningsvis skulle jag vilja peka på att dominerande diskurser påverkar hur akademiskt arbete uppfattas, till exempel vad som hamnar i förgrunder och vad som tonas ner. Det finns indikationer på att dominansen av en ekonomisk/marknadsdiskurs inverkar på språkfrågor i allmänhet. Det är tydligt när endast ett språk, det engelska språket, naturaliseras utifrån den globala forsknings- och utbildningsmarknadens intressen. Inget annat språk förstås på samma sätt – engelskans position är så uppenbar att det finns en risk att den varken ifrågasätts eller problematiseras. Styrkan i diskurserna gör att det nästan är omöjligt att ens tänka att det skulle kunna vara annorlunda.

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Abstracts

Amharic abstract

ፍሬ-ነገር (አጠቃሎ)

ይህ አንብሮ ከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተኩር የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ አንጻር ጥያቄዎችን በማሸጋገር በኩል ምክንያት የሆኑ ገዢ ዘይቤዎችን (ተረከቦችን) ይመረምራል። ጥናቱ የተካሄደው በአገር አቀፍ ደረጃ ሪፖርቶችንና የመንግሥት ሰነዶችን፣ በተቋም ደረጃ ደግሞ በስዊድን ምሳሌ የዩኒቨርሲቲ የቋንቋ ፖሊሲን በመውሰድ ነው። የምርምር ጥያቄዎች በቋንቋ መርሆችና እውቀቶች ላይ ያተኩራሉ።

ግኝቶቹ እንደሚያሳዩት የኢኮኖሚ/የገበያ፣ የአካታችነትና የስኬት ዘይቤዎች አንዱን ከሌላው መለየት በማይቻልበት ደረጃ ርስበርስ ተሸምነው ቋንቋዎች በምንና እንዴት እንደሚመዘኑ፣ ባለሙያዎችና ተማሪዎች እንደምንያሉ የቋንቋ እውቀቶች እንደሚፈልጉ መወሰን ችለዋል። ኢኮኖሚያዊ ምክንያትና የገበያ ዋጋ የቋንቋንምንነት በመተርጎምና በዚያውም የተሳትፎንና የብልጽግናን ደረጃ በማጽናት ጎልህ ሚና እየተጫወቱ መምጣታቸውን ግኝቶች ይጠቁማሉ።

የቋንቋ መርሆች ተደርገው የተወሰዱት በዋናነት የስዊድንኛና እንግሊዝኛ ስዩማዊ (ማለትም እንደ አቻ ቋንቋዎች) ቋንቋዎች ናቸው። ስዊድንኛ በብሔራዊ ቋንቋነቱ በደኅንነትና በዲሞክራሲያዊ ምክንያቶች አስፈላጊ፤ የምሁራን የሳይንስ ቋንቋ ጠባቂዎችና የሳይንስ ትምህርት አስተናባሪዎች ቋንቋ ሆኑዋል። እንግሊዝኛ በወላይም ቋንቋነቱ ለሊብራል ምርምርና ለገበያ-መር ትምህርት አስፈላጊ ወይም የማይታለፍ ተብሏል። በሌላ በኩል ግኝቶቹ ለወንድማማችነትና ለወላጅ-አቀፋዊ ኃላፊነት በሚሉ አመክንዮዎች ተመራጭ ሆኖ ይታይ ከነበረበት ከ1970ዎቹ ሽግግር ማድረጉንም ያመለክታሉ። እንደ ታዋቂና ተፈጥሯዊ የውጭ ቋንቋነቱ ለሙያ፣ ለሕገ-አልዮትና ለተሳትፎ ተገቢ ሆኖ ተወስኗል።

ግኝቶች እንደሚያመለክቱት በ2000ዎቹ ከፍተኛ ትምህርት የእንግሊዝኛ-ስዊድንኛ ሁለት-ልሳንነት እንጂ ልሳን-በዝሃነት ትኩረት የሚሰጠው ጉዳይ አልነበረም፤ የኅዳግን ወይም የመጤዎች ቋንቋዎችም እንዲሁ ከከፍተኛ ትምህርት ጋር በተያያዘ ቅቡልነት አልነበራቸውም። ለልሳን-በዘ ተማሪዎችና ምሁራን እምቅ የቋንቋ ተሰጥኦ እውቅና ከመስጠት ይልቅ እንደጉድለት የማየት እሳቤ በሰፊው አለ። የውጭ ተማሪዎችና ምሁራን በእንግሊዝኛና በእንግሊዝኛ ብቻ የተራቀቁ ሆነው ተወስደዋል። የእንግሊዝኛ ቋንቋ ተማሪዎች ለዩኒቨርሲቲዎች አስፈላጊሆነው ተስለዋል። የገበያ ዋጋና ኃይሎች በእነኚህ ተማሪዎች አማካኝነት ለተማሪዎች ብቻ ሳይሆን ለዩኒቨርሲቲዎችም ስኬት እንዳመጡ ይታሰባል።

በስዊድን ዩኒቨርሲቲዎች የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ የቋንቋ ታሳቢዎችና እውቀቶች የተካተቱበት አሰራር ከአገሪቱ ደረጃ ጋር የሚናበብ መሆኑን ግኝቶች ያስገነዝባሉ። የስዊድንኛና የእንግሊዝኛ ቋንቋዎች የአቻነት መርህ ስዊድንኛን እንደዋነኛ ቋንቋ ወስዶ፣ እንግሊዝኛን የትምህርት ደረጃ ከፍ ባለ ቁጥር ወሳኝነቱ የሚጨምር አድርጎታል። ተማሪዎችና ባለሙያዎች እንደ ቋንቋ አስተማሪዎች ሁሉ የቋንቋ መሻሻል ያሳያሉ የሚል እሳቤ በሰፊው ይንጸባረቃል። የቋንቋ መርህም በአመዛኙ ከዘወትር-ቋንቋ ንቅናቄ አንጻር የተቃኘ

ቢሆንም ቋንቋን ከሕዝቦች በመነጠል ተቀጥያ፣ መሳሪያ ወይም ቴክኒካዊ ያስመሰሉት የማፍረስና የመስራት ሒደቶችም የራሳቸውን ሚና ተጫውተዋል ማለት ይቻላል።

በመጨረሻ የግኝቶቹ አንደኛዎቻች ከትምህርታዊ ስራዎች ጋር በ ማሰናሰል ተገልጿል።

Arabic abstract

نبذة مختصرة

الغرض العام من الرسالة هو التحقيق في الخطابات السائدة التي تعمل في تغيير التعليم العالي فيما يتعلق بمسائل السياسة اللغوية. لقد تمت دراستها على المستوى الوطني، عبر تحليل التقارير والفواتير الحكومية وعلى المستوى المؤسسي، بتحليل سياسة اللغة الجامعية، مع أخذ السويد كمثالا لذلك. تتناول مسائل البحث المثل والقدرات اللغوية.

تظهر التحليلات أن فروع الحوار للاقتصاد / السوق والشمول وتفعيل النجاح، غالباً ما تتشابك مع بعضها البعض في عقد إستراتيجية، في تفسير كيفية وماهية تقييم اللغات، وما هو نوع المهارات اللغوية التي يحتاجها الأكاديميين والطلاب. تشير النتائج الإجمالية إلى أن الأسباب الاقتصادية والقيم السوقية أصبحت أكثر وضوحاً في تفسير "اللغة"، في نفس الوقت بتعريف المشاركة والنجاح.

تُظهر النتائج أن اللغات المسماة باللغتين السويدية والإنجليزية هي في المقام الأول، وهي لغات متوازية، يتم تفسيرها كمثّل لغوية. اللغة السويدية، كلغة وطنية، تفسر على أنها أساسية لأسباب تتعلق بحماية اللغة والديمقراطية. يتم تفسير الأكاديميين على أنهم حماة للمصطلحات العلمية السويدية وكميسرين للتعليم العلمي السويدي. تُعتبر اللغة الإنجليزية، باعتبارها اللغة الدولية، في الوقت الحاضر بمثابة أمر أساسي، أو حتمي، من أجل البحث الحر والوسط التعليمي. لذلك فإن النتائج تشير إلى تحول من نظرة سبعينيات القرن الماضي عندما تم تفسير اللغة الإنجليزية على أنها مهمة لأسباب التضامن والمسؤولية على مستوى العالم. تفسر اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة أجنبية مألوفة و واضحة في السويد لأسباب مهنية وعقلانية وتشاركية.

التعددية اللغوية، بخلاف الثنائية اللغوية السويدية-الإنجليزية، لم يتم تقييمها في التعليم العالي في العقد الأول من القرن الحادي والعشرين، ولم تحظ لغات الأقليات أو لغات المهاجرين بالإعتراف فيما يتعلق بالتعليم العالي. وبدلاً من الاعتراف بالموارد اللغوية المحتملة للطلاب والأكاديميين متعددي اللغات، تشير النتائج إلى تغلب وجهات النظر بعموم النقص. يتم اعتبار الطلاب والأكاديميين متعددي الجنسية على أنهم يتقنون اللغة الإنجليزية، فقط كمتقنين للغة الإنكليزية. يُفسر طلاب اللغة الإنجليزية على أنهم مهمون للجامعات. تتكافل قيم السوق وقوى السوق لنجاح للطلاب، و أيضاً للجامعات من خلال هؤلاء الطلاب. ترتبط تركيبة المثل والمفاهيم اللغوية في السياسة اللغوية للجامعات السويدية بشكل متداخل على المستوى الوطني. إن التوازي اللغوي للغة السويدية و الإنجليزية يفسر اللغة السويدية كمبدأ و تبوء اللغة الإنجليزية أهمية كلما ارتفعت المستويات. أفكار التقدم اللغوي للطلاب والباحثين عن المواضيع كعلمين لغويين هي السائدة. يتم تفسير اللغة السويدية إلى حد كبير بالنسبة إلى حركة اللغة البسيطة. تعمل العمليات التجريدية في تأويلات اللغة عن طريق إضفاء طابع خارجي على اللغة من الناس، وتفسيرها كقيمة مضافة، أو أداة أو مسألة تقنية.

أخيراً، نوقشت الآثار التعليمية للنتائج فيما يتعلق بالعمل الأكاديمي.

French abstract

Résumé en français

L'objectif général de la thèse est d'étudier les discours dominants intervenant dans l'évolution de l'enseignement supérieur en ce qui concerne les questions de politique linguistique. Cela a été étudié aussi bien au niveau national en analysant les rapports et les propositions qu'au niveau institutionnel en analysant la politique linguistique des universités, en prenant l'exemple de la Suède. Les questions de recherche traitent des idéaux et des compétences linguistiques.

Les analyses indiquent que trois types de discours (économiques, d'inclusion et de succès) opèrent. Elles sont souvent mêlées l'une à l'autre dans des nœuds discursifs, permettant de définir ce qui est la manière dont les langues sont valorisées et le type de compétences langagières attendues des universitaires et des étudiants. Une conclusion générale suggère que les raisons économiques et les valeurs de l'association sont devenues de plus en plus importantes dans la construction et la compréhension des «langues» et que la participation et le succès sont définis sur la base de l'économie et du marché.

Les résultats montrent que ce sont principalement le suédois et l'anglais, sous la forme de langues parallèles, qui sont construits et compris comme un idéal linguistique. Le suédois, en tant que langue nationale, est considéré comme essentiel pour des raisons de protection et de démocratie. Les discours universitaires sont conçus pour protéger la terminologie scientifique suédoise et pour enseigner le suédois scientifique. L'anglais, en tant que langue internationale, est actuellement considéré comme essentiel, ou inévitable, dans l'intérêt d'un marché de la recherche et de l'enseignement libéralisé.

Cependant, les résultats suggèrent une transformation par rapport aux années 1970, lorsque l'anglais était perçu comme important pour des raisons de solidarité et de responsabilité mondiale. L'anglais, la langue étrangère évidente et naturelle en Suède, est employé pour des raisons professionnelles, rationnelles et participatives.

Le multilinguisme, au-delà du bilinguisme anglais suédois, n'est pas valorisé dans l'enseignement supérieur des années 2000, pas plus que les langues minoritaires ou immigrées ne sont reconnues dans le cadre de l'enseignement supérieur. Au lieu de reconnaître le répertoire linguistique potentiel d'étudiants et d'universitaires multilingues, les résultats indiquent que les perspectives de carence prévalent. Les étudiants et universitaires transnationaux sont interprétés comme maîtrisant l'anglais et uniquement comme maîtrisant l'anglais. Les étudiants de langue anglaise sont considérés comme importants pour les universités. Les valeurs et les forces du

marché incorporent le succès des étudiants, mais également des universités par le biais de ces étudiants.

Les constructions des idéaux linguistiques et des compétences en politique linguistique des universités suédoises sont interdiscursivement reliées au niveau national. Un idéal de langue parallèle suédois-anglais considère le suédois comme principal et l'anglais comme plus pertinent à mesure que les niveaux d'enseignement augmentent. Les idées sur le développement langagier des étudiants et des conférenciers en tant que professeurs de langues prévalent. L'idéal de la langue suédoise est en grande partie construit par rapport au langage clair. Les langues sont diffusées, construites et comprises comme quelque chose de technique, comme un objet ou un instrument, ou comme une valeur en dehors des personnes.

Les résultats de l'étude et leurs implications sont discutés en relation avec le travail éducatif.

German abstract

Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist die Aufdeckung von Diskursen, welche die Sprachenpolitik in der fortlaufenden Veränderungsarbeit der Hochschulen prägen. Ausgangspunkt war ein Studium auf nationaler Ebene mit Schweden als Beispiel. Dabei wurden Erlasse und Regelungen auf staatlicher Ebene sowie universitäre Texte auf regionaler Ebene analysiert, der Schwerpunkt lag dabei auf sprachpolitischen Aussagen. Die Forschungsfragen beschäftigen sich damit, welche sprachlichen Vorbilder und Kompetenzen diese Erlasse/Texte befürworten.

Die Analysen machen Diskursfäden deutlich, die auf den Themen Ökonomie/Markt, Inklusion und Erfolg operieren. Diese Fäden verbinden sich häufig in diskursiven Knoten, welche offenlegen, wie und welche Sprachen wertgeschätzt werden und welche Sprachkompetenzen Studenten und Hochschullehrer/Forscher nötig haben. Ein Hauptergebnis liegt in der Beobachtung, dass ökonomische Gründe und Marktwerte immer salienter werden, wenn der Begriff „Sprache“ konstruiert wird, wobei Teilnahme und Wohlstand gleichzeitig aufgegriffen und umrissen werden.

Die Analysen zeigen, dass in erster Linie Englisch und Schwedisch, als eine Art Parallelsprachen, sowie als sprachliche Vorbilder verstanden werden. Die Raison d'Être des Schwedischen, der hiesigen Nationalsprache, verbindet sich mit demokratischen und protektionistischen Gründen. Akademiker versteht man als Hüter/Bewahrer schwedischer Wissenschaftsterminologie und als Vermittler (des Erlernens) schwedischer Wissenschaft. Englisch wiederum, als die internationale Sprache, wird derzeit als notwendig, oder unvermeidlich, verstanden, im Interesse der liberalisierten Forschung und des Bildungsmarkts. Im Vergleich zu den 70er Jahren zeigt sich hier eine Verschiebung der Gründe. In den vorangegangenen Jahren verband man Englisch mit Solidarität und weltweiter Verantwortung. Demgegenüber lernt man heute in Schweden Englisch, als selbstverständliche und natürliche Fremdsprache angesehen, aus professionellen, rationalen und partizipatorischen Gründen.

Multilingualismus, über den schwedisch-englischen Bilingualismus hinaus, erfährt eine geringe Bewertung in den 2000ern. Auch den Minoritätssprachen und Immigrantensprachen geht es in der höheren Ausbildung ähnlich. Die Analysen machen deutlich, dass das linguistische Repertoire dieser Studenten und Mitarbeiter nicht geschätzt wird. Hier herrscht stattdessen die Perspektive einer Mangelhaftigkeit. Transnationale Studenten und Kollegen will man als englischsprachig verstehen. Ausschließlich Studenten, die Englisch gut beherrschen, versteht die Hochschule als wertvoll. Marktwerte und Marktkräfte versprechen nicht nur den Studenten Erfolg, sondern dank ihrer auch der Hochschule.

Die Konstruktion von sprachlichen Vorbildern und Kompetenzen so wie sie in Policytexten über Sprache der schwedischen Hochschulen hervortreten, verbindet

sich interdiskursiv bis hin zur nationalen Ebene. Ein paralleles schwedisch-englisches Vorbild, ein Ideal der schwedisch-englischen Parallelität, versteht Schwedisch als vorrangige Sprache und Englisch als immer wichtiger je höher die Studienstufe. Es herrscht die Auffassung, dass die Studenten linguistisch voranschreiten und ihre Fachlehrer als Sprachlehrer funktionieren. Das schwedische Sprachenvorbild basiert vorwiegend auf einem Verständnis, das dem „plain language movement“ nahekommt. Kommodifizierende Prozesse beteiligen sich bei dem Verständnis von Sprache, wobei Sprache von ihren Sprechern als losgelöst erscheint, und zu einem Verständnis der „added-value“ führt, zur Einschätzung als Instrument oder als technische Angelegenheit.

Die Studie schließt mit einer Besprechung der pädagogischen Implikationen der Ergebnisse für das wissenschaftliche Arbeiten.

Hungarian abstract

Összefoglalás

A dolgozat általános célja a felsőoktatás megváltoztatásában működő domináns diskurzusok vizsgálata a nyelvi politika kérdéseivel kapcsolatban. A kutatás nemzeti szinten beszámolókat és kormányzati törvényjavaslatokat tanulmányoz, intézményi szinten pedig az egyetemi nyelvpolitikát analizálja, mindehhez Svédországot véve példaként. A kutatási kérdések a nyelvi eszmékkel és a nyelvi kompetenciákkal foglalkoznak.

Az elemzések azt mutatják, hogy a gazdaság/a piac, a befogadás és a siker diskurzuszállai működnek, gyakran diszkurzív csomókba keverednek egymással, megmagyarázva a nyelvek értékelésének mikéntjét, valamint az akadémikusok és diákok szükséges nyelvi kompetenciáit.

Egy általános megállapítás szerint a gazdasági okok és a piaci értékek egyre hangsúlyosabbá váltak a „nyelv” megfogalmazásában, egyidejűleg meghatározva a részvételt és a jólétet.

A megállapítások azt mutatják, hogy elsősorban a svéd és az angol nyelvek, mint párhuzamos nyelvek, azok, amelyek nyelvi eszmékként értelmezhetők.

A svéd, mint nemzeti nyelv, létfontosságúnak tekinthető védelmi és demokratikus okokból kifolyólag. Az akadémikusok a svéd tudományos terminológia védelmezőiként és a svéd tudományos tanulás elősegítőiként értelmezhetők. Az angolra, mint nemzetközi nyelvre, jelenleg mint alapvetőre vagy elkerülhetetlenre tekintünk a liberalizált kutatási és oktatási piac érdekeinek szempontjából. A megállapítások azonban egy, az 1970-es évektől való átalakulásra mutatnak, amikor az angol nyelv a szolidaritás és a világszintű felelősség szempontjából volt fontos. Az angol, mint egy nyilvánvaló és természetes idegen nyelv Svédországban, szakmai, racionális és részvételi okokból értelmezhető.

A többnyelvűséget, a svéd-angol kétnyelvűségen túl a 2000-es évek felsőoktatásában nem értékelik, mint ahogy a kisebbségi nyelveket vagy a bevándorló nyelveket sem ismerik el a felsőoktatásban. A többnyelvű diákok és tudósok lehetséges nyelvi repertoárjának felismerése helyett a megállapítások arra utalnak, hogy a hiányosságok perspektívái érvényesülnek. A transznacionális diákokat és az egyetemi oktatókat angol nyelvtudókként értelmezik, kizárólag angol nyelvtudókként. Az angol nyelvű diákok fontosak az egyetemek számára. A piaci értékek és a piaci erők magukban foglalják a sikert a diákok számára, de ugyanakkor az egyetemek számára is ezeken a diákokon keresztül.

A svéd egyetemek nyelvpolitikájában a nyelvi eszmék és kompetenciák konstrukciói interdiszkurzív módon kapcsolódnak a nemzeti szinthez. A párhuzamos svéd-angol nyelvi eszme a svédet alapelveként értelmezi, az angolt pedig a nyelvi szint emelkedésével egyre relevánsabbként. A diákok nyelvi fejlődésének és a szaktanárok nyelvtanárként való megjelenésének ötlete elterjedt. A svéd nyelvi eszmét nagymértékben értelmezik a tisztán látható nyelvi mozgalommal kapcsolatban. Ezek a folyamatok a nyelv konstruálásában működnek, az emberek nyelvét kivetítve, hozzáadott értéként, eszközként vagy technikai kérdésként értelmezve.

Végül, az eredmények oktatási következményeit a tudományos munkával kapcsolatban tárgyaljuk.

Italian abstract

Sommario in italiano

Lo scopo generale della tesi è quello di identificare i discorsi dominanti che operano nel cambiamento dell'istruzione superiore per quanto riguarda le questioni di politica linguistica a livello nazionale, con l'analisi di rapporti di ricerca e proposte di governo, e a livello istituzionale, analizzando la politica linguistica universitaria, prendendo come esempio la Svezia. Le domande di ricerca della tesi riguardano gli ideali linguistici e le competenze linguistiche.

Le analisi mostrano che settori del discorso come l'economia, il mercato, l'inclusione e il successo operano spesso intrecciati l'uno con l'altro, in nodi discorsivi, nella costruzione di come le lingue vengono valutate, e del tipo di competenze linguistiche che occorrono agli universitari e agli studenti. Una delle conclusioni a livello generale della tesi suggerisce che le ragioni economiche e i valori di mercato stiano diventando sempre più centrali nella costruzione del linguaggio, definendone contemporaneamente la partecipazione e la prosperità.

I risultati mostrano che sono le lingue denominate svedese e inglese, qui identificate come lingue parallele, a essere costruite come ideali linguistici. Lo svedese, come lingua nazionale, è costruito in termini essenziali per ragioni democratiche e di preservazione. Gli universitari sono costruiti come protettori della terminologia scientifica svedese e come facilitatori dell'apprendimento scientifico svedese. L'inglese, come lingua internazionale, è correntemente rappresentata come essenziale, o inevitabile, per gli interessi di un mercato educativo e di ricerca liberalizzati.

Inoltre, i risultati suggeriscono una trasformazione dagli anni '70, tempi in cui l'inglese viene costruito in termini di importanza per ragioni di solidarietà e responsabilità mondiale, a oggi, quando l'inglese viene inserito come lingua straniera ovvia e naturale in Svezia per ragioni professionali, razionali e partecipative.

Il multilinguismo, oltre al bilinguismo svedese-inglese, non è incluso nell'istruzione superiore degli anni 2000. Neppure le lingue minoritarie o le lingue degli immigrati sono riconosciute. Invece di riconoscere il potenziale repertorio linguistico di studenti e universitari multilingue, i risultati indicano tuttora la prevalenza di una prospettiva di carenza linguistica. Studenti e universitari transnazionali sono presentati come esperti di inglese e solo come esperti di inglese. Gli studenti di lingua inglese sono considerati importanti per le università. Forze e valori di mercato includono studenti di successo, ma anche università di successo, raggiunto proprio grazie a questi studenti.

Le varie costruzioni degli ideali e delle competenze linguistiche nella politica linguistica delle università svedesi sono interdiscorsivamente collegati a livello nazionale. Il parallelo svedese-inglese idealizza lo svedese come lingua principale e l'inglese come lingua sempre più di rilievo man mano che il livello educativo aumenta. Prevalgono idee di progresso linguistico per gli studenti e per i docenti di lingua sono prevalenti. L'ideale della lingua svedese è in larga misura costruito in relazione al

movimento del linguaggio semplice (Sv. Klarspråk). I processi di commodificazione operano nella costruzione del linguaggio rendendolo esterno alle persone, come fosse un valore aggiunto, uno strumento o una questione tecnica.

Infine, le implicazioni educative dei risultati sono discusse in relazione al lavoro scientifico descritto in questa tesi.

Portuguese abstract

Resumo

O objetivo global desta Tese é de investigar os discursos dominantes em vigor na mudança do ensino superior em questões da política linguística. O estudo foi elaborado a nível nacional, analisando relatórios e projetos de lei do governo e, a nível institucional, analisando a política de idiomas da universidade, tomando a Suécia como exemplo. As questões desta Investigação abordam ideais de linguagem e competências linguísticas.

A análises mostra que as vertentes do discurso da economia / mercado, inclusão e sucesso operam, muitas vezes enredadas em nós discursivos, na construção do “o quê” e “como” as línguas são valorizadas, e que tipo de competências linguísticas os académicos e os estudantes precisam. Uma constatação geral sugere que as razões económicas” e os valores de mercado tornaram-se cada vez mais relevantes na interpretação da "linguagem", definindo simultaneamente a participação e a prosperidade.

Os resultados mostram que são principalmente os idiomas citados, sueco e inglês, isto é, como linguagens paralelas, que são construídos como ideais de linguagem. O sueco, como a língua nacional, é considerada essencial por razões protetoras e democráticas. Académicos são protetores da terminologia científica sueca e facilitadores da aprendizagem científica sueca. O inglês, como língua internacional, é atualmente considerado essencial ou inevitável para os interesses de um mercado de Investigação e Educação liberalizados. No entanto, as descobertas sugerem uma transformação a partir dos anos 1970, quando o inglês foi considerado importante por razões de solidariedade e responsabilidade mundial. O inglês como língua estrangeira quase natural e óbvia na Suécia é construída por razões profissionais, racionais e participativas.

O multilinguismo, além do bilinguismo sueco-inglês, não é valorizado no ensino superior dos anos 2000, nem as línguas minoritárias ou as línguas imigrantes são reconhecidas no que diz respeito ao ensino superior. Em vez de reconhecer o potencial repertório linguístico de estudantes e académicos multilíngues, os resultados indicam que prevalecem perspetivas de deficiência. Estudantes e académicos transnacionais são considerados proficientes em inglês e somente como proficientes em inglês. Os estudantes de inglês são considerados importantes para as universidades. Os valores do mercado e as forças do mercado incorporam sucesso para os estudantes, mas também para as universidades através desses mesmos estudantes.

As construções de ideais de linguagem e competências em política de idiomas das universidades suecas estabelecem um discurso interrelacionado e conectado a nível nacional. Um ideal paralelo de língua sueco-inglesa coloca o

sueco como a língua “do princípio” e o inglês como mais relevante à medida que os níveis de educação aumentam.

Ideias de progresso linguístico para estudantes e professores (professores de línguas) são predominantes. O ideal da língua sueca é, em grande parte, construído através do movimento da linguagem clara. Os processos transformadores operam nas interpretações da linguagem externalizando a linguagem das pessoas, construindo-a como um valor acrescentado, um instrumento ou uma questão técnica.

Finalmente, as implicações educacionais dos resultados da investigação são discutidas e relacionadas ao trabalho académico.

Russian abstract

Аннотация

Основная цель диссертации состоит в исследовании доминирующих дискурсов, действующих в процессе изменения высшего образования, по вопросам языковой политики. Дискурсы изучались на национальном уровне на основе анализа отчетов и законопроектов, а также на институциональном уровне, включая анализ языковой политики университета на примере Швеции. Вопросы исследования касаются языковых идеалов и языковых компетенций.

Процесс анализа демонстрирует, что дискурсивные темы экономики/рынка, интеграции и успеха оперируют, часто переплетаясь друг с другом в дискурсивных узлах, при толковании того, какие языки и как оцениваются, и какие языковые компетенции нужны академикам и студентам. Общий вывод свидетельствует о том, что экономические обоснования и рыночные ценности становятся все более и более заметными при толковании «языка», одновременно определяя понятия интеграции и успеха.

Полученные данные показывают, что упомянутые шведский и английский языки

истолковываются как основные языковые идеалы. Шведский, как национальный язык, считается важным по защитным и демократическим причинам. Академики считаются защитниками шведской научной терминологии и способствуют шведскому научному обучению. Английский, как международный язык, в настоящее время понимается как необходимый, или неизбежный, для интересов либерализации исследований и образования. Тем не менее, полученные данные свидетельствуют о трансформации с 1970-х годов, когда английский считался важным по причинам солидарности и мировой ответственности. Английский язык истолковывается как очевидный и естественный иностранный язык в Швеции по профессиональным и рациональным причинам, а также на основе принципа участия/интеграции.

Многоязычие, помимо шведско-английского билингвизма, не ценится в высшем образовании 2000-х годов, как и языки меньшинств/иммигрантов, упомянутых в отношении высшего образования. Результаты исследования показывают, что вместо того, чтобы признать потенциальный лингвистический репертуар многоязычных студентов и преподавателей, перспективы дефицита преобладают. Транснациональные студенты и ученые воспринимаются исключительно как владеющие английским языком. Англоязычные студенты рассматриваются как важные для университетов. Рыночные ценности и рыночные силы подразумевают успех как для студентов, так и для университетов через этих студентов.

Понятия языковых идеалов и компетенций в языковой политике шведских университетов междискурсивно связаны с национальным уровнем. Параллельный идеал шведско-английского языка истолковывает шведский как основной, а английский как более актуальный по мере повышения уровня

образования. Идеи лингвистического прогресса для студентов, а также идеи восприятия преподавателей по предметам как преподавателей языка распространены. Идеал шведского языка в значительной степени истолковывается как стремление сделать язык простым и общедоступным. Коммодифицирующие процессы действуют в толковании языка, делая язык 'внешним' по отношению к людям, рассматривая его как дополнительную ценность, инструмент или технический аспект.

В заключении, последствия результатов исследования для высшего образования обсуждаются в отношении к академической работе.

Spanish abstract

Resumen

El propósito general de la tesis es investigar los discursos dominantes que se presentan en el cambio de la educación superior en relación con las cuestiones de política lingüística. Este tema se ha estudiado a nivel nacional, analizando informes y proyectos de ley gubernamentales, y a nivel institucional, analizando la política lingüística universitaria, tomando a Suecia como ejemplo. Los temas investigados abordan tanto los conceptos como las competencias lingüísticas.

Los análisis muestran que las líneas de discurso de economía/mercado, inclusión y éxito operan, a menudo entrelazadas en nudos discursivos, al definir qué idiomas se valoran y cómo se valoran, y qué tipo de competencias lingüísticas necesitan los académicos y los estudiantes. En general parece deducirse que las razones económicas y los valores de mercado se han hecho cada vez más importantes en la valoración del 'idioma', definiendo al mismo tiempo la participación y la prosperidad.

Los resultados muestran que se consideran modelos de idioma principalmente el sueco y el inglés, vistos como idiomas usados en paralelo. El sueco, como idioma nacional, se considera esencial por razones protectoras y democráticas. Los académicos aparecen como protectores de la terminología científica sueca y facilitadores del aprendizaje científico sueco. El inglés, como idioma internacional, se considera esencial o inevitable para los intereses de una investigación liberalizada y del mercado educativo. Sin embargo, los resultados sugieren una transformación a partir de la década de 1970, cuando el inglés pasa a considerarse importante por razones de solidaridad y responsabilidad mundial. El inglés se entiende en Suecia como la lengua extranjera evidente y natural, por razones profesionales, racionales y participativas.

En la educación superior de los años 2000, no se valora el multilingüismo, más allá del bilingüismo sueco-inglés. Las lenguas minoritarias o inmigrantes no tienen reconocimiento. Los resultados indican que no existen perspectivas de que vaya a aumentar el valor que se da al potencial repertorio lingüístico de los estudiantes y académicos multilingües. Los estudiantes y académicos transnacionales se valoran exclusivamente en tanto que competentes en inglés. Los estudiantes de lengua inglesa se consideran importantes para las universidades. Los valores y las fuerzas de mercado ofrecen el éxito a los estudiantes, pero también a las universidades a través de sus estudiantes.

Los constructos de competencias y modelos lingüísticos están interdiscursivamente conectados a nivel nacional, en la política lingüística de las universidades suecas. Existe un modelo en que los idiomas sueco e inglés van en paralelo, siendo el sueco el principio y tomando el inglés más

relevancia a medida que sube el nivel. Frecuentemente aparece la idea del progreso lingüístico de los estudiantes y la visión de los profesores de asignaturas como profesores de idiomas. El papel de la lengua sueca se interpreta en gran medida en relación con el movimiento del lenguaje llano. Los procesos de mercantilización afectan a los conceptos relacionados con el idioma, al considerar por separado a las personas y al idioma, interpretando este último como un valor añadido, un instrumento o un asunto técnico.

Finalmente, se discuten las implicaciones educativas de los resultados en relación con el trabajo académico.

Swedish abstract

Abstract på svenska

Avhandlingens övergripande syfte är att undersöka dominerande diskurser som opererar i förändringen av högre utbildning med fokus på språkpolicyfrågor. Detta har studerats på nationell nivå genom att analysera rapporter och propositioner och på institutionell nivå genom att analysera lärosätens språkpolicy. Sverige används som exempel för att göra detta. Forskningsfrågorna rör språkideal och språkfärdigheter.

Analysen visar att tre olika diskurssträngar bestående av ekonomisk/marknads-, inkluderings- och framgångsdiskurser opererar. De är ofta sammanflätade med varandra i diskursiva knutar när de konstruerar vilka språk och hur språk värderas samt vilken sorts språkfärdigheter som akademiker och studenter förväntas ha. Ett övergripande resultat antyder att ekonomiska orsaker och marknadsvärden har blivit alltmer framträdande i konstruktioner och förståelse av 'språk' och att deltagande och framgång definieras utifrån ekonomi och marknad.

Resultaten visar att det huvudsakligen är svenska och engelska, i form av parallella språk, som konstrueras och förstås som språkideal. Svenska, som nationellt språk, konstrueras som nödvändigt utifrån skyddande och demokratiska grunder. Akademiker konstrueras som beskyddare av svensk vetenskaplig terminologi och som lärare i svenskt vetenskapsspråk. Engelska, identifierat som det internationella språket, konstrueras för närvarande som nödvändigt, eller oundvikligt, utifrån intressen som en liberaliserad forsknings- och utbildningsmarknad har. Emellertid antyder resultaten att det för engelskans del skett en förändring sedan 1970-talet då språket konstruerades som viktigt av solidaritetsskäl och för världsansvar. Engelska som självklart och naturligt främmande språk i Sverige konstrueras utifrån professionella, rationella och inkluderande grunder.

Flerspråkighet, utöver svensk-engelsk tvåspråkighet, värderas inte i högre utbildning på 2000-talet. Inte heller minoritets- eller invandarspråk värderas i relation till högre utbildning. Istället för att erkänna flerspråkiga studenters och akademikers potentiella språkrepertoar indikerar resultaten snarare bristperspektiv. Transnationella studenter och akademiker konstrueras och förstås som engelskspråkiga, och enbart som engelskspråkiga. Engelskspråkiga studenter konstrueras som viktiga för lärosätena. Marknadsvärden och marknadskrafter konstruerar engelskspråkiga studenter som framgångsrika, men också lärosäten som framgångsrika genom dessa studenter.

Konstruktioner av språkideal och språkfärdighet i lärosätenas språkpolicy är interdiskursivt kopplade till den nationella nivån. I ett svensk-engelskt parallell-

språkigt ideal konstrueras svenska som huvudsakligt och engelska som mer relevant allteftersom utbildningsnivån ökar. Idéer om studenters språkutveckling och akademiker som språklärare råder. Det svenska språkidealet är i hög utsträckning konstruerat i relation till klarspråk. Språk håller på att kommodifieras i och med att det konstrueras och förstås som något tekniskt, som ett objekt eller instrument eller som ett värde utanför människor.

Studiens resultat och dess implikationer diskuteras i relation till pedagogiskt arbete.

Turkish abstract

Özet

Tezin genel amacı, dil politikası ile ilgili sorunları kapsayacak biçimde yükseköğretimde değişen baskın söylemleri araştırmaktır. Bu konu, İsveç örnek alınarak ulusal düzeyde raporlar ve devlet yazışmaları ve kurumsal düzeyde üniversite dil politikası analiz edilerek incelenmiştir. Araştırma soruları, dil modellerini ve dil yeterliliklerini ele almaktadır.

Analizler, ekonominin/piyasanın söylem içeriğinin, katılım ve başarının, genellikle dillerin ne ve nasıl değerlendirildiğini ve akademisyenlerin ve öğrencilerin ne tür bir dil yeterliliğine ihtiyaç duyduklarını anlamada, birbirleriyle özdeşleşmiş olduğunu göstermektedir. “Dil” oluşumunda, aynı zamanda katılım ve refahı tanımlayan ekonomik nedenlerin ve piyasa değerlerinin daha belirgin hale geldiği genel bir bulgu olarak öne sürülmektedir. Bulgular, bunun öncelikle İsveççe ve İngilizcenin, örneğin paralel diller olarak, bir dil modeli olarak algılanan diller olduğunu göstermektedir. Ulusal dil olarak İsveççe, koruyucu ve demokratik nedenlerden dolayı gerekli olarak yorumlanır. Akademisyenler, İsveç bilimsel terminolojisinin koruyucuları ve İsveç bilimsel öğrenmenin kolaylaştırıcıları olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Uluslararası dil olarak İngilizce, günümüzde liberalleşmiş araştırma ve eğitim pazarının çıkarları için zorunlu veya kaçınılmaz olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, bulgular İngilizcenin dayanışma ve dünya çapında sorumluluk nedenlerinden dolayı önem taşıdığı 1970'lerden bir dönüşümüne işaret etmektedir. İsveç'te açık ve doğal bir yabancı dil olarak İngilizce, profesyonel, rasyonel ve katılımcı nedenlerle yorumlanmaktadır.

İsveç-İngiliz iki dilliliğin ötesinde çok dillilik, ne 2000'li yıllarda yükseköğretimde ne de yüksek öğrenimle ilgili olarak kabul edilen azınlık dilleri veya göçmen dillerinde değerli değildir. Bulgular, çok dilli öğrenci ve akademisyenlerin potansiyel dilbilimci sayılarının farkına varmak yerine bakış açısı eksikliğinin geçerli olduğunu göstermektedir. Uluslararası öğrenciler ve akademisyenler, İngilizce temel alınarak değerlendirilir ve sadece İngilizce olarak kabul edilir. İngilizce bilen öğrencilerin üniversiteler için önemli olduğu düşünülür. Pazar değerleri ve pazar güçleri, öğrencilerin aynı zamanda bu öğrenciler vasıtasıyla üniversitelerin başarısına dahil edilir. İsveç üniversitelerinin dil politikasındaki dil ideallerinin ve yeterliliklerinin yapıları, ulusal seviyeye disiplinsizce bağlıdır.

İsveç üniversitelerinin dil politikasında dil idealleri ve yeterliliklerinin yapıları, kendi içerisinde tutarsız bir biçimde ulusal seviyeye bağlıdır. İsveççe-İngilizce birlikte kullanıldığı bir durumda, ilkesel olarak İsveççe düşünülür ve eğitim seviyesi arttıkça İngilizce'ye olan ilgi de artar. Dil öğretmeni olarak

öğrenciler ve öğretim görevlileri için dilsel ilerleme düşünceleri mevcuttur. İsveç dil modeli, büyük ölçüde basit dil hareketi ile ilgili olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Metalaştırma işlemleri, onu bir katma değer, araç ya da teknik bir mesele olarak yorumlayarak dili insanlardan dışa aktarır dilin yapılarıyla çalışır.

Sonuç olarak, bulguların eğitimsel sonuçları akademik çalışma ile ilgili olarak tartışılmaktadır.

Appendices

Appendix A

Higher education institutions and registered students

Stockholms universitet	35 574	Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet	4 601
Lunds universitet	31 075	Blekinge tekniska högskola	4 577
Göteborgs universitet	30 470	Högskolan på Gotland	3 913
Uppsala universitet	27 039	Handelshögskolan i Stockholm	1 813
Umeå universitet	21 375	Ersta Sköndal högskola	1 000
Linköpings universitet	19 762	Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan	947
Linnéuniversitetet	19 207	Kungl. Musikhögskolan i Stockholm	790
Malmö högskola	15 880	Konstfack	768
Kungl. Tekniska högskolan	14 083	Sophiahemmet högskola	599
Luleå tekniska universitet	12 351	Försvarshögskolan	553
Örebro universitet	10 392	Röda Korsets högskola	452
Karlstads universitet	10 348	Teologiska Högskolan i Stockholm	422
Mittuniversitetet	9 966	Stockholms dramatiska högskola	302
Högskolan i Jönköping	9 862	Kungl. Konsthögskolan	216
Mälardalens högskola	9 691	Dans- och cirkushögskolan	204
Chalmers tekniska högskola	9 231	Johannelunds teologiska högskola	172
Högskolan i Gävle	8 925	Stockholms Musikpedagogiska Institut	164
Högskolan Dalarna	8 676	Örebro teologiska högskola	156
Karolinska institutet	7 618	Newmaninstitutet	121
Högskolan Kristianstad	7 530	Beckmans designhögskola	121
Södertörns högskola	7 467	Ericastiftelsen	85
Högskolan i Borås	7 348	Operahögskolan i Stockholm	39
Högskolan Väst	6 886	Gammelkroppa skogsskola	26
Högskolan i Skövde	6 852	Övriga enskilda anordnare, psykoterapeututbildning	194
Högskolan i Halmstad	6 133		

Higher education institutions and number of semester registrations in first and second cycle education, autumn 2012.

Appendix B

Higher education institutions and employees

Lunds universitet	9 433	Högskolan i Skövde	532
Uppsala universitet	7 488	Blekinge tekniska högskola	528
Göteborgs universitet	6 410	Försvarshögskolan	361
Karolinska institutet	5 914	Handelshögskolan i Stockholm	340
Stockholms universitet	5 835	Kungl. Musikhögskolan i Stockholm	244
Umeå universitet	4 998	Högskolan på Gotland	210
Kungl. Tekniska högskolan	4 642	Konstfack	193
Linköpings universitet	4 165	Ersta Sköndal högskola	166
Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet	3 745	Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan	145
Chalmers tekniska högskola	3 308	Stockholms dramatiska högskola	121
Linnéuniversitetet	2 185	Sophiahemmet högskola	115
Luleå tekniska universitet	1 685	Dans- och cirkushögskolan	96
Malmö högskola	1 682	Kungliga Konsthögskolan	66
Örebro universitet	1 500	Röda Korsets högskola	65
Karlstads universitet	1 314	Stockholms Musikpedagogiska Institut	53
Mittuniversitetet	1 094	Beckmans designhögskola	31
Mälardalens högskola	997	Operahögskolan i Stockholm	30
Södertörns högskola	927	Teologiska Högskolan Stockholm	27
Högskolan Dalarna	926	Ericastiftelsen	24
Högskolan i Borås	843	Johannelunds teologiska högskola	24
Högskolan i Jönköping	795	Newmaninstitutet	23
Högskolan i Halmstad	703	Örebro teologiska högskola	17
Högskolan i Gävle	702	Gammelkroppa skogsskola	4
Högskolan Väst	618	Övriga enskilda anordnare, psykoterapeututbildning	44
Högskolan Kristianstad	615		

Higher education institutions and number of staff, in heads, employed 2012.

Appendix C

Universities with Language Policy

In Swedish	In English
Chalmers tekniska högskola	Chalmers University of Technology
Göteborgs universitet	University of Gothenburg
Högskolan i Dalarna	Dalarna University
Karlstad universitet	Karlstad University
Kungliga tekniska högskolan	Royal Institute of Technology
Lunds universitet	Lund University
Malmö högskola	Malmö University
Mittuniversitetet	Mid Sweden University
Stockholms universitet	Stockholm University
Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet	Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Södertörns högskola	Södertörn University
Umeå universitet	Umeå University

Appendix D

Overview of excerpts from national policy

	Swedish	English	additional languages¹
Chapter 6		UKÄ-rapport, 1974 page 38, 102, 115	UKÄ-rapport, 1974 page 38, 102, 116.
	Prop. 1983/84:15 page 14, 15,	Prop. 1983/84:15 page 9,	Prop. 1983/84:15 page 9,
	SOU 2000:92 page 88, 94, 95,	SOU 2000:92 page 19,	
	Prop. 2004/05:162 page 56,	Prop. 2004/05:162 page 56, 59,	Prop. 2004/05:162 page 59
	HSV 2005:1 page, 95, 149,	HSV 2005:1 page 95, 149,	HSV 2005:1 page 95, 172
	SOU 2000:47 page 75, 83, 111, 121, 164, 165,		
	Prop. 2001/02:15 page 50, 170		
	SOU 2002:27 page 90, 93, 124, 165,	SOU 2002:27 page 51, 90, 183, 184,	SOU 2002:27 page 124, 183, 184,
	Prop. 2005/06:2 page 16, 47	Prop. 2005/06:2 page 16, 46, 47, 48	Prop. 2005/06:2 page 47, 48
SOU 2008:26 page 65, 222,	SOU 2008:26 page 39, 65		
Chapter 7		UKÄ-rapport, 1974 page 19, 102, 110, 117, 139,	UKÄ-rapport, 1974 page 13, 19, 38, 94, 102, 110, 112, 134, 135, 139,
	Prop. 1983/84:15 page 5, 12, 14,		
	SOU 2000:92 page 12,	SOU 2000:92 page 9, 12, 20, 21, 67,	
	Prop. 2004/05:162 page 60.	Prop. 2004/05:162 page 56, 59,	
		HSV 2005:1 page 61, 63, 99, 100,	
		Prop. 2008/09:175 page 44,	
	SOU 2000:47 page 16, 70, 75, 83, 84,	SOU 2000:47 page 70	SOU 2000:47 page 70,
	Prop. 2001/02:15 page 50,	Prop. 2001/02:15 page, 173.	Prop. 2001/02:15 page 66,
	SOU 2002:27 page 23, 88, 90, 91, 165,	SOU 2002:27 page 23, 82, 91,	SOU 2002:27 page 91,
	Prop. 2005/06:2 page 47,	Prop. 2005/06:2 page 45, 46, 47, 48,	Prop. 2005/06:2 page 45, 48,
	SOU 2008:26 page 169, 180, 181, 183,	SOU 2008:26 page 101, 169, 171, 174, 180, 181, 183,	SOU 2008:26 page 101,

An overview of the spread of excerpts from national policy texts occurring in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, showing representations of Swedish, English and additional languages.

¹ Representations of 'additional languages' differ substantially. That means that it can be realised as *other, major, foreign, European, Nordic* languages, but also as other named languages than Swedish and English, e.g. French and German.

Appendix E

Overview of excerpts from university language policy

Univ. A	Univ. B	Univ. C	Univ. D	Univ. E	Univ. F	Univ. G	Univ. H	Univ. I	Univ. J	Univ. K	Univ. L
17, 35, 37, 39, 42, 52, 55, 60, 62, 66, 70, 73,	126, 152, 156, 161, 167, 169, 170, 172, 189, 200, 211,	218, 219, 230, 236, 241, 242, 243, 244, 271, 283, 290,	308, 315, 326, 327, 332, 339, 341, 346, 348,	400, 414, 416, 426, 427, 428, 434, 435, 446, 447, 450,	474, 476, 478, 488,	496, 548, 567, 571, 572, 573, 574, 576, 589, 591, 595, 596,	610, 611, 615, 617, 618, 619,	631, 644, 659, 660, 661, 665, 670,	697, 715, 733, 735, 740, 742, 752,	760, 762, 763, 769, 771, 789, 794, 797, 806, 818, 823, 824, 846,	883, 893, 903, 906, 908, 909, 927, 949,
12/125 = 10%	11/91 = 12%	11/83 = 13%	9/51 = 18%	11/117 = 9%	4/22 = 18%	12/112 = 11%	6/19 = 32%	7/74 = 9%	7/61 = 11%	13/117 = 11%	8/82 = 10%

An overview of the spread of excerpts from university language policy texts occurring in Chapter 8 shown by clause number per university and percentage of the individual policy text.

Tidigare utgåvor:

Editors: Kjell Härnqvist and Karl-Gustaf Stukát

1. KARL-GUSTAF STUKÁT *Lekskolans inverkan på barns utveckling*. Stockholm 1966
2. URBAN DAHLLÖF *Skoldifferentiering och undervisningsförlöpp*. Stockholm 1967
3. ERIK WALLIN *Spelling. Factorial and experimental studies*. Stockholm 1967
4. BENGT-ERIK ANDERSSON *Studies in adolescent behaviour. Project Yg, Youth in Göteborg*. Stockholm 1969
5. FERENCE MARTON *Structural dynamics of learning*. Stockholm 1970
6. ALLAN SVENSSON *Relative achievement. School performance in relation to intelligence, sex and home environment*. Stockholm 1971
7. GUNNI KÄRRBY *Child rearing and the development of moral structure*. Stockholm 1971

Editors: Urban Dahllöf, Kjell Härnqvist and Karl-Gustaf Stukát

8. ULF P. LUNDGREN *Frame factors and the teaching process. A contribution to curriculum theory and theory on teaching*. Stockholm 1972
9. LENNART LEVIN *Comparative studies in foreign-language teaching*. Stockholm 1972
10. RODNEY ÅSBERG *Primary education and national development*. Stockholm 1973
11. BJÖRN SANDGREN *Kreativ utveckling*. Stockholm 1974
12. CHRISTER BRUSLING *Microteaching - A concept in development*. Stockholm 1974
13. KJELL RUBENSON *Rekrytering till vuxenutbildning. En studie av kortutbildade yngre män*. Göteborg 1975
14. ROGER SÄLJÖ *Qualitative differences in learning as a function of the learner's conception of the task*. Göteborg 1975
15. LARS OWE DAHLGREN *Qualitative differences in learning as a function of content-oriented guidance*. Göteborg 1975
16. MARIE MÅNSSON *Samarbete och samarbetsförmåga. En kritisk granskning*. Lund 1975
17. JAN-ERIC GUSTAFSSON *Verbal and figural aptitudes in relation to instructional methods. Studies in aptitude - treatment interactions*. Göteborg 1976
18. MATS EKHOLM *Social utveckling i skolan. Studier och diskussion*. Göteborg 1976

19. LENNART SVENSSON *Study skill and learning*. Göteborg 1976

20. BJÖRN ANDERSSON *Science teaching and the development of thinking*. Göteborg 1976

21. JAN-ERIK PERNEMAN *Medvetenhet genom utbildning*. Göteborg 1977

Editors: Kjell Härnqvist, Ference Marton and Karl-Gustaf Stukát

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