

*The construction of multilingualistic identities:
A qualitative study about adolescents becoming
multilingual agents in the German-Scandinavian
Gemeinschaftsschule in Berlin.*

Elisabeth Jansen



Master thesis

Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education
Institute of Educational Research

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

May 2015

The construction of multilinguistic identities: A qualitative study about adolescents becoming multilingual agents in the German-Scandinavian Gemeinschaftsschule in Berlin.

© Elisabeth Jansen

2015

The construction of multilinguistic identities: a qualitative study about adolescents becoming multilingual agents in the German-Scandinavian Gemeinschaftsschule in Berlin.

Elisabeth Jansen

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Print: Copy & Paste, Rostock, Germany

Abstract

The era of globalization is characterized through a transnational, global flow of people, capital, and knowledge, and the world is more interconnected than ever before. New ways of defining oneself are emerging through the changes brought to societies through increased international migration and travel. Although some factors such as gender are less flexible characteristics of an individual, others are changing through the closer interaction between people with different backgrounds, speaking different languages. Language has historically been important for producing and reproducing a group's tradition and culture, but it is now becoming an instrumental tool for individuals to move beyond these borders and become a flexible global citizen with heightened social mobility. It is perceived as one of the features that help us construct our identity, which can adapt to different interactional situations. The various linguistic spheres that individuals encounter when growing up with multiple languages are often underlying aspects of the individuals' self-identification.

There has been little qualitative research done on the issue of multilingualism among adolescents. I believe there are aspects related to the phenomenon of multilingualistic identity that still are undiscovered

The purpose of my study has been to explore how the adolescents in the German-Scandinavian Gemeinschaftsschule in Berlin (GSGS) become multilingual agents and how they negotiate their multilingualistic identity. I used three research questions to guide my research. Each of the questions was designed to shed light on important aspects of the processes of constructing a multilingual identity. My first research question was designed to investigate how the adolescents perceive themselves to be, which is also greatly interlinked with choices and experiences made on an everyday basis. Secondly, I wanted to look at their language learning experiences in a multilingualistic educational context. Here I focus on the language learning process. The third research question is designed to give us a deeper understanding of the pupils perception of languages and how being multilingual can be a resource in today's society. Related to this I also explored how they see themselves in the future as multilingual.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Fengshu Liu, for her patience, guidance and feedbacks, which has helped me a lot during the work with my thesis.

Without the cooperation of to the headmaster at the German-Scandinavian Gemeinschaftsschule, Jacob Chammon, this study would not have been possible. I am sincerely grateful to him for meeting me with enthusiasm, and helping me find time and places for conducting the interviews. Also, I am very thankful to all the interviewees and their parents for enabling participation in my study.

Additionally, I owe a special thanks to Jan B. Jansen, Ingrid Katrine Rogne, and Andreas Henneberg for their support and encourag

Table of contents

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MULTILINGUISTIC IDENTITIES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY ABOUT ADOLESCENTS BECOMING MULTILINGUAL AGENTS IN THE GERMAN-SCANDINAVIAN GEMEINSCHAFTSSCHULE IN BERLIN.....	1
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS	3
1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....	4
2. METHODOLOGY.....	5
2.1 QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE APPROACH – AN OVERVIEW	5
2.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	8
2.3 RESEARCH DESIGN	9
2.4 SAMPLING	9
2.5 CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION.....	12
2.6 DATA COLLECTION	13
2.7 DATA ANALYSIS	15
2.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY	16
2.9 ETHICS.....	20
3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW	22
3.1 IDENTITY	22
3.2 LANGUAGE.....	24
3.3 ETHNICITY AND CULTURE	26
3.4 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY	28
3.5 BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM.....	32
3.6 LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION	36
3.7 BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD	39
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS.....	41
4.1 LANGUAGE AND FAMILY - THE BEGINNING OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MULTILINGUISTIC SELF.....	42
4.2. FRIENDS - LANGUAGE AND NETWORKING	49
4.3 CONSTRUCTION OF A MULTILINGUISTIC IDENTITY: INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL	54
4.4 REFLECTION ON LANGUAGE SKILLS	57
4.5 THOUGHTS ABOUT THE FUTURE.....	60
4.6 PROCESS OF LEARNING.....	64
4.7 LANGUAGE LEARNING EXPERIENCES IN SCHOOL	69
4.8 NETWORKING IN SCHOOL	72
4.9 USE OF TOOL TO ENHANCE LEARNING.....	76
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	80
REFERENCES	83
APPENDICES.....	85

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MULTILINGUISTIC IDENTITIES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY ABOUT ADOLESCENTS BECOMING MULTILINGUAL AGENTS IN THE GERMAN-SCANDINAVIAN GEMEINSCHAFTSSCHULE IN BERLIN.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

We are living in the era of globalization. Through a transnational, global flow of people, capital, technology, knowledge and lifestyles the world seems to be more interconnected than ever before. Also societies and individuals are experiencing the possibility to define themselves in multiple ways, and clear-cut definitions and borders among groups of people are blurred. The few distinctions that are still clear enough to characterize individuals in societies are physical features such as gender, age, or eye colour. Other attributes contributing to an individual's identity are categories and facets found in their social environment. It is close to impossible for a country to speak of its populations as homogenous, seeing that the state boundaries that existed in the twentieth century are changing through the increased international migration and travel. This movement towards diversity in the structure and fundament of societies have many benefits, and the lives of individuals and the society in general are enriched through the introduction of different forms of food, or artistic and leisure activities (Fox, 2013; Inglis, 2008; Stier, 2003).

Another vital part of this movement is the closer interaction between people with different backgrounds that are speaking different languages. Language has historically been important for producing and reproducing a group's tradition and culture, but it is now becoming an instrumental tool for individuals to move beyond these borders and become a flexible global citizen with heightened social mobility. It is perceived as one of the features that help us construct our identity, which can adapt to different interactional situations. Through to the intertwining of different dimensions of identity, the process of hybridization of identities begins. These dimensions can, among others, be linked to various linguistic spheres, and

where individuals grow up with multiple languages, these dimensions and spheres are often underlying situational aspects of the individuals' self-identification.

There has been an alternative to education based on a single language in Germany since 1992, which consists of a two-way immersion model (TWI). The schools are referred to as Staatliche Europa-Schulen, and there are about 30 schools in the capital city of Berlin alone. There are similar school models in other countries as well, and in the USA there are around 400 such projects. In Germany, the children in these schools are taught in two languages together, and the model unites children whose mother tongue language is German, with children whose backgrounds are diverse in many ways. It has been studied and acknowledged that children are able to acquire reading, writing and speaking skills in more than one language, and in Germany it has been shown that the TWI-way of learning has given positive results. This goes both for pupils of German descent that learn another language, and for children that have a background other than German who are allowed to further develop their mother tongue, as well as learning German language skills that are crucially needed for living in Germany. Both groups have been seen able to reach a high level of bilingualism. The model is a strong bilingual model that stimulates two languages at the same time. In addition it has been designed to counteract the loss of the family language. Studies have indicated that the positive linguistic effect can best be reached after the bilingual method has been applied over a six-year period (Meier, 2012).

The European commission stated in 2008 that different mother tongues and other languages spoken in families and neighbourhoods are to be given greater value. Children with backgrounds from other countries can contribute to motivate their fellow students in the acquisition of language skills and openness towards other cultures (European Commission, 2008). With this in mind Meier (2012) conducted a quantitative study on the Staatliche Europa-Schulen, and found higher values of bonding in the classes, critical thinking, empathy and positive attitudes towards people with immigration backgrounds, and lower values for perceived discrimination and violence. Although not all the differences she found were statistically significant, the consistency is giving a hint towards a general positive effect of these schools. However, I could not find any remarks as to how this was experienced from the students' perspectives, seeing their attendance in these schools as possible contributions to their construction of a multilinguistic identity (Meier, 2012).

The study mentioned above is conducted in a representative way for how the topic of multilingualism in school and multilingual learners has been explored. There has been little qualitative research done on the issue of multilingualism among adolescents, but rather more quantitative measures of multilingualism and bilingualism in schools. Quantitative research made on bilingualism and multilingualism often looks for findings generalizable to a bigger population, leaving qualitative differences between individuals unexplored. I believe there are aspects related to the phenomenon of multilinguistic identities that still are undiscovered. No qualitative research exists on the multilinguistic situation of adolescents in the German-Scandinavian Gemeinschaftsschule in Berlin (GSGS), which has existed for two years (November 2014). I will in particular focus on the adolescents' perception of their situation as multilinguistic, and their language learning experiences. I want my research to contribute to a deeper understanding of this phenomenon on a national and international level.

1.2 Research purpose and questions

The purpose of my study has been to explore how the adolescents in the German-Scandinavian Gemeinschaftsschule in Berlin (GSGS) become multilingual agents and how they negotiate their multilinguistic identity.

I designed three research questions to guide my study. They are all intended on shedding light on different aspects of how the adolescents negotiate their multilinguistic identity.

- 1) How do the adolescents perceive themselves as multilinguals, and how does this affect the choices they make regarding language use in their everyday life?
- 2) What language learning experiences do they have in a multilinguistic school and classroom?
- 3) How do they perceive being multilingual as a resource, and how do they perceive themselves in the future as multilinguistic individuals?

I start with looking at the adolescents' perception of themselves as multilinguals. How they position themselves in different situations is a theme greatly interlinked with the choices and experiences they make in their everyday life. This also entails looking at their interpersonal

relationships and networking skills. Secondly, I consider what language learning experiences they have in a multilinguistic school and classroom, with the language learning process, how they gain language proficiency, and how they become multilinguistic, as the focus. A part of this is also their interactions with their fellow pupils and teachers in school. The third research question is designed to provide a deeper understanding of the pupils perception of how being multilinguistic can be a resource in todays society. Related to this is how they perceive themselves in the future as multilinguistic.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

I have decided to structure my thesis into five main chapters. In this chapter I give a small introduction to the topic, and how I will proceed in the following chapters. Chapter two discusses methodology. Here I start with a general introduction to the different approaches in research method, before I continue describing the qualitative method, which I have chosen for my research. This is followed by a description of my research design, namely sampling and background facts on my participants, some contextual information about the site, and my data collection. Further I introduce how I worked with data analysis, and consider the important elements of validity and reliability, as well as the ethics aspect in research.

The third chapter is called theoretical framework and literature analysis. This chapter I have divided into seven sections, all serving to provide the theoretical framework and the concept understanding required. The work will be related to literature within the field of identity, language and bi- and multilingualism. I start with introducing the terms identity, language, ethnicity and culture, all being fundamental concepts of my study. I further explore and relate the notions identity and language to bi- and multilingualism, education, and how multilingual skills are viewed upon regarding our living in an era of globalization.

In the fourth part, I present and discuss my findings. I start with the relationship between the adolescents' language use and their family situation. This is done through identifying how it forms a basis for their perception on multilingualism and their position as multilinguals. After that I analyse the social sphere they share with their friends. Here I discuss how their relationships outside the family context are vital for their construction of the multilinguistic identity. We see how language is the basis for intentional networking with others, and I

explore to what degree they consciously or unconsciously use their language skills as an instrumental tool to exercise power such as excluding and including others. I then considers the actual construction of the multilinguistic identity, both individual and social as a continuance of the two previous sections, before I move on to exploring how the adolescents reflect on their own language skills. Part 4.5 considers the adolescent's perspectives on the future, and how they consider their language skills and multilingual identity in this context.

The next part considers how they perceive their language learning process. This gives an understanding of how they work with language learning, which is important when looking at the following section. Here I consider their language learning experiences in school. Related to this I look at the adolescent's networking experiences in school with their fellow pupils and their perceived relationship with their teachers, and how this is also a part of the learning process and the development of a multilinguistic self. Additionally we take a brief look on what tools the students use both in private and in school to enhance their experienced language learning process. This leads to the final part of my thesis, the conclusions. Here I make a summary of the thesis, how I have worked and my findings, and make a concluding reflection on the theme and suggest possible further studies.

2. Methodology

2.1 Qualitative and quantitative approach – an overview

I will start this chapter by giving a brief introduction to qualitative and quantitative research methods, before I discuss the choice of method best suited to answer my research questions. In every step of a research project, from data collection to interpretation, and eventually publishing your findings, you make choices as to which approach will be the most appropriate. Once the researcher has decided on an approach, it be quantitative or qualitative, he or she continues to make choices between different procedures within the approach. A fundamental difference between the two possible approaches lies in the way quantitative investigation is concerned with numbers and measurement, whereas in qualitative research the focus is on words and meaning. Said differently the qualitative researchers try to

emphasize the view of the participant, often looking for their understanding of the phenomenon studied. From a quantitative perspective the researchers should describe objective and quantifiable data with the aim to make generalisations. This makes the quantitative researcher more distant to the subject being studied, while the qualitative researcher is closer. Qualitative approach is a research strategy that can be perceived as more ambiguous when compared to the way the quantitative strategy emphasizes objectivity and quantification in the collection and analysis of data. These differences are the basis for what makes each of them suitable for certain kinds of studies (Bryman, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

The methods are rooted in different ontological and epistemological traditions. Through its derivation from the natural sciences and positivism, researchers within quantitative methods perceive the social reality as external, where the aim is testing of theories following a deductive approach. Qualitative research has its foundation in the epistemological position described as interpretivist, and an ontological position described as constructionist. Although having some similarities, qualitative research is often contrasted to the model of quantitative research. The different epistemological and ontological positions lead to the quantitative researcher's preoccupation with collection of numerical data, in contrast to the qualitative emphasis on words. Also, where the qualitative research emphasizes the generation of theories through its inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, the quantitative research represents a deductive view on the relationship between theory and research, and has an objectivist conception of social reality rooted in natural sciences (Bryman, 2012).

The qualitative stance has rejected the practice and norms of the natural scientific model. In the quantitative tradition social reality is understood as something separate from those who are involved in its construction, but with the interpretivist and constructionist positions as foundation, qualitative research is evolving around emphasizing the individuals' interpretation of their social world and see the social reality as a result of interaction between individuals and therefore as an emerging, constantly shifting outcome of the individual's creation process (Bryman, 2012).

Whereas the demands to start with a theory and follow a deductive approach are characteristics of quantitative research, in qualitative research you often begin with research questions that will guide the rest of your work. A hypothesis is deduced from theory to be tested in quantitative research, or the theory functions as a frame for collecting data. How the quantitative researcher works around issues such as validity, causality and operationalization, is mainly decided when he chooses a research design. The next step for both approaches entail the selection of relevant research sites and subjects, and then the collection of relevant data follows. After this part of the process, the methods go in different directions again. Qualitative research is said to value natural settings for their data collection, whereas the quantitative version often can be gathered in artificial settings. For qualitative researchers, the next step is the point where you start the interpretation of the data and the work with your theoretical framework. Here the researcher finds out if he or she needs to rethink the research questions for further data collection, or if there is enough data to continue with the analysis and eventually writing up the findings. They emphasize the value of rich, deep data, often focused on a micro level, and look for the meaning of the data they have collected. Quantitative researchers will continue with the step of quantifying and coding the data that has been collected. They look for hard reliable data and the behaviour of this, often in a macro perspective. In the next step they too move on to the analysis of the information they have gathered and to writing up their findings (Bryman, 2012).

As the emphasis in the two methods is placed on either generalization or a more contextual understanding, the research used to investigate their issue contains a variety of methods that differ greatly from each other. These methods can be associated with different kinds of research designs. Bryman (2012) describes research design as “a structure that guides the execution of a research method and the analysis of the subsequent data.” (Bryman, 2012, p.45). An example of a research design in qualitative research can be “case study”, where a specific case, for instance a community or an organization is explored in detail. Once you have decided which design to use, you can move on to the data collection (Bryman, 2012).

We have now seen the general outline of two different approaches to research. The next section will give a more thorough description of the research method I chose for my study.

2.2 Qualitative research

”The purpose of an exploratory investigation is to move toward a clearer understanding of how one’s problem is to be posed, to learn what are the appropriate data, to develop ideas of what are significant lines of relation and to evolve one’s conceptual tools in the light of what one is learning about the area of life.” (Blumer, 1969, p. 40, quoted in Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 65)

Here I will look closer at qualitative research before I explain why this method has been chosen as the preferred mean to accomplish my aim. As we have seen, qualitative research focuses on theory being a product of the research process due to its inductive approach to the interaction between theory and research. The roots in interpretivism and constructivism lead the researchers in this tradition to focus on human behaviour, and the researcher becomes the instrument of analysis. Here, social actors are viewed as constantly creating social phenomena and their meanings. Culture is not perceived as an objective reality, but rather a point of reference, a product of social interaction that is in a constant process of being revised and formed. In other words, social reality is a social construct by individuals that assume an active role in the construction process (Bryman, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

For a researcher to gain a clearer understanding of the part of the social reality that is the focus of his or her research, it is important to consider the research questions. Which research method that is suitable for a study is determined through how the research questions are formulated. The researcher needs to evaluate what he or she wishes to explore within the topics in question. When connecting the research questions to research and established theory, the researcher will have background information that will help phrasing the questions in a clear and researchable manner. It is important that they are linked with each other. In this way they will be designed to indicate the purpose of the study, and help set boundaries of what will be studied. The aim of all research should be to make an original contribution (Bryman, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

2.3 Research design

I have chosen a qualitative research design for a number of reasons. As my study is focusing on people, following a qualitative stance, I see them as capable of attributing meaning to their environment. My research mode and design has been determined by the purpose of my research and the nature of my research questions. I have taken a sociolinguistic perspective that entails how language is related to entities such as social groups, ethnicity and other interpersonal factors in communication. No qualitative research on the multi-linguistic situation of adolescents in the GSGS has been carried out, the school is only two years old. Also there has been little qualitative research done on this topic related to these nationalities in Germany, but rather more quantitative measures of multilingualism and bilingualism in general in public schools. Quantitative research made on bilingualism and multilingualism leaves qualitative differences between people unexplored.

Therefore, I believe there are concepts related to this phenomenon that still are unknown, at least regarding this population and place. I want my research to contribute towards filling this gap on a national and international level. Concepts will emerge during the research process and from data through the qualitative analysis. The qualitative approach will help me achieve an in-depth understanding of the experiences of the interviewees regarding language in this school, and the function of language in their everyday lives, formulated in their own words and using their own frames of references. My research design consists of a generic study, where the focus of the research is on the complexity and particular nature of the topic in question. The units of analysis have been narrowed down to the adolescents in the GSGS in Berlin. I am using an idiographic approach to explain the unique features of the adolescents' situation, and to capture the circumstances of their language use and identity perception belonging to their everyday situation in school and at home (Baker, 2011; Bryman, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

2.4 Sampling

After choosing what research design to use, the next step is to decide how to continue with sampling. For my study I found it most appropriate to use purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is described by Bryman (2012) as "the selection of units (which may be people,

organizations, documents, departments, and so on), with direct reference to the research questions being asked.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 416), and refers to the fact that your research questions should function as a guideline for what units you need to sample. In other words you have criteria from whom you choose the units of analysis that will allow the research questions to be answered. There are two levels of sampling; first the researcher needs to sample the context, and then participants. As a sampling strategy I decided to use an apriori fixed purposive sampling strategy. This means that I, through criteria designed to answer my research questions, fixed the sampling early in the research process so that the sample was already established when starting my fieldwork. The research questions are still guiding the sampling, but there is little or no adding to the sample as the research proceeds. Sample sizes can vary greatly, but a rule of thumb in qualitative research is that it should be small enough to enable you to carry out a deep, case-oriented analysis, and at the same time it has to be significant enough to provide you with enough information to achieve data saturation and theoretical saturation.

Accordingly the participants in my study were sampled within an area that exemplifies the population under consideration. In my case the population under consideration is adolescents in a multi-linguistic context. This structure allowed me to examine similarities and differences in this area among the interviewees. As a qualitative researcher I am looking to ensure variety in my sample and therefore I sampled interviewees that differed from each other in terms of key characteristics, such as origin, language, gender and grade. Although this offers a great deal of variety for my research, it does not provide me with the possibility of generalization to other populations.

The adolescents I interviewed were between the age of 11 and 15, and had many different constellations in terms of their origin. From a total of 15 interviewees, it was six boys and nine girls. Four had one parent coming from Germany, and one parent originating from a Scandinavian or northern European country (interviewee 4, 6, 13, 14). Three adolescents had both parents coming from Scandinavian countries (interviewee 7, 9, 11), five of my interviewees had two German parents (interviewee 3, 5, 8, 10, 12), and two had one parent from a Scandinavian country and one from countries not closely related to Germany or Scandinavia (interviewee 1, 15). One of the interviewees had two parents originating from a

country other than Germany or Scandinavia (interviewee 2). All the adolescents and their families are categorized middle- to upper class.

For my research the context sampled is the GSGS. The research questions also indicate on what category of people the focus should be, which led me to sample adolescents at the school. As a sampling technique I found it most appropriate to use snowball sampling. Following Bryman (2012), this implied that I used my research questions to sample a relevant, but small number of people. The participants' chosen then suggested others they thought would be interesting for my research, and so the number of participants increased. In my sampling I started with names of a few pupils at the school that the teachers suggested. Based on my presentation for them and informal individual conversations around my research project, the teachers had told me about students that could be interesting for my research purpose. After I started interviewing these adolescents, they continued to give me names of others they thought to be suitable for my interviews, and at the same time, as they had time to read through my small hand-out presentation, the "word spread around", and others got more curious and wanted to be interviewed as well.

As the GSGS had only existed for about two years at the time of the interviews, the maximum time for attending the school was two years. Interviewee one, two, three, four, 10, 11 and 14 had all attended the school since the opening, with interviewee one describing the atmosphere as very open right from the beginning. Due to a trip during summer holiday she had started a bit later than the others, but a friend of her was there from the first day and had already found friends and showed her around. Interviewee two had been there almost from the opening as well. The mother of interviewee four was part of the parent group that founded the school, so for him it had been natural to go there right from the beginning. Interviewee three moved to GSGS as almost all of his friends from the Swedish school moved to GSGS. There was a commonly perceived lack of German language skill development in this school, and many of the students told me they had wished for a school that would put German more in focus without it being to the detriment of Swedish. Interviewee 11 had lived in Germany for three years now, and she had also joined the school from its opening. The rest of the interviewees had been in the school between 0.5 and 1.5 years. The reasons given for enrolling were in general the possibility to learn in a multicultural and multilingual context, with many of them being aware that there are few other possibilities to do this, especially

with Scandinavian languages. Here I have described how I sampled the participants for my study, and in the next part we will see how I conducted the data collection and the fieldwork.

2.5 Contextual information

“One of the main reasons why qualitative researchers are keen to provide considerable descriptive detail is that they typically emphasize the importance of the contextual understanding of social behavior. This means that behavior, values, or whatever must be understood in context.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 401)

Although the GSGS in Berlin is a private school, there are many similarities to the model used by Europa-Schule Berlin. There are about 120 children in all ages attending the GSGS, and they are being taught in classes that are focusing on challenging the children on an individual level, and avoiding splitting pupils by age. The children attending the school are mostly of German, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish heritage, sometimes with parents from one of these countries that have moved to Berlin for different reasons. Others have two German parents but have lived in a Scandinavian country, and some have two Scandinavian parents and have moved to Berlin for different reasons. It is a very mixed composition. Here they are given the possibility to learn all languages in addition to English through the concept of immersion, with the aim of speaking two languages at the same skill level, as well as acquiring English skills. But little has been written about what this does for the self-perception of the children. Therefore I look at how speaking different languages in different contexts affect the self-perception and identity construction among the pupils at the GSGS in Berlin (DSG1, 2014; DSG2, 2014; DSG3, 2014). This is important because it will give knowledge that can be useful to the school and its users, and the findings can be used for later comparisons when doing similar investigations at the Europa-Schule Berlin.

“... we cannot understand the behavior of members of a social group other than in terms of the specific environment in which they operate.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 401)

2.6 Data collection

After defining the samples and the sampling technique the next step is data collection, which I will explain in this section. The first issue here is to gain access to the area where you want to conduct your studies. This usually must be done through “gatekeepers”, which often are concerned about the researchers’ motives. Another concern of the person responsible of letting you study their organization can be the estimation of what the organization can gain or lose by participating in the research, often in terms of staff time or other costs. In my research the “gatekeeper” of the GSGS was the headmaster who was somewhat concerned with the time aspect related to how long the students would be out of class and to which degree the teachers would be involved. I explained to him the estimated time required for the interviews and that it would not disturb classes or take any of the teachers’ time except for having some informal conversations at school. The headmaster was positive and willing to work out a schedule for my interviews together with the teachers.

To gather data I used semi-structured interviews, which according to Bryman (2012), builds up under the inductive approach typical for qualitative research. It is founded in an understanding of social reality as a constantly shifting context of individuals’ creation process that needs to be understood from their point of view. For the semi-structured interviews I had an interview guide consisting of a list of questions to be covered. Through the semi-structured nature of the interview, the interview process is flexible with an emphasis on how the interviewees frame and understand the different issues. The flexibility is a great advantage as compared working with quantitative methods; I could easily change the direction of the investigation. The questions may not follow exactly in the same order they were written in the interview guide, and questions that are not included in the schedule could also be asked when picking up on things said by the interviewees. Still, it is important that all the questions are put in as similar wording as possible from interviewee to interviewee. The focus is on what the interviewee perceives as important in explaining and understanding the social reality. In my research I am looking for the unique in each interviewee’s story, the variety and similarity between them, and their understanding of the topic in question.

“Face to face interaction is the fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being.” (Lofland and Lofland, 1995, p. 16, quoted in Bryman, 2012, p. 399)

My field experiences have been quite positive. The headmaster of the school was very open-minded and positive to the project. He found that it could have a positive influence on how the school works with the adolescents. Through informal conversations with the principal and the teachers at the school I gained confidence in that my research purpose also was of interest to them. They are working with the adolescents on a daily basis, but have little scientific references related to how they experience their own situation.

One example was a teacher telling me how fascinated he was by what criteria the adolescents in the school used to form groups of friends. In a different school where he had worked before, he had experienced how most adolescents use for instance clothing, or ethnic origin as a measurement for choosing who they want to spend time with. His observations in the GSGS indicated to him that here the groups were more based upon which language each person was speaking, rather than visible criteria. This I believe, is an interesting aspect connected to the purpose of my study, especially since it is an important part of my theoretical framework that the complex interaction between the individual and its surroundings is valuable for the process of identity creation, and that external factors such as language, play an eminent part in the phenomenon of identification (Agha, 2007; Vestel, 2004). Vestel (2004) described how variations in context affect the feeling of identity amongst a group of youth with immigration background he was studying in Oslo, and for them, language played a significant role in identifying themselves in different situational contexts.

During my work in the field I used the research purpose and research questions as a red thread. I was trying constantly to reflect on how my work was relating to the issues identified here, and if the questions in my interview guide were giving me adequate answers to make a full meaning of the research questions. During the first interviews I became aware that some of the adolescents in the GSGS have not given much thought to their future. Although some were reflecting upon the fact that speaking multiple languages could be practical for them later when traveling, studying or working in a different country, some of them were reluctant in their responses. The adolescents gave me more thorough answers to the questions about their current situations.

The data collection for my thesis took place at the GSGS. As preparation I prepared my interview guide in German and Norwegian. I e-mailed the school and set out briefly my background and my thesis topic. The headmaster got back to me quite shortly after my first mail, and we scheduled a meeting so he could get a more thorough understanding of how I would carry out my research. He told me he would want the interviews to be conducted on a voluntarily basis, and suggested I would go to the classes in question (based on my age criteria) to present my project and myself to the students. It was also required to get consent from the parents.

I wrote a brief presentation to the parents accompanied by a consent form in German and Norwegian, and distributed it to the students during my presentation in the classes. The students gave me very positive feedback on my project, and the willingness to participate was high, which indicated a genuine interest among the adolescents in the topic. After my presentation I also had some informal conversations with the teachers at the school, where they shared some experiences and point of views about the students.

The next day I went to the school to start with the interviews. Due to a school project starting a few days later I had very limited time to conduct the interviews. The interviews were conducted in a room where we could sit undisturbed, and they were all done face-to-face. It was a total of 15 participants interviewed over two days, and with their consent I recorded every interview. Each interview lasted between 35-60 minutes, and was done continuously throughout the day with a lunch break. It was interesting how different the interviews turned out, although seeing a lot of similarities in their explanations as well. The adolescents I talked with were very eager to tell about themselves and their situation, which I interpreted as genuine interest in the topic and openness about their experiences. The interviews were conducted in German and Norwegian.

2.7 Data analysis

After the collection of data I started transcribing the interviews. When this process was completed I read through the interviews before I coded the material into concepts and

categories in the light of my research questions. The concepts were created according to what is the essential being said in the interviews, and here I will give you an outline of the process.

“In short, there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head. To analyse data, we need to use accumulated knowledge, not dispense with it. The issue is not whether to use existing knowledge, but how.” (Dey, 1993, p. 63, quoted in Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 47)

As we have seen, I have conducted a study of a phenomenon in the social world with the aim to explore it through the perspective of people being a part of it, instead of treating the subjects as incapable of their own reflections about this. When analysing the data collected, concepts help to reflect upon and organize it, and these concepts are inductively arrived at from studying the data collected. Analysis is a process of free flow and creativity, and it is important for the person doing the analysis to be flexible in the coding process. The interview transcripts often take form of a big amount of unstructured material, and it is the researcher’s responsibility to be oriented and keep track of what is important, and not be overwhelmed by the richness of the data collected. In this way the researcher can manage to maintain focus on the data that can be of wider significance for the research questions and purpose (Bryman, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

I used coding to analyse my transcribed interviews, which entailed braking down the data into component parts and giving them names. These labels I used to organize the data, but they were under a constant revision and comparison as I preceded trough all the interview material. In this process of open coding I compared and categorized the data looking for similarities and differences with the aim of creating concepts that I could later group and turn into categories. These categories form the basis for theory.

2.8 Validity and reliability

“Data in themselves cannot be valid or invalid, what is at issue are the inferences drawn from them.” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p. 191 quoted in Kleven, 2008, p. 221)

I will start this section by giving a small introduction to some of the critiques that has been written about qualitative research. Within this I also explain how I assured validity in my own research. According to Bryman (2012) a main argument among the critics of qualitative research is about its subjective nature where findings often rely too much on the researchers perception on what is significant or important. The writing deriving from the research often gives the readers few clues as to why one area has been preferred over another. It can be difficult to establish the process the researcher followed, such as participant selection and data analysis, and how he or she arrived at the conclusion. This also has to do with the fact that qualitative research usually begins in an open-ended way without a theory to test out, and rather works towards modifying the research questions gradually. I have aimed for transparency in my research process through carefully describing the steps of my research in the methodology chapter.

Another issue that has been mentioned by critics is the difficulty in replicating qualitative studies. It is almost impossible to conduct a replication due to the unstructured nature of qualitative research that also depends a lot on the researches own understandings in the different stages. Also, a problem of generalization is a known critique from the quantitative strain. Here it is argued that the generalization of findings from interviews conducted with a small number of individuals in a certain area to other settings is impossible, though in qualitative research the generalization aspect is more in terms of generalizing to theory rather than population. As this shows, the basis and content for the validity concept in qualitative research varies from that in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012; Kleven, 2008).

“... it is the quality of the theoretical inferences that are made out of qualitative data that is crucial to the assessment of generalization.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 406)

Kleven (2008) described how an inference for example could be interpretations, and validity refers to the relative truth of an inference. The interpretation of observed indicators into abstract constructs is used in quantitative and qualitative research. Validation is part of a process to establish the strength of the empirical evidence and the plausibility of the interpretations. In this way, the credibility of knowledge claims is asserted. This means that method of validation is related to inferences so that various types of validity does not depend on the method the researcher used to collect the data, but more on the kinds of data he or she

has. It is the integrity of the conclusions made through a research that is the concern of validity. In qualitative research there is a constant interplay between the researcher and his or her research process, which requires the researcher to immerse him- or her self into the data. The data will end up shaping the researcher just as much as the researcher shapes the data, and he or she will end up with sensitiveness towards the issues of the persons and places that are part of the study. Although this sensitivity is a positive feature when perceiving underlying meanings in data and recognizing connections between concepts, it is important to maintain a balance between objectivity and sensitivity when immersing yourself in the data. Objectivity is a necessary feature for the researcher to arrive at impartial and accurate interpretations of the subjects studied, but the term is mostly referred to in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012; Klevén, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Construct validity is a concern mainly to the quantitative researcher. Here, the possibility that a measure that is devised of a concept may not reflect the concept it is supposed to represent is taken into account. Systematic measurement error is an example of what can affect the construct validity and reflects the risk of measurement errors including construct underrepresentation and construct irrelevance. How likely a conclusion based on a causal relationship between two or more variables is, is referred to as causality, which is an issue of internal validity (Bryman, 2012; Klevén, 2008).

External validity concerns the possibility of generalizing findings in a study beyond the specific research context. For my research design it is not the goal to generalize, which makes findings resulting from this having limited external validity. How are the findings of a study applicable to people's everyday social reality? This is an issue addressed in the notion of ecological validity. It is the opinions, values, and attitudes in a natural social setting that we try to capture with our instruments, but the more intervention in natural settings by the researcher occur, or when they create unnatural settings such a special room to carry out interviews, the bigger the chance for endangerment of ecological validity. Another aspect of quantitative research is the question of whether results of a study are repeatable, which is referred to as reliability (Bryman, 2012; Klevén, 2008).

The quality of the theoretical reasoning and how well the data supports the theoretical arguments being made are some of the central concerns. There has been made an addition to

the validity aspect of qualitative research, which consists of trustworthiness and authenticity. These are made up of credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and relevance. As a parallel to internal validity, the concept of credibility has been in focus. This regards the findings and how believable they are. In qualitative research you are relying on the researchers judgement based on the information they use as their foundation. The acceptance of a study's findings by others is depending on the credibility of the account that the researchers have arrived at, because social reality often has several possible accounts. The researcher has decided that the indicators are the ones representative in the universe of possible indicators, and also whether the tendency found should be considered substantial enough to be worthy of an interpretation. How reliable the findings are, is determined by the assurance that good practice and respondent validation are guidelines for the research carried out (Bryman, 2012; Klevén, 2008). Respondent validation is relevant for my study, and I sought this through communicative dialogs with the respondents. During the interviews I did not put words in the interviewees' mouths or force answers out of them, the focus was to get their understanding of the phenomenon described in their own words.

Transferability can be seen as the parallel to external validity and concerns how findings in a study can be applicable to other contexts. As mentioned earlier most of the designs within qualitative research are oriented toward studying contextual uniqueness and trying to establish how the aspect of the social world being studied is significant. To deal with this issue I worked with the production of thick descriptions, which are rich accounts of the details of a culture. This is an encouraged procedure to the qualitative researcher, as thick descriptions will be the database for making judgements about how the findings can be applicable on other contexts (Bryman, 2012).

Reliability in quantitative research is paralleled by dependability. Researchers using qualitative method should keep complete records of all phases of the research process in an accessible manner, for example problem formulation, selection of participants, interview transcripts and data analysis decisions. This would help assess if the findings are applicable to other times. Also it can be fruitful to study the same phenomenon in other contexts to see if one gets the same results there (Bryman, 2012; Klevén, 2008).

As a parallel to objectivity the term confirmability has gained recognition within qualitative research. The term refers to the openness of the researcher, it being obvious that he or she has not allowed personal values to intrude on the research and the findings deriving from it. All phases of the research process such as the choice of research area, are affected by values, there is no moral vacuum when conducting a study. Also the person itself behind the researcher has implications for the conduct of the research, but nevertheless it is important that the researcher acts in good faith and does not let values affect the research in a major scale (Bryman, 2012).

Relevance is the last concept in qualitative research and concerns the contribution the topic selected by the researcher makes on the literature, and its importance within the field. Due to recognizing the gap in research literature related to my topic, my aim with the research is to make a contribution to the field through gaining new knowledge in the area of multilinguistic identities. These points mentioned above have been formulated to help researchers evaluate their studies with regards to how well they generate theory out of the findings, which are one of the most crucial questions in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

“Validity is about the approximate truth of an inference, and validation depends on coherence theory of truth as well as correspondence theory. Any knowledge claim is considered a construction, influenced both by reality and by the researcher’s theory, methods and values.” (Kleven, 2008, p. 230)

2.9 Ethics

Ethics and how it is considered is an important issue in all research. This should be a part of every step in the research process, during design, data collection and analysis, because a researchers’ own preferences and familiarity with a research mode has a tendency to influence choices made. Transcribing and recording is heavily linked to questions on ethics, and it has been seen that researchers have leaned towards analysing data that confirm their expectations while deliberately putting aside other. In research it is important that everything is reported, and conflicting ideas should be considered interesting (Bryman, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Bryman (2012), explain that it has been discussed to which degree you can take ethics into consideration while midst in a research process. For my research I have chosen to follow the account of universalism. Under this account it is understood that braking or disregarding ethical principles is wrong in a moral sense, and it can be damaging to the field of social research. Ethical principles concern for instance harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception. It is a well-established rule that researchers should try to keep the disturbance to the subject itself and its relationship with their environment to a minimum level. This is for instance cared for through keeping the confidentiality over the records so that identities and records of individuals are kept confidential. In this way it is ensured that individuals are not identifiable when the findings are published. Removing names in the written paper can for instance be an effective way of assuring confidentiality. I have attended to this issue for instance through making the participants in my interviews anonymous.

Lack of informed consent addresses the issue of giving the possible research participants as much information as needed for their decision on whether or not to be a part of the study to be an informed decision. For my research this was done through going around in the relevant classes giving a presentation on my study. Also I got a voluntary given informed consent from the subject and their parents. They were not under the impression that they were required to participate, and they were aware of their entitlement to refuse to take part at any stage for whatever reason, and that they had the possibility to withdraw data supplied. I took care not to withhold any information from the participants that could affect their willingness to participate. In my presentation in the classes I explained as fully as possible and in terms meaningful to the participants what the research was about, why it was being undertaken, and how it was intended to be used. Additionally I gave them time before and after the interviews to ask questions. Through handing out consent forms including an additional explanation of my research project for them to take home to their parents, I again gave the respondents the opportunity to be fully informed of the nature of the research and the implications of their participation. Although it has been shown that the requirement to sign such a form reduces prospective participants' willingness to be involved in research I could not see any alternative to doing this this in my position, taking in to account that I was going to interview adolescents (Bryman, 2012).

Invasion of privacy should also be a concern for the researcher. This is an issue linked to informed consent. A detailed understanding of what the research participants' involvement is likely to entail, should be the basis for their willingness to participate. In a sense the participant accepts that their right to privacy in the limited domain that the research concerns has been surrendered. When a researcher deliberately leaves out details of his research or presents it as something other than what it is, this is a case of deception. If a general image of social researchers were that they deceive people, this could affect our work and even provide difficulties in gaining financial support or cooperation from participants in future prospective studies (Bryman, 2012).

“Possibly one of the most interesting developments in connection with ethical issues is that a criterion of the ethical integrity of an investigation is its quality.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 143)

3 Theoretical framework and literature review

This chapter I have divided into seven sections, with the aim to provide the theoretical framework and the concept understanding required. The work will be related to literature I have used within the field of identity, language and bi- and multilingualism. I start by giving a general introduction to the background for my view on identity as a process. The next section presents a short description on what is meant by language, which is followed by an explanation of the notions of culture and ethnicity, as they are also important for the whole understanding of my topic. As a continuation of this I look at the links between language and identity, and how these are intertwined in the individuals self-perception. After that I go through the concepts of bi- and multilingualism, and how these are presented in varied forms of language use, before we continue with looking at bi- and multilingualism related to language in education. In the last section of this chapter I reflect on bi- and multilingualism and it's role in the modern world.

3.1 Identity

“... it is clear that identity is at the heart of the person, and the group, and the connective tissue that links them.” (Edwards, 2009, p.2)

In this section I will explain my stand related to the identity concept. Over the years of studying identity and its development there has been a lot of different views on how this can be understood, ranging from the extensionalist perspective who presumes a fixed or given identity, to the more constructivist view that sees identity as a construction. In this study I understand identity as a process, where different influences meet and work together in a complex interaction with the mind set of an individual, and some already set categories that are less flexible, such as gender. Identity is a construct that can adapt and reorganize according to circumstances and context. Through picking facets from one all-encompassing identity according to a situation, a subject can assume different identities at different times. Such facets used in the process of identity construction are linked to a range of speech styles and behaviour. These support the identity perceived by others in a social context. The personal identity is formed through a self-reflexive and interactional process and is affected by all our individual traits, characteristics and dispositions. Individual identities are in other words not only components in, but also reflections of, particular social and cultural forms, and there cannot be made a stark differentiation between personality and social identity (Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013).

A conception of identity drawn from social constructivism describes it rather as a process than an entity, and it is perceived as a quite unstable phenomenon that fluctuates and is contingent. The process of identification is explored through a multi-layered construction of lives and cultures. This takes place in a complex interaction between the individual and its surroundings. Different variations of social relations vary greatly across human societies, and it is only through the conception of the role of language in human interaction that their actual importance for social actors can be explained. In other words, language and culture are two of the main elements in the process of identity construction. Language and identity are inseparable, and how a social actor constructs his or her identity is also based on the language used. The action of speaking is a social or group phenomenon because it involves someone to talk to, a communicative intent, and it is a way of linking an individual to others. Groups are social entities that are part of a continuous process of social construction, and an individual's

membership and attachment to a group is rooted in a variety of different criteria. Language is also used as an identity marker at a group level (Agha, 2007; Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013; Vestel, 2004).

Besides an individual's sense of self, I draw on Edwards' (2009) understanding of how we also use the different groups we belong to as a base for our social identity. When a group finds a way to bond, for instance individuals connecting through common interests, this is where a distinction from others and beginning borders arise. It is commonly accepted that an individual's affiliation to a certain class, ethnicity or other communities can be indicated through certain variations in the language used by the speaker. This is linked to the acknowledgement of an individual's speech mobility. Every person has a repertoire of words and behaviours that they can choose from depending on the perceived situational circumstances.

One of the most common influences on this selective behaviour is the level of formality in the situation. There is a natural adaption of language and selection of our repertoire when speaking to others such as children, colleagues or friends, and this process can be understood as highlighting one or another aspect of identity. This continuous selection process is also an obvious trait among bi- or multilinguals. The level of bilingualism can range from poorly to very proficient, where on the one side you find those who only know a few words or terms, and on the other side there are individuals who can assume native-like speech. The choice of a certain language can be an indicator about their perception of the situation, and how they wish to presume with it. Whether the desire is to be approaching the listener due to a feeling of for example intimacy, or a wish to dissociate them selves from the listener due to a spurn of dislike or mistrust, the choice will have linguistic consequences (Edwards, 2009).

3.2 Language

“... language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.” (Edward Sapi, 1921, p. 7, quoted in Edwards, 2009, p. 53)

In this part I will give an introduction to what is understood with language. According to Edwards (2009) language can be seen as an arrangement of arbitrary symbols that have gotten meanings through an agreed-upon significance within a community, and functions as a system through its aforesaid regularity and rules of order. These symbols are connected in regular ways, and can be used and understood independent of immediate context. It is only through the users within a community's agreed-upon universe of symbols that the elements possess their meaning. The people making up a language community are using these sounds and symbols for communicative purposes, and it is the ways in which the people have assigned meanings and significance to those symbols that make up the differences between languages. Through creating unique perspectives to reality and protecting group distinctiveness, language has historically been an important vehicle for culture and tradition.

Edwards (2009) also describes that the differentiation between language understood as an instrumental tool, and language understood as a symbol for a group is what distinguishes the communicative functions from the symbolic functions of language. Understood in its symbolic sense, language can long outlast the shifting communication, which is connected to changes in history, culture and society. In that sense, even if they are often seen in connection with each other, it is possible to separate these two functions of language. Through accumulated historical and cultural associations and its natural semantics of remembrance, the symbolic value of language has been the essential foundation for every communicative interaction. We are always interpreting and translating according to these, in addition to the cultural context in which our language is embedded when we speak. But, there are also other aspects of understanding a message comprised in a communicative situation, such as non-verbal expressions through body language or intonation of words. This is also a reason why people who learn a language for practical reasons may find communication on a deeper level difficult or unattainable to them, although they have developed what is perceived as fluency in command. Only when a conversation is based on mutual trust and a respectful sharing of intended meanings, we are part of an authentic communicative situation. Through identifying shared moral values or through rational discourse, a sense of resonance is required between those who seek to reach agreement and understanding (Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013).

As seen above, the setting influences our choice of language, but language also influences our perception of the setting, and linguistic variation has been linked to variations in identity.

This is the essence of linguistic ethnography, which sees language and the social world as mutually shaping. We can attain new and important understandings of the mechanisms of social and cultural production in everyday activity through a thorough analysis of situated language use. For this reason it has been argued that the context of communication is an important subject for investigation. Language influences our way of thinking. Different linguistic behaviour and linguistic adoption to circumstances can be generated through different environments. While there are important differences between languages, it is possible to translate between them, and speakers who find themselves in new circumstances due to moving or travel can learn new languages (Edwards, 2009).

3.3 Ethnicity and Culture

Here I give a short introduction to what is understood with the terms ethnicity and culture in my paper, as they are also seen to be important parts of an individual's identity and language use along with other factors. According to Edwards (2009), there are different types of identity. These can either be based on biological factors, which makes it a more or less fixed entity, or influenced by the environment. Ethnic identity is described as when a group identity is structured around perceived commonalities such as language or race. However, it is considered unfruitful to attribute interests and agency to an ethnic collective, and so constructing it as fundamental units of analysis or entities capable of this. If this would be the case, the individual agency is pushed aside.

Culture is made up of the actions, ideas and artefacts that are learned, shared and valued within a certain group or tradition. It is recognizable in all aspects of life and stretches from the ideas people carry with them to the relationships they have with other individuals in their families, larger social institutions, physical surroundings, and the technology available around them. Also entailed in the term "culture" you find the language people speak and the symbolic forms they share such as written language and art forms. Part of growing up in a society is the process of enculturation, which means learning how to be a competent member of a specific culture or group. Individuals are not passive receivers of facets, but constantly construct their meaning within a context of an ever-changing culture (Bruner, 1996; Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013; Maseman, 2013; Stier, 2003).

“We do not react to the world on the basis of sensory input alone but, rather, in terms of what we perceive that input to mean. This is the foundation of all our social constructions, of all our individual and group relationships, and it is a foundation that reflects in an on-going fashion our accumulated social knowledge.” (Edwards, 2009, p. 154)

Our perception can be described as a filter created through specific cultural conditions and maintained within social groupings, and then personalized to a greater or lesser extent. An important aspect of this is the process of learning human culture, also known as socialization. It is recognized that it can be problematic when parents or whole generations of one group persist on imposing a form of life on the next generation. Through globalization and a continuously more interlinked world creating new experiences, the boundaries between groups based on objective markers of identity are challenged. Through shaping our minds and providing us with tools available to be used by individuals in the action of constructing their worlds and their conceptions of themselves and their power, it also affects how children go about their school learning and their construction of their own narratives (Bruner, 1996; Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013; Maseman, 2013; Stier, 2003).

In line with Bruner (1996) I understand narratives as the way we construct a version of ourselves in the world. He emphasizes that to understand mental activity, cultural settings and its resources need to be taken into the account. The terms mental activity and cultural settings are vital in the understanding of how children perceive their education because schooling is a part of where the cultural features are being transmitted or transferred from one group to another. The process of negotiation between the individual and culture takes place in education. Here, the transfer of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes can either happen in a cross-generational fashion, or across groups. Cross-group transfer refers to the learning in an intercultural or multicultural setting, which is seen as one of the factors contributing to a naturally developed intercultural understanding, based on trust and sincerity (Bruner, 1996; Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013; Maseman, 2013; Stier, 2003).

This can also be linked to Bruner’s (1996) notion on mutual learning cultures, which entails the mutual sharing of knowledge and ideas, mutual aid in mastering material, division of labour and the exchange of roles. In the times of globalization, education is a part of helping pupils to prepare for a life in an ever-changing world. A restraining factor in coping with this

can be language skills, because different cultures have access to different languages. These are the contexts for the individuals' sense making, but the constraints imposed by a symbolic system on how we think and communicate, can be reduced through developing modes of linguistic diversity and awareness. The facilitation of the acquisition of intercultural competencies as well as personal growth are said to be two of the benefits generated through the academic, cultural and intellectual experiences one gets from studying in an ethnically diverse context (Bruner, 1996; Edwards, 2009; Fox, 2013; Maseman, 2013; Stier, 2003).

3.4 Language and identity

In this section I look at the relationship between identity and language. Language is often an important element in the identification process, and functions as a point of reference for people when establishing boundaries for their cultural, national or group identity. The relationship between language and identity can be understood as a complex and interdependent process, where language has a heavy symbolic value and is highly influential when establishing a collective identity. However, although language has been acknowledged as being a main contributor in this process, it has also been argued that particular groups are essentially defined by other characteristics. The individual identity is a blend of many factors; among these both fixed features, and socially created factors that are developed through language. Competence, usage and attitude towards language changes in individuals over time as part of an identity creation process where they constantly negotiate and reinterpret meanings and understandings. This supports the understanding of language as non-static element in the process of identity creation. Roles and relationships between persons and groups are generated in a multitude of ways through perceivable behaviour. This can happen either in a linguistic or a non-linguistic manor, however language is seen to be one of the most important mediators of social behaviour. This is not only among persons present within the same geographic context, but also for people separated in time and space (Agha, 2007; Baker, 2011).

“Social relations are mediated by signs that connect persons to each other, allowing persons to engage with each other by engaging with signs that connect them in a semiotic encounter.” (Agha, 2007, p. 10)

Even when persons are encountering each other face to face, it is not only the co-presence of another individual that makes social interaction possible. More importantly is the fact that one person's semiotic activity is audible and visible to another. This shows that when it comes to connecting people to each other, the activity of using language plays a central role that moves beyond geographical and historical boundaries. Social relations are based on, and expressed through, the classifying and valorising of perceivable objects in language. Our origins, membership and culture can be identified through the language we speak, but as we interpret sociocultural experiences and take on multiple roles in different contexts our identity is re-written, imagined and re-constructed on a daily basis (Agha, 2007; Baker, 2011).

Through our expressions, engagements and preferences it becomes clear that our identity is conveyed in our language, however it is not only language in itself that defines who we are. Our constructed, shifting and hybrid identity is made up of many features, language being one of them. Other features that can provide us with complementary, diverse and interacting identities are sociocultural constructions of categories such as gender, age, region or nationality, and we can experience a development in our identity through the change of contexts. Another important aspect of the identity construction is social comparison. How we perceive and are influenced by an ever-varying social world, the labelling by others, and dialogue within ourselves and with others, are all factors affecting the development of identity (Baker, 2011).

Several of the components that take part in the process of identification are identified in Viggo Vestel's (2004), book "Community of differences – hybridization, popular culture and the making of social relations among multicultural youngsters in "Rudenga", East side Oslo". Vestel emphasizes how actors with a wide variety of backgrounds and suppositions associate themselves and feel attachment to collectives, other individuals, histories, areas, ways of beings, objects, musical forms, codes of dancing, dressing, of greeting, of language use, and of behaving towards opposite gender. External factors also play an eminent part in the phenomenon of identification. The hybridization of identities happens when the actor builds connective emotions from one continuum of signs associated to one of these factors or collectives, to other such continuums.

This process is where hybridisation of identity starts, through bringing together two or more relatively different identities more or less simultaneously. The phenomenon of hybridising identities is seen in relation to that of globalization, which is defined as the increasing flow of information, people and commodities. The response to this in the process of identity creation has been characterized by creativity in the construction process, with various degrees of blending different elements or signs. This is not without problems, and for individuals it can be hard to decide when and how one's tradition or culture that constitutes certain collectives and their related continua of signs ends, and other begins (Vestel, 2004). In the process of constructing their identities, individuals have several different tools to choose from. These tools of identity are defined as:

“We may here define “tools of identity” as various forms of media that an actor or his/her social surroundings draw into use to reflect, intuit or relate to issues of identification.”
(Vestel, 2004, p. 472)

There is a strong connection between these tools, the experiences of concrete situations, and the past experiences of its users. The conclusion of the process varies according to these situations where they are used to express and explain feelings. What Vestel (2004), found in his study of immigrant youngsters in East of Oslo was that they perceived their everyday life to consist of two different worlds. Situations with interaction with parents or other persons of the same ethnic origin were considered on one side, and then there existed another social sphere when being together with friends. This exemplifies how situational variation modifies the feeling of identity among this group of youth with immigration background, and language plays a significant role in identifying themselves in these situations. A clear example is a youngster named Mohammed that explains how he dreams in Norwegian, speaks Urdu with his parents, and Punjabi with his friends, and when asked about his perception of his own identity he describes himself as “something in between”, which reflects his hesitation in stating only one identity.

Here it is seen how language is one of the underlying situational aspects for his possible self-identification. Instead of using language as a clear indicator for one identity belonging to one group, in this manner he uses it to deemphasize the importance of collective identity, and rather emphasize the individual identity of each person connected to the context of their

relationship. Then, there is an interaction between language and the ethnic dimensions of identity, and other attributes that contribute to a fluid and complex classification of others. When seeing others linked to multiple classifications rather than just by for example ethnicity or language, stereotyping, prejudice, and distance is reduced (Baker, 2011; Vestel, 2004)

Another important aspect of language when used as a factor for identification is that it is not solely a tool for expressing the person's own identity, but also his or hers attitude to the society around, and to the identities of others. The learning of a language in terms of mastering the same words and skills can be used as an exchange of similarities, and thereby builds points of connections to others. The re-construction of culture and language in new mixtures that can vary in different social contexts can be seen among young people in particular. However, if inherent tensions and conflicts continue to exist it might present a challenge in creating a coherent sense of self within the multiple identities. Classrooms are also social arenas where children are actively constructing their identities. Through the acknowledgement of children as active participants instead of passive recipients and the transfer of culture, knowledge and language in educational institutions such as schools, education moves into the equation of language and identity. The relationship between these factors seems closely intertwined (Baker, 2011; Fox, 2013; Vestel, 2004).

It is through semiotic processes whereby images of personhood are coupled to or decoupled from publicly perceivable signs that a person's social identity or identities become determined. Persons form attachment to these images when making them their own, so they become self-images that are linked to the self-perception. This is not a static thing, but moves over different versions over time, affected by the confrontation with new and other images. Only when perceivable by others, one's self-conception becomes relevant to social life. Another aspect of the phenomenon of identification is the imposed identity from the outside. This is often based on simple features such as skin colour or physical appearance. Because these features are so immediate and visible signs of differenceness, they play an important role in how others perceive one's identity, and they become inescapable marks that can prevent inclusion of its bearer in a collective where such marks are not shared (Agha, 2007; Vestel, 2004).

It is shown that there are wide ranges of levels of identification available to various degrees, which come to interplay with the identity derived from ethnicity and culture. The idea of identity as consisting with neat and tidy borders are questioned by the practices of different tools for identification, and the youngsters Vestel (2004) interviewed in Rudenga, seem to abstain from insisting of the homogeneity of the group to which they associate. For them the dominating factor is their ability to build connective points in affective social relations to each other, at the same time as still keeping links to their differences represented by their families and their areas of origin. Through these connective processes different worldviews and attitudes are exchanged and handled in interpersonal relationships on the basis of sharing a common habitus or exchanging individual aspects. This is an example of a situation where new identities, new subjectivities and ethnicities are created through the use of different tools in an already existing context, and so the flows of identification find new directions (Vestel, 2004).

“This means that elements from their respective areas of origin, from popular culture, from the configuration of the Norwegian hegemony, as well as from more locally coloured traditions are taken into use in this creative bricolage of everyday life.” (Vestel, 2004, p. 493-494)

3.5 Bilingualism and multilingualism

This part considers the terms bi- and multilingualism, and explains how this can to a certain degree be measured. As the world continues to grow smaller with more interlinked economic markets of trade, travel, communication, mass media and immigration, the side effect that has developed as a result of globalization and interculturalism is bi- and multilingualism. The individuals of today are more likely to move to different places, to commute to work, and visit other countries for business or leisure activities. Numerically, bi- and multilinguals make up the majority of the world. Between a half and two-thirds of the world population is expected to be bilingual. Being bilingual is a great asset in these times that demand people to be both local and international, and where language becomes a medium for making relationships, and communicating information (Baker, 2011; Stier, 2003).

Baker (2011) made a distinction between bi- and multilingualism as an individual characteristic and possession, and in a social group or community as a societal possession. Both of these are linked to the term interpersonal competency, which considers the ability to interact. It is seen as a part of a certain communication competence, but this term is referring to skills regarding verbal and non-verbal language, and also elements of a communicative process. These elements include taking turns in a conversation, and cultural rules for how conversations are initiated and ended. This is reflecting the degree to which a person is bi- and multilingual. Additionally, context and the order the languages are learned can have important consequences for the perceived identity of a bilingual (Baker, 2011; Edwards, 2009; Stier, 2003).

In theory a person may be able to speak two languages, but when it comes to putting it to practice they only speak one. A different kind of bi- or multilingualism may be that a person speaks two languages on a regular basis, but with a limited competence in one of them, for example when a person only uses a language at home. A last distinction can be a person using one language when for example reading or writing, and another language for talking. The outline of a distinction between language ability and language use becomes clear, and the tendency in bi- and multilingualism is that the persons concerned usually have one language that is dominant. This situation can either vary with context and may change over time with geographical or social mobility, or the dominance of one language may be relatively stable over time (Baker, 2011).

There are a few terms mentioned by Baker (2011) that describe the different levels of bi- and multilingualism. Ability in this context refers to a person's language competence. When having a productive competence a person is capable of actively speaking and writing in both languages, while passive bilinguals only have a receptive ability such as understanding or reading. Emerging bilinguals are those in the process of acquiring another language. Use is a term reflecting the varying contexts and situations where a language is used. It can be at home, in school or in a store, and it is acknowledged that different languages often are used with different aims.

An issue mentioned above is also the balance of language. Often one language assumes a dominating position over the others, but this can change over time. Age is also of importance

when talking about bi- and multilingualism. When a person is learning two or more languages from birth on, this is referred to as simultaneous bilingualism. When learning additional languages after the age of three, this is called consecutive bi- or multilingualism. As for how developed the languages are, one can speak of incipient bilingualism, where one language is well developed and the other in the early stages of development, or recessive bilingualism, which is the process when the skills or use of one language is decreasing. Culture is also an important term when dealing with languages because bi- and multicultural competence has been seen in connection with knowledge of language cultures, such as behaving in a culturally appropriate way (Baker, 2011).

Context is the circumstances of the language use. There are bi- and multilingual endogenous communities where one or more languages are used on an everyday basis, or contexts that are adaptive in the sense that learning a second language happens without affecting the other languages. The last term important for my thesis is elective bilingualism, which refers to individuals who chose to learn a language, because this term describes a motivation shared by many and is also an important notion regarding schools where children are expected to learn multiple languages (Baker, 2011).

Rather than putting weight on the fluency in a language, bilingualism is rather defined through the regular use of it. Individuals who use two or more languages in their everyday life are referred to as bi- or multilinguistic. However, this process cannot be investigated without taking the context in which the languages are used into consideration. Also, the effects of the interactions in different combinations of people in a conversation are an important aspect here (Baker, 2011).

“Language is not produced in a vacuum; it is enacting in changing dramas.” (Baker, 2011, p. 4)

There are many elements within the process of communication. This stretches from who is saying what, to whom, in which circumstances, and last but not least the structure of the language in terms of grammar and vocabulary. It exists differences between people and their capabilities in using the different languages. As one individual can take part in successful communication in certain situations albeit having limited or underdeveloped linguistic skills,

another person with relatively linguistic mastery can still be perceived as unsocial or not capable of communication in a socially accepted way, due to lack of social interaction skills. Therefore it is crucial to our understanding of bilingual interaction to consider the social environment where the languages are put to use (Baker, 2011).

Related to the usage, the term functional bilingualism is applied when a person is able to produce language across a wide range of everyday contexts and events. The concern here is differences in when, where and with whom they use their languages, such as family, friends or with teachers, when shopping, in connection with media or when engaged with a hobby. Here the individual is constantly making choices regarding languages. Choosing is usually an inescapable action when bilinguals are using both their languages. A language choice is made depending on if the bilingual already knows the other person. With a family member, friend or colleague there has usually been established a relationship in one language. If these persons are both bilingual they have the option to switch between languages, and can use the changing of languages to include other persons in their conversation. Also this choice is made, either deliberately or subconsciously, when a person switches between languages to accommodate perceived preferences of the other participant in the conversation. A balanced bilingual is an individual with a similar fluency in two languages across various contexts (Baker, 2011).

Listening, speaking, reading and writing are four basic language abilities related to bi- and multilingualism. These can be divided into the skill categories oracy and literacy skills, and receptive and productive skills. For instance some individuals may speak a language, but are not capable of using it to read and write. Some may understand when they listen or read a language, also known as passive bilingualism, but do not have proficient skills to write or speak. And others again maybe understand a spoken language without being able to speak it themselves, while some understand what is being said in certain contexts, such as in a shop, but not in other contexts, for example during an academic lecture. When a person is using a language in social contexts such as on the street or in a shop, this action requires a greater accent on social competence with language. Here we can talk about skills within skills, such as pronunciation, and extended vocabulary, correctness of grammar, the possibility to vary in speaking style, and the ability to convey exact meanings in different situations (Baker, 2011).

To view bilinguals from a holistic perspective we acknowledge them as developing bilinguals instead of some sort of deficient communicators. Language becomes a complete linguistic entity, which is seen as an integrated whole. It is important to be sensitive to differences in when, where and with whom bilinguals use either of their languages because the level of skill in a language depends on how often a language is used and the context for the use. Also it is important to take into account differences between conversational fluency and academic language competence (Baker, 2011).

“In a conversation, there is negotiation of meaning between two or more people. Real communication involves anticipating a listener’s response, understandings and misunderstandings, sometimes clarifying one’s own language to ensure joint understanding, plus the influence of different status and power between people.” (Baker, 2011, p. 13)

People who have skills in two or more languages are usually found in speech communities or networks within a society. This language society is usually made up of people who speak a minority language within a majority language context. Here languages usually are used for different purposes. It is more likely that the use of the minority language will occur in situations perceived as informal and personal by the individuals involved. In more formal and official communication contexts there will usually be more use of the majority language. When language minority and majority members are becoming proficient in both languages and are experiencing positive attitudes towards both the first and the second language, their state is called additive translinguaging bilingualism. This is a dynamic state, with hybrid, overlapping and simultaneous use of different languages. It reflects transcultural identities, and a close interrelationship between languages emerges through the simultaneous existence of different languages in communication (Baker, 2011).

3.6 Language in education

In learning and education language has been shown to play a crucial but varied role. In bilingual education it is a substantial part of the school day to use a non-dominant language as the medium of instruction. The ability of the students to move between social worlds helps them develop a positive identity and self-image (Inglis, 2008). Students taught through the

structure of immersion have been seen to successfully gain competence in two languages, although the level of speaking and writing in the second language seldom reaches the native-like ability. One limitation seen with language learning through immersion is that the second language can seem to be used by the students only within the school context. When immersion students have competence in a second language but fail to use it outside the school walls, the possibility of attaining native-like language competence in all dimensions diminish, and the social and stylistic sense of appropriate language use that is natural in the native-like language communication context, is missing. If the students only communicate among themselves and with the teacher, the communication takes place within a restricted social environment where grammatical accuracy is not crucial for understanding each other, but which can lead to communication difficulty in other contexts (Baker, 2011).

In the line with Baker's (2011) understanding, I consider an important part of developing the productive language proficiency of students towards a fluent and authentic use of the second language outside the school, increased group and collaborative learning and the use of the language in leisure activities. The notion on collaborative learning is also reflected by the idea of mutual learning cultures, where learners can become autonomous and learn to work well with each other through helping each other to learn, and the teachers have a reduced role as the only source of knowledge, and rather work more as enablers. Then the students scaffold each other and the learning becomes an interactive process in which the pupils learn from each other, and not just by showing and telling (Baker, 2011; Bruner, 1996).

A lack of confidence in the students' perception of competence in the second language can result from little use outside the school. Immersion programs often occur in geographical areas where there is a dominant first language, and the second language is restricted to the home and school, not being put to use in the playground and in the wider community. It is not easy to determine what the arbitral elements are that contribute to the experienced immersion schooling being effective. For instance there has been a change from using the traditional whole class techniques towards a more activity-based group learning experience, and the importance of the length of language learning as in numbers of years spent on second language learning, is being replaced by a focus on the intensity of learning in terms of for example hours per day. There has been done a lot of research in this area, but the focus is mostly on the outcome of immersion education. The students' immersion learning process

from the perspective of the learner is still an unexplored field, which is gaining more attention due to the acknowledgement that internal or private speech is crucial in the immersion language learning experience. A valuable part of the process of acquiring a language is the internal or private speech, where an individual creates new sentences when speaking to themselves. Through this internalisation process the student makes sense of the new language, and through this turning inwards, they start to understand the world through the new language (Baker, 2011).

According to Baker (2011), teachers might have difficulties in providing an efficient and well-structured curriculum characterized by equality of provision and opportunity in classrooms where there are wide variations in ability in a second language among the students. The teachers are also part of a language paradox where they are supposed to ensure equality and opportunity for all at the same time as celebrating distinctiveness and difference. It can be a challenge to ensure that diversity is not becoming divisive, and to encourage students to share common purposes, while supporting their colourful variety. A frequent criticism of bilingual education has been that it serves to promote differences rather than similarities, and that it separates the students rather than integrating them. The ideal among immersion educators is partially to create bilinguals, but also widen the students' cultural horizon. It is important when learning a language, to also be sensitive towards the culture and values of the second language. When gaining this understanding of the language as a whole, bilingualism permits an increased linguistic awareness and more flexibility in thought. Studies have shown that when children are learning a second language through immersion it is not affecting their skills in the first language. There are evidence pointing towards that immersion students also generally perform as well as children taught in traditional classes in mainstream curriculum areas such as mathematics, science and geography. A crucial actuality is the sufficient development of the second language skills among the students to enable them to cope with curriculum material that to certain extents can be fairly complex (Baker, 2011).

It is important to acknowledge that language is a resource on a personal, community and regional level. Due to language, individuals can participate in public, leisure and private arenas, and bilingualism should be acknowledged as an intellectual, cultural, economic, social, communication and citizenship capability. This orientation is now inspiring a movement for increased multilingualism in almost all parts of the world. Language is seen as

a brick in the economic bridge building for instance in foreign trade, but is also an important element in its ability to build social bridges across different groups for example in areas of religious conflict, as well as assisting in increasing the intercultural understanding. Through this it becomes clear that additionally to being a means of communication, language is also connected with socialization into the local and wider society as well as a powerful symbol of heritage and identity (Baker, 2011).

3.7 Bilingualism and multilingualism in the modern world

“The world is a book, and those who do not travel read only a page.” (St Augustine, quoted in Stier, 2003, p. 77)

There is a lot more focus on skills within communication in today's labour market, and in the future it is reason to believe that there will be a heightened demand for intercultural competencies, besides the required professional competencies. International businesses are looking for individuals that have appropriate skills within knowledge and culture, and as the communication world gets smaller the ownership of two or more languages is increasingly seen as an asset (Baker, 2011; Inglis, 2008). The bilinguals have become more important in the employment market, and the demand for multi-linguals seems to increase with a growing degree of globalization. This development is followed by a dramatically increase in the amount of information available, and the quickening of the information delivery around the world. Thus the work market has learned to see the advantage and economic potential in bilingualism. It has become a marketable ability that can help in the meeting between languages and cultures, and contribute to a secured and flowing trade. In other words the bi- and multi-linguals can be said to hold a linguistic capital. In an increasingly multilingual world with trade barriers falling, new international markets are growing, and with economic competition rapidly developing on a global scale, competence in language and intercultural knowledge are marketable skills (Baker, 2011).

New and important tools for mass communication are radio, television, newspapers and the internet. Through these, people are met with news, information and entertainment on an everyday basis. The possibility of crossing cultures have been enabled through the

introduction of the television, which has contributed to the spreading of important and immediate news and culture, and is therefore said to be a major actor in the development of the global village (Baker, 2011).

Also, the mass media has contributed to the spreading of the English language. In non-english speaking countries the use of sub-titles for instance has led to many audiences in the world getting acquainted with the English language. In this way it has provided speakers of other languages with a tool to develop competence in English, which is considered a useful language in international communications. But at the same time, media can help minorities living all over the world with the fluency of a minority language and support their multilingual identity, or help learners in the process of acquiring the language (Baker, 2011).

Electronic devices such as mobile phones and computers can in our age be found in all settings, for instance on trains, playgrounds, shopping malls and classrooms. People are connected to the world and to each other through email, Facebook, Skype, YouTube and many other forms of social networking via technology. While either texting or downloading, it has become evident that communication has increasingly become electronic. Here it is also acknowledged that English has developed to be the main language for information that is transferred across the internet. New possibilities for social networking are occurring which enables conversations with minimum effort across countries and continents, creates a sphere for playing out multiple identities, and the possibility to gain a sense of belonging to other speakers of your language although not being located in the same town or even country, and a space to be different and linguistically diverse (Baker, 2011).

In this chapter I have given an outline of the theoretical framework underlying my studies, reviewed literature important to help me in investigating my purpose and research questions. I started with a general note on how identity is perceived in my study, and what lies behind my understanding of this term. In the section on language we find a general explanation on language. Further I present the concepts of ethnicity and culture. The section on language and identity gives a thorough insight to how these are considered interlinked, and the position language takes in the process of constructing identity. Following this I describe the definitions of bi- and multilingualism, where I also consider the understanding of the use of language itself, and how this works related to context and identity. To have an understanding

in these matters are important when working with my first research question where I explore how the adolescents perceive themselves to be, and how they position themselves as multilinguistic. The next part in this chapter is important for understanding and working with my second research question that looks at the identity as a learner and language learning experiences in school. In the last part I have looked at how being bi- or multilingual can affect your situation in today's society, which is also related to my third research question about seeing language as a resource, and what position a multilinguistic individual may have in the future.

Chapter 4: Findings

In this chapter I will analyse the interviews in relation to my research questions and purpose, as well as present and discuss the findings. The purpose of my study has been to explore how the adolescents in the GSGS in Berlin have become multilingual agents, and how they negotiate their multilinguistic identity. I have chosen to do this by using three research questions to guide my research, each considering important aspects of this process. The first research question is how the adolescents perceive themselves to be, which is a theme greatly interlinked with the choices and experiences they make in their everyday life, and how they position themselves. A big part of this is their interpersonal relationships and networking skills. Another aspect I found crucial to enable a comprehensive understanding of the issue to I wanted to study, is the language learning process and how they work with their proficiency in a language, and so my second research question evolves about what language learning experiences they have in a multilinguistic school and classroom. The last issue I wanted to look at in relation to my purpose was how they perceive being multilinguistic as a resource, and how they perceive themselves in the future as multilinguistic.

I have organized the findings in nine parts, each designed to shed light on the research questions and contribute to an enhanced understanding of the purpose of my study. The first part considers how the construction of a multilinguistic self starts in the home. Here the adolescents are first introduced to one or more languages, and it is based on experiences made in this sphere that they develop their own multilinguistic skills. The following part

considers their relationship with their friends, how they use language to network, and how this is related to the construction of their multilinguistic identity. This is also further elaborated on in the part about identity construction.

From here we move to the fourth part which is dedicated the adolescents' reflections on their language skills, and which level they are on. Both the previous parts, three and four, are important when looking at part five, which investigates the adolescents' future plans, and where can imagine seeing themselves. In part six we go over to looking on how the adolescents describe their processes of language learning, before I consider their language learning experiences in school in the seventh part. After this I take a look on how language and their perceived multilinguistic identity is communicated through their interactions with their fellow pupils and the teachers in part eight, before considering the adolescents descriptions of what tools they use and find helpful in the language learning process. This is summed up in a conclusive note in chapter five.

4.1 Language and family - the beginning of the construction of the multilinguistic self

When speaking with the interviewees about what languages that was usually used at home, their answers revealed several interesting reasons behind their language use, reflecting both intentional and unintentional adaption to their parents skills and origins, and the wish to keep a link to a culture rarely presented in other aspects of their everyday life, the one connected to their parents or their origin. According to Edwards (2009), Fox (2013), and Vestel (2004), our identity is made up of different facets, with ethnicity, culture and language being some of them, which led me to take the residency of the extended family and the language of interaction between the interviewees and their extended family into consideration as well.

Interviewee two emphasized that his parents where both ethnically from a country not closely related to Germany or Scandinavia, but one of them was born in a German speaking country. The family had lived in Sweden for several years when he was younger. When asked about the language situation at home he explained that it was a mix of three languages on a regular basis, Bosnian, German and Swedish. Although spending his childhood years in Sweden, the

family was closely connected to Germany through extended family, with the result that they spent many family holidays here, and eventually decided to move to Berlin. Due to spending most of his early years in Sweden, his preferred language to speak at the time of the interview was Swedish, but the use of the language was restricted to the home arena and school. Here we see an example on how an adolescent consciously constructs his identity as multilingual through deliberately choosing one language over another with the intention to keep the links to this language, and his relationship to it and its origin, alive. Although Swedish is not a part of his, or his parents' ethnic identity, he feels connected to the language through it being an important part of his life experience and repertoire. Therefore he gives it a high status on purpose, so that the languages connected with living situation and ethnic origin have to share their positions as dominating languages.

He also told me that most of his family was in Germany, and this was a reason why they were always going to Germany on holidays while still living in Sweden. This had contributed to him feeling more easily at home when moving Germany. When meeting with his grandparents in Germany they wanted to speak Bosnian with him due to their limited language skills in German and their strong ties to their ethnic identity, which he felt was also a part of him when being with them and other family members speaking Bosnian. A feeling of belonging based on ethnicity was, however, mostly bound to the extended family when speaking Bosnian, and when being at home or being with friends this was not something he felt as an eminent factor in describing himself.

Here I found similarities to Vestel's (2004) findings describing youth positioning themselves in two lingual and identity changing worlds. He described his everyday life to consist of multiple lingual spheres where he would adapt speech style and behaviour, but that these were all facets he had in him that he could pick out and choose from, so that they were all part of him. This description can be linked to the notion on hybrid identities because he denied describing himself as having one identity and saw himself as something more than just Bosnian, German or Swedish, something in between or including the many different features.

This idea of using language actively to constitute one's connection to another culture or origin other than presented in the immediate context, and thereby consciously constructing a multilingual identity, is found among some of the other adolescents as well. For interviewee

15 the home situation had similar characteristics as the one described above, but still differed in some important ways. The situations were similar in that he also reported a fluent switch in three languages at home on a regular basis, through actively engaging in conversations in the varying languages with different family members. He was speaking mostly Danish and English with his parents, but through speaking German with his brother he constituted the two of them as part of the German society, both growing up and living there despite having parents originating from other countries.

The emphasis on using German in the home despite not having any ethnic German family members was a bit of an opposition to Vetsel's notion on adolescents creating two worlds based on the use of different languages, one at home and one in other contexts outside this sphere, and leaned more towards interviewee 15 wishing to bring some of the "other" world into his home. This he described as giving him a stronger feeling of belonging to the society outside and strengthening his identity as partly German. At the same time he referred to Danish and Australian as also being important parts of his identity because of the strong connections he had to each of these countries, both in the sense of lingual mastery and through family connections.

Here, we see a negotiation of identity where interviewee 15, as an agent, searches attachment to multiple individuals and collectives through the conscious selection of language, with a hybridization of the identities constructed through origin and culture at home, and in relation to other social spheres, for instance with friends. These are brought together through this action of choosing. On the other side he also explains that he often speaks Danish with his mother and English with his father, and for this there are multiple reasons. For one the parents are both eager to keep their origin and culture present, and use the language as a tool to incorporate interviewee 15 in their linguistic world because. Also they were more comfortable in using these languages although having good German skills as well, the conversations being more natural when using their original languages, and it was an active engagement from his side because he felt the languages were important parts of who he was.

On the other hand it is a kind of unconscious way for him to negotiate his identity as multilingual in the sense that he speaks of himself never having to put effort to learn the languages, or work on his skills in them, because they were always there and he has always

known them, especially through speaking them so much with his parents at home. This outlines an on-going interaction between on the one hand, an actively and conscious construction of himself, as a “self” belonging to the society and the spheres within it. On the other hand, an unconscious but still active construction of the multilingual self, in terms of using the languages on a regular basis at home. This is strengthened by describing his feeling of belonging as something in between, where although living in Germany he is also strongly connected to Denmark and Australia.

Through having family connections to other countries, some of the adolescents expressed a sense of belonging to the countries in question through explaining their feelings such as feeling “at home” when going there, describing the difference in actually going somewhere as a tourist and going to the countries from which the parents originated and where they still had family, because “everything is familiar”. Additionally to the feeling of familiarity with the place, interviewee 15 explained that his grandparents in Denmark and Australia did not know German, and that this was the main reason for speaking their languages with them. However, he also did it with pleasure because it strengthened the feeling of belonging to them, the area and the culture. In these settings he would still occasionally speak German with his brother though, which underlines a consistency of the hybrid identity he has created and a confirmation of his self-perception as a multilingual. Factors contributing to the feeling of belonging described by many of the interviewees were speaking the local language, living with local people and be part of the local culture surrounding their families.

Although it could be assumed that the adolescents with two Scandinavian parents would have the same language experience as the interviewees above due to the fact that there was no direct link to Germany through their parents’ origin, the adolescents coming from a home with two parents from Scandinavian countries were telling me of a somewhat different reality. Although all of them told me that they speak the Scandinavian language belonging to their parents’ origin at home “in general”, interviewee nine and 11 were both using the expression “mostly” when describing its use, which gave me the impression that they might have situations at home or in other social contexts where German also occurs. Interviewee nine had grandparents in Sweden with whom she mostly spoke Swedish with, but they also knew German and spoke it occasionally with her, which she enjoyed because it contributed to

her feeling of attachment to Germany and thereby also supporting her identity as multilinguistic.

Also interviewee 11 was expressing a great sense of belonging to Scandinavia, which lay in that he still had a lot of family there with whom he spoke Danish with. For interviewee seven her home sphere consisted in communication only in Scandinavian. Different from the others doing it consciously as a measure to keep their ties to the language and culture belonging to their parents origin, interviewee seven did not have any choice in this part of being multilingual because her parents did not speak any German. Therefore she spoke Scandinavian at home to accommodate their language skills. However, she also said she did not expect them to be speaking German at home because it would create an unnatural situation for their interaction ways. Here we see how her everyday life consists of two worlds, one when being at home with her parents, and one in the society outside for instance with her friends, which is similar to what Vestel (2004) found in his study.

In the homes of the pupils with one parent from Germany and one from a Scandinavian country I again found the situation to have some similarities, but also some differences among them. Interviewee four explained that the main language spoken at home was German, but that there were some exceptions, for instance when communicating with his dad or brother alone. In these situations they would occasionally switch to Swedish, which he felt was a way of bonding with them and asserting them as something more than just German, and using it as a contributing factor in his construction of the multilingual self. With his mother it was more rare that they spoke Swedish, but a situation where this could happen was for instance when they were being outside and he wanted to say something to her that he didn't want anyone else to understand.

This struck me as important when having Baker's (2011), descriptions on the choice aspect of being a bilingual in mind. As I have written in my literature review, he emphasized how bilinguals usually have established a relationship in one language with certain people, for instance family members, and that if they both are bilingual they have the option to switch between languages and can use this change in language to include, or in this case, exclude other people from their conversation. Also this is an example on how power can be asserted through the use of language. In the action described language is actively and consciously

used as an instrumental tool for excluding others, which shows another side of the possibilities emerging through being multilingual. The adolescents can use their multilingual skills not only for inclusion and social togetherness, but they are also aware that language is a capital that not everyone possesses, and they can use it to their advantage when wanted or needed.

When negotiating their multilinguistic identities it seemed important for interviewee six and 14 to emphasize that a continuous mixing of languages in the home was effortless and without problems. Through explaining that she usually spoke Swedish with her mother, but with her father and brothers she was communicating in German this being the main language used in the family settings, interviewee 14 was actively presenting herself as a multilingual individual. Interviewee six had an even more mixed language situation at home, with both parents speaking both German and Danish on a regular basis although only one was originally from Denmark. She also emphasized an unproblematic relationship to the continuous mixing of languages which seemed important to her to state, both when constructing her identity as multilingual in the interview with me, and also in the process of reflecting on her own status as a multilinguistic individual.

It was frequently reported among the adolescents with one Scandinavian parent that the dominating language in the home was German, but that there also was occasional use of the language belonging to the origin of the Scandinavian parent. The reason for using German mainly at home seemed to be the parents' adaption to German and the society around, and this value had been transferred to the adolescents, which to a high degree emphasized the importance of being able to take part in the society around. Here the acquiring of the parents' language was described as useful for developing oneself, so again language was an instrumental tool in their own development. Also they reported having family in the Scandinavian countries, and they wanted to speak the languages partly to be able to communicate with these. Although the language not being a big part of their everyday life at home, they still felt connections to it through their parents' origin. It was a common perception that this was a part of them and who they wanted to be, and so they actively learned the language to build up under their desire to be multilingual which was founded in two arguments: the awareness of its practicality in today's society as a useful capital, and the wish to have stronger connections to their origin.

For the interviewees with both parents being German I expected the situations to be similar amongst them, but was surprised to experience otherwise. To a high degree the common factor was that they spoke German solely at home, and thereby confirming my assumption about identical situations among them, with German being the dominant language and also an important factor in the process of constructing their identities. This was an interesting opposition to the others having one or more parents coming from a different country. They were not constructing their identity as multilinguistic based on origin and experiences from home, but rather actively engaging in the process through conscious learning in school, and also bringing the minority language with them home from school. To a higher degree, language was seen as a possibility for them to develop themselves and get ahead in the society, and therefore having an advantage to adolescents in the same age not having this opportunity. Through the language not being a “natural” part of them there was a constant negotiation in how this was internalized as a facet in their hybrid identity, that they could use when suitable, and in their self-perception as multilinguistic.

But there were some exceptions from this tendency among the German adolescents. Two of the interviewees had been living in Scandinavian countries for a longer time, and so the languages spoken there had been the main language outside the home when growing up. Interviewee five and her family for instance have lived most of her life in Norway, which resulted in her language skills in German and Norwegian to be on the same level making her an example of functional bilingualism, using the different languages equally fluent in different situations. Through growing up in Norway, interviewee five had developed a high knowledge of the language, and German had been spoken in the home. The parents also knew Norwegian, but only learned it when moving there, so their skills in the language were limited, and they did therefore not use it much in private settings.

Now she was experiencing a completely different situation with German being the dominant language in multiple arenas, and Norwegian only being used in school and when skyping with Norwegian friends. But although she at the moment spoke a lot less Norwegian than she used to, she emphasized that she felt that she was growing up with both languages equally, making her self-perception one of a multilingual individual. She denied categorizing herself as either German or Norwegian, and rather described herself as something that entailed not

only these, but also multiple more facets. She considered an everyday life with those two languages to be her normal, relying on both when constructing her identity as multilingualistic.

The adolescents can be divided into two main groups, the ones that are actively and consciously negotiating their identity as multilingual, combining different facets through effort, and one that have lived in this situation from early on having their multilingual identity as something normal or born with, something they don't have to put much work into creating because it is an automatic part of themselves. What divides them in these groups can be linked to their family situation and how they experience language use at home, it either being language learning and use as a part of their family situation, or something that is preserved for another sphere. Also we have gotten an indication for how language is seen as a capital and used as an instrumental tool among the adolescents, this I will further explore later. How the multilingualistic self and language choice is experienced when interacting with their friends and how they use language actively as a foundation for networking we will see in the next section.

4.2. Friends - language and networking

As Agha (2007), Edwards (2009), Fox (2013), Inglis (2008), and Vestel (2004) all write, personal identity is formed through not only a set of socially constructed and agreed upon categories such as gender, but is also an interactional process where all our individual traits, characteristics and dispositions are negotiated into forming us. Humans vary in their social relations, the action of speaking links individuals to each other. People connect and form groups through common interests, and depending on these, one's membership in a group can be based on many different criteria. These groups we belong to are also bases for our social identity, and individual identities can be seen as a reflection of the social identity. When a group finds a way to bond, for instance through individuals connecting through common interests, this is where distinction from others begins. These are important factors when reflecting on the interpersonal relationships between the adolescents, and how they network through the choice of using different languages with different people. The language chosen also acts as basis for social inclusion and exclusion and builds the foundation for the

construction of we, which shows us that an individual's speech mobility also presents an aspect of power.

Among the adolescents at the GSGS this manifested itself in how they consciously used their abilities in choosing language when networking with others, for instance when being with or making friends. Most of the adolescents explained that German was a much-used language in the contexts outside home, also when interacting with friends, but for different reasons. A few stated that they had mostly, many or some German friends outside school with whom it was natural to speak German due to the fact that they did not speak other languages as part of their daily routine. An interesting side notion on this was one interviewee reflecting on how her German friends could benefit from her being multilingual, in that they got a view of how it was to be able to communicate in multiple languages, and were stimulated themselves to learn more as they were curious and showed interest in her abilities. Here we see how she was very conscious about language being a capital not everyone possesses, and how she perceived it as a positive asset to have. These arguments, in connection with it being important for her to know that she could show her Scandinavian identity among her German friends, reflected her wish to position herself as a multilingual among her friends in other contexts than home and school. This gives an indication towards her active construction of her multilinguistic identity.

Another side of the adolescents communicating in German with friends were the ones not speaking so well German in the beginning when moving to Germany, and having to learn this actively to be able to connect with the others on a more equal basis. One pupil told me that over the years she had had very few German friends, but that this was now changing and she was now happy to use German also in more intimate situations that still differed from when being with the family. She described that she had felt isolated and alone when first arriving in the country, and much of this she linked to her lack in German skills.

In the beginning she had found it hard to immerse herself in the society and being comfortable among people while only speaking German, but that this had changed through persistency in learning the language both on her own, and through the help of her fellow pupils in the GSGS. When speaking German with friends, she explained that it gave her a new connection to the language, and it also helped her develop a new understanding in

different terms and the non-vocabulary behaviour in new situations. Also, when being with her friends, they were speaking their own kind of German when they were together, which differed from when speaking to family, strangers or other acquaintances. They did a lot together in school for instance as a class, where she had many of her friends, and here the language use would differ and adapt. Her insight and understanding of the necessity and value of knowing and speaking German on a regular basis had led her to help others who found themselves in a similar situation, becoming a scaffolding help for those with poor German skills.

There was one other pupil with similar experiences. She explained that through not having spoken German very well when starting the school, she had a big challenge in learning the language properly before starting to get friends, and she told me that in the beginning she taught herself the language through listening to the other pupils in the school a lot. After a while she got used to interacting with the other students in German, and this she told me had been of great value to her, and she was still actively practicing. Therefore she spoke mostly German with her friends and the other adolescents in the school. However, due to her own experiences as a struggling multilingual in the beginning, she switched to Scandinavian when there was another pupil with poor German skills.

These stories are interesting because they show that German is not always used just because it is convenient, but that there are also pupils who have struggled to attain the language in order to have a networking basis to create interpersonal relationships. Also the action of learning German is perceived as a way to socialize into a group, and socialize others into your own group, which supports the construction of a “we”, with a group identity formed around factors such as flexibility in language. The first negative feelings related to alienation due to not knowing the language well, indicated that the action of inclusiveness is based on experiences that have made them reflect upon how others in a similar situation can feel. This seemed to have led to a realisation of the power that lies within language knowledge and flexibility, and their opportunity to use their abilities to help others. A negative opposition would be to use the perceived power to further alienate others, through not helping them learn the language or not to include them in their language community and so create a distance between them, but the adolescents did not mention this as a way of using the language.

Another situation described by many of the adolescents where German would be used, was in school, when groups of adolescents with different backgrounds and language skills came together. This was very interesting because the reasoning for using German in these situations were quite similar among the adolescents, with a main contributing factor being a conscious act of inclusion, thus giving the use of the language an instrumental purpose. As one interviewee explained, the main language she used with her friends was German. The origins of her friends varied a lot, with the result that the adolescents were not always speaking the same language. This, in combination with the fact that they lived in Germany, led to them often using German as a common point of reference. Having friends from other origins and with whom they could speak different languages with, seemed to be the norm among the adolescents. It was much agreed upon that, although being able to speak certain languages with certain people, they benefited from having one common language where everyone could participate and understand each other in that no one was left out.

Then there were also a few adolescents that used Scandinavian languages a lot in communication situations with friends, both in school and when staying in contact with friends in the Scandinavian countries. Here it seemed that the use of language was more connected to their construction as a multilingual individual, and keeping connections to the culture and origin connected with the language. For instance one interviewee explained how many of his friends, both due to him living in Sweden but also from the school, were from Sweden and this turned to be a very decisive factor when choosing a language to communicate together. When speaking Swedish with his friends in Germany, this usually were situations where he was feeling very comfortable and relaxed, and he said that it sometimes was nice to bond over language and common cultural facets. Other interviewees also mentioned speaking a Scandinavian language with friends living in a Scandinavian country due to them not speaking German, which indicated that they in these situations adapted the language to the skills of the recipients, and thereby making a choice.

Another interviewee had similar ways to structure his communicative situations, but for him it was a bit more divided. On the one hand he explained that he usually spoke Swedish with his Swedish friends, also often when being together with them among Germans, or when skypeing or being at someone's home. This was a way for them to feel togetherness when being outside school, and connecting through a common facet. Also, this was a way to use

language as an instrumental tool to include and exclude others, thereby constructing a “we”, a group identity, at the same time as positioning themselves as multilinguistic in their interpersonal relationships. One interviewee also told me that he had a few Swedish friends in Sweden, and that when being there or talking with them for instance via Skype, he would put great effort in speaking Swedish although he had not learned it well enough to speak it fluently, which indicates that he was actively negotiating a multilinguistic identity. Even though not being as comfortable and skilled in Swedish as in German he emphasized that speaking another language made him feel good and, as such, constituting his self-perception as multilingual.

We see that the interviewees’ friends and language situations are very complex. Most of them explained to me how they used German, a Scandinavian language, and English in a mix with the aim to be inclusive. When they are among Scandinavian friends they tend to use the Scandinavian languages, but as soon as there is someone present with limited skills in Scandinavian languages, or who do not understand at all, they usually switch to German or English, with some exceptions. This way everyone can be a part of the conversation, and many of the interviewees also describe it as fun and challenging to switch between the languages like this. Others have also mentioned that they see the language as a possibility to create group identity and therefore exclude others when choosing a language they don’t understand. All of this build under the perception of the adolescents being aware that within their knowledge abilities there lies power in how you can use them to connect or disconnect with others, thereby becoming an instrumental tool and an important factor when networking.

Their everyday life consists of different worlds, for instance situations with interaction with parents or other persons from the same ethnic origin on one side, and a social sphere existing when being together with friends. We see how situational variations modify the feeling of identity among this group of adolescents, and how they have created a multilinguistic self that can flexibly adjust to these different worlds. Language plays a significant role in identifying themselves in these situations. The tendency among the adolescents were that they often denied their identities to consist of strict borders such as through ethnicity, and rather describe themselves as something in between or a combination of many factors. These factors were for instance the different languages they use, which reflects them as multilingual agents. The adolescents using language to deemphasize the importance of collective identity

and rather emphasizes the individual identity of each person connected to context like interviewee nine when saying that “I like that I can speak German with one friend, English with another, and then Swedish with yet another, or one language with all of them. Then it is not so important where we are from or where we live, I am always sure that I am capable of making the other person understand me. It is a fun way for me to communicate throughout the day.” is in line with Vetsel’s (2004) findings.

4.3 Construction of a multilinguistic identity: individual and social

In this part we will take a look at how the interviewees consider the process of identity construction, especially related to language. Our identity is seen as a construct that possesses the ability to adapt according to the circumstances. It is affected by factors such as how we perceive and are influenced by the changing social world around us, and dialogue within ourselves and with others. It consists of facets making out one overarching identity, which can be chosen according to the situation. Language is often an important facet in the identification process, and can function as a point of reference for people when establishing boundaries for their identities. A common tendency among the interviewees was to link identity to their use of language both at home and with friends.

Many of the interviewees emphasized that it was a liberating feeling to be able to speak all the languages depending on the situation and the persons involved in the interaction. These ways of communicating ensured that they could always make themselves understood, and include others in their conversations to their liking. Overall the interviewees saw these capabilities as an important part of who they perceived themselves to be. However, there was awareness that the ways of expressing oneself might differ a bit in the various languages, but that this also could be related to with whom they used the languages. The learning of new words in various situations seemed important to the adolescents in that they discovered new ways of expressing themselves. The possibility to feel different due to these choices of languages, according to person and situation, was one of the factors that made it possible for them to perceive and position themselves as multilinguistic. This, along with the denial of ethnic identity as being one of the most important factors for identification builds the foundation for their hybrid, multilinguistic identity, where they see themselves as something

other than the standard categories for identity, not being one or the other, but rather a combination of many, which they could use and adapt to circumstances.

A sense of belonging was an important factor among some of the interviewees, when talking about perception of identity in relation to the society around and in a variety of interactive contexts. Crucial for feeling well and “at home” was the ability to use the languages effortlessly in different situations. As one interviewee described the feeling of belonging “It is a bit weird how I can feel so connected to two places at once, I still feel very Danish at home when I speak Danish with my parents and stuff, but at the same time I feel very much that I belong here. This would probably be different if I did not speak the language though.” This can be linked to the idea that an individual’s membership and attachment to a group is rooted in various criteria, language being an important factor working as an identity marker at a group level. In this way language and identity become inseparable when the language used by social actors forms a part of the identity, and a feature in the hybridization of identity.

This indicated that especially for the adolescents with no direct ethnical link to Germany, the language skills do play a role in the issue of constructing a multilingual identity belonging to the society around them. They all put an emphasis on the importance of using the language fluently and effortlessly in different communicative situations, but at the same time expressed that their other language was also important to keep an identity connected to the country where they were originally from. In relation to school, the emphasis that all pupils there were attending for the same reasons, one important reason being the learning of a Scandinavian language, created the space for constructing a multilingual identity on a group level. They felt that they were on the same level as the other students to some extent, and that their bases were very similar.

Many of the pupils characterized their day as a fluid source of language switch, and through this, ethnic origin became of lesser importance when it came to with whom they engaged with in social interaction. In other words the adolescents’ emphasis was not on identity marked by origin, but more on in what way they communicated together and understood each other. As one interviewee explained, “For me, where people come is not so important. I mean, it is the reason behind why we have met here, but I don’t choose friends after origin. It is more important that we can communicate well in at least one language, or by using two.”

Language is used to deemphasize the importance of collective identity based on factors such as origin, and rather to emphasize identity of each person connected to context.

When talking with the interviewees that were half German, it was very interesting to see a lot of different experiences with language use in their free time. In general it seemed important for them to accommodate the language use after the skill level of the others present in the interactive situation, and German was therefor the most frequently used language among friends and in free time in general. As illustrated by one of the interviewees, “I mostly speak German when I am with friends or in school. There are a lot of people that don’t really speak any of the Scandinavian languages, so they wouldn’t understand it if we were only talking in Swedish. That’s why we speak mostly German with each other. “ This reflects the view that individuals choose words and behaviours from their personal repertoire, depending on the perceived situational circumstances. The level of formality perceived in the situation is one of the most common influences, and through this a natural adaption of language takes place depending on whom they speak with, such as friends.

For example, when explaining how one would speak German with German friends and Swedish with Swedish friends, this gave strong indication on the active role the adolescents presume in the construction of the multilinguistic self. The switching in languages is important for them when positioning themselves as multilingual, and in school also the teachers participate in this. As the teachers spoke mainly German in many of the subjects, but possessed the skills to adapt the languages to the students in the classes, this formed a perceived bond of trust and mutual effort among them.

The way the adolescents indicated their awareness of language skills being a personal capital, became clear when talking about their views on their position in the society as multilingual. They had a common perception that most people would find it interesting to learn more languages, but that not all had the possibility, time or will to do it. This in it self was not looked at in a negative way. This was also where German came in as an important factor because this was the language everyone knew, also in the social world outside the school. At the same time some of the adolescents reflected on how this was an asset for later, and that it was an important factor when it came to social mobility. They also indicated that one instrumental motivation behind learning so many languages in such a thorough manor was

the development of themselves, equipping them with capital that could advance their subjective trajectory in the world through making them more flexible and valuable, for instance for the job market, but we will get back to this later.

Among young people it can be seen a tendency to re-construct culture and language in new mixtures that can vary in different social contexts. We see that the idea that identities consist with neat borders is questioned by the practices of using different tools for identification. One dominating factor for these adolescents when constructing their multilinguistic identity is their ability to build connective points in affective social relations to each other, at the same time as keeping links to their differences represented by their families and their areas of origin. Through the connective processes different worldviews and attitudes are exchanged and handled in interpersonal relationships on the basis of sharing a common habitus or exchanging individual aspects. This is an example of a situation where new identities, such as their multilingual one, are created through the use of different tools in an already existing context.

The hybridization of identities happens when the actor builds connections and blend different elements, as seen here for example with languages. Language comes to interplay with the identity derived from the area of origin, and the adolescents are being active agents in the process of their own identity construction, positioning themselves as multilinguistic and working with this to form interpersonal relationships. They see themselves as something more than “this or that”, and deny seeing themselves as ethnical bound subjects at the same time as they have a strong instrumental motivation for developing themselves as multilinguistic as well as global citizens. In the next part we take a look on how the adolescents perceive their own level of bi- or multilingualism, and how this is important for their construction of the multilinguistic self.

4.4 Reflection on language skills

As mentioned earlier, Baker (2011), arguments that there needs to be made a distinction between multilingualism as an individual possession and as a societal possession. We have seen how multilingualism can be classified on the basis of frequency and area of use. In other

words the level of skill depends on how often a language is used and the context for the use. For the adolescents these were all underlying factors when reflecting on their own level of multilingualism, and how this constituted their positioning of themselves as multilingual.

Many of the interviewees reported putting a conscious effort into keeping the skills in the languages that were used to a lesser extent in the spheres of their everyday life, and they emphasized that they tried to speak them as much as possible. When talking about using the different languages on an everyday basis it was often described in the terms of a habit, and that this was done without any problems, a sort of “habitual switch”. However, the communication was not always without obstacles for the interviewees, and many of the issues that could occur were related to the balancing of the languages in different interactional situations. As one interviewee explained, “... if I have just talked a lot of Swedish and someone asks me a question in German, it can happen that I say a weird word that is a mixture of both languages, but it is not a big deal.” This shows that a sort of language confusion can occur when one language has been dominantly used over a certain period, and then a sudden language switch is occurring. This blocking of words or mixing words in different languages was described by many of the adolescents. What is interesting here is how the adolescents reported dealing with it. While some found these occurrences amusing and took them as a language learning experience, other reported it as annoying or a disturbance. This reflects to which degree their self-identification as multilinguistic is a process of negotiation, where some find it more troublesome than others.

To choose which words to use in the various languages was another difficulty mentioned, but this was more related to pronunciation. Though knowing the words in the different languages, one of them, for instance the German version, would be perceived harder to say due to its pronunciation. However, many of the interviewees with one or both parents coming from a different country assessed their language skills in two or more languages as equally good, positioning themselves as multilinguistic in our conversation. Even though some of them had preferences in the use of a language or told me that one or two languages were used more than others in their everyday life, they still emphasized their flexibility in using them and their fluidity in adapting the languages after whom they talked too. Another aspect of this was the pupils that had learned one language mostly at home. Here I found that some of them

assessed their reading and writing skills as medium, although reporting being native-speakers in them.

Some of the interviewees were the most comfortable when speaking German. The reason for this was better capabilities in German, for example regarding fluent reading and writing compared to another language that had only been learned actively in the recent time. Therefore many of them spoke German as a native speaker, but had more limited skills in other languages. For them it cost an extra effort, for instance if their writing was on a very basic level. These presented themselves as more struggling multilinguals that were investing a lot in equipping themselves with lingual skills based on different instrumental motivations such as self-development. These interviewees were more likely to place themselves in the category of being in a learning process, compared to one or two others to whom the Scandinavian languages came more natural and was their mother tongue. This was acknowledged as sometimes affecting to what extent they were using the language, because they felt that they were speaking less than when speaking German. The reason for this was argued to be the lack of feeling secure in the language, and how this affected when or in which situations they positioned themselves as multilinguistic. This was especially described among the interviewees who had grown up with one language and were learning another language later.

What has been very interesting to see when looking at how the adolescents at the GSGS reflect on their own language skills and level of bilingualism, is that they often seem to be aware of their own strengths and weaknesses. Bilingualism is defined through the regular use of languages, but the process cannot be investigated without taking the context in which the languages are used into consideration. Also the effects of the interactions in different combinations of people in a conversation are important aspects here. Following this we will look at how they experience the process of adapting their language use to others and the following switching in languages. This can be related to the dynamic state of additive translanguaging bilingualism, where as mentioned earlier, a hybrid, overlapping and simultaneous use of different languages occurs. It reflects the multilingual identities, and a close interrelationship between languages emerges through the simultaneous existence of different languages in communication.

A language choice is made depending on context, and the relationship between the individuals emerged in the situation. An individual's speech mobility is linked to this and their perceived level of bilingualism, and this speech mobility is also recognized to be a power. The ability and intent to include and exclude, for instance through excluding conveniently, is an example of this. Every person has a repertoire of words and behaviours that they can choose from depending on the perceived situational circumstances. The selection process can be both conscious and unconscious, and is usually related to whom we speak to, such as family or friends etc. When talking to the adolescents it struck me that they were all very conscious about using certain languages depending on persons involved in the interactive situation and the context. Language was recognized as a resource on multiple levels. For instance we have seen how some of the interviewees divide their language use in different spheres, based on different aims in the situation. In the home sphere they usually stuck to the languages shared with their parents. Other spheres were for instance being with friends or others, where they would take advantage of their skills in the different languages and adapt themselves accordingly.

I found the adolescents descriptions on how they adapted their languages according to who they were talking to, very interlinked with Baker's (2011) assumptions on the same theme. It has been acknowledged that, similar to the adolescents' explanations, different languages are often used with different aims. The individual is making choices regarding language, conscious and unconscious, and this is an inescapable action when bilinguals are using both their languages. These choices can also be seen as an exertion of power, where the adolescents understand their linguistic skills as personal capital that not everyone possesses. Within this acknowledgement lies the possibility to decide on other peoples perceived belonging to for instance a group.

4.5 Thoughts about the future

Through understanding the role of language in society the adolescents growing up in a multilingual context may have a different view on their position, and experience their everyday dealings with others in a different way. One interviewee stated that "If you learn to be open you can understand everyone." which reflects the perception that when seeing others

linked to multiple classifications rather than just by for example ethnicity or language, prejudice and distance can be reduced. For instance when talking with many of the interviewees their disclaiming of origin as an important factor for identification was following Vetsel's (2004) findings in Norway. Many of the interviewees expressed that most of the time, one's origin was not considered to be an issue when coming together in friend groups, or being introduced to new pupils. One interviewee formulated the general perception on this in a representative manner when she said that "Well, for us it is not a big matter where you are from, I would characterize my friend group as one big group where everyone gets along. Why should I not be friendly with someone just because they come from somewhere else? Actually it hasn't been an issue for us before now when I think about it."

Rather they find together through interests in general, such as music, sports or in many cases here, the interest in learning and speaking Scandinavian languages. This becomes a basis for how they choose their friends and come together in groups, and they use differences as a possibility to learn from each other rather than to judge or disown someone. Additionally many of them had gotten an idea about the importance of language skills, and the familiarity with different cultures and living styles, on a global basis. When reflecting on their position as multilingual individuals, words often repeated were such as advantage, flexibility and possibilities, which also is an indication on their awareness of how language skills can be used as a personal capital.

One side of how being multilingual was perceived as an advantage, was in relation to find yourself in situations where you had to understand or learn other languages. In connection to this some of the interviewees expressed how knowledge in one language could contribute to the easier understanding or learning of other languages, both on a theoretical level, due to basic grammar understandings, and on a more practical level, where they had made experiences in that it is possible to interpret the meanings of words, just from knowing them in a different language. Especially English and the Scandinavian languages were mentioned here as language skills that were important for the future. However it was also commonly agreed upon that language alone was not the deciding factor for how you will get along in life.

Some of the pupils were aware that they also get a view into different cultures when attending the school and meeting new people, and that how one deals with this can be an important strategy later in life. Especially when talking about other cultures and lifestyles, many of them showed eagerness in explaining that they can use knowledge about this for making future plans. When they want to study or travel to different countries, it is a positive trait to have interacted with so many different cultures in the school because it gives a basic understanding of how to meet people. Many of the pupils showed interest in moving to other countries later, as part of study or work, and some were already eager travellers, and, as seen before, had friends in many different countries. I noticed that some of the interviewees were already quite informed on living and studying conditions in other countries, and that they were aware of how their learning about other languages and cultures could be useful when moving around.

To which degree the adolescents interviewed were reflecting on their future, and what it could mean for them growing up in this multilingual environment and being a multilingual individual, was highly varied. This ranged from concrete plans on what to do and where to live, and reflecting on how their situation was equipping them with capital that could advance their position and affect their subjective trajectory in the world, to not having spent time thinking in this direction yet. The interviewees having more concrete plans for what they wanted to do, and where they could imagine themselves to be in the future, related this awareness to their flexibility in language use. The adolescents that had reflected on this also had the tendency to have had thoughts about the job market, and how this was not equally good everywhere in the world. How important skills in different languages could be for later in life, and the great advantages it could give when moving around the world, or when applying for a job, was often mentioned as an extension of this. The common understanding was that they as multilingual individuals would have it easier in getting jobs and moving around, than someone not possessing the same skills.

Also a few of the adolescents mentioned that they had gotten some influence in these matters from their parents, either through the parents having been in such a situation where they had moved around and worked in different countries, and therefore also were very skilled in different languages themselves, or through them having discussed future plans together. Some of the parents were said to be giving their opinion in this matter and putting a lot of

weight on the importance of language learning. One interviewee explained that her mother had told her "... when you know seven languages you can understand almost everyone in the entire world." This had strengthened the interviewee in question's perception of the advantage of having skills in different languages, and so made it a strong instrumental motivation for her focus on actively developing the skills.

Many of the adolescents mentioned that they were travelling a lot with their families, which were enabled partially through having family in other countries, and partly through their parents having a steady economy. The family's socio-economic background was part of their understanding of the importance of knowing different languages and cultures, and how these were closely interlinked. They all seemed very open towards going to a university or take an exchange year in a different country when finishing school, and everyone except for the interviewees who stated that they had not spent much thought on this yet, could see themselves living, studying or working somewhere else. Interesting here was that, although Scandinavia was ranking pretty high in the assessment over possible places to move for work and study, their perceived possibilities were not limited to their parents' countries of origin, but also other places such as Japan, USA, South America, France and England were mentioned. Being faced with having to learn another language when going somewhere to live over a longer period was not something considered an obstacle, and some of the interviewees were already clear in that they wanted to learn even more languages. Others expressed the opinion that they knew enough languages at the moment, and that they did not have any plans for further expansion of their language repertoire at the moment, but that this could change.

A few of the interviewees were very unsure about how the future would look, but although not having considered which country to go to or what job they wanted to do, they agreed on the importance of being able to communicate in multiple ways. A part of this was showing an understanding for other people and cultures. Also the importance of knowing languages to be able to orient oneself on platforms such as the internet were mentioned when reflecting on how languages could affect their future. We see how the adolescents are aware of language not just enabling them as individuals to participate in public, leisure, and private arenas, but is also seen to give them a possible advantage as a global citizen. Bilingualism is acknowledged as an intellectual, cultural, economic and citizen resource, which can be used as a personal capital for enhanced social mobility later in life.

4.6 Process of learning

This part investigated how the adolescents perceive their process when it comes to learning multiple languages, and what factors they see as contributing to them gaining language proficiency and becoming multilingual. On the process of learning language many of the adolescents were reflecting on how important it was for them to learn through using and hearing the languages. Especially the action of hearing the languages being spoken was commonly perceived as essential in gaining language proficiency. A couple of the interviewees had problems understanding diverse languages when first starting at the GSGS, including knowing words but not being able to write them properly, and that after continuously hearing them being spoken they started to understand more and more of what was being said.

An usual process for them seemed to be the understanding of single words, which developed through actively engaging with and listening to others communicate in the language, and ended up with them being able to translate whole sentences. Through using the language actively they developed their skills towards the point of becoming fluent, which again made it easier for them to write as well because they had gotten a deeper understanding of how the letters and the words sounded. One interviewee described her learning through this process as an “oral learner”, first listening and speaking the words, and then making them her own. She and another interviewee mentioned that they were helped a lot in their language learning process by the teachers only speaking the language to be learned in the language classes at school, including when the teachers were explaining assignments and so on. The fact that the classes were divided in level of skills in a language was assessed as a good structure because they could exchange knowledge with their fellow pupils in class, knowing they were all on the same level. Also it was recognized that the teachers could adapt their teaching hereafter.

Learning through listening, also to their friends and fellow pupils, was commonly acknowledged as a good strategy for enhancing their multilinguistic skills. The action of hearing and trying to speak was important for their process of language learning. Because they did not get homework, a few of the pupils explained that they took advantage of this opportunity to work on issues they discovered that they were struggling with at home. This was said to contribute to their learning experience because they could voluntarily take assignments home, and look closer at them to solve their misunderstandings. In the language

classes the principle of the teachers were that they should first listen and get used to the language, in other words listen before talking. The pupils considered this as a nice way to get used to the language. The teachers promoted a creative learning process and challenged the students learning experience through giving them creative ways of doing assignments, and working with new knowledge. Also it was reflected upon how it could be beneficial for the adolescents to have knowledge in multiple languages when starting to learn a new one, because it could help to find similarities or give a basic understanding of how the language was structured.

Also the action of reading and writing in the languages to be learned was perceived as very important by some of the interviewees. This was because it helped expand their understanding of the languages, and relating words they learned to different settings. Interestingly enough this was mostly a reflection from the girls. Most of the boys considered other tools such as watching movies as more helpful, except for one who also saw reading as vital to his language learning experience. I will look at how the adolescents use tools for an enhanced language learning experience in a later section.

Another important aspect of the learning process was the continuously exchange of languages between the students, and how they assisted each other in the acquisition and use of these, creating a culture for mutual learning. Some of them mentioned that the continuous use of multiple languages was not something new to them, because they were switching between many languages at home as well. Others felt they were using various languages to a much bigger degree than before going to the GSGS, and they ascribed the big development in their skills to the interactions with the other students, with whom they were using the other languages. In this lies that some of the students described it as less complicated to learn in these informal situations, these taking pressure of the need to speak without making mistakes, and this contributed in a better fluency, because they were speaking more freely than for instance with strangers. If they discovered mistakes they could correct them and learn from them instead of letting it make them unsure and unwilling to continue the conversation, which some of them had experienced when trying to speak with strangers or acquaintances in other situations.

A high level of trust and security needed to create this culture for mutual learning was recognized in that the pupils were eager to help each other to understand, also in the classrooms. Many of my interviewees said that when solving problems or finding out something they did not understand, their first reaction was always to ask a fellow pupil. There was a great focus in the school on the cooperation between the students to solve linguistic problems or misunderstandings in a collective manner. Only if the students could not figure the solution out themselves they went to the teachers.

A valuable part of the process of acquiring a language also recognized by the adolescents is the internal or private speech, where individuals create new sentences through speaking to themselves. Through this internalisation process the student makes sense of the new language, and through this turning inwards they start to understand the world through the new language. This was also mentioned by some of the interviewees as vital in their language learning process. One described this as a “conversations with herself”, where she repeated, re-formulated, and tried things in new contexts, a process that helped her use what she learned in later situations. Especially related to learning languages, this seemed like a very important step in her learning process, and she explained it like first hearing something, working on what she heard in an inner conversation, writing it down, formulating it out loud, and then it becoming a part of her repertoire. Another pupil that described the same way of internalizing the language would construct sentences and assign meanings to new words and contexts first internally, but also later externally in different situations such as in restaurants and shops, where she tried out the new words or sentences she had learned. Here we see examples on that the action of internal conversation is recognized as a good practice for gaining language proficiency and becoming multilingual, which was recognized by many of the interviewees.

A few of the pupils on the other hand, had a bit different view on the issue of language acquisition due to them not considering themselves having to put much effort in the learning of the languages. Although hearing and speaking different languages was considered a big part of their everyday life, they did not reflect so much on them and their use as the others. The languages were considered as something that had always “been there”, something that they basically just knew. Also, one interviewee stated that having such a solid basis in multiple languages made him feel like he could adapt to new ones easily, and though

spending time figuring out new words and how to spell them when learning new languages, this was not something he considered difficult or something he had to practice much.

Many shared the perception that knowing multiple languages was a good foundation for learning new ones, because it enabled them to see similarities. Besides one interviewee reading a bit to keep up her Norwegian, many felt that much came automatic to them due to their daily interaction with hearing and speaking, and that therefore it was not much need to take extra measures to learn. One interviewee said that now that he had started to learn Spanish, this was the first time he actually had to put effort into learning a new language, and that this was a challenge for him although speaking so many languages. He also said that he needed to take extra time to actually learn the words and their spelling, and often pronunciation, but that he did not have any restraints in testing it out in class, and that he learned a lot from hearing and seeing his errors and getting help to correct them from the teacher.

Some of the pupils had been enrolled in the Swedish school in Berlin before coming to the GSGS. This school was however not perceived as putting German and Swedish on an equal level, and Swedish had been the dominant language both of instruction, and demanded for the socialisation among the students. It was clear to the pupils attending this school that they wanted to go to a school where German was also valued as a language important to learn. In the previous school this had to a certain degree been neglected and many of them expressed that they had felt the need to learn more and continue develop their skills in this language as well. As one interviewee said, “after all, I live in Germany and want to function in the society here.” After the switch to GSGS many recognized that their German had gotten a lot better, however, the Swedish skills was not continuing in the same upwards development curve. The reason for this was assigned to the fact that they had learned a lot of Swedish in the previous school, and that it was a natural consequence that this stagnated when the intensity of the learning went down.

Everyone in this situation seemed to have the same experiences regarding this, but they were motivating each other to keep going, and they consciously kept their Swedish skills alive through speaking it actively at home. Here we see how the pupils recognized that it is a negotiating process when constructing a multilingual identity, and that they needed to

actively to take measures to be able to develop this. Their reflections about the need for German language to make them able to participate in the society shows how they also have an instrumental motivation to learn this language as it is recognized as a sort of power and that they want to empower themselves in participating in the society, using it to accumulate social capital through community building and networking. Some of the adolescents argued that they were convinced that they could be equally good in multiple languages at the same time, and that through working on both languages they could keep them separate and develop skills in each of them without it affecting the skills in the other one.

Some of the interviewees explained how the transition process when moving here had affected their language learning process and perception of identity. For one of them the transition had not been so difficult language wise, due to having spoken German at home since he was little, which had provided him with basic knowledge in the language. He also said that he believed he had benefited from always having the two languages around him in that both living in Sweden and in Germany was unproblematic, and with a little effort he felt like a native speaker and at “home” in both places. Another interviewee described the transition as very difficult even though having family here, both due to language issues and due to social circumstances such as leaving friends and having to find new ones, but that it had become better after a while. He was still in contact with some of his friends on a regular basis, as he explained, keeping contact nowadays had become very easy through services such as Skype and Facebook.

For many of the pupils the main reason to begin at the GSGS was the language, and as one stated, “if I hadn’t come here I would probably forget Swedish a bit since I don’t speak it so much anywhere else.” Here we see how they wish to actively construct their identities as multilingual and make a deliberate choice to assist the process. For them the selection of school was a vital part of becoming multilinguistic, and this is an example on how who they perceive themselves to be, affects choices they make in their everyday life.

One of the interviewees stated that she did not know any German before coming here, and said that it had been very difficult in the beginning regarding language and friends. Beginning at the GSGS had been hard because, although many speak Scandinavian languages, almost everyone speaks German among each other. In other words, this was the most frequently

used language between students, and teachers as well. In her class she had been the only one not speaking German, however, she had a few classmates with whom she had been able to speak Scandinavian. Her current perception of her German skills was as good as fluent, it had taken a while but she had learned it, and after the first semester she had started to get a hang of it.

The reason why it went so fast was that she practiced a lot on her own, for instance through ordering in German when being in restaurants, or speaking German with her aunt and cousins. Her strategy for acquiring the language was to be silent in the beginning, just listening to the language, and then trying to start to talk without being very concerned about making small errors. She had realised that learning German was crucial for making friends in her situations, so this had been her main focus.

Here we have a very clear indication on how language is perceived by some of the adolescents as a personal capital, and that the learning of languages has a strong instrumental value in that they strategically use it as agents, aiding them for instance in getting friends. The interviewee mentioned above became a multilingual agent due to the social circumstances, and language became a resource to empower herself when actively wanting to include herself in the community and create interpersonal relationships through networking. The issue of understanding and learning language is a red thread through the conversations with all the pupils. It became clear to me that they use their everyday multilingual context consciously, as a kind of learning ground to further develop their skills. They actively engage, transform and use the languages as they understand them, and also work to gain language proficiency and become multilinguistic.

4.7 Language learning experiences in school

In this section I will take a look at the adolescents language learning experiences in school. As for how the language use and learning was structured in school, it was perceived by my interviewees as that the school was following a very open and pupil centred line. The whole school was having “Skandi” twice a week. These courses were divided after level of skills in the language, such as being a mother tongue speaker or in the beginner stadium, and in these

classes they were taught by reading, writing, speaking, listening and through using different tools such as watching movies.

German was often the common language for everyone, disregarding where they originally came from because they had learned to speak it there or were in the process of learning it at the moment. It was commonly accepted that they learned languages better through speaking with each other. In general many of the interviewees reported communicating with the teachers mostly in German. This was seen both among the pupils with German origin, and among pupils with other backgrounds, who said they preferred speaking German to the teachers if they did not speak the same Scandinavian language as themselves. One interviewee explained that she communicated with the teachers in German in most of the other subjects, but that the teachers were very flexible and could adapt their language easily to fit the students. The students on their part were very flexible as well. For some classes at the time of the interview for instance, they had made it so that a Danish pupil was seated next to a German-Danish pupil so that this one could help translate and bring about understanding for the other one, especially helping when there was a teacher not speaking Danish at all having a class.

Although most of the teachers tried to communicate in the classes so that everyone could understand, this was not possible all the time. However, all the students had to understand everything, so they were cooperating to help each other. The structuring of the knowledge transfer can be linked on the notion of the cross group transfer, which we have seen refers to the learning in an intercultural and multicultural setting. This is perceived as an important factor contributing to the development of intercultural understanding based on trust. The classrooms are social arenas where the children are actively constructing their multilinguistic identities, and education becomes an important part of the process through acknowledging children as active participants that work with their circumstances. In the construction of a multilinguistic self, language is closely intertwined with the pupils' experiences in school and the existing culture of mutual learning.

Also this active engagement to help others and learning languages mutually was vivid outside the classrooms. This we for instance saw in the example above with the mutual learning of languages through speaking it with fellow pupils. The classes were also build up so that the

students were learning a lot orally, with a great focus on the teachers and students speaking the language to be learned, and then summarizing what they had experienced and struggled with in class, to be able to learn from it. The dividing of the language classes after level was something considered contributing to their language learning in school, because it made sure that the teachers could adapt their teaching to the level of the students. This assured that the beginners were not overwhelmed or demotivated by being faced by too difficult challenges, and that the advanced pupils were not bored because the classes were “too easy” for them by doing things they already knew.

Other pupils ascribed the reason why they were learning the languages so well, partially to the open and learning enhancing communication-ways between the students. Also how the teachers conducted their lectures was seen as a part of this. In English class for example contributory factors to them learning were that only English was spoken, all the assignments were given in English, and that the classes were divided by how skilled the pupils were in the subject. This, they said, was of great value to them because it always challenged them to develop new knowledge.

The ones not speaking German at all were taken out of the German classes and put in their own groups, where they learned the very basics with the aim of developing enough skills to be able to join the beginners’ class at some point. The way of structuring the language classes were perceived as very good and highly efficient in the way that they gave the students the opportunity to learn from each other as well, and not having teachers being the only source of knowledge. For many of the interviewees, the most important aspects of how comfortable they considered themselves to be with the language use in school, was how good they felt with the possibility to not care about restraints in languages, but using them in a free and encouraging environment. It was put a lot of emphasis on learning with the other pupils, that this was a process where everyone was at the same level in one or another language, and that everyone were doing their best to understand each other and make themselves understood.

They were also reflecting on the importance of always hearing the different languages, and that this affected how much and good you were speaking this language yourself. This was one of the reasons why they valued that the focus of the school was putting language learning in the middle. This would also be important for them in the future. However, not all the

teachers were fluent in German. Sometimes this was affecting the classes and they unintentionally became bilingual as well, for instance when the teacher explained both in German and in Swedish. Sometimes the teachers also did this to accommodate students that were not speaking German very well, which was perceived as a good feature because the pupils experienced the teachers doing the same to them when there was something they didn't understand, in the languages they were learning.

My perception is that the pupils actively engage and help each other out in the learning processes, and work on their own with what they learn in these situations. Through the academic, cultural and intellectual experiences one gets from studying in an ethnically diverse context, the acquisition of intercultural competencies as well as personal growth among the adolescents is facilitated. They all seem to believe in the benefit of the way the school and the classes are structured, and enjoy having the possibility to communicate and learn in different ways, which I estimate to be a big part of their language learning experience. As for their favourite classes all the interviewees responded in similar ways, and mentioned language courses as one of their favourite classes in school. Other courses that mentioned were art, sports, math and physics, but with lesser frequency than German, "skandi" and English.

4.8 Networking in school

In this section I will take a closer look on how the students interact among each other, and how they communicate with the teachers in relation to the idea of having a multilingual identity. As we have seen, the pupils used interaction as a way of learning, and this was a tactic seen in the learning of all the languages. This way of communicating resulted in an attitude towards each other that was based on the mutual feeling that origin was not a deciding factor for identity. They characterized each other as groups where differences were used as a chance to learn from each other, rather than something dividing. In other words where the pupils came from was not as important as their ability to communicate, and due to the diversity in languages spoken and the skill levels in these there was always a possibility for everyone to take part in some sort of interactive situation. At the same time they were also conscious about that the reason for everyone being on the school, founded on the same wish

or need to learning and speaking these languages, which also contributed to them feeling connected.

Although German was the dominating language in the school, the pupils were very flexible in their use of the different languages, and it was a commonly accepted rule that they should support each other in the acquisition of all the languages present. This was also valid for during the classes, where the students would translate for each other if there were someone who did not understand everything. Here we see two sides of the language learning process. On the one side language learning is aimed at equipping them with personal capital and developing themselves, and they use each other to gain language proficiency. At the same time, the knowing of a certain language and learning it is helping them to get friends, both sides giving the language an instrumental motivation for them to learn.

Culture is made up of the action and ideas that are learned and shared within a certain group. That the students were also helping each other in the learning of the languages creating a culture of mutual learning, was a feature very appreciated by all the interviewees. Trust and mutual respect came about through the extended action of helping each other a lot in class, also in subjects such as math and physics, and this was perceived as a way of constituting and keeping solidarity with their fellow pupils. Although German was the language used the most in the school setting, many of the pupils reported having casual conversations in English or a Scandinavian language. The purpose was to bond in a different way with some than others, but also for keeping the skills up to date and learning more or new words as the conversations went along. When not being skilled enough to participate in others' conversations, the common practice was still to try to follow what they were saying, and pick out single words to translate in their internal speech.

One interviewee described that she tried contributing to others learning the languages she knew, through trying to speak English, Swedish and German very slowly to the pupils not knowing these languages, and thereby helping them learn new words and ways to say things. However, if someone really didn't understand what she was saying, she would stay flexible and switch to a language they also knew. In her opinion it was very helpful for the non-German native speakers to be part of conversations where German was spoken, and she felt it was beneficial for her as well to take part in conversations where other languages were used.

It becomes clear that the pupils treat each other very open and are interested in learning with and from each other, so that they all become language learning resources that they use themselves, and are themselves used by others in the culture of mutual learning found in the school, a sort of scaffold for each other.

They see it as an opportunity when someone has a different base of knowledge, and try to help the ones lagging a bit behind. All in all it seems they have a deep sense of solidarity with each other through finding themselves in similar situations, and have created a culture of mutual learning. However, if the students only communicate in a certain language among themselves, as explained that when speaking with friends it is not so important with accuracy; the communication takes place within a restricted social environment where grammatical accuracy is not crucial for understanding each other, which can lead to communication difficulty in other contexts. The same is applied about the interactional situations with the teachers.

As for the teacher-pupil interaction, this seemed to be characterized by the adolescents through a different understanding on how the way of communication influenced their learning. The common characterizations of the teachers were flexible, creative, understanding and patient, and much of the descriptions were drawn out of experiences such as how teachers arranged how the students sat together in class to be able to support and help each other in the learning process, additionally to the structure of the lessons in general. The teachers spoke German in most of the lessons, with exceptions for in the language courses. However, the adolescents perceived them to be very flexible in their method of teaching, and explained that they often switched between languages to accommodate the pupils who had problems understanding German.

At the same time it was recognized that the teachers could not translate everything all the time to everyone, because this would slow down the teaching process. They dealt with the issue that not everyone understood everything that was being said, by seating the pupils strategically after origin and language skills, so that everyone could contribute to a common understanding in the class through translating or explaining to their neighbour pupils. In the end everyone cooperated and engaged in each other's learning processes, and the general perception was that it had a positive effect on both their own and others learning, to be able to

contribute and influence it, making the teachers role more one of enabling the knowledge production process. This is interesting because it indicated that the adolescents also are motivated externally to continuously create themselves as multilingual individuals, and that they have to re-construct themselves as such in both the learners role, but also in a teaching role to accumulate knowledge.

The teacher would go through issues discovered during the lessons together with the class at the end of the lecture on the blackboard. In this was everyone got the right answer and had a common understanding of it. The teachers were also described by many of the interviewees as very oral in their teaching method. This included not using schoolbooks a lot, but rather to rely on creative methods to teach them. Most of the interviewees said they felt very comfortable in using different languages with the teachers who were mostly German, but knew a Scandinavian language. The pupils with Scandinavian backgrounds showed a tendency to actively engage in communication with the teachers also knowing the language, using this as an additional strategy for gaining language proficiency and making it a part of their language learning experience. One interviewee explained that he felt very comfortable speaking Swedish with the Swedish teachers, and having the possibility to communicate like this, because he could use words from multiple languages to make them understand, positioning himself as a multilingual.

This way of using informal interaction with the teachers, as a method for learning was also present, but to a smaller degree, among the other pupils not being fluent in a Scandinavian language. These would generally speak more German with the teachers. One interviewee however, described that the teachers knowing Swedish tried to communicate with him in this language, because they were aware of that he had to learn it, and so they were trying to include him in their Swedish conversations. This felt encouragement by the teachers, to engage in different languages, was something described by many of the interviewees. Some language confusion was occasionally present, for instance one pupil speaking Swedish explained she could find it difficult to understand if she was spoken Danish to, much because of how different this was in pronunciation.

However, in such situations she would ask them to say it again in German, and they would arrive at a common understanding of what was being communicated. If there was something

the pupils would not understand and the teachers would use additional languages to explain their utterances, the main perception among the pupils was that it provided them with a richer and more detailed understanding of the issue in question, and the language use around it. An interviewee said he did not believe that they communicated especially differently just because of the possibility to talk in multiple languages, but that it was rather contributing to his learning experience. He described the process of asking the teachers a question he had, but in a different way than originally intended because he did not know how to say it properly in the language they were using, and his vocabulary in this was a bit more restricted. Through hearing the question and the answer first in his own language and then in the language with which he was struggling, it became a contribution in the process of negotiating himself as a multilingual due to the deeper comprehension of the words and meanings in more languages.

What we see here is how many of the adolescents describe that it makes them feel more comfortable and relaxed when being able to use different words to describe issues and questions, or when talking with the teachers. Because many of the teachers are also in the process of learning languages they have the feeling of being on the same “boat”, which strengthens their feeling of trust and togetherness and creates a good space for learning. The conversations with the teachers in multiple languages are a central part in their construction of themselves as multilingual, and they use these situations actively in gaining language proficiency and becoming multilingual.

4.9 Use of tool to enhance learning

In this section I look at how the interviewees describe using different tools to work with their proficiency in a language. When speaking about using tools to enhance the learning of languages, the interviewees responded in both similar, and some different ways. One aspect frequently used to gain language proficiency by most of them was the internet. This was used in multiple ways both in school and in the home arena. Some of the pupils explained how they would use internet to look up a word they did not know or understand quickly, and this was perceived as a more efficient, but equally good for learning, way to do this, than using for instance a dictionary in book format. Like one interviewee stated, if he was faced with something he did not understand he would just “Google it”. In school there were 12

computers available to the pupils where they were allowed to use internet during classes. In the classes they would use internet for a more investigative purpose, for instance to do research and investigate subjects they were studying for projects in the different classes.

Outside school they were using internet in terms of watching videos on YouTube or take part in conversations for example via Skype, which were both situations where they would use multiple languages to be able to navigate. This would happen using electronic devices such as laptops, mobile phones and tablets, which can be found in many settings in our age and are often used for social networking. To use this for educative purposes the interviewees explained that being multilingual was an advantage, because you could easier navigate and find more information due to less limitations in understanding what you found, and a wider search range. Additionally it was a sphere where they could play out their multiple identities and be linguistically diverse, and although not being located in the same town or even country, some of the interviewees reported gaining a sense of belonging to speakers of their languages, for instance when staying connected with their friends in other countries. This shows how internet had an important role in the process of seeing themselves as something more than ethnically or linguistically bound, being a global citizen, and in their construction of their multilingual identity. At the same time language was used as a personal capital that enabled them to use the internet in a more expanded way than the ones not possessing the same skills, giving them an instrumental motivation for continued language learning.

Another tool frequently used as a source for language input by the interviewees both in school and in private, was movies. Many of them stated that they were watching movies in their original language, but with subtitles so that they could see the direct translation while watching if there was something they did not understand. This was good practice for instance for their pronunciation skills. The interviewees explained how they would watch movies and short films as part of the lecture in the language classes. They usually saw the movie with subtitles in the same language so they could get a feeling of how the words spoken were spelled, and it was considered by the pupils to be good practice to hear and read the words at the same time. During this session they were to pick out words they found difficult or could not understand and write them down, and they would work with them together in class afterwards, learning their meanings and formulating sentences with them. At home there was also strategic ways to use movies to enhance their language learning, and many of the pupils

expressed fondness of using un-dubbed movies for learning purposes. One interviewee explained how she would watch them first in German so that she knew the movie already, and then see it again in English or Swedish. This way she could understand better and learn from it.

Reading books was also mentioned frequently as an additional learning tool, a source of lingual input, and a big part of the learning experience also both at home and in school. Especially with the focus on the languages where the knowledge was lacking the most, it seemed to be a conscious effort among many of the students to use reading to gain language proficiency and a better understanding of the language. One interviewee explained that they used to start every language class with reading. In the beginning it had been difficult for her because of her limited skills, and as she said if you cannot read the language, it is difficult to learn it, but this had proven very beneficial to her in the end, in that she had gained a lot of language proficiency. For some of the interviewees with fewer skills in the language to be learned, the action of reading was mostly put to when being in classes or around someone knowing the language well. They considered their skills not developed enough to read a full book alone, because they found it to be very complicated.

Another solution to this issue was described by one of the interviewees, who was only reading children books due to her limited skills in Swedish, and she felt she did not understand more complicated books yet. Or as another interviewee described it, “When there is a word I don’t understand I usually try to think first what it could mean, and then I read it again, or a couple of times. Sometimes it works like that and I suddenly get the meaning of the word, and then I continue to read. If not I just jump a bit further. If I am in school I ask a teacher or a friend, but when I am at home I try to understand, and if it doesn’t work I skip it. But sometimes from many small pieces you can make out a whole.”

A few interviewees mentioned dictionaries as a source of support in language learning, for instance when writing an assignments in school, but that they then also relied on getting help from the teachers because it was pretty impractical to sit with a dictionary in book format. Others had dictionaries on their phones and when faced with something they did not understand they would use her mobile phones to investigate. This was seen as more practical and quicker, and one interviewee explained how she would write down the word she was

looking up, and then she could easily go back and see what it was at later points of time because she felt that one could remember things better when writing them down.

In this chapter we have seen that how the adolescents in the GSGS become multilingual agents and how they negotiate their multilinguistic identity is a many faceted process. There is a pattern in that the adolescents refuse to state their identity with strict borders, but rather consider themselves to be constructions being influenced by many factors, language being an important one. They create their narratives on a daily basis, and are actively positioning themselves as multilinguistic, both in their self-perception, among their family members, and in their social environments when networking with others. This shows when they describe the choices they make in everyday situations, from ranging from decisions on which school they wanted to go to, to using language consciously for social inclusion and exclusion.

The acknowledgement of multilingualism as a capital that they possess and can use is also related to my third research question. It became evident to me that most of the interviewees were well aware of how their language skills was an asset when thinking about future prospects, and that they could have an advantage in later stages of life. Herein lies the awareness of linguistic skills being a capital, which can enable social mobility, and makes them flexible and valued in the work market. In other words they have an instrumental motivation to develop their language skills, other than social networking and self-development.

When looking at the interviews in connection with my second research question we see how the adolescent life in a continuously developing linguistic world, where everyday entails meetings with many different languages. Although bringing about some lingual confusion, many of the pupils actively use this situation for their own learning purposes. An important part of their learning process seems to be the internal speech, especially when there are things they struggle with, they use this as a way of making words their own. Additionally they seem preoccupied with helping each other in the learning process as well, creating a culture for mutual learning in school.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In the previous chapter I presented my findings related to my study purpose, which has been to explore how the adolescents in the GSGS in Berlin become multilingual agents and how they negotiate their multilinguistic identity. I used three research questions to guide my research; each was designed to shed light on important aspects of these processes. My first research question was designed to investigate how the adolescents perceive themselves to be, related to the perspective on identity as a process where the individuals are actively making narratives of who they want to be, both linguistic and when presenting themselves. This is greatly interlinked with everyday life choices and experiences they make, and how they position themselves according to these. Secondly, I wanted to look at their language learning experiences in a multilinguistic school and classroom, with the focus being their language learning process and how they work with their proficiency in a language. A part of this is also how language is used when networking with their fellow pupils and teachers in school. The third research question is designed to give us a deeper understanding of the pupils perception of how multilingualism can be a resource living in today's society. Related to this I also explored their thoughts about themselves in the future, being multilingual.

I chose to work with my theme in a qualitative manner for many reasons. After giving a short introduction to the thesis, I explain these choices in a more thorough manner in the second chapter, methodology. I start with a general overview of the research methods and their positions, before I continue by providing a deeper understanding of what qualitative research entails and what it means for my purpose. This is done through giving an overview on the research design, sampling which include some background information on my interviewees, contextual information and how I proceeded with the data collection. After that I give a small explanation about data analysis, and consider validity and reliability, and ethics related to my qualitative research.

After this I move on to the third chapter of my thesis where I present the theoretical framework and literature analysis related to my topic. Here I provide an overview over the concepts important to my study such as identity, language, and ethnicity and culture. To have an understanding of these terms, and how they are related to each other, is important for the continuance of my thesis, and we see how they are interlinked and affect each other in the

next sections. When looking at language and identity it becomes clear that these are two quite inseparable elements, where they structure and adapt to each other depending on the situation. In continuation of this I look at the phenomenon bi- and multilingualism, some definitions, and how and to whom it can be applied, before I consider language learning, and some notes on how this can be applied in school. The last section in this chapter considers how bi- and multilingualism is viewed in the era of globalization, and what this can mean for the people being multilingual.

The fourth chapter is devoted discussion and presentation of my findings. This chapter is divided into nine parts that each deals with important issues related to my study purpose and research questions, and are designed to shed light on these. I start with looking at the adolescents and their family situation, before I move to their social sphere including friends. These I use as the basis for the next section where I explore the factors contributing to their construction of a multilinguistic identity. We then move on to the reflections the adolescents make about their own language skills. I also look at their ways of constructing their identities, and the view on the future, and how they see themselves as multilinguistic individuals in relation to this. After this their perception of the process of learning is described, with the following section where I explore their language learning experiences in school. Belonging to this are the sections on their networking with other pupils and teachers in school, and their use of tools for enhanced language learning as part of the process of becoming multilinguistic agents. The last section in this chapter describes

We saw that the adolescents acted as active agents in the process of their own identity construction, drawing on linguistic capital and the language learning process as a part of becoming multilinguistic. They refrained from identifying themselves as an either or, linked to ethnicity and heritage, and rather positioned themselves as something in-between. Here we found similarities to Vestel's (2004) findings. Instead of using language as an indicator for one identity belonging to one group, they actively diminished the importance of collective identity, and rather emphasised the individual identity of each person connected to context.

Also I found indications that the adolescents use the languages for an instrumental purpose, which is partially related to their interpersonal relationships and networking skills, and partially to their future perspectives. Language is a power and a skill that can be used to

exclude and include people in a community or group, and this, the pupils are aware of. To a very high degree we see that among these adolescents, it is used for inclusion and helping others. Part of their inclusive ways of behaving is founded in their perception of equality regarding position and situation, which contributes to the effort in using language as a measure in constructing a “we”. There was a dual relationship in networking and learning language and becoming multilingual. The learning of language was enabling them to get friends, and they got friends due to the common action of learning language. At the same time they are aware on language being a personal capital enabling social mobility in different stages in life, and that the fact that not everyone possesses this capital gives them an advantaged position in the future regarding work and living possibilities. Therefor they are also seen to have a strong instrumental motivation for learning the languages in that they want to develop themselves, and equip themselves with capital that can advance their position and subjective trajectory in the world. It is evident that language is understood as a resource on a personal and economic level, which enables them to act as global citizens in the future.

When considering the issue of language learning and how they work with their proficiency in a language, several aspects struck me as important. In the process of learning a language the students actively drew on several components in their everyday situations to help them advance in their language skills, both within the multilinguistic classroom but also in other spheres, for instance when being together with friends. It seemed like the possibility to gain language proficiency was always an underlying option in their everyday life, and they often took advantage of this. In the school they seemed to have developed a kind of culture for mutual learning, both involving the teachers and the students. Based on the fact that they were all multilinguistic or becoming multilinguistic, a connection developed where they would pursue a role as learner and teacher at the same time, getting a lot of responsibility in contributing to each other’s learning experience. This I understood as a way of scaffolding each other, to help arrive at a higher level of knowledge and skills. Also it was revealed that they actively used tools to support their language learning experience, both in school, but also in private. As a continuation of this study it would be interesting to conduct qualitative research in other, similar settings. This can be helpful in identifying if the significance of context, and the ways in which it influences behaviour and ways of thinking, are present among other adolescents in the same situation as well.

References

- Agha, A. (2007). *Language and Social Relations*; Cambridge University Press. New York
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. 5th edition. Canada: Multilingual Matters.
- Bruner, J. (1996). *The Culture of Education*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- DSG1 (20.07.2014). *Aktuell*. Retrieved from <http://dsg-schule.de/>
- DSG2 (20.07.2014). *Konzept*. Retrieved from http://dsg-schule.de/?page_id=2017
- DSG3 (20.07.2014) *Spachen*. Retrieved from http://dsg-schule.de/?page_id=2020
- Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and Identity*. Cambridge University Press. New York
- European Commission (2008). *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment. Communication from the commission to the european parliament, the council, the european economic and social committee and the committee of the regions. com (2008) 566 final*. Commission of the European communities. Brussels
- Fox, C. (2013). The question of identity from a comparative education perspective. In: Arnove, R. F., A. Torres & S. Franz (Eds). *Comparative Education; the Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Fourth Edition
- Inglis, C. (2008). *Planning for cultural diversity*. Fundamentals of Educational Planning. No. 87. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP
- Kleven, T. A. (2008). *Validity and validation in qualitative and quantitative research*. Nordisk Pedagogik, vol. 28. Nr 3, pp. 219-233

Masemann, V. L. (2013). Culture and Education. In: Arnove, R. F., A. Torres & S. Franz (Eds). *Comparative Education; the Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 4th Edition

Meier, G. (2012). *Zweiwegintegration durch zweisprachige Bildung? Ergebnisse aus der Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin*; Springer. UK

Stier, J. (2003). Internationalisation, Ethnic Diversity and the Acquisition of Intercultural Competencies, *Intercultural Education*, 14:1. London: Routledge

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. 2nd ed. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks: California.

Vestel, V. (2004): *Community of differences: Hybridization, popular culture and the making of social relations among multicultural youngsters in "Rudenga", East side Oslo*; NOVA

Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview guide in English

General information

- Name
- Age
- Gender
- Class they attend
- Parents origin
- Mother tongue (German, bilingual, non-German)

Language and identity

- Tell me about your general experience with language?
- What role does language play in your everyday life?
- How would you say language is a part of you, how is using a certain language reflecting your personality?
- Self-definition – in what situation use different language, why, how do you perceive the relationship?
- Do you feel different when using different languages? Or do you feel that you can represent who you want to be in both languages?
- What does the use of other languages than your mother tongue do for your way of expressing yourself?
- How do you think your languages differ or adapt after whom you are talking to?
- Tell me about your typical school day versus a day off.
 - o What do you do?
 - o Who do you see?
 - o What languages do you use?

Language, resource and future

- Do you know how come your parents moved to Germany?
- Do your grandparents live in a different country?
- What language do you speak with your parents/ grandparents?
- Where are your friends from?
- What language do you speak with your friends?
- How much/often do you meet your friends? Are you together a lot outside school as well?
- Do you have curricula outside school? Music, sport etc? Do you do any of this with your friends?
- How long have you been in Germany? How many years have you attended the school?
- How was the transition period for you? Do you feel at home here?
- What do you think the acquisition of language means for your future? Have you thought about what you want to do and where you want to be?
- How do they perceive the transitional period, how do they see themselves in the current situation, and where do they see themselves in the future? – more general, past, now and future – how they are feeling, narrative, future perspective (may be covered in self-perception → want to learn German because I want to be) (what you want + more) have a core, allow for more information

Language and learning experience

- Favourite classes in school? What language is spoken there?
- What level was language skills (other than mother tongue), when first arriving/ starting school?
- What learning strategies do you use to learn a new language? How difficult do you consider it to be?

- What challenges do you face when learning through the schools concept “immersion”? Any problems you have in the acquiring of the languages in school that you can think of?
- How do you consider your interaction with the teachers? Is it affected by the fact that you can communicate in multiple languages?
- And with your fellow peers?
- What language resources do you employ?
- How do you see your language skills in the context of the society? How do you see yourself in relation to other adolescents that don't have the same multi-linguistic education?

Appendix 2 Interview guide in German

Interviewfragen:

Generelle Informationen

- Name
- Alter
- Geschlecht
- Schulklasse
- Woher die Eltern kommen
- Was ist ihre Muttersprache (deutsch, mehrsprachig, nicht-deutsch)

Sprache und Identität

- Erzähle mir über deine generelle Erfahrung mit Sprachen (angefangen neue sprachen zu lernen, gefühle –schwer/einfach, wie benutzt du sprachen).
- Welche Rolle spielt Sprache in deinen Alltag (verbringst du viel zeit mit lernen oder eher natürlich)?
- Wie würdest du sagen das Sprache ein Teil von dir ist, wie wird dein Persönlichkeit durch die brauch von eine bestimmte Sprache reflektiert?
- Selbst-Definition: in welchen Situationen benutzt du unterschiedliche Sprachen (zu hause, mit freunden, schule, freizeit)? Warum ist das so? Was denkst du?
- Fühlst du dich anders wenn du unterschiedliche Sprachen benutzt? Oder kannst du dich in allen Sprachen wohl fühlen?
- Unterscheidet sich deine Ausdrucksweise, oder Deine Lockerheit, je nachdem welche Sprache Du sprichst?
Wenn ja, wie? - Wenn nein, woran denkst Du, könnte das liegen?
- Wie variiert Deine Sprache, je nachdem mit wem Du sprichst und warum?
- Erzähl mir über einen typischen Schultag in Vergleich zu einem freien Tag
 - o Was machst du?
 - o Wen triffst du?
 - o Welche Sprachen benutzt du?

Sprache, Resource und Zukunft

- Weißt du warum deine Eltern nach Deutschland gezogen sind?
- Leben deine Großeltern in einem anderen Land?
- Welche Sprache sprichst du mit deinen Eltern und Großeltern?
- Wo kommen deine Freunde her?
- Welche Sprache sprichst du mit deinen Freunden?
- Wie oft triffst Du deine Freunde? Seid ihr außerhalb der Schule viel zusammen?
- Hast du außerhalb der Schule noch andere Hobbies? Musik, Sport etc.? Machst du etwas davon zusammen mit deinen Freunden?
- Wie lange warst du schon in Deutschland? Wie lange bist du jetzt schon in der Deutsch-Skandinavischen Schule?
- Wie war der Wandel für dich? Fühlst du Dich hier zu Haus?
- Was denkst du das die Erwerbung von Sprachen bedeutet für deine Zukunft? Welche Gedanken hast du Dir darüber gemacht, was du später mal werden möchtest und wo du Dich siehst?

Sprache und Lernen

- Was sind deine Lieblings-Fächer in die Schule? Welche Sprache wird da gesprochen?
- Welches Niveau hatte deine Sprachkenntnis (andere als Mutter-Sprache) als du zu erst in diese Schule gekommen bist?
- Welche Lernstrategien benutzt du, um eine neue Sprache zu lernen? Wie schwer findest du es? Wie löst du sprachliche Barrieren?
- Was ist die Herausforderung, durch das Schulkonzept „Immersion“ zu lernen?
- Wie siehst du deine Interaktion mit den Lehrern? Ist sie davon beeinflusst dass du/ihr in mehrere Sprachen kommunizieren könnt?
- Und wie denkst du, ist es mit deinen Mitschülern?
- Welche Hilfsmittel benutzt du um eine Fremdsprache besser, oder leichter zu erlernen?
- Fühlst Du Dich schlauer, oder bevorzugt im Vergleich zu anderen Jugendlichen die nicht die gleiche mehrsprachige Ausbildung haben? Warum?

Appendix 3 Interview guide in Norwegian

Intervju spørsmål:

Generell informasjon

- Navn
- Alder
- Kjønn
- Klasse de går i
- Hvor foreldrene kommer fra
- Morsmål (Tysk, flere språk, ikke tysk)

Språk og identitet

- Fortell meg om dine erfaringer med språk
- Hvilken rolle spiller språk i din hverdag?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive språk som en del av deg, hvordan reflekterer bruken av et bestemt språk din personlighet?
- Selvdefinisjon: i hvilke situasjoner bruker du ulike språk, hvordan ser du på forholdet (språk-situasjon)?
- Føler du deg annerledes når du bruker et annet språk? Eller føler du at du kan vise hvem du er i begge språk?
- Hvordan påvirker bruken av andre språk enn ditt morsmål måten du uttrykker deg på?
- Hvordan tror du språkene endrer og tilpasser seg etter hvem du snakker med?
- Fortell meg om en typisk skoledag i forhold til en fridag
 - o Hva gjør du?
 - o Hvem treffer du?
 - o Hvilke språk snakker du?

Språk, ressurs og fremtid

- Vet du hvorfor dine foreldre flyttet til Tyskland?
- Bor dine besteforeldre i et annet land?
- Hvilket språk snakker du med dine foreldre/besteforeldre?
- Hvor er dine venner fra?
- Hvilke språk snakker du med dine venner?
- Hvor ofte treffer du dine venner? Er dere mye sammen utenom skolen også?
- Har du fritidsaktiviteter etter skolen? Musikk, sport o.l.? Gjør du noe av dette sammen med dine venner?
- Hvor lenge har du bodd i Tyskland? Hvor lenge har du gått på skolen?
- Hvordan var overgangen for deg? Føler du deg hjemme her?
- Hva tror du tilegnelsen av språk betyr for din fremtid? Har du tenkt på hva du vil gjøre og hvor du vil være?

Språk og læringsopplevelse

- Hva er dine yndlingsfag? Hvilket språk snakkes der?
- Hvilket nivå var dine språkkunnskaper på (andre enn morsmål), da du begynte på skolen?
- Hvilke læringsstrategier bruker du for å lære et nytt språk? Hvor vanskelig synes du det er?
- Hvilke utfordringer møter du gjennom skolens konsept „immersjon“?
- Hva tenker du om din interaksjon med lærerne? Påvirkes den av at dere kan kommunisere på flere språk?
- Og hvordan er dette med dine medelever?
- Hvilke språkressurser bruker du?
- Hvordan ser du på dine språkferdigheter i forhold til samfunnet? Hvordan ser du deg selv i forhold til ungdommer som ikke har den samme multi-linguistiske utdannelsen?