Language requirements for Swedish citizenship

Adult language learners' attitudes towards the Swedish language test for immigrants

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Abstract

In line with the global trend of increased language requirements for naturalization, the Swedish government decided in 2019 to introduce a language test for citizenship. Drawing on Norton Peirce's (1995) notion of investment and Fraser's (2000) definition of participatory parity, this study investigates adult second language learners' attitudes towards the test and analyzes how investment in language learning and perception of possibilities for participatory parity influence their views. Furthermore, the study considers some of the potential consequences of the new policy, for example, for acts of linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2018). Eighteen SFI-students at level 3C, one of the highest levels at the language course, responded to a questionnaire. Nine respondents favored the test, four opposed it, four were neutral, and one was unsure. Interviews were conducted with six volunteers out of these participants, five out of six were supporters of the language test. The qualitative data was analyzed thematically. While all participants were motivated to learn Swedish, the findings indicate how diverse forms of capital, ideologies, and desired or actual identities in Swedish, that is, the nature of their investment and perceived possibilities for economic and social participation, influenced their attitudes towards the language test. Furthermore, supporters of the test considered that the language requirement would improve possibilities for participatory parity, whereas the opponents emphasized the risk of misrecognition and misrepresentation. The policy redefines Swedish citizenship: by making a test of Swedish language mandatory for prospective citizens, it formally demands that immigrants learn Swedish provided they want to integrate. As the results suggest, however, the participants in this study were engaged in a wide range of acts of linguistic citizenship in Swedish and had similar reported proficiency levels, regardless of their opinions of the Swedish test. The study calls for more research on the effects of language requirements for naturalization to examine to what extent and in what ways a language test for citizenship affects already motivated language learners.

Keywords

Language tests, attitudes, investment, ideologies, capital, identity, participatory parity, linguistic citizenship.

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1. Introduction

Globalization has, in recent years, caused unprecedented diversity and multilingualism in many countries, including Sweden (Milani, 2008). Parallel to this change, nation-states have often revised or increased conditions for the naturalization of immigrants (Piller, 2001). Language knowledge is one common requirement; numerous monolingual countries have introduced language requirements for citizenship (Wallace Goodman, 2014). These countries usually assess the fulfillment of language requirements with language tests, for example, Denmark, France, Germany, and the UK have established language requirements and tests for citizenship (Rocca et al., 2019). Among European countries, Sweden was, until recently, an exception to this trend (Milani, 2008).

A debate about a language demand for citizenship has existed in Sweden since the 1990s (Milani, 2008; 2009). Considering it an unjust requirement, politicians have generally rejected the idea. The addition of such a policy to the naturalization process has, therefore, been absent (Milani, 2008). However, this changed in 2019 when the government agreed to add knowledge of language and society as conditions for granting citizenship (Socialdemokraterna, 2019). Although the requirements are not implemented yet, Sweden has ultimately joined the group of countries with stricter naturalization policies.

The proposal of the government sparked an intense media debate in Sweden (for example, Avci, 2019; Lösnitz & Westroth, 2019; Rydell & Milani, 2019). The debaters disagree about the effects a language test will have on integration and language learning. Advocates argue that language tests heighten motivation to acquire languages and thus diminish segregation caused by linguistic diversity (Avci, 2019). Conversely, the opposition doubts the potential of language requirements to promote inclusion, and questions the validity and fairness of the testing policy (McNamara, 2012; Piller, 2001; Rydell & Milani, 2008). However, despite the disagreements, the effects of language tests are mostly unknown (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). A few studies show correlations between language tests and economic and political integration, but little research has investigated the effects on social inclusion in society (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). Most sociolinguistic research has instead been devoted to examine ideological reasons behind the recent proliferation of language tests.

The policy of language testing originates from a complex interplay between ideologies of language, national identity, and citizenship (Piller, 2001). For example, states with highly monolingual ideologies that equate citizenship with national identity and proficiency of the majority language are likely to favor a language testing regime (Piller, 2001). In response to the normative ideologies of governments, populations may accept and reproduce these values (for example, Smagulova, 2008), or oppose the ideologies and strive to subvert and change the ideological stance of the state (Stroud, 2018).

Another regular topic in sociolinguistic research is the validity and fairness of language requirements in citizenship tests. Some scholars describe language testing as a gate-keeping tool – it includes a few, but also inevitably excludes others (McNamara, 2012). Therefore, they argue that language requirements are undemocratic additions to naturalization regulations (Piller, 2001). They further argue that unreliability makes tests inappropriate assessment tools for judging immigrants' citizenship applications. As a consequence, sociolinguists and many language testers doubt the alleged benefits of tests for acquisition and integration; they fear, on the contrary, that it may cause adverse effects such as discrimination and increased segregation (for example, Rydell & Milani, 2019).

As mentioned above, the ideologies of states that use language tests and the opinions of experts in the field have been represented in the research literature. By contrast, the beliefs of immigrants whose lives are impacted by language tests remain relatively unexamined. The purpose of the present study is consequently to explore adult language learners' attitudes to the language test and the ideological, capital, and identificatory factors that influence them. In this study, attitudes are beliefs that structure feelings towards different objects (Garrett, 2010). The study applies the theory of investment (Norton Peirce, 1995) in second language acquisition (SLA) by considering language learners' forms of capital, ideologies of language and nationhood, and desired or achieved identities as working together to shape motivation and attitudes to language learning and language tests. Moreover, the study explores learners' perceptions of the implications of language testing for equal participation in society and their definitions of citizenship. The aim is to deepen the understanding of responses to language tests as a requirement for citizenship from the perspective of those most affected: adult immigrants.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Motivation and investment

After years of polarizing debates, the Swedish government has agreed to institute a language requirement for citizenship (Socialdemokraterna, 2019). One of the main reasons they put forward is to increase the status of citizenship (Socialdemokraterna, 2019). In their view, this valorization will enhance the motivation to learn Swedish and improve integration (Leijonborg et al., 2002; Johansson Heinö, 2019). The assumption underpinning this view is that immigrants' desire to learn Swedish is low, bordering on non-existent (for example, Modiri, 2002). The government sees a language requirement and test as necessary tools to incentivize immigrants to acquire Swedish (Milani, 2009). However, this understanding of motivation and its implications for second language acquisition (SLA) has several limitations (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Second language acquisition theorists traditionally define motivation as a personality trait and a measurement of a learner's commitment to acquiring a language (for example, Gardner, 1968). From this perspective, many regard motivation as a critical factor that impacts ultimate attainment (Gardner, 1985; Norton Peirce, 1995). Some studies corroborate this understanding of motivation. For instance, a meta-analysis of SLA research indicates that motivation is more related to success in acquisition than, for example, attitudes towards the learning context (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). Similar to traditional definitions, Masgoret and Gardner (2003) describe motivation as the effort, desire, and attitudes of learners towards acquiring a language. As a permanent personality trait, motivation is, therefore, independent of the context (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). According to this definition, motivated second language learners will engage in social interactions in any situation, and their acquisition processes will differ from those of unmotivated learners (Norton Peirce 1995).

However, other research findings contradict this perception of identity and motivation (for example, Hajar, 2017; McKay & Wong; 1996; Norton Peirce, 1995). For instance, Norton Peirce (1995) found that motivation did not determine whether second language learners chose to engage or be silent in interactions: a motivated learner did not speak, while a seemingly unmotivated learner did. Consequently, she argues that motivation alone cannot account for a second language learner's behavior.

Norton Peirce (1995) also criticizes SLA theories for not considering the relationship between the learner and the learning context, nor the power relations between conversationalists. In contrast to traditional definitions, Norton Peirce (1995) sees identity and motivation as sensitive to different situations and distributions of power. They are flexible and diverse and changes over time and space (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Moving beyond motivation as the main explanatory factor for proficiency, Norton Peirce (1995) developed the investment theory to account for the variability of second language learners' language practices. Norton Peirce (1995) draws on Bourdieu's (1977, 1982) notions of capital and field whereby certain forms of social, economic, and cultural capital can be converted into others depending on the values attached to those resources in a particular field. Cultural capital includes linguistic capital, which is often key to being recognized as a legitimate speaker (Bourdieu, 1982) and may also offer symbolic capital. When learners invest in a language, they expect to get a return, for example, in the form of knowledge that grants them previously inaccessible benefits (Norton Peirce, 1995), that is, be able to convert new linguistic capital into cultural, social, and/or economic capital. According to Norton Peirce (1995), the rewards that the learners expect to receive in return need to at least match their efforts if they are to consider it worthwhile to learn the language. Thus, if the return is limited or does not correspond to the required work effort, language learners will likely either be less motivated to acquire the language or divest completely (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Like identity, investment is context-bound and depends on the learners' current desires (Darvin & Norton, 2017). For instance, even if a learner is motivated to learn a language, they may choose to avoid speaking it if others will notice a foreign accent (Norton Peirce, 1995). In this case, the expected benefits for linguistic capital do not outweigh the potential negative consequences for social or cultural capital. A learner's investment can thus align or contrast with their motivation, and impacts their participation in social interactions (Norton Peirce, 1995). Consequently, investment takes a more holistic perspective on second language learners' identities and aspirations. In this way, investment is "a sociological complement to the psychological construct of motivation" (Darvin & Norton, 2017:227).

Darvin and Norton Peirce (2015, 2017) have further expanded the model of investment to match the globalization and advances in technology. Their elaborated model sees investment as a product of language learners' identities, ideologies, and capital, which can change over time and are impacted by technological developments (Darvin & Norton, 2017; Norton Peirce, 1995). Language learners' identities, ideologies, and capital may either harmonize or clash, again highlighting the flexibility of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Identity relates to second language learners' abilities and desires to perform different identities, for example, as naturalized citizens in a new country. Ideologies are ideals that language learners hold, for example: ideologies of language and nationhood, which further impact their investments.

As in the previous theory (Norton Peirce, 1995), the developed model still involves capital: language learners have various resources that have an impact on their the acquisition processes (Darvin & Norton, 2015). For example, cultural, social, and economic capital, such as education or a profession where the language is used, may facilitate the acquisition of the second language. Additionally, other forms of capital such as ethnicity and gender can influence power relations in interactions and the learning process (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Investment has become a prominent theory in SLA research, and various disciplines utilize it (for example, Andema, 2014; Arkoudis & Davison, 2008; Reeves, 2009). However, few studies have yet applied the expanded theory, partly due to its recent development. Nonetheless, some researchers have used it to, for example, examine strategies that learners use to gain other forms of capital (Cohen & Griffiths, 2015), or as a critical framework for teachers and policymakers to reflect on their prejudices towards second language learners (Darvin, 2015).

In summary, one of the main reasons for instituting language requirements for citizenship in Sweden is to increase motivation among immigrants to learn Swedish. Second language acquisition theorists generally define motivation as a permanent personality trait that impacts a learner's behavior and achieved proficiency. Motivation is, as a consequence, seen as independent of the context. Contrasting findings suggest that motivation alone does not determine learners' behaviors: motivation is socially situated and therefore affected by wider social and economic structures (Norton Peirce, 1995; Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2017). To account for this, Norton Peirce (1995) developed the theory of investment. Investment is based on learners' identities, capital, and ideologies, and changes over time and space (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

This study applies the investment model to examine if, and how, adult second language learners' investments in Swedish influence their attitudes towards the policy of implementing a language test for citizenship.

2.2 Attitudes and ideologies

As mentioned above, the investment theory includes the notion of ideology – sometimes used interchangeably with attitude (Garrett, 2010). However, in this study, these terms refer to different concepts. Namely: attitudes relate to beliefs about the policy of instituting a language test for citizenship, while ideologies, as part of the investment model, constitutes sets of beliefs, which affect and structure the attitudes.

Attitude has various definitions, but academics agree on some features of the concept (Garrett, 2010). First, they are evaluations of objects or concepts and are identifiable through feelings and actions (Garrett, 2010). As such, attitudes involve the components cognition, affect, and behavior. However, some question the relationship between these elements and how they impact each other (Garrett, 2010). For example, a feeling towards an object does not inevitably lead to a specific behavior (Clore & Schnall, 2005; Garrett, 2010). Second, attitudes become stabilized through a socialization process (Garrett, 2010). Several factors can influence their stability, such as a person's experiences or when people acquire them (Fink et al., 2002).

This study applies Garrett's (2010) definition of *attitude* as consisting of beliefs and evaluations of objects that may cause a person to act in a certain way. Additionally, they are acquired through socialization processes, but can change due to new experiences or contexts (Garrett, 2010).

Definitions of *ideology* also vary significantly (Garrett, 2010; Woolard, 1998). Some regard them as synonymous with attitudes, while others argue that attitudes are formed by broader, underlying ideologies (Garrett, 2010; Woolard, 1998). For example, Irvine (2012) describes ideologies as politically motivated, socially structured beliefs about objects. Consequently, ideologies of language relate to speakers, the role of language in society, and language use (Irvine, 2012). Like other ideologies, language ideologies involve political and moral concerns (Irvine, 2012). The present study draws on the definitions of Irvine (2012) and Darvin and Norton (2017), as the theory of investment includes ideologies.

Darvin and Norton (2017) define ideology as a "normative set of ideas" (p. 43). Furthermore, they refer to *ideologies* rather than *ideology* to emphasize that a person may hold different values that contradict each other (Darvin & Norton, 2017). The definition of ideology is analogous to their understanding of identity as flexible and a "site of struggle" (Darvin & Norton, 2015:44). Ideologies can either be resisted or reproduced through individual actions, and agents choose to consent to or oppose different patterns of thinking (Darvin & Norton, 2017).

This study treats attitudes as opinions that depend on beliefs and emotions towards phenomena, and may impact behavior (Garrett, 2010). Drawing on Darvin and Norton's (2017) theory of investment, ideologies, on the other hand, are sets of fluctuating, and sometimes competing, ideas that organize and hierarchize opinions and actors according to the values subsumed under specific systems of thought. Ideologies can therefore structure attitudes and create evaluative patterns relating to, for example, inclusion, exclusion, language, and nationhood. Drawing on investment theory, this study explores the effect ideologies have on adult Swedish learners' opinions towards the language test for citizenship. However, since investment also includes identity and forms of capital, the study explores the ways in which these factors interact with ideologies to structure motivation for learning Swedish and attitudes towards language testing for citizenship.

2.3 Language testing and participatory parity

Questions of fairness have historically divided decision-makers and experts in debates about language requirements in Sweden. Linguists generally express concerns about the validity of the assessment procedures, and the ramifications that such added requirements have for equality and justice (for example, McNamara, 2012; Tracy, 2017). In 1999, a committee investigated possible revisions of the citizenship policies in Sweden (SOU 1999:34, 1999). One of their conclusions was that language requirements should not be connected to citizenship due to issues of fairness (SOU 1999:34, 1999). Accordingly, the prevailing judgements of such policy proposals have until recently been to reject them (Milani, 2008). Despite the present agreement about a language test in Swedish politics (Socialdemokraterna, 2019), considerations of fairness and the effects of language requirements on equality remain (for example, Rydell & Milani, 2019).

A theory of justice that has become influential in several scientific fields is the status model developed by Nancy Fraser (for example, Armstrong & Thompson, 2007; Bozalek, 2017; Fylkesnes et al., 2017; Knight, 2015). According to Fraser (2000; 2008), there are three hindrances to justice: misrecognition, maldistribution, and misrepresentation. The effects of these obstacles are a devaluation of cultural differences, economic disparity, and unequal participation in society, respectively (Fraser, 2000; 2008). To achieve justice, then, the opposite is needed: recognition, redistribution, and representation (Fraser, 2000; 2008). Various justice models emphasize these remedies differently. How to best achieve justice, and which injustice is most detrimental to equality, therefore depends on the particular justice model.

The identity model formulated by Honneth (1992; 2004), for example, focuses on misrecognition, and sees inequality as a result of devaluations of group identities. Furthermore, according to this model, economic inequalities are mostly an additional consequence of misrecognition (Thompson, 2005). Fraser (2000) critiques this theory for ignoring in-group differences and forcing a unified, coherent group identity on members. Instead of promoting acceptance and interaction, she argues that the identity model leads to more separatism between groups (Fraser, 2000). Additionally, by focusing on misrecognition, the identity model disregards the importance of maldistribution (Fraser, 2000).

To circumvent these issues, Fraser (2000) suggests considering recognition in terms of status rather than identity. Injustice is, according to her, not due to the subordination of group identities, but to the demotion of peoples' social standings, which makes some unable to participate as peers in social life (Fraser, 2000). Therefore, redressing injustice means establishing the misrecognized and misrepresented individuals as full members of society, capable of participating as peers with the others (Fraser, 2000). Furthermore, unlike the identity model, Fraser (2008) regards maldistribution as a separate, equally significant hindrance to justice.

The subordination of statuses results from institutionalized laws, policies, norms, and values that impede equal participation and opportunities (Fraser, 2000). Subverting the injustice, therefore, involves removing practices that challenge equal participation, thereby allowing everyone to participate on a par in society (Fraser, 2000).

The principle of participatory parity does not mean that everyone has an equal right to social esteem, but rather that everyone has a right to pursue it under fair conditions of equal opportunity (Fraser, 2001). Such conditions do not exist if institutionalized rules systematically hamper participatory parity for some people (Fraser, 2001).

The status model has several benefits over the identity model, according to Fraser (2000). For example, it avoids the identity conformism that the identity model implies. From this, it follows that what demands recognition is not group-specific identities, but the status of individuals as equal partners in social interaction (Fraser, 2001). Finally, the identity model regards misrecognition as ethically wrong because it ranks some groups' identities as lower than others (Thompson, 2005). Conversely, the status model claims that misrecognition is wrong because it denies some the possibility of equal participation. In the status model, then, recognition is a conception of justice that can be accepted by everyone, as long as they agree to fair terms of equal participation in society (Fraser, 2001).

Critics of the status model argue that achieving social equality according to the status model is problematic (Armstrong & Thompson, 2007; Kompridis, 2007). For instance, Armstrong and Thompson (2007) argue that since participatory parity requires a change in the status order of society, this status order must be clearly defined. However, the contemporary status order is complex: different communities have their own hierarchies and values that may contradict others' norms. This internal and cross-sectional complexity makes establishing participatory parity for everyone challenging (Armstrong & Thompson, 2007). Armstrong and Thompson (2007) also emphasize the difficulty of predicting the effects of reforms aimed at improving participatory parity; they may instead lead to the opposite.

For a long time, politicians in Sweden have debated the policy of a language requirement for citizenship. The main issue has concerned the fairness of granting or denying citizenship statuses based on the results on language tests. Sociolinguists have also discussed what effects the policy will have on segregation (for example, McNamara, 2012; Piller, 2001). Although the Swedish government has now settled on implementing the test, the issue of fairness remains. This study explores, if, how, and to what extent adult second language learners' attitudes towards the language test are influenced by their views on what is necessary for them to achieve participatory parity. The research aims to examine the extent to which a language test for citizenship may be a policy that unjustly impedes, rather than promotes, equal participation.

2.4 Definitions of citizenship: Linguistic citizenship

The debates in Sweden have mainly defined citizenship as a governmentally sanctioned status (Milani, 2015). However, sociolinguists argue that citizenship is a more multifaceted concept, and can be understood through, for example, gender and ethnicity (Milani, 2015: Richardson, 2017; Zorn, 2005). Similarly, Stroud (2018) has developed the notion of linguistic citizenship. The theory conceptualizes citizenship as communicative acts that construct and define citizenship (Stroud, 2018). It is partially a critique of linguistic human rights and the lack of public recognition of multilingualism, and partly an effort to broaden the understanding of citizenship.

Instead of relying on linguistic human rights, which, for him, risks reproducing oppressive language ideologies, Stroud (2018) proposes understanding citizenship through individuals' communicative practices and acts of citizenship. Through their semiotic actions, people define what being a citizen means and in this way can inspire structural changes in society (Rubagumya et al., 2011). Furthermore, the concept regards language as communication through various semiotic modalities. For instance, communication can include spatial modes of expressions, such as demonstrations (Stroud, 2018). Linguistic citizenship thus encourages a different understanding of language, and acknowledges the possibility for individuals to achieve recognition and define citizenship, unassisted by formal frames of linguistic human rights. According to the theory, what being a citizen means is determined by actions that are emancipatory and transformative of dominant institutionalized structures (Stroud, 2018).

However, critics are skeptical about the potentials of linguistic citizenship to accomplish recognition by itself. For example, May (2018) argues that abandoning language rights altogether risks leading to the same consequences that linguistic citizenship strives to avoid; it will harm the already marginalized minorities by reinforcing oppressive patterns. Instead, May (2018) suggests a combination of language rights and a more agentive understanding of citizenship, that together counters the reproduction of repressive language ideologies.

The institution of a language requirement for citizenship in Sweden changes the preconditions for being a Swedish citizen, which affects the acts of citizenship that language learners can perform to achieve recognition. Additionally, a language test for citizenship signifies a monolingual ideology that may repress language minorities.

The present study uses the notion of linguistic citizenship to illuminate the effects of a language test for citizenship and examine what a language requirement means for the definition of citizenship and second language learners' acts of citizenship.

3. Literature review

The following literature review provides an overview of research, opinion pieces, and documents relating to language requirements for citizenship. It describes previous studies on language policies for naturalization. Furthermore, it presents research about the influence of investment, that is, identity, capital, and ideologies, on attitudes towards languages and language policies. It outlines recent research on attitudes and investment, and the discussions regarding language tests. The purpose is to provide a context and foundation for the research in the present study.

3.1 Language requirements for citizenship

An increasing number of states have recently revised their integration policies with additional requirements for naturalization (Rocca et al., 2019; Wallace Goodman, 2014). Commonplace conditions are, for instance, a minimum length of residence in the country, financial demands, and knowledge of the majority language and society (Rocca et al., 2019). These additions are requirements for various integration regulations: temporary/permanent residency, family-based immigration, and granting of citizenship status (Rocca et al., 2019). Specifically, implementing language requirements for citizenship has become a trend in several European countries (Milani, 2008; Piller, 2001).

A report shows that out of 41 European countries, 32 have instituted a language requirement for citizenship (Rocca et al., 2019). For example, in 2000, Germany moved from an ethnic to a language based definition of citizenship (Hansen-Thomas, 2007). Similarly, the UK and France have recently established language requirements for citizenship and permanent residency (Home Office, 2020; Service-Public.fr, 2019). The Netherlands also have requirements of Dutch proficiency for family-based immigration, which is tested before immigrants are allowed into the country (Immigration and Naturalisation service, 2020). Denmark introduced stricter naturalization policies in 2001 – including knowledge of Danish as a condition for permanent residence and obtaining citizenship (Milani, 2009; Udlændingestyrelsen, n.d.).

Two months after this occurred in Denmark, the Swedish Liberal Party initiated a debate on language requirements and citizenship in Sweden (Leijonborg et al., 2002; Milani, 2009).

For around three decades, Sweden has embraced a mainly multicultural policy, which strives to support minorities' cultures and languages, and minimizing differences in rights afforded to citizens vis-à-vis non-citizens (for example, Kungörelse, 1974; Prop. 1975/76:23, 1975). However, nation-state ideologies that valorize the Swedish citizenship status and the need for language requirements have appeared in public and political discourse throughout the years (Boreus, 2006; Milani, 2009). In 1997, the Swedish government appointed a parliamentary committee to investigate if they should add requirements to the naturalization process (Dir. 1998:50, 1998). Concerning language requirements, the committee concluded that while knowledge of Swedish is essential, citizenship should not depend on proficiency in Swedish, for example, because adult language learners have different qualifications for acquiring second languages (SOU 1999:34, 1999). This conclusion has guided the rulings on proposals to add a language requirement for citizenship since then, but the language testing debate has nonetheless persisted (Milani, 2008).

However, in recent years, Sweden has seemingly undergone a shift in opinion of a language requirement for citizenship. The role of Swedish has become a topical issue in political debates, and several party-leaders emphasize knowledge of Swedish as the key to integration (for example, Kristersson, 2019; Kristersson & Axén Olin, 2019; Sabuni, 2019). Furthermore, the proposed, but not yet implemented, policy to introduce a language test for citizenship is another indication of this ideological change (Socialdemokraterna, 2019). The general public also appears to support the implementation of language requirements (Forsberg Lundell, 2020; Johansson Heinö, 2012; Språktidningen, 2019). An attitude survey in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark showed that a majority supports the idea that passing a language test should be required for gaining citizenship (Bevelander et al., 2019). The respondents to this questionnaire were both native-born citizens as well as immigrants, and the authors conclude that the different groups have similar attitudes (Bevelander et al., 2019). However, the reasons behind their opinions are unknown and there is a danger of homogenizing groups, as pointed out by Fraser (2000).

On the other hand, linguists and researchers are more hesitant towards language requirements and tests for two main reasons. First, sociolinguists argue that language tests for citizenship have low validity and reliability (for example, Piller, 2001; Pochon-Berger & Lenz, 2014; Tracy, 2017). Many states do not have clearly defined levels on the tests (Wallace Goodman, 2014), and there are rarely concrete guidelines for their assessments (Piller, 2001; Rocca et al. 2019). Several scholars claim that this imprecision renders the testing practices arbitrary (for example, Tracy, 2017). For instance, Hansen-Thomas (2007) and Masillo (2017), respectively, report irregular assessment practices throughout Germany and low reliability of tests to measure actual language skills in Italy. Some countries use the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) – a universal framework to assess the proficiency of second language learners (Rocca et al., 2019). However, linguists criticize this model for disregarding findings in SLA research and only being suitable to higher education contexts (for example, Hulstijn, 2007).

These issues negatively affect the validity of the tests, and many oppose the implementation of language requirements as a consequence. However, others also argue that language tests are not invalid and unreliable in themselves and should not be dismissed based on current practices (Hansen-Thomas, 2007; Forsberg Lundell, 2020). Although this may be true, many question the appropriateness of linking language test results to the naturalization process due to present as well as historical misuses of tests (for example, Shohamy & Menken, 2015).

Second, many sociolinguists argue that language testing is a "politics of exclusion" (Piller, 2001:286). They see language requirements as a policy that maintains differences between citizens and non-citizens and safe-guards citizens' unique privileges (McNamara, 2012). Furthermore, it allows states to be more selective of who can achieve the status of a recognized member of a nation (Milani, 2008; Piller, 2001). For instance, immigrants with typologically similar languages or with higher levels of previous education are more likely to pass such a language test (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). Language tests also negatively affect vulnerable populations (Rocca et al., 2019; Rydell & Milani, 2019). Few countries with language requirements offer adapted language instruction for learners with reading or writing difficulties (Forsberg Lundell, 2020; Rocca et al., 2019). Such a neglect would be problematic in Sweden, since a large number of second language learners in Sweden are low-literacy learners, who may need longer to acquire languages (Forsberg Lundell, 2020; Sanandaji, 2017).

Thus, with language requirements for naturalization, the blame for the segregation falls on individuals who struggle to learn the majority language rather than on the wider sociopolitical and economic contexts that enable or constrain their learning (Carlsen et al., 2019; Hedman et al., 2019). Shortly after the proposal of the government to introduce language requirements, the different opinions of politicians and linguists caused an engaged debate in Swedish media (for example, Avci, 2019, Lösnitz & Westroth, 2019; Rydell & Milani, 2019).

3.2 Effects of language requirements and tests

Despite the disagreement concerning language tests, there is little evidence of their actual impact on integration, and the findings that exist are contradictory (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). Furthermore, it is often unclear in the research what the term *integration* means: whether it is social, cultural, political, or economic inclusion (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). This ambiguity is of great importance for the discussion of the effects of language requirements (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). This study examines the effects of the test from the perspective of adult second language learners, and their view on integration concerns aspects of all types of inclusion mentioned by Forsberg Lundell (2020).

No studies have yet indicated a link between language requirements and social integration. For example, Pulinx and Van Avermaet (2017) and Cvejnová and Sladkovska (2017), respectively, found no improvements in social inclusion or language skills related to the language requirements in the Netherlands and the Czech Republic. However, Forsberg Lundell (2020) points out that education in classrooms alone can hardly result in integration, and that at the time, the Czech Republic did not offer any language instruction for immigrants. Cvejnová and Sladkovska (2017) argue that such education is necessary if language requirements are to benefit proficiency. A study by Hammer (2017) showed that perceived social and cultural integration strongly correlated with language skills among immigrants. However, the research did not reveal whether the inclusion was due to the language skills, or if their proficiency was a result of their successful integration through other means (Forsberg Lundell, 2020).

In terms of economic integration, a few studies show that immigrants' proficiency in the majority language correlates to gaining an income (for example, Dustmann & Van Soest, 2002; Rooth & Åslund, 2007). Their findings are similar to Hammer's (2017) results, but do not indicate the role of language policies in this correlation.

Furthermore, two studies on general immigration policies show that states with more assimilationist regulations have better economic integration of immigrants (Koopmans, 2010; Neureiter, 2019). By contrast, Helgertz et al. (2014) found no difference in economic integration between immigrants in Sweden and Denmark – countries with markedly different naturalization requirements (Rocca et al., 2019). Lochmann et al. (2018) report that mandatory instruction of French lead to more integration in the job market. However, their study does not examine the effects of language tests for citizenship, but rather the results of mandatory language instruction. While these studies show correlations between proficiency and language requirements, and economic integration of immigrants, it does not reveal whether language requirements are the cause of this integration.

Finally, one study has quantitatively researched the relation between language requirements and political integration. Wallace Goodman and Wright (2015) found that language requirements correlated statistically with political interest and insight into local political issues. As in previous research, however, they found no correlation between language requirements and social integration (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015). Therefore, they conclude that language requirements have a symbolic, rather than integrational value (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015).

Strik et al. (2010) discuss other societal outcomes of language requirements. In most countries with language requirements for naturalization, states approve fewer citizenship applications (Strik et al., 2010). However, the countries in the study have several requirements for citizenship, and it is not possible to single out the effects of the language requirement (Forsberg Lundell, 2020).

Similar to Wallace Goodman and Wright's (2015) conclusion, interviewees in the study perceived language requirements as symbolic rather than having functional effects on integration (Strik et al., 2010). On the other hand, some second language learners see language requirements as a punitive measure for not integrating more (Strik et al., 2010; van Oers, 2013). Furthermore, vulnerable groups struggle with the tests, while teachers argue that the test levels are not high enough to create any actual effects (van Oers, 2013). The level of the tests is therefore problematic; if the level is too high, it risks discriminating vulnerable groups, and if the level is too low, it may not create any substantive changes for the integration and proficiency among immigrants (Forsberg Lundell, 2020).

In summary, no research on language requirements for citizenship has found a link between language requirements and social integration (Forsberg Lundell, 2020; Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015). Some studies show that language requirements correlate to economic and political inclusion, although others indicate the opposite (Dustmann & Van Soest, 2002; Helgertz, et al., 2014; Koopmans, 2010; Neureiter, 2019; Rooth & Åslund, 2007; Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015). Nations with language requirements for citizenship grant fewer immigrants citizenship status, while there is disagreements about the appropriate level of the test (Forsberg Lundell, 2020; Strik et al., 2010; van Oers, 2013).

3.3 Reasons for implementing language requirements

As mentioned above, sociolinguists have endeavored to identify the driving forces behind the increase of language requirements (Forsberg Lundell, 2020). A common explanation is increasing globalization combined with a strengthening of ideologies of language, nationhood, and national identity (for example, Milani, 2008; Wallace Goodman, 2014). For instance, Milani (2008) argues that the increment of language testing is a response to "the linguistic diversity ensuing from enhanced human mobility in a globalized world" (p. 34). Furthermore, linguistic diversity threatens the monolingual ideal in countries with one nation – one language ideologies (Piller, 2001). Thus, nation-states seem to implement language requirements to assimilate immigrants and further entrench the status of the dominant languages (Hansen-Thomas, 2007; Milani, 2008).

However, Piller (2001) argues that other ideologies of national identity and nationhood also inform language policies in some countries. France, for example, equates nationality with citizenship; the main requirement for citizenship is, therefore, passing a test of the French language and culture (Piller, 2001). On the other hand, countries such as Australia, Canada, and the USA define citizenship as a set of rights and duties (Australian Government – Department of Home Affairs, n.d.; Government of Canada, n.d.; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d.). Consequently, language skills are only necessary to the extent that citizens understand and can act on these rights and duties, and there is less demands on the proficiency level in the national language than in, for example, France or Germany (Hansen-Thomas, 2007; Piller, 2001).

3.4 Debates of language requirements

Much sociolinguistic research analyzes the content and patterns of the debates about language requirements. For example, Milani (2015) highlights the definition of citizenship that debaters use in the discourses; they see citizenship as a legal status, and the discussion consequently revolves around what characteristics, rights, and duties a citizen has. Because of this common perspective, other aspects of citizenship go unnoticed (Milani, 2015). However, since citizenship in this study relates to the status afforded by the state, it utilizes this political definition. Nonetheless, the study also examines the impact of language tests on the meaning of citizenship by applying the notion of linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2018).

Another concern is representation of second language learners in debates and sociolinguistic research (Milani, 2015). Since the decision of language policies resides with politicians and experts, their arguments are usually in focus (Milani 2015). Even though, for example, Bevelander et al. (2019) have shown that immigrants in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden and their children and grandchildren favor language demands, most debates and research overlook immigrants' attitudes towards the language test policy, which results in a one-dimensional understanding of the phenomenon (Milani, 2015). Thus, to nuance the language testing debate, Milani (2015) promulgates the need for a more dynamic understanding of citizenship as well as exploring immigrants' attitudes towards language policies further.

3.5 Attitudes and language policies

3.5.1 Investment and attitudes

As discussed above, investment is constructed by language learners' ideologies, forms of capital, and desired or achieved identities. A few studies have applied the identity aspect of the model to explore the relation between second language learners' attitudes and language use (for example, Liang, 2012; LoCastro, 2001). However, little research has hitherto applied the elaborated model. On the other hand, previous studies have extensively investigated the relationship between attitudes and the three components, albeit separately.

3.5.1.1 Ideologies and attitudes

Several sociolinguistic studies have analyzed the relationship between ideologies and language attitudes (for example, Bullock & Toribio, 2014; Smagulova, 2008).
For example, Smagulova (2008) examined language attitudes and self-reported language use in Kazakhstan after a governmental campaign to promote the substrate language Kazakh. The results indicated that the use of Kazakh was increasing among the younger population, and many appreciated the heightened prestige of Kazakh (Smagulova, 2008). Smagulova (2008) argues that this shows that the strategy of the government had succeeded, and that the insistent multilingualism-promoting policies of the government occasioned the change in attitudes and use of Kazakh (Smagulova, 2008).

However, as Smagulova (2008) herself points out, surveys cannot show causal relations, and the results merely indicate tendencies in society. While it may be true that the language policies have driven changes in language use and attitudes towards Kazakh, public opinion can also influence policy decisions. For instance, the Kazakh government introduced a plan to preserve Russian in Kazakhstan during an electoral term – most likely a strategy to win votes from Russian speakers (Smagulova, 2008).

Other attitude surveys use statistical analyses to determine the impact of ideologies on attitudes. Citrin et al. (2001) and Allen Gershon and Pantoja (2011) examine whether ideologies of national identity influence attitudes towards language policies. While Citrin et al. (2001) only found slight differences between their participants, Allen Gershon and Pantoja (2011) reported that Anglos' and Hispanics' attitudes towards the English-only policy in the USA differed significantly.

Allen Gershon and Pantoja (2011) argue that the explanation for the ethnic groups' different opinions is their distinct definitions of national identity. Both groups in their study manifest high levels of patriotism, but it only correlated with support for the English-only policy among Anglos (Allen Gershon & Pantoja, 2011). Therefore, they conclude that the two groups have different definitions of American identity, and that this determines their attitudes towards the English-only policy (Allen Gershon & Pantoja, 2011). For Anglos, being patriotic and American means speaking English, while for Hispanics, patriotism does not relate to an English monolingual ideology.

The study suggests that ideologies of national identity influence attitudes towards language policies, but do not indicate to what extent other factors, such as family language practices affect opinions (Allen Gershon & Pantoja, 2011).

Research in educational settings has shown attitude differences between students from monolingual and bilingual families (for example, Coady, 2001; Merisuo-Storm, 2007). Coady (2001) compared attitudes towards Irish between students in an Irish immersion school and an English monolingual school. Interviews revealed that the understanding of bilingualism and the evaluation of knowing Irish differed between the two student groups (Coady, 2001). The pupils in the bilingual immersion school, and their parents, had more positive attitudes towards Irish than the students who only took regular Irish classes (Coady, 2001). These findings indicate that family language policies may influence children's attitudes towards languages. Correspondingly, studies have found connections between parents' language attitudes and children's proficiency and attitudes to learning that language (for example, Altman et al., 2014; Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012).

3.5.1.2 Capital and attitudes

Research has examined attitudes and acquisition in connection to economic and cultural forms of capital (for example, Bokhorst-Heng & Santos Caleon, 2009; Darvin & Norton, 2014). Studies indicate that populations with low socioeconomic statuses (SES) are overall positive to most languages. For instance, students with low SES in Singapore had more positive attitudes towards all languages spoken in the country compared to their peers with higher SES (Bokhorst-Heng and Santos Caleon, 2009). Similarly, minority language speakers in Vietnam value learning both the dominant language and English more than native Vietnamese speakers (Nguyen & Hamid, 2016). The reasons, according to the participants in the study, are that they do not wish to become isolated in the country and to be able to communicate with more people internationally (Nguyen & Hamid, 2016).

Similarly, Citrin et al. (2001) reported that minority language speakers and second-generation immigrants in the USA were as likely as native-born Americans to emphasize the necessity of knowing English to identify as an American. The positive attitudes of immigrants, minority language speakers, and those with lower SES to acquire languages may reflect their desire to achieve social mobility and gain economic and cultural capital (Nguyen & Hamid, 2016).

However, little research has investigated the effect of proficiency, that is, linguistic capital, on attitudes towards languages and policies that aim to preserve them. Some findings indicate that there is a connection between language abilities and attitudes towards that language, but these studies do not show the direction of this relationship (Miller, 2017; Zeinivand et al., 2015).

3.5.1.3 Identity and attitudes

Research on language and identity mostly examines the role languages play in the construction of identities and the reasons for speakers to acquire, maintain, or abandon a language (for example, Kasstan et al., 2018). For instance, minority language speakers generally see dominant languages as necessary for integration and for granting social mobility (for example, Citrin et al., 2001; Nguyen & Hamid, 2016). Conversely, minority and heritage languages often fulfill other functions (Kasstan et al., 2018). For many speakers, these languages are more significant for their ethnic identities, rather than as mediums of communication to progress in their careers and lives in a new country (for example, Nguyen & Hamid, 2016; Oh & Fuligni, 2010).

Previous sociolinguistic literature shows a tendency that positive attitudes and identification with a community correlates with the maintenance of heritage languages (for example, Extra & Yagmur, 2009). However, the impact of these factors in the presence of another, more instrumentally valuable language is less clear. Some studies indicate that minority language speakers give precedence to languages that they perceive as more useful for social, economic, and cultural capital (for example, Nguyen & Hamid, 2016).

For example, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that despite the efforts of parents in the USA to transmit Chinese to their children, the children's desire to learn the language decreased with age, as they began to regard it as less useful outside the home. Thus, the maintenance of minority languages appears to be weaker in the context of a mainly monolingual society (Kasstan et al., 2018). Overall then, language minorities and immigrants tend to appreciate most languages spoken in a country, but seem to prioritize instrumentality over tradition. However, it is unclear if, and how, their language use and abilities to perform identities in the languages also influence attitudes towards languages policies.

3.6 Summary

The popularity of language requirements, assessed with tests, is increasing. Sweden was, until recently, an exception to this trend. Few studies have established definitive consequences of language requirements, despite disagreements between scientists and policy-makers. Some findings indicate effects on economic and political integration, but not social inclusion. However, the level of the tests, and their validity and fairness is a cause for concern for many sociolinguists. Researchers claim that the main reason for the surge of language requirements is a combination of ideologies of language and nationhood, and globalization. Characteristic of language testing debates is a focus on immigrants' motivation to learn national languages, but also general neglect of the reactions of those who are most affected by the language policies.

Research on the relation between attitudes and ideologies, capital, and identity has shown that both ideologies and SES influence attitudes towards language policies. Majority languages are generally necessary for immigrants' integration and identities in new countries, while minority and heritage languages are valuable as ethnicity markers. However, questions remain how other factors, such as the instrumental value of a majority language and learners' abilities and to perform desired identities influence attitudes towards languages and language policies.

4. Research questions

The present study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What factors influence SFI-students' attitudes towards the language test for Swedish citizenship?

a) Investment in language learning (capital, ideology, identity) understood as:
   - Forms of capital: social, economic, cultural, linguistic, ethnicity, gender.
   - Ideologies of inclusion/exclusion, language ideologies, nationhood ideologies.
   - Ability to use in everyday life, that is, to perform desired identities in Swedish.

b) Perceptions of possibilities for participatory parity (redistribution, recognition, and representation).

2. What are the implications of instituting the Swedish language test as a criterion for citizenship?

5. Method

The present study used primary and secondary data to answer the research questions. The primary data consisted of surveys and interviews. Secondary data of earlier research and theory contextually situated the primary data. Questionnaires supplied background information, while interviews provided the qualitative data needed to gain insight into the interviewees' investments. The research was descriptive, rather than experimental, since the aim was to understand what factors influence the second language learners' attitudes towards the language tests, and what the potential consequences of the requirement are (McCombes, 2020).

5.1 Data collection

5.1.1 Participants

The target population for this research was adults studying Swedish at SFI. They frequented level 3C, which is one of the highest levels. At this level, the students have some previous higher education and basic knowledge of Swedish. The sampling method was voluntary response sampling (McCombes, 2020), and the data collection took place in the field, that is, in an SFI-class and through interviews conducted online. The SFI-teacher handed out and collected the questionnaires and the accompanying information sheets.

Eighteen SFI-students completed the questionnaire; nine were male, and nine were female. Of them, six agreed to give interviews: five males and one female. The students took the language course in an urban area with a large population. The mean age was 34, and the youngest were between 20-29 years old and the oldest was between 50-59 years old. None of them had Swedish citizenship. The participants' linguistic backgrounds were diverse; their first languages included, for example: Akan, Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, English, Farsi, Korean, Persian, Romanian, Russian, Tagalog, Urdu, and Yoruba.

5.1.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire (Appendix A) gathered background information about the participants. Surveys from similar studies (for example, Allen Gershon & Pantoja, 2011; Laroche et al., 2010), and the LEAP-Q – a standardized survey eliciting language background information of bilinguals (Marian et al., 2007), inspired the content of the questionnaire in the present study.

The questions examined, for example, socioeconomic data (work status and education level), and language ideologies. In total, the questionnaire had 21 questions of various types. Two SFI-students piloted the questionnaire before they were administered. Together with the survey, the students received an information sheet, contact information, and a consent form. The information sheet was written in English and informed them about the study and their rights as participants (Appendix C). When retrieved, each participant were given a pseudonym, and the answers were numerically coded into a coding-sheet.

5.1.3 Interviews

The interviews were conducted individually and were focused, with a few prepared questions (Appendix B). The topics of the questions drew on the questionnaire responses and the research questions. One SFI-student piloted the interview before the data collection began.

The interviews were done remotely to follow the recommendations of the Public Health Agency of Sweden (Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2020) during the prevailing COVID-19 pandemic. With consent from the interviewees, the interviews took place in the form of video calls, and were audio-recorded. Two participants spoke Swedish during the interview, and four preferred to speak English. Field notes complemented the recordings. The interviews lasted around 20 minutes each and were transcribed with intelligent verbatim transcription to increase readability (Streefkerk, 2020).

5.2 Data analysis

5.2.1 Quantitative data

Descriptive statistics provided the basis of the quantitative analysis. Frequency distribution measured the responses from the questionnaires, as in Liang (2012).

Where applicable, mean and standard deviation (SD) described the central tendency and spread of responses (Allen & Seaman; 2007); otherwise, median and interquartile range (IQR) represented the data (Bell & Waters, 2016).

The Likert items measuring self-assessed proficiency were combined into a Likert scale – similar to the patriotism scale in Allen Gershon and Pantoja (2011). However, before this, the Cronbach Alpha test was used to estimate the internal consistency between the Likert items (Allen & Seaman, 2007; Taber, 2018). Acceptable parameters of Cronbach's alpha were, according to standard practice, between .70 and .90 (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

Some researchers argue that mean and SD should represent interval data, such as Likert items (for example, Boone, Jr. & Boone, 2012). Others claim that Likert data are typically ordinal and that average and SD values are, consequently, inappropriate measures (Allen & Seaman, 2007). They argue that the interval nature of data depends on the units of the Likert scale, for example, time or money. Hence, because the Likert items in the present questionnaire measured attitudes and Swedish proficiency levels, median and IQR described the central tendency and variability of those answers.

5.2.2 Qualitative data

As in similar research examining attitudes (for example, Nguyen and Hamid, 2016; Young, 2014; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), the interviews were analyzed with thematic analysis.

Themes are defined as topics that occur repeatedly and capture essential aspects of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Given that the interviews were short, the analysis aimed at a detailed description of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis was inductive, although theory and earlier research framed the identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis was semantic and latent, and thus involved both analyzing the explicit content and interpreting underlying assumptions, for example, about ideologies of language and nationhood (Caulfield, 2019). The interviewees' own words gave names to the identified themes.

The thematic analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines. The interpretation of the data was a reflective and "recursive process" (Braun & Clarke, 2006:16). Therefore, it involved repeating phases and returning to the data set to validate the findings.

Reading through the data set regularly further enabled critical evaluation and self-reflective re-evaluation of the themes and conclusions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

5.3 Quality of the study

5.3.1 Ethical considerations

Throughout the study, the participants' rights were protected, for example, through informed consent, integrity, and confidentiality (Swedish Research Council, 2017). Consent forms and an information sheet in English, as well as contact information accompanied the questionnaire to inform the participants and ensure their consent to participate in the study. The information sheet (Appendix C) described the purposes of the study, the treatment of the data, and the participants' rights to withdraw. The interviewees received further information about the interview, and had to give their consent again if the interview was going to be audio-recorded.

Protecting and respecting the participants' integrity meant, for instance, avoiding invasive questions, and being responsive to the participants' reactions during the interview. All participants were encouraged to read the transcripts and leave comments. The research ensured anonymity by securely storing the data and assigning pseudonyms to the participants.

Confidentiality is "a more general obligation not to communicate information given in confidence, and entails protection against unauthorised persons partaking of the information" (Swedish Research Council, 2017:40). One issue in the present study is that the SFI-teacher distributed and collected the survey, which entailed less control of the data collection process. The reason for this was to give the participants more time to answer the questionnaire and not make the students feel pressured to participate. Furthermore, the surveys did not have names on them. The benefits of having the SFI-teacher administering and collecting the questionnaires therefore outweighed the disadvantage that they could potentially see the participants' responses. Otherwise, only the supervisor of this study saw the data and results during the writing process, but by then, the participants were anonymized.

5.3.2 Limitations

5.3.2.1 Sample

The voluntary response sampling method for collecting quantitative data limits who participates, since some people are more likely than others to volunteer (McCombes, 2020). Furthermore, half of the questionnaire respondents were between the ages of 30-39, and being in level 3C most were likely motivated to learn Swedish. This level at SFI was chosen because it guaranteed at least basic knowledge of Swedish, and potentially some insight into Swedish politics. The situation with the COVID-19 pandemic also affected the number of interviewed participants in this study. For instance, more students may have been willing to be interviewed if they could have been approached in person. Additionally, the representativeness of the interviewees was limited: five out of six interviewees favored the test, whereas half of the questionnaire participants had a different opinion of the policy. The participants live in an urban area, which further limits the generalizability of the results. The sampling method and location was chosen for ease of access.

Thus, with students from other SFI-classes and locations in Sweden, the data may have shown different distributions of investments and attitudes towards the test. For example, language learners in smaller communities may be more motivated to learn Swedish, as the language can be more valuable for social integration there than in urban areas with larger linguistically diverse populations. Furthermore, as the present study examines the influence of, for example, forms of capital on attitudes, research with more linguistically and socioeconomically varied interviewees, relative to the whole sample, might have yielded different results. For instance, immigrants and language learners with lower education levels and less linguistic capital in global languages such as English could be even more invested in learning Swedish or conversely find it does not "pay" in terms of increased social and economic mobility.

5.3.2.2 Data

The type of data in the study also affect the generalizability. Qualitative data is difficult to generalize, yet enable more detailed examinations of participants' experiences (Bell & Waters, 2016). However, statistical generalizations to wider populations have "little if any relevance in qualitative research" (Treharne & Riggs, 2015:63); instead, case-to-case transfer is more suitable for qualitative research.

Case-to-case transfer is the generalization readers can make of the findings to other contexts, and depends on similarities between different cases (Treharne & Riggs, 2015). As described above, certain characteristics of the participants in this study and their surrounding environment may affect the transferability of the findings. Furthermore, the fact that only a third of the participants were interviewed and this sample was not purposive but by availability, also limited the representativeness of the views presented.

The limitations of qualitative methods notwithstanding, the present study relied on this type of data to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' attitudes and investments. However, the study also used quantitative data. Similar studies have adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection and analysis (for example, Allen Gershon & Pantoja, 2011; Coady, 2001; Liang, 2012; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). This "triangulation" (Treharne & Riggs, 2015:59) of data increases the quality of qualitative research and can show convergence, complementariness, or dissonance. Based on the analysis of the results, the data types in this study both complemented each other and converged, as they provided lenses on different aspects of investment. However, another limitation associated with the methodology in this study is that it relies only on interviews and the participants' accounts of their experiences and practices; field observation could have complemented and validated the data even further but were not conducted because of time constraints and health considerations due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

5.3.2.3 Data collection

Interviewing entails further limitations (Briggs, 1986). The interview situation is different from ordinary conversations – the interviewer decides on topics and when to change them (Briggs, 1986). In this study, especially, the interview situation was unusual, since they were conducted online. This setting may have affected the interviewees' feelings about the conversation, for example, making it feel less personal, which can limit the elicited data. The interviews were recorded, which may also have impacted what the informants said (Briggs, 1986). The interviews were audio-taped because it records the interviews more reliably than only note-taking and were judged to provide sufficiently reliable documentation necessary for the study (Briggs, 1986). The limitations above also apply to data gathered with questionnaires, for example, informants may answer what they think the researchers want to hear.

Additionally, the researcher's identity as white, male, young, and Swedish speaking potentially affected the elicited data further. These characteristics may have impacted what the interviewees answered and how the researcher interpreted the responses. For instance, because the researcher was a Swedish speaker, and the results were going to be published, the interviewees may have reasoned that stating that they were motivated to learn Swedish and favored the test was a desired response.

Although the limitations cannot be completely removed, reflecting on them during the preparation, execution, and analysis of the interviews can minimize the impact of the factors (Briggs, 1986). Throughout the whole research process, a journal documented all research steps reflexively and critically. For instance, conclusions as well as other possible alternative interpretations were written down and continuously re-evaluated. During the interviews, the interviewer asked for clarification and repeatedly checked whether the understanding of the interviewees' answers was correct.

The interviews were focused to allow the interviewee to choose and expand on topics. Nonetheless, the underlying premises of the interview were not avoided since the interviewees were encouraged to speak freely. The order of the questions was also considered: more significant questions were planned around the middle of the interview when a rapport had been established (Appendix B).

5.3.2.4 Data analysis

Several of the limitations of the data collection also apply to the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Briggs, 1986). The research process involved "end-users" (Treharne & Riggs, 2015:61) to add more trustworthiness to the findings. End-users are informants or those who are affected by the findings (Treharne & Riggs, 2015). For example, individuals from the target population partook in piloting the questionnaire and interview format, and each interviewee was offered to read the transcripts to provide their input.

Again, the ethnicity, gender, age, and language background of the researcher, but also the theoretical framework of the present study, may have influenced the interpretations and conclusions drawn about the data.

5.3.2.5 Validity and reliability

A few measures were used to heighten the reliability and validity of the study. The questionnaire was based on established surveys, and the findings were discussed in relation to established theories to increase validity (Middleton, 2020). Where appropriate, the analysis of the questionnaire results evaluated the internal consistency, that is, the reliability of the questions. The sample of questionnaire respondents and interviewees did not guarantee a representative sample of the population. However, transferability is more relevant than generalizability in qualitative research, such as the present study.

6. Results

6.1 Questionnaire

6.1.1 Language test opinion

Nine of the 18 respondents to the questionnaire favored the language test (Figure 1). Four opposed the test, equally many were neutral, and one answered that they did not know. Capital in the form of gender, appeared to influence the participants' attitudes towards the test since twice as many men as women favored the test. By contrast, four female respondents, and none of the male participants, were neutral to the policy.

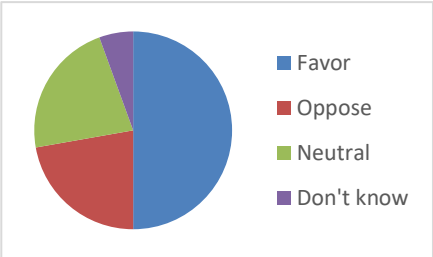

Figure 1. Attitudes towards the language test for citizenship.

Table 1. Test opinion and gender.

	Favor	Oppose	Neutral	Don't know	**Total**
Female	3	1	4	1	**9**
Male	6	3	0	0	**9**

In the following questionnaire results, the participants are grouped according to their attitudes towards the language test. The reason for this is to provide an overview of how factors such as ideologies, forms of capital, and identities, that is, investment, influence the attitudes towards the language test. The three groups are supporters, opponents, and neutral. The subsequent findings do not include the participant who answered *I don't know*, and thus the number of participants in the following sections amount to 17.

6.1.2 Reasons for studying Swedish

Question 11 in the questionnaire (Appendix A) asked the participants to state their reasons for studying Swedish. Their purposes for learning Swedish revolved around acquiring economic and cultural capital (work and education), social capital (integration), or both (Figure 2).

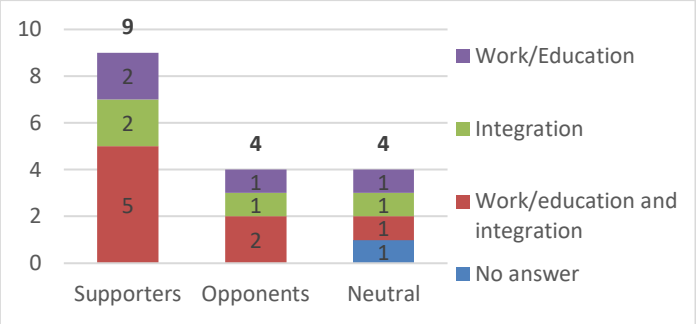

Figure 2. Reasons for studying Swedish.

The motives for learning Swedish were similar in the three groups. Five of the supporters, two of the opponents, and one neutral considered that learning Swedish would equip them with resources to gain economic, cultural, and social capital. The others prioritized either economic/cultural or social forms of capital. In terms of participatory parity (Fraser, 2000), eight of the participants pursued both economic parity and recognition by gaining linguistic capital in Swedish to be able to convert it into economic/cultural and social capital. The qualitative data provided a deeper insight into these issues (section 6.2). The similarity between the groups suggests that the purpose of studying Swedish does not structure the attitudes towards the language test for citizenship.

6.1.3 Education and work

Six of the supporters of the language test had master's degrees (Figure 3). Among the opponents, two had bachelor's degrees, and two had master's degrees. In the neutral group, most had bachelor's degrees. The large proportion of supporters of the test having master's degrees may indicate that higher education and the participants' expectations for the potential conversion of cultural capital into other forms of capital have an impact on their attitudes towards the policy.

Among the supporters, four worked part-time (Figure 4). Four of them worked or studied, and one was self-employed. Of the opponents to the language test, two worked, one was self-employed, and one studied.

The participants in the neutral group were either employed or studying. All participants who worked part-time favored the language test.

Since many respondents studied Swedish for work opportunities (Figure 2) and those working part-time favored the test (Figure 4), the findings indicate that expecting to gain more economic capital by learning Swedish, for example, finding full-time employment, influences the language learners' attitudes towards the test.

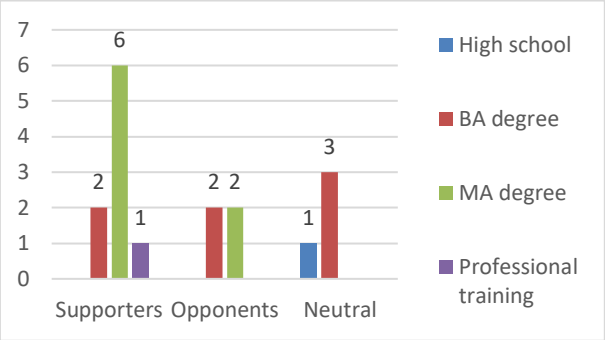

Figure 3. Educational background.

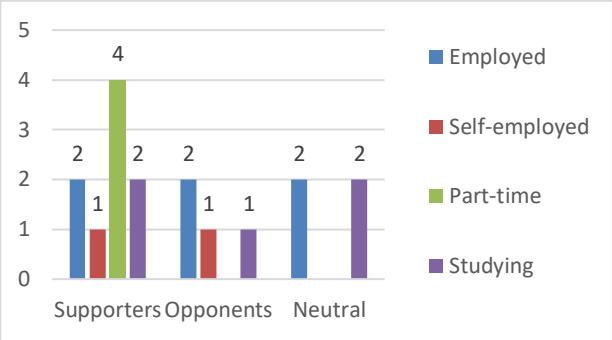

Figure 4. Working status.

6.1.4 Linguistic repertoires

The respondents to the questionnaire spoke a wide variety of languages that they all use to different degrees. For instance, some participants answered that they never or rarely used Swedish at home (Figure 8), indicating that they speak another language in that context. Additionally, the languages in which the respondents consumed news mostly matched their linguistic repertoires indicated in Table 2.

Table 2. Test opinion and linguistic repertoires.

Participant	Spoken languages
Favor	
Robert	English, basic French, German, Italian, Danish, Polish
Anton	Swedish, English, Russian, Turkish
Adisa	English, Yoruba
Mi-Young	Korean, English
Akua	Akan (twi), English, Italian, Swedish
Bijan	Farsi, English
William	English, Swedish, native language
Sorina	Romanian, English, Swedish
David	English, French, Swedish

Oppose	
Hassan	English, Arabic, Swedish, Hebrew, Dutch
Li	Swedish, Chinese, English
Abid	English, Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi
Erin	English, French
Neutral	
Laura	-
Tala	English, Tagalog
Farha	Bengla, English, partial Swedish
Banu	Persian, English, Dari

Everyone reported speaking English, although the placement of the language differed. However, the arrangement may be random or primed by the language of the questionnaire, since the question did not request any specified order. Nonetheless, three opponents to the test placed English first, while four of the nine supporters wrote a language other than Swedish or English first. The participants' linguistic capital and its influence on investment and attitudes towards the test were examined in more detail in the interviews (section 6.2.1).

6.1.5 Ideologies

Three questions in the survey consisted of statements relating to the role of Swedish, bilingualism, and identification as a citizen. The participants assessed their agreement/disagreement to the statements with 5-point Likert items. The answer alternatives were ordinal and measured the strength of the respondents' attitudes: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), neutral (3), agree (4), and strongly agree (5).

Question 18 asked the participants to mark the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "Everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak Swedish." Five out of nine supporters of the language test agreed or strongly agreed with the statement (Figure 5). Conversely, none in the opponent or neutral group agreed. The questionnaire did not reveal the motivation for these opinions, but the interview data indicated why some interviewees' agreed or disagreed with the statement (section 6.2).

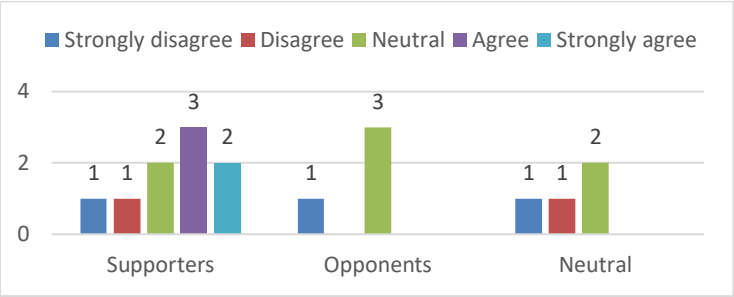

Figure 5. ***Everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak Swedish*.**

Question 19 assessed attitudes to the statement: "Everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak another language than Swedish," which indicates support for bilingualism. All participants were neutral or agreed/strongly agreed with this statement, except for one opponent who disagreed (Figure 6).

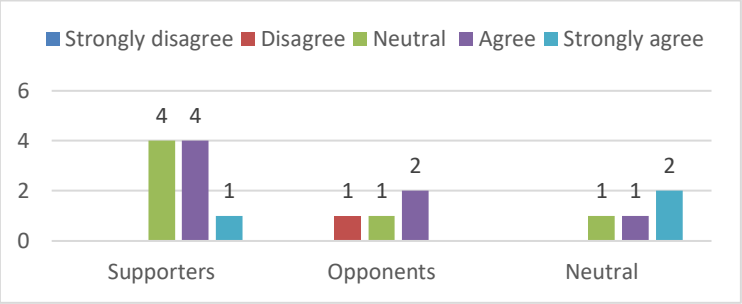

Figure 6. ***Everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak another language than Swedish*.**

Question 20 measured attitudes toward the statement: "Knowing Swedish is an important part of identifying as a Swedish citizen," which relates to ideologies of language and nationhood. Every opponent to the language test disagreed/strongly disagreed with the statement, while all but one of the supporters agreed/strongly agreed (Figure 7). The neutral group was diverse; participants in this group disagreed, were neutral, and agreed/strongly agreed.

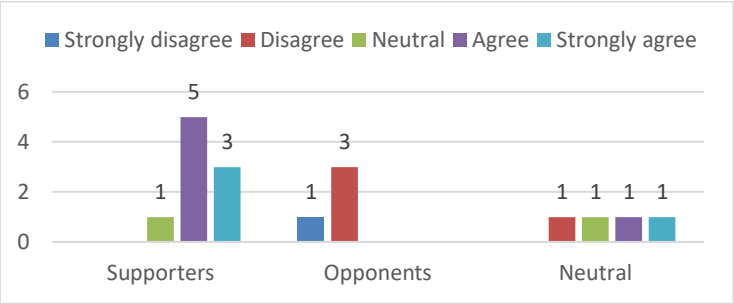

Figure 7. ***Knowing Swedish is an important part of identifying as a Swedish citizen*.**

6.1.6 Language abilities

The survey also asked respondents to assess their Swedish proficiency in four areas: speaking, reading, comprehension, and writing. Five-point Likert items measured the abilities in each category, with the answer options: very poor (1), somewhat poor (2), so-so (3), somewhat good (4), and very good (5). In the analysis, the four Likert items combined into a Likert scale, thus consisting of a composite score of 20 in total. Cronbach's alpha test measured the internal consistency of the Likert items and yielded an acceptable level of $\alpha = .8931$.

The supporters and opponents had almost the same self-reported language abilities (Table 3). By contrast, the neutral group had the lowest median language abilities and the highest spread.

Table 3. Test opinion and language abilities.

Test opinion	Median language abilities	IQR
Supporters	12	5.5
Opponents	13	5
Neutral	8	8.5

The language testing debate implies that mostly those with poor Swedish abilities oppose the test (Avci, 2019; Modiri, 2002; Socialdemokraterna, 2019). By contrast, as the results above indicate, the self-assessed language abilities are nearly equal in the supporter and opponent groups. Thus, the estimated linguistic capital in Swedish among those who favor and oppose the test does not influence their opinions towards the policy, as the language test debaters have insinuated.

6.1.7 Language use

Questions 12-16 asked the participants to estimate their use of Swedish in various situations with 5-point Likert items. The Likert items were not combined since they measured language use in discrete contexts. The supporters of the language test reported using Swedish more at home (Figure 8), in social media (Figure 10), and at work (Figure 11) than the opponents and neutral participants. The exceptions to this trend were Swedish use outside the home (Figure 9) and for religious purposes (Figure 12); in these contexts, the frequency of usage and variability were similar across all groups.

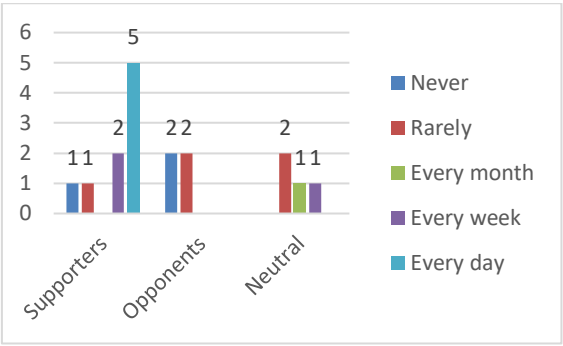

Figure 8. Swedish use at home.

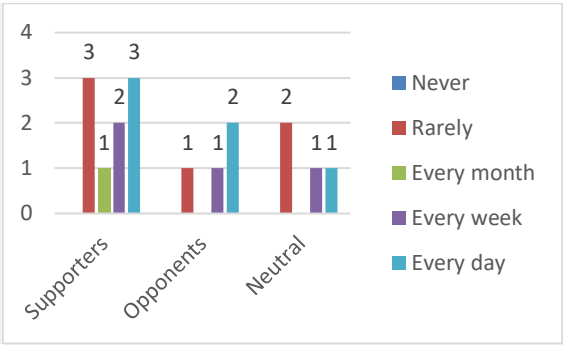

Figure 9. Swedish use outside the home.

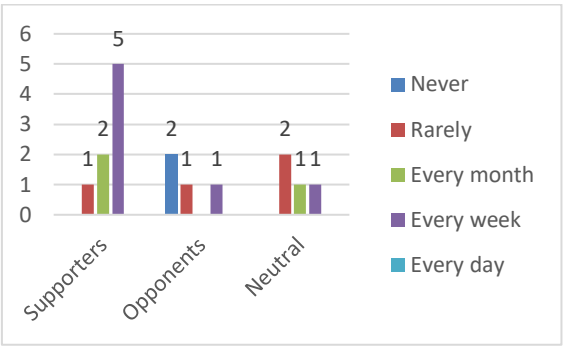

Figure 10. Swedish use in social media.

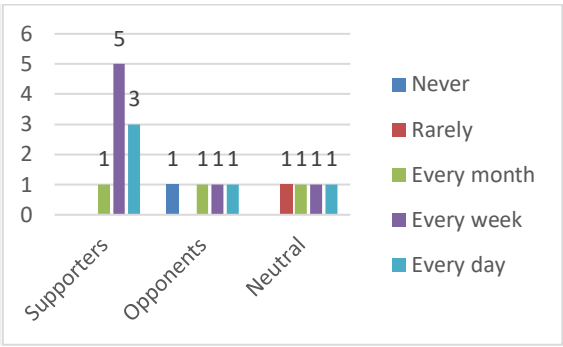

Figure 11. Swedish use at work/university.

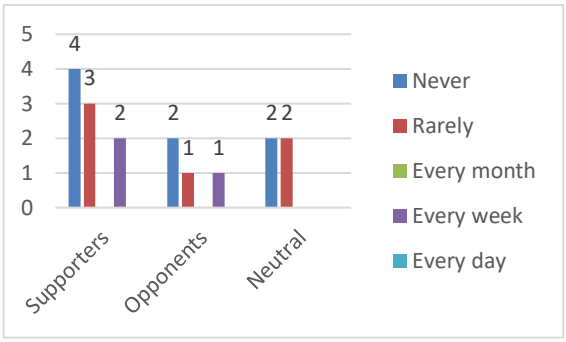

Figure 12. Swedish use for religious purposes.

These results suggest that using Swedish more often and performing a variety of potential identities, as part of investment, influences the participants' attitudes towards the language requirement.

To summarize, almost all participants either favored, opposed, or were neutral to the test. In the three groups, the reasons for learning Swedish were similar; most answered that they studied Swedish for both work/education and integration, while others prioritized either one. Furthermore, the opinions of the test showed no pattern according to participants' language backgrounds, although participants who wrote English first were more represented among the opponents and neutral respondents.

Only supporters of the test agreed that everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak Swedish, and almost everyone who thought that knowing Swedish was necessary for identifying as a citizen favored the test. The self-assessed language abilities were nearly the same for the opponents and supporters of the test. Despite the group differences, however, no claims can be made about any variable and its relationship to participants' views on the language test.

6.2 Interviews

The thematic analysis resulted in three overarching themes: the role of Swedish, identity, and acquiring Swedish. Throughout the interviews, the participants discussed topics that indicated their investment, that is, ideologies, forms of capital, and identity (Darvin & Norton, 2017) as well as their thoughts about the effects of a language test on equal participation and the definition of citizenship. "The role of Swedish" concerns language ideologies and how particular linguistic capital enables, for example, social and economic capital. The "identity" theme covers ideologies of language, national identity, and citizenship, and the function of linguistic capital. "Acquiring Swedish" further indicates how different forms of capital impact the learning process. Together, the themes show how the investment components and the participants' ideas of the consequences of the language requirement jointly influence and shape their motivation to learn Swedish and attitudes towards the language test for Swedish citizenship.

6.2.1 The role of Swedish

This section describes the value that knowing Swedish has in the lives of the interviewees. "The role of Swedish" consists of three sub-themes: 1) getting around or settling down, 2) communicating, and 3) being a good employee. Because the participants in this study are bilingual or multilingual, the following themes concern the value of linguistic capital in Swedish, as opposed to other languages, for integration, communication, and work.

6.2.1.1 Getting around or settling down

The interviewees reported that knowledge of the majority language of a country was: "important when you integrating in any society of the world" (Hassan) and that: "anyone who moves into a new, a country, I think it is very important to understand their language" (Adisa). One interviewee further emphasized the position of the dominant language in the community:

> Men, i alla andra lander till exempel, även om du går till USA, eller åker till USA, där man måste prata engelska. Det går inte att prata till exempel ryska eller på svenska, inte alla förstår dig. Språket är jätteviktigt i samhället, det är i vilket samhälle du bor (Anton).

> *But, in all other countries for example, even if you go to USA, you must speak English there. You can't speak for example Russian or Swedish, not everyone understands you. The language is very important in the society, it is in which society you live* (Anton).

Their comments show how they perceive the role of majority languages and their acknowledgement that linguistic capital in the those languages leads to social capital in the form of integration. Consequently, some responses indicated how the ability to speak Swedish could be converted into social capital, that is, inclusion: "is good learn [Swedish], for integration, for the normal daily life" (Hassan), "det är bra att ha en grund level, nivå, grundnivå i vardagssvenska så att du kan ha en normalt liv i Sverige" (*It is good to have a basic level of everyday Swedish so you can have a normal life in Sweden*) (Robert), and: "att vara en liten grej av samhället eller viktig grej av samhället" (*to be a small part of the society or important part of society*) (Anton). Similarly, another interviewee explained the necessity of knowing Swedish for him:

> For me, personally, yes, it is important because I want to, it seems that it is the only way I can learn to integrate into society. I have been living here for almost six years, but yet I still don't have a general idea how to live here (Adisa).

The interviewees also stated that having linguistic capital in Swedish was necessary for successful integration: "I *have* to use it [Swedish], as kind of integration" (Hassan), "you *should* learn Swedish, it helps, especially if you want to live here […] and be part of the community" (David), and: "I *must* study in svenska if I want to join the svenska community and I want enjoy the Sweden life" (Mi-Young) (emphasis added).

According to some interviewees, linguistic capital in Swedish also enabled the acquisition of economic capital: “and just in case I wanted to stay here, which I do, and find a job it is good to know the language” (David), “det är lite svårt att hitta ett jobb om du pratar inte svenska” (*it is difficult to find a job if you don’t speak Swedish*) (Robert), and: “if I want job […] if I want make money and settle down in Sweden, yeah, important is for speaking [Swedish]” (Mi-Young).

By contrast, two interviewees with English as their first language expressed that the necessity of knowing Swedish was lessened by the extensive use of English throughout Sweden. To them, social capital was available through speaking English, although linguistic capital in Swedish was still necessary for cultural capital: “you can get by without Swedish I think because everyone speaks such a good English, but if you really want to immerse yourself in the culture, I think Swedish is really important” (David). As the other English speaker put it:

> I also think it is important to integrate people without the necessity of having so strict a view on learning Swedish, because this also is a country that runs on English, they have a second language here and it is English (Adisa).

The extensive use of English makes the expected returned capital on an investment in learning Swedish smaller, since the English speakers could acquire social capital without speaking Swedish. Furthermore, the English speakers’ ideologies of nationhood appears to be less dependent on the national language.

The participants’ ideologies of the national language and view of the value of linguistic capital in Swedish indicates that being able to speak Swedish can contribute to social, economic, and cultural capital. Linguistic capital in Swedish is, therefore, the difference between a deeper integration and only “getting around” in the society. English speakers can achieve a certain level of inclusion through only speaking English, that allows them to “get by”:

> I mean I’ve been here for almost six years, and I have been able to get around […] so I think that’s a plus and a negative about that, the plus is the fact that you can still live here without having to fully speak Swedish but the negative part is it’s you don’t feel forced to learn the language (Adisa).

As Adisa states above, the ability to gain social capital with English decreases the expected return on the investment in learning Swedish, and can cause some to divest from studying Swedish, as the benefits may not match the effort required to learn the language.

6.2.1.2 Communicating

All interviewees used Swedish to some extent when they communicate with others. The reason for this was that: "Swedish is the official language" (David), and: "alla andra pratar på svenska" (*everyone else speaks Swedish*) (Anton). For instance, one participant stated that: "I think it's nice to speak the native, their language, when you live there" (David). Another said that speaking Swedish makes it: "lätt att kommunicera med varandra […] det blir såklart lättare förstår, förklara" (*easy to communicate with each other* […] *it of course makes it easier to understand, explain*) (Anton). He further expanded this point, highlighting the fact that Swedish was the first language of the interviewer, and because of this, the interview should be in Swedish:

> Alltså vi pratar med dig liksom just nu, det är svenska eller hur, jag förstår dig och du förstår mig. Ja, men till exempel jag vet att du kan engelska, även jag kan engelska, men grejen är att det är inte ditt modersmål och det är inte mitt modersmål, men det svenska är ditt modersmål (Anton).

> *I mean, we talk with you like right now, it is Swedish right, I understand you and you understand me. Yes, but for example I know you speak English, I also speak English, but the thing is that it is not your mother tongue and it is not my mother tongue, but the Swedish is your mother tongue* (Anton).

The participants' responses again indicated their language ideology concerning national languages and how linguistic capital in Swedish, in contrast to other languages, converts into social capital in Sweden. Similarly, one interviewee said that she wished to be able to communicate in Swedish because she did not want to: "bother or destroy the mood […] everybody is uncomfortable for me, they change the language," and to be able to converse with more profundity: "I want communication with my husband is so deeply" (Mi-Young). Her comments are further examples of how limited linguistic capital in Swedish can seemingly affect social relations negatively, and how speaking Swedish facilitates the acquisition of social capital.

The interviewees' self-evaluated proficiency impacted the extent to which they used Swedish. One interviewee said that: "actually when I go outside, like 70% I use the Swedish, for shopping, grocery places, with some friend also," and reported that if someone speaks Swedish with him, he feels: "good, I can understand well, I can explain well […] I feel more trust, trustful" (Hassan).

On the other hand, several interviewees reported that they do not prefer to speak Swedish because they feel they are not proficient enough or are concerned about the flow of the conversation: "I don't speak so much in class because I wasn't comfortable speaking Swedish," and: "I speak very slow Swedish and maybe they might get a bit frustrated" (David), and: "när nån pratar snabbt, jag förstår ingenting" (*When someone talks fast, I don't understand anything*) (Robert). Their comments indicate an ideology of language that language learners with low proficiency should avoid conversing in the language, because if they do, the conversation may be halting, and can irritate the interlocutors.

However, despite that some participants did not prefer to speak Swedish, they reported striving to practice Swedish, for example: "I usually speak with my husband in home" (Mi-Young), and: "when I go to the Ica, I try to always speak Swedish then […] and there are a lot of Swedish living here and I try to talk to them in Swedish" (David). One interviewee said that: "when I order food, that's the only time I practice because it's very simple and it's not going to be an ongoing conversation" (Adisa).

When speaking Swedish, the interviewees reported that they make an effort to keep talking Swedish: "I reply in Swedish but if I don't understand, then I say, I don't speak Swedish that well, do you speak English?" (David), "even if they could tell my accent is maybe off sometimes, they don't try to speak English with me unless I speak English first" (Adisa), and: "som jag pratar med dig, jag har, när jag kan inte uttrycka min själv, jag måste byta till engelsk" (*as I talk with you, when I can't express myself, I have to switch to English*) (Robert). This happened a few times during the interview with Robert, for example:

> […] de talar bra engelsk, men om du har många personer från andra länder det kommer ocks-, prata din, prata på engelsk, man kan missa din språk, *it's very easy to lose your language, because people speak in English, it happened already in England* (Robert). (Emphasis added).

Besides Swedish, the interviewees also reported having use for their first languages, for example: “där i hemma pratar vi liksom 50/50 så vi har två tjejer som föddes här i Sverige det är därför vi pratar svenska och ryska” (*at home we talk 50/50 so we have two girls who were born here in Sweden that is why we talk Swedish and Russian*) (Anton), “at home, my main language” (Hassan), “om jag hör någon av dom som pratar arabiska såklart jag kan arabiska, om dom pratar turkiska såklart vi kör på turkiska” (*if I hear some of them speaking Arabic of course I know Arabic, if they speak Turkish of course we go with Turkish*) (Anton), “usually, I attending koreanska church once a week so use koreanska with the Korean community” (Mi-Young), “I know that Swedes, they like speaking English as well, so lots of Swedes I’ve noticed prefer to speak English as well sometimes” (David), “Yoruba maybe once a week, when I speak with my parents” (Adisa), and: “just nu jag talar ibland av engelsk och svenska, men varje person jag vet just nu är engelskspråkare” (*right now I sometimes speak English and Swedish, but every person I know right now is English-speaking*) (Robert). Anton’s linguistic capital in other languages may have influenced him to agree with the statement that people in Sweden should be able to speak another language than Swedish (Figure 6).

Many participants mentioned the role of Swedish for communication. The ideology that they should speak the national language and the views that linguistic capital in Swedish entails social capital appears to motivate the language learners to invest in acquiring Swedish. Furthermore, the fact that several interviewees reported speaking Swedish despite feeling uncomfortable, exemplifies how investment can conflict with motivation; the expected benefits of practicing Swedish thus outweigh potential discomfort of speaking a language they are in the process of acquiring. However, the interviewees still use their linguistic capital in other languages, especially native English speakers, as they speak English with most people in Sweden.

6.2.1.3 Being a good employee

As part of the benefits of knowing Swedish for economic capital, three interviews discussed the value of linguistic capital in Swedish for the identity of an efficient employee, for example:

> Precis, det är klart, man måste prata svenska här på kontoret, det är mejl, du skickar mejl då det är väldig bra att man veta hur man skickar mejl, det här, det finns svensk arbetskultur, möte efter möte, efter möte efter möte. Det är mycket planeringar (Anton).

> *Exactly, of course, you have to speak Swedish here in the office, there is email, you send email then it is very good to know how you send emails, this, there is a Swedish working culture, meeting after meeting, after meeting after meeting. There is a lot of planning* (Anton).

Another interviewee did not have a job in Sweden at the time of the interview, but deemed knowledge of Swedish necessary for when he would start working:

> I: Okej, så svenska är inte så viktigt för dig på jobbet då eller?
> Robert: Jag tänker jag måste, om jag måste skriva eller måste förstå teckningar, jag måste, alla ska bli på svenska, därför jag måste förstå vad jag gör varje dag, eller jag är inte en så bra *employee*.
>
> I: *Okay, so Swedish is not so important for you at work or?*
> Robert: *I think I have to, if I have to write or understand drawings, I have to, all of them will be in Swedish, that's why I have to understand what I'm doing every day, or I'm not such a good employee.*

On the other hand, one interviewee had not experienced that Swedish was necessary, or even preferred, at the workplace:

> When one go for the work, for example, there is a, like a, international business or international companies, they don't want use your, the language of that country, they almost all of them English because many they are speak different language (Hassan).

An additional reason they used English was for efficient communication, since, according to him: "they [colleagues] prefer to use the things that when they can explain good. So there's no misunderstand" (Hassan).

Linguistic capital in Swedish has several benefits for economic capital. According to the participants, knowing Swedish increases the chances of finding work or better employment. Additionally, for some of the interviewees, being identified as a valuable employee depended on their ability to speak Swedish. Consequently, as linguistic capital in Swedish enables economic capital and desired identities, the investment of those who wish to live in Sweden is expected to be commensurately high. By contrast, for the interviewee who did not consider Swedish necessary for working, the return on the investment is less, and may decrease his motivation to learn Swedish.

6.2.2 Identity

The "identity" theme relates to the function of a language to express oneself and define what being a citizen means. Similar to the topics above, the sub-themes involve aspects of the role Swedish plays for constructing and performing identities, and for having citizenship. The sub-themes are: 1) expressing myself, and 2) being a citizen.

6.2.2.1 Expressing myself

Four of the interviewees shared an ideology that language is central to a person's identity, for example: "language is the person," and: "if you want to understand how Swedish people do things, you need to speak their language" (Adisa). Similarly, another stated that: "in Sweden you have the snaps, you have the songs, and you have midsommar, that's all in Swedish, so I think it is part of the identity and the culture" (David). One interviewee said that language is connected "with the, how can you present yourself" (Hassan). Another participant described that he expressed himself differently in different languages:

> The way I would speak English is also very different from how I would speak Yoruba, or hear Yoruba. Yoruba is much more direct, Yoruba is much more praising and lifting up. English is more subtle (Adisa).

Furthermore, he stated that: "once you understand the language fluently you could kind of comprehend how people think," and elaborated:

> So, right now from what I've learned of with Swedish it's more, I actually feel like the Swedish language over-explains things, when you want to say something like, kitchen, I mean, like a kitchen-stove, you would say something like a kitchen-table, and which is different from a regular table, so that's what I feel right now (Adisa).

David's and Adisa's comments also indicate how linguistic capital in Swedish allows access to the Swedish culture, that is, cultural capital.

Similar to the ideology of language and identity above, one interviewee stated that one of the reasons for studying another language was to be able to express himself:

Robert:	Ah, ja ja ja, därför jag kommer till Sverige, jag har en dröm, målet att lära mig en andra språk som jag kan express, I don't know the word express, what's the word?
I:	Uttrycka
Robert:	Uttrycka min själv på en annan språk, men jag tänker också det är mycket viktigt till, en persons identitet. Jag är brittisk, jag är inte engelsk, men vi har missat vår språk, eftersom engelsk är mer vanligt nu.

Robert:	*Ah yes, that is why I came to Sweden, I have a dream, a goal to learn a second language so I can express, I don't know the word express, what's the word?*
I:	*Uttrycka [express]*
Robert:	*Express myself in another language, but I also think it is very important for a person's identity. I am British, I am not English, but we have lost our language, because English is more common now*.

Similar to how the interviewees' language choice in conversations depended on their proficiency, identifying and feeling confident when speaking Swedish also related to how well they knew the language. For instance, two interviewees stated that: "jag hoppas att jag ska göra [identifiera] som svenskapratare, men just nu jag kan inte uttryck mig bra" (*I hope that I will [identify] as a Swedish speaker, but right now I can't express myself so well*) (Robert), and: "not comfortable yet, because I won't be able to reply to them" (Adisa). By contrast, one interviewee who was more confident about his Swedish abilities said that: "especially in the work when I talk with them [colleagues] in Swedish I have more self-confidence, and I have more expression for that" (Hassan).

Several interviewees believed that language was an essential part of a person's identity and recognized that linguistic capital in Swedish could convert into cultural capital. Like the choice of language in interactions, the interviewees reported that identifying and gaining cultural capital required a level of proficiency that most considered themselves lacking. The value of learning Swedish for gaining cultural capital, in addition to social and economic capital, as discussed above, can cause some language learners to feel that the benefits of learning Swedish merits the investment.

However, when social capital can be acquired without linguistic capital in Swedish, as was the case for the English speakers, the expected return in terms of cultural capital may not be sufficient to motivate the learners to be equally invested.

6.2.2.2 Being a citizen

The other sub-theme related to identity was the definition of citizenship. Two interviewees' ideology of nationhood entailed that having citizenship meant being part of the community: "to have a citizenship is to acknowledge that regardless of your cultural background or where you're from, you are now a part of Sweden" (Adisa), and: "det betyder att du är en del av den svensk samhäll" (*it means that you're a part of the Swedish society*) (Anton). For one of them, the ideology of nationhood also involved national identity: "you have to identify yourself as a Swede to have that citizenship, you could still have other cultures, but by having a citizenship you're saying that this is also an identity I carry" (Adisa).

One interviewee's view on citizenship was also informed by an ideology of language: "svenska är modersmål såklart, alla måste prata Svenska, om du har svensk medborgare" (*Swedish is the mother tongue of course, everyone must speak Swedish if you have a Swedish citizenship*), and for him having citizenship meant: "att man måste visa respekt på landet" (*that you have to show respect for the country*) (Anton). Similarly, another interviewee commented that learning the official language was a sign of respect and necessary for having citizenship:

> because obviously if you want to live in Sweden and you want a passport then it's, Swedish is the official language […] I don't think you should just come to Sweden, and it's nice living here but I don't think you should just come here and expect a passport and not even bother to learn the language (David).

Anton and David both agreed to the statement that everyone should be able to speak Swedish in Sweden (Figure 5), and their ideologies of nationhood and language manifested above may have an impact on this opinion.

Two other interviewees shared the language ideology above, but they also remarked on the level of the test: "there is some […] certification or I think, I agree. So at least, that is citizenship, at least something test, not hard level but at least" (Mi-Young), and: "det är bra att ha en grund level, grundnivå men om nivå är för hög, det ska inte, det är inte så bra att integrera eller, I don't know the words in Swedish, exclude somebody" (*it is good to have a basic level but if the level is too high, it won't, it is not so good to integrate or, I don't know the words in Swedish, exclude somebody*) (Robert). Their comments on the test level indicate that they also consider the outcomes of the language requirement, and that an ideology of inclusion and exclusion influences their attitude towards the testing policy.

On the other hand, two interviewees had different ideologies of nationhood and language. While they stated that it is: "important to understand their language" (Adisa) and that knowing Swedish is: "good learn, for integration, for the normal daily life" (Hassan), Adisa remarked on the discrepancy between the language regime and language practice that the suggested requirement would produce:

> But I also think it is important to integrate people without the necessity of having to have so strict a view on learning Swedish, because this also is a country that runs on English, they have a second language here and it is English. So, I'm both ways because of that (Adisa).

The other interviewee's ideas about Swedish politics and ideologies of language and nationhood indicates why he opposed the language requirement for citizenship:

> Look, the good thing that when you integrate into the society […] respect the law, number one, respect the culture, number two, okay, take like information, about the community of the samhäll, about the history, about the economy, about the system, about everything, this is the main things […] In Sweden, that's what different I think, the system of Sweden that's very open and accept all the people and there's no resist, when they like deal with the people, so they not insist them to, or force them to have this language, or accept them as a citizenship, no. (Hassan).

What matters for integration according to him is respecting the laws and learning about the country, that is, cultural capital.

Thus, for him, language should not be the defining feature of citizenship:

I:	So what do you think about these language demands, for citizenship?
Hassan:	I not accept it actually
I:	Okay,
Hassan:	If they, for example, as I told you culture, okay, history, okay, take a like a public information for the country and the basic of the language, not like full fluent, there is a people, I live in here, I saw them they have twenty years, they don't speak even, just only for, mother language, so why they have a citizenship?

Furthermore, he also manifested an ideology of inclusion and exclusion related to his opinion of the test: "take it like one step for citizenship, no. Because there are people, they are old I think, and they have a, they are disabled or they have something in their mentality" (Hassan).

The participants' various ideologies of language, nationhood, and inclusion/exclusion appear to influence their attitudes towards the language test. Furthermore, their ideas of the identity of a citizen also impact what they think about the policy. Those who think that citizenship is related to the national language and that citizens should speak Swedish are likely to favor the language demand policy. Consequently, if they also wish to live in Sweden and be integrated, the learners who hold these opinions will accordingly invest in learning Swedish to acquire the required linguistic capital and attain the potential identity of a Swedish citizen. On the other hand, considering that language tests may cause exclusion, that the language practices in Sweden does not merit a strict monolingual policy, or that citizenship should not be based on linguistic capital seems to steer the attitudes towards the language test in the other direction. However, it does not necessarily entail that those who hold these ideologies are not invested in learning Swedish, since there are still other reasons for studying Swedish as discussed above.

6.2.3 Acquiring Swedish

As second language learners of Swedish, several interviewees commented on their acquisition process, and their motivation to learn Swedish. The sub-themes that relate to the theme of "acquiring Swedish" are: 1) the way of learning, and 2) motivation.

The first topic concerns how the interviewees learned Swedish, and their opinions of the SFI course. "Motivation" involves their and others' commitment to studying Swedish, and how a language test for citizenship may affect them.

6.2.3.1 The way of learning

Two interviewees reported that they have learned Swedish both at SFI and outside the class: "actually outside, the practical life, and the work life, and street life, they learn you more, so double" (Hassan). Another stated that he had acquired Swedish both at the language course and work:

> A bit of both, I learn Swedish also with my friends too, yeah, SFI was good for grammar, and in that sense I learnt all my grammar and reading and writing at SFI, but speaking, I don't speak so much in class because I wasn't comfortable speaking Swedish, so I learn more outside. Because I was working behind the bar, as a bartender in town, so I learned a bit of bar-Swedish, it was nice (David).

Similarly, another interviewee said that he had previously left SFI and decided to: "gå och jobba istället och lära mig själv" (*go to work instead and learn by myself*) (Anton). He did so by: "titta på svensk tv, lyssna på svensk radio, läsa svensk tidningar, och sen såklart prata med på med svenskar för att lära sig, uttal" (*watch Swedish TV, listen to Swedish radio, read Swedish newspapers, and of course talk with Swedish people to learn, pronunciation*) (Anton). He also acquired Swedish at his workplace:

I:	Var det jobbet, lärde du dig mycket svenska där?
Anton:	Ja, precis, på jobbet jag lärde väldig mycket svenska.
I:	Hur gjorde du då, liksom, för att lyssna?
Anton:	Daglig, dagligens kommunikation med kunden, jag pratade med arbetskollegor här.

I:	*Was it the work, did you learn a lot of Swedish there?*
Anton:	*Yes, exactly, at work I learned very much Swedish.*
I:	*How did you do then, like, to listen?*
Anton:	*Daily communication with the customer, I talked with colleagues here.*

The interviewees' descriptions manifest how social relations and work, that is, social and economic forms of capital converts into linguistic capital in Swedish.

Since knowledge of Swedish also gives access to integration and job opportunities, the relation between these types of capital is reciprocal.

Conversely, one interviewee felt that her limited economic and social inclusion restricted her opportunities for practicing Swedish outside the SFI course:

> Mi-Young: I saw, I know, some recommend språkcafé but time is inflexible and that is enough. After class I don't have chance, any practice, just for me I'm only speaking Svenska with my husband at home and so go to shopping, for grocery shopping, Ica, that is enough for me. And is watching the Svenska drama, on TV.
>
> I: You learn some from that?
>
> Mi-Young: Yes, some part of, I'm just vocabulary training, with Svenska drama, and news.

All interviewees appreciated that SFI is free, although a few thought that the course could be improved:

> It could be better, to me it seems like they have, especially in the beginning, seems like they have two different positions, either you are completely, can't speak anything at all, or even have the understanding of basic language, or you are someone who can hear Swedish fully, and I don't really like that, it's very difficult, because I think there's a middle, where you are proficient in language, but you still want to know the basics. So, they could do better (Adisa).

Regarding the acquisition process, three interviewees reported being nervous and making mistakes: "man kan göra en gång fel, andra gången fel, men vi lära sig från fel […] Man får inte rädd att göra fel, ingen är perfekt, eller hur?" (*you can do wrong one time, a second time, but we learn from mistakes […] You should not worry about making mistakes, no one is perfect, right?*) (Anton), and: "it depends for the society, that they help you […] and you not feel shy if you have another, not perfect, you have a not perfect accent or language" (Hassan). One interviewee reported that she had been nervous at first, but as she learned more, it improved: "So, in the beginning I'm a little nervous but now, I'm feel better, getting better for speaking Swedish" (Mi-Young).

Two of the English speakers considered that being fluent in English made it more difficult to learn Swedish: "that's another reason it's kind of hard for me to learn Swedish because Swedes love speaking English so much" (David), "Yes, much harder, it's because of that it's difficult to learn Swedish because no one else speaks Swedish except for Sweden and it's not a language that's necessary to live in this world" (Adisa).

The comment above view may explain why Adisa strongly disagreed with the statement that everyone should be able to speak Swedish and strongly agreed that everyone should be able to speak another language (Figure 5, Figure 6). He further commented on his acquisition of Swedish:

> The way I'm learning Swedish is pretty tough because it's like, from my experience I've realized that, I mean I don't know any other language but the way people have tried to explain, or how to teach me Swedish, they don't even know themselves. Because, it's such a fluent way for them to speak, they don't even know, I mean I've, there'd be many times I've had a Swedish teacher that would literally say "that's just how it's said" (Adisa).

For these interviewees, being able to acquire social capital in Sweden by speaking English decreases the benefits of learning Swedish, and may consequently make them less invested in learning the language. On the other hand, the third English speaking interviewee did not think that speaking English made learning Swedish more difficult since: "många svenskar hjälper dig att lära sin språk" (*many Swedes help you learn their language*) (Robert). However, he had reported desiring to learn another language for the purpose of identification, which may have increased his motivation.

For second language learners whose first language does not contribute to social capital in Sweden, learning Swedish may be the most effective way to become integrated. As discussed in this section, the inclusion, in turn, contributes to their acquisition of Swedish. By contrast, native English speakers do not need linguistic capital in Swedish for integration in the same way. Thus, learning Swedish bestows English speakers with fewer benefits for social inclusion, which may make studying Swedish not feel worth the required investment. Additionally, since their social capital is mostly based on English, it does not contribute to language proficiency in Swedish and greater integration as it does for those who use Swedish to achieve social inclusion.

6.2.3.2 Motivation

Four interviewees stated that they were motivated to learn Swedish, for example: "I am motivated, too much now, because all the day I'm studying, studying, studying" (Hassan), and: "yeah, there is motivation, for me" (Mi-Young). By contrast, another participant said that: "I'm not motivated at all, I'm only motivated to learn Swedish because I am thinking of better opportunity job-wise" (Adisa). Thus, the only return on investment to learn Swedish that he expected was in the form of economic capital.

In comparison to the others who reported being motivated, Adisa's first language is English, which again indicates that the benefits of learning Swedish are fewer when speaking English, which negatively affects his motivation to learn Swedish.

In terms of motivation, most interviewees thought that language requirements for citizenship would heighten others' motivation to learn Swedish: "It would definitely change people's motivation to learn Swedish" (Adisa), "jag tänker att grundnivå det ska […] ger någon motivation till lära mer och förstå mer" (*I think that a basic level will […] give someone motivation to learn and understand more*) (Robert), and: "I think people would be more motivated actually if there was a requirement to learn Swedish at a certain level to have Swedish citizenship" (David). Conversely, one interviewee also said that: "the consequence I can think of is […] if you don't have a requirement, to speak Swedish is that people won't even make an effort" (Adisa).

Two interviewees mentioned that they have tests at SFI. They considered that these examinations could count as the language test suggested by the Swedish government, or would assist them in passing the citizenship test:

> I think most people when they come to Sweden anyway, if they want to live here, they go to SFI anyway and learn the language, and once you finish SFI, I think there's another level, but I mean if you kind of pass that then maybe that can be part of the test, because we're already being tested anyway (David).

I:	What would be some consequence, or effect of the test?
Mi-Young:	I think for example, I'm study SFI, the D-level, after is many other choice, other steps, if I can follow the kommun, the education level I think I can pass citizenship.
I:	You can pass?
Mi-Young:	Yeah, at least because of, even SFI after is D-level test that is also very hard, efter is grundkurs or another step, step, step. If I'm finish all steps, all course, I think is very very improving my Svenska level, very higher level, I think is so, I can pass.

Their comments highlight the fact that since linguistic capital in Swedish enables many other forms of capital, those who plan to live in Sweden will likely make an effort to learn the language.

Two interviewees stated that they were motivated to learn Swedish, potentially as a consequence of the benefits being able to speak Swedish involves. By contrast, when the benefits are fewer, they may not match the investment required, and can make language learners feel less motivated.

In terms of consequences of the test, five out of six interviewees agreed that implementing this condition for citizenship would heighten others' motivation. However, one interviewee said that those who wish to live in Sweden likely aspire to learn Swedish even without a requirement.

7. Discussion

The present study aimed to examine the influence of investment and perception of possibilities for participatory parity on adult second language learners' attitudes towards the language test for citizenship in Sweden. Additionally, the objective was to explore some possible consequences of the language test based on the participants' responses. However, the sample in this study is limited and the interview data cannot be considered representative of the SFI-class as a whole. First, the results in this study indicate how different language learners' investments in learning Swedish relate to their attitudes towards the language requirement. Second, both supporters and opponents of the language requirement for citizenship discussed the consequences of the test for participatory parity, but their opinions diverged regarding whether the policy will aid or hamper possibilities for equality in society. Third, by instituting the language requirement, the government redefines the meaning of being a citizen, and forces citizenship applicants to acquire Swedish. The added language requirement thus removes the, at least ostensibly, voluntary nature of learning Swedish as a second language presently existing in Sweden.

7.1 Factors that influence SFI-students' attitudes towards the language test for Swedish citizenship

Similar to recent surveys (Bevelander et al., 2019; Johansson Heinö, 2012; Språktidningen, 2019), this study found that many immigrants support the language testing policy. However, little research has examined second language learners' opinions in any depth. Therefore, this study endeavored to explore the factors that influence the participants attitudes towards the language test.

7.1.1 Investment

The results from the questionnaire and interviews indicated how the participants' investments, that is, ideologies, forms of capital, and desired or actual identities (Darvin & Norton, 2015), influence their opinions of the language requirement. All participants in this study were to some extent dedicated to learn Swedish, although the investments differed between the language learners. The following sections present the findings according to the components of investment: forms of capital, ideologies, and identity (Darvin & Norton, 2017).

7.1.1.1 Forms of capital

The results of this study indicate how various forms of capital relate to attitudes towards the language test. For example, gender appeared to have an influence, since most female participants were neutral, while the male respondents tended to favor the test (Table 1). Most language learners expected to gain both economic/cultural and social capital by studying Swedish, and there was no clear difference between the supporters, opponents, and neutral participants (Figure 2). Since their reasons for studying Swedish are unaffected by a formal language requirements such as the language test for citizenship, the result in Figure 2 bring into question the need for an added language requirement.

Although the expected benefits of learning Swedish were the same in the groups, the language learners' previously acquired cultural and economic capital seemed to make a difference for the attitudes towards the language test. For example, most supporters of the test had master's degrees (Figure 3). Considering that many questionnaire respondents stated that linguistic capital in Swedish enables economic capital, they are likely motivated to also be able to convert their cultural capital into work opportunities by learning Swedish. Language learners who expect high returns in economic capital may also favor the language demand since it adds a reward for knowing Swedish in the form of access to citizenship.

Similarly, all participants who worked part-time favored the test (Figure 4). These participants' expected return of gaining linguistic capital in Swedish and converting it into more economic capital, in the form of improved job opportunities, may influence them to favor a policy that increases the value of knowing Swedish. On the other hand, the interviewee who most strongly opposed the test did not consider that speaking Swedish was necessary at his workplace. Thus, the results suggest that the language learners who expect higher returns in economic capital support the language test.

By contrast, those who have less convertible cultural (Figure 3) and economic capital (Figure 4) may expect lower returns on an investment in learning Swedish, and oppose the test. Studies examining how second language learners' socioeconomic statuses impact attitudes towards languages have reported similar findings (for example, Bokhorst-Heng & Santos Caleon, 2009; Citrin et al., 2001; Darvin & Norton, 2014; Nguyen & Haimd, 2016).

In terms of linguistic capital, the participants' linguistic repertoires showed no pattern among the supporters, opponents, or those who were neutral, except that the English speakers were more represented in the opponent and neutral group (Table 2). Thus, the questionnaire data suggest that speakers of "non-European" languages are more likely to favor a test and wanting to integrate than immigrants who speak English.

The interviews showed that the conversion of linguistic capital into social capital also influenced the language learners' attitudes towards the test. While English speakers could become fairly integrated with their first language, Mi-Young, for example, who speaks Korean, emphasized the value of knowing Swedish for communicating and gaining social capital. The expected return of social capital by investing in Swedish is, therefore, smaller for English speakers, which may impact their investment and attitudes towards the language test. For example, Adisa described himself as: "not motivated at all," and only studied Swedish since it would provide him with better work opportunities. While he supported the language testing policy, he also thought that integration should not only depend on knowing Swedish, due to the prevalence of English.

Furthermore, his comment illustrates the distinction between motivation and investment (Norton Peirce, 1995). While he was unmotivated, he chose to invest in learning Swedish, only because he expected to gain economic capital. By contrast, participants whose first languages were not English are likely to invest in studying Swedish, since for them, learning Swedish is the most efficient way to access previously unavailable social capital. Already expecting benefits from learning Swedish, these learners may favor the test because it adds another reward for Swedish proficiency.

7.1.1.2 Ideologies

Similar to earlier research (for example, Bullock & Toribio, 2014; Smagulova, 2008), the findings in this study show connections between attitudes and ideologies of language, nationhood, and inclusion/exclusion. The answers to the statements in the questionnaire indicated that supporters of the test are more favorable towards the role of Swedish than the other groups (Figure 5). Furthermore, the supporters of the language requirement considered that knowing Swedish was essential for identifying as a Swedish citizen, in contrast to the opponents (Figure 7). However, almost all participants favored bilingualism (Figure 6), similar to the bilingual students in Coady (2001) and Merisuo-Storm (2007). Thus, opinions of bilingualism did not impact the attitudes towards the language test for citizenship.

The interview data complemented these findings and indicated how ideologies of language and nationhood influenced the attitudes towards the test. For instance, Anton's and Adisa's views on the role of Swedish for being a citizen (section 6.2.2.2) seemed to affect the strength of their support for the language test. Anton favored the test and underlined the necessity of knowing Swedish when having citizenship, while Adisa had more reservations about linking citizenship to knowledge of Swedish. This was also reflected in their individual responses to the statement in the questionnaire that everyone in Sweden should be able to speak Swedish (Figure 5); Anton strongly agreed, while Adisa strongly disagreed. Earlier studies have similarly shown that ideologies of language and citizenship affect attitudes towards language policies (for example, Milani, 2008; Piller, 2001; Wallace Goodman, 2014).

On the other hand, the opponents to the test disagreed with the statement that knowing Swedish is an important part of identifying as a citizen (Figure 7). For one of the opponents to the policy, citizenship depended less on linguistic capital in the national language, and instead on other forms of capital such as knowledge about the laws, culture, and history of the country. This difference further indicates how ideologies can influence attitudes towards policies. The findings resemble Citrin et al.'s (2001) and Allen Gershon and Pantoja's (2011) results, who found that differing ideologies of national identity correlated with distinct attitudes towards language policies (Allen Gershon & Pantoja, 2011; Citrin et al., 2001).

Furthermore, the interviewees' responses exemplify how ideologies of inclusion/exclusion influence the attitudes towards naturalization policies.

For instance, despite favoring the test, Mi-Young and Robert pointed out that the level should not be too high, or it would risk excluding people. Hassan also expressed concerns about the consequence of the test for elderly and vulnerable populations. In their research, Forsberg Lundell (2020), Piller (2001), Strik et al. (2010), and van Oers (2013) likewise discuss the level of the tests, and argue that determining the appropriate difficulty is problematic, due to consequences for inclusion and exclusion.

7.1.1.3 Ability to perform desired identities

Finally, the findings suggest that the performance of identities influence attitudes towards the language testing policy. The data from the questionnaires showed that supporters of the language requirement use Swedish more often in various contexts than those who opposed or were neutral to the policy (for example, Figure 8). Furthermore, the interview data indicated that abilities to express oneself depend on one's proficiency in the language. As the questionnaire showed, the supporters of the policy use Swedish more regularly and in more contexts (section 6.1.7). Consequently, they may wish to learn Swedish to be able to perform the desired identities in different contexts. As they are committed to learning Swedish, they might also favor the language test because it increases the value of knowing Swedish.

Additionally, some participants saw knowing Swedish as important for being a valuable employee. This aspect further ensures economic capital, and may motivate them to learn Swedish. Especially Robert stated that he wished to learn another language to be able to express himself in another way, and he was also one of the interviewees who considered knowing Swedish as necessary for work. On the other hand, Hassan, who opposed the language test, did not think Swedish was required when working or for being a citizen.

However, while the use of Swedish differed between the supporters and opponents of the test, their self-assessed language abilities in the questionnaire were similar (Table 3). Some supporters of the language test preferred not to speak Swedish until they achieved a higher proficiency. By contrast, the interviewee who opposed the policy stated that he used Swedish regularly and was not worried about making mistakes. Thus, unlike the findings in Miller (2017) and Zeinivand et al. (2015), the results in this study indicate no relationship between language abilities and attitudes towards the policy. Therefore, what may influence the participants' attitudes towards the test is not necessarily the ability to perform identities in Swedish but rather the felt need to do so.

On the other hand, the participants reported still using their first languages for communicating with family members or in specific contexts. Like the results in Citrin et al. (2001), Kasstan et al. (2018), Nguyen and Hamid (2016), for some of the participants, the languages have become markers of ethnic identity, and fulfill other functions than Swedish. As their Swedish improves, whether the second language learners and their families will continue to use their first languages, similar to the findings in Extra and Yagmur (2009), or use them less as in Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009), remains to be seen.

7.1.2 Perceptions of possibilities for participatory parity

Similar to how language requirements have different effects on social, political, and economic forms of inclusion (Forsberg Lundell, 2020), the participants' had different ideas about the consequences of the test for participatory parity. As Figure 2 shows, most respondents to the questionnaire regarded knowing Swedish as necessary for becoming more integrated in the community, that is, achieving social inclusion and recognition. Furthermore, four interviewees who favored the test also thought that a language test would increase people's motivation to learn Swedish. These supporters' favorable attitudes towards the language test may reflect that they consider that knowing Swedish assists in achieving recognition, representation, and redistribution (Fraser, 2000; 2009) and that a language test for citizenship provides improved opportunities for immigrants to become integrated on a par with native-born citizens.

On the other hand, a few interviewees were less convinced of the benefits of the language test. For example, Mi-Young stated that the test should not be too difficult, and Robert further said that it could exclude some people. This exclusion would, therefore, lead to misrepresentation and misrecognition of immigrants and language minorities instead of social, political, and economic inclusion.

As the interviewees stated, language requirements raises the bar for becoming a naturalized citizen, and may hinder the possibility of letting everyone pursue esteem under fair conditions, since language acquisition aptitude differs between different learners (Forsberg Lundell, 2020; Fraser, 2000). This effect would challenge participatory parity according to Fraser (2001).

The interviewee who opposed the language test stated that many citizens have lived in Sweden for a long time and do not speak Swedish. He also rejected the language demand out of consideration for the elderly and people with mental disabilities.

His comment relates to language requirements as a politics of exclusion (McNamara, 2012; Piller, 2001) and that language requirements negatively impact vulnerable populations (Rocca et al., 2019; Rydell & Milani, 2019). In terms of participatory parity, the language test risks causing misrecognition and misrepresentation by introducing conditions that some people, for example, low-literacy learners, would have a harder time to fulfill than others.

In summary, both those who support and oppose the language demand and test consider the consequences of the language test for participatory parity. However, they reason differently and come to different conclusions. Those who favor the policy think a language test will lead to better opportunities for recognition, representation, and economic parity for immigrants. By contrast, the opponents believe that the test risks causing the opposite and challenging participatory parity, especially for vulnerable populations.

7.2 Implications of instituting a Swedish test for citizenship

While the effects of language requirements are mostly unknown (Forsberg Lundell, 2020), the interviewees had some thoughts on the implications of the test. As mentioned above, those who favored and opposed the test had differing ideas of what the language test would mean for participatory parity in society. Furthermore, some participants had different views on the effects of the language test on motivation. Four interviewees thought that the requirement would heighten second language learners' motivation, while the two others were more skeptical.

In terms of linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2018), demanding language knowledge is a way to institutionalize proficiency and the acquisition of Swedish among immigrants. By implementing a language requirement, the government redefines citizenship and adds a condition for becoming a citizen. This revision adds a formal benefit of knowing Swedish, that is, being able to obtain citizenship. In line with this policy change, many participants saw Swedish as an important part of identifying as a citizen (Figure 7). Four of the interviewees also argued that this added condition will motivate more people to learn Swedish to a higher level.

However, it is worth noting that the language requirement for citizenship in Sweden is not presently in effect. The questionnaire and interview data indicated that the language learners are exercising linguistic citizenship in Swedish (Stroud, 2018) in various ways without the promise of a formal certificate.

They are working towards equipping themselves with capital to be able to participate equally in cultural, economic, and political spheres, where structures allow. For instance, one interviewee said that when people come to Sweden and want to settle down, they will study Swedish, with or without a specified language demand. Furthermore, as two participants mentioned, they have examinations at SFI, which they thought could count as sufficient evidence of proficiency. Another interviewee stated that being able to understand Swedish outside and using slang expressions made him feel included and confident in his language skills. The language test for citizenship will likely not include colloquialisms, and depending on the level of the test, it may not have a significant impact on language learners' general proficiency in Swedish (for example, van Oers, 2013).

Since there are no formal language requirements, the second language learners in this study have independently chosen to learn Swedish to gain recognition and achieve inclusion. Adding a language requirement as a condition for citizenship would remove the voluntariness to learn Swedish and force immigrants to learn Swedish if they wish to become citizens. The test is argued to increase motivation (Socialdemokraterna, 2019). However, since the participants in this study are already invested, it is uncertain what effects the language test would have for them and other language learners with similar investments.

7.3 Conclusions

Relating to the increasing use of language requirements for naturalization around the world and the recent debate about a language test for citizenship in Sweden, this study aimed to explore the influence of investment and perceptions of possibilities for participatory parity on adult second language learners' attitudes towards the language testing policy. The present research has several limitations, but most importantly, the presented findings are limited by that the interviewed SFI-students were not a representative sample of the class.

Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data indicated how the adult second language learners' forms of capital, desired identities, and ideologies influenced their investments and attitudes towards Swedish and the language requirement. For instance, many supporters of the test felt that knowing Swedish generates increased social and economic capital for them. The opponents to the test studied Swedish for similar reasons, but expected less returns in other forms of capital.

Most participants reported similar levels of proficiency (Table 3), but the supporters of the policy used Swedish more often than the other groups and therefore performed a wider range of identities in Swedish. Linguistic repertories also related to investments and opinions of the requirement, as mostly English speakers opposed or were neutral towards the test and felt less motivated to learn Swedish.

The analysis of the questionnaire data further showed how ideologies of language and nationhood differed between the groups. For example, most supporters of the language test agreed that inhabitants in Sweden should speak Swedish (Figure 5), and that knowing Swedish is an essential part of the Swedish identity (Figure 7), whereas the opponents and the neutral participants generally had opposite opinions.

Furthermore, the anticipated consequences of the test for equal participation in Swedish social, economic, and political life also impacted the participants' attitudes towards the testing policy. The interview data indicated that supporters of the test thought that a language requirement would improve chances of participatory parity for second language learners. However, as Figure 2 showed, the supporters, opponents, and neutral participants studied Swedish for similar reasons, that is, for integration, work/education, or both, even without a test.

Additionally, the supporters' and opponents' self-assessed Swedish abilities were nearly equal (Table 3). Given that the SFI-students in this study already learn Swedish for recognition, representation, and redistribution, and have similar proficiency levels regardless of their opinions of the test, a language requirement for citizenship may be superfluous. The opponents also argued that a test risks causing unfair exclusion of some people. Thus, despite the lack of a formal language requirement, the second language learners in this study perform various acts of linguistic citizenship to achieve participatory parity (Fraser, 2000), that is, social, political, and economic integration.

The theories that this study applies all relate to issues in the language requirement debate. For instance, politicians and public debaters have framed the arguments in favor of language requirements around immigrants' motivation (Modiri, 2002; Socialdemokraterna, 2019). However, according to Darvin and Peirce's (2015) notion of motivation as investment in second language learning, learners' motivation is grounded in their daily contexts of interaction and their perceptions of possibilities for converting this new linguistic capital into other forms of capital. Where achieving these aims does not seem possible, motivation will be less. As the findings in this study showed, most language learners stated that they were motivated.

However, investment and motivation to learn Swedish also depended in part on, for example, the language learners' expected benefits in economic and social capital. Thus, as Darvin and Norton (2015, 2017) argue, motivation is not a permanent and rigid personality trait, but depends on the context and is affected by wider social and economic structures.

Moreover, a language requirement for citizenship will inevitably exclude some people through denying their citizenship application based on the result of a language test. It will also change the meaning of having citizenship in Sweden, tying citizenship to language competence rather than broader concerns of belonging and equal participation. In addition, seeing Swedish as the only language for social, economic, and political participation denies the myriad other languages through which those who aspire to citizenship assert their belonging, that is, the possibility of acts of (linguistic) citizenship practiced through other languages. Relating to Fraser's (2000) critique of the identity model for homogenizing group identities, a language test for citizenship may, therefore, have a similar effect.

The proposed language demand in Sweden will be a condition for citizenship, and thus, it will only apply to those who wish to become citizens. As this study has shown, all participants regarded Swedish as necessary for integration, communication, and performing different identities. Consequently, desiring to become integrated provides several reasons for immigrants to learn Swedish well without needing the extra motivation of a test. The question then becomes what consequence the policy will have for the integration of immigrants in Sweden. Adding a language requirement that impacts those who are already striving to assimilate may risk punishing and intimidating them, while not affecting the population which the government may intend to reach through this policy, that is, those who are less motivated to integrate.

This study has provided an initial examination of adult second language learners' attitudes towards the language test, and some of its possible consequences. More research is needed to continue to explore and understand the effects of the increasingly popular language requirement for citizenship and related testing policies.

7.4 Further research

Future studies should include second language learners from more varied socioeconomic and linguistic backgrounds, as well as other levels at SFI and places in Sweden as this may impact the findings.

Similar attitude research may also benefit from combining interview data with sociolinguistic fieldwork. Due to the time constraint and scope of the present study, it relied solely on the participants' reported experiences and practices.

Furthermore, no research has yet indicated that language tests, specifically, heighten motivation or improve social integration. Additional research is needed to increase understanding and document the effects of this language requirement policy. Before there is more available evidence of the effects of language tests for naturalization, governments should only implement such requirements with caution, and after thorough consideration.

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Appendix A

Language test attitude questionnaire

All personal information you will provide is confidential. The questionnaire has 21 questions.

1. Age:

Please check one of the boxes.

16-19 years old ☐
20-29 years old ☐
30-39 years old ☐
40-49 years old ☐
50-59 years old ☐
60 years or older ☐

2. What is your gender? _____

3. How long have you lived in Sweden?

_____

4. Are you a Swedish citizen?

Please check one of the boxes.

Yes ☐
No ☐

5. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed before coming to Sweden?

Please check one of the boxes.

No schooling completed ☐
Less than a high school degree ☐
High school or equivalent ☐
Some college credit, no degree ☐
Bachelor's degree (BA, BS) ☐
Master's degree (MA, MS, Med) ☐
Professional training ☐
Doctorate ☐
Other ☐

6. What is your work status?

Please check one of the boxes.

Employed ☐
Self-employed ☐
Part-time ☐
Unemployed ☐
Studying ☐
Retired ☐
Not able to work ☐
Other ☐

7. What language(s) and language varieties do you speak?

_____

8. Do you read or watch news? If so, in what language(s)/language varieties?

_____

9. How long have you studied Swedish at SFI?

_____

10. How would you rate your abilities in Swedish?

Please circle the number that you feel best applies to you.

	Very poor	Somewhat poor	So-so	Somewhat good	Very good
Speaking	1	2	3	4	5
Reading	1	2	3	4	5
Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5
Writing	1	2	3	4	5

11. What is your reason for studying Swedish?

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. How often do you use Swedish at home?

Please circle the number that best applies to you.

Never	Rarely	Every month	Every week	Every day
1	2	3	4	5

13. How often do you use Swedish with friends/relatives outside the home?

Please circle the number that best applies to you.

Never	Rarely	Every month	Every week	Every day
1	2	3	4	5

14. How often do you use Swedish for texting or social media?

Please circle the number that best applies to you.

Never	Rarely	Every month	Every week	Every day
1	2	3	4	5

15. How often do you use Swedish at work/school/university?

Please circle the number that best applies to you.

Never	Rarely	Every month	Every week	Every day
1	2	3	4	5

16. If you practice a religion, how often do you use Swedish for this?

Please circle the number that best applies to you. Otherwise skip to next question.

Never	Rarely	Every month	Every week	Every day
1	2	3	4	5

The government in Sweden plans to give a language test to people who apply for Swedish citizenship. A passing grade on the test would be required in order to become a citizen.

17. What is your opinion about a language test for citizenship in Sweden?

Please check one of the boxes.

Favor ☐

Oppose ☐

Neutral ☐

Don't know ☐

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Please circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

18. Everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak Swedish.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

19. Everyone living in Sweden should be able to speak another language than Swedish.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

20. Knowing Swedish is an important part of identifying as a Swedish citizen.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

21. Would you like to participate in an interview about some of the topics in this questionnaire?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If yes, please provide an email address or contact number to you:

_____

Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix B

Interview questions

Language background

- What languages do you speak?
- How much do you use each language?
- Do you use different languages with different people? E.g., family members, friends?
- Do you use the languages in different settings? At home, at work, at school, etc.

Investment

- What does knowing Swedish mean for integration in Sweden? E.g., get a job, relate to people, communicate with others, be a part of society.
- What does knowing Swedish mean for you? (In terms of proficiency, and in terms of return on investment). Is knowing Swedish valuable for you? If so, what makes it valuable for you?
- Are you motivated to learn Swedish? To what level are you interested in learning Swedish?

Identity

- What does language mean for a person's identity?
- Do you identify with the languages you speak?

Language requirements for citizenship attitudes

- What do you think about the language test for citizenship?
- What do you think would be consequences of the tests? Benefits or disadvantages?
- Will it affect you in some way, e.g., motivation, desire to become a citizen?

Ideologies

- What are your general experiences of being a learner of Swedish in Sweden?
- Do you think knowing (first language) is valuable in Sweden, and in relation to your acquisition of Swedish? What are potential benefits you see?
- What does being a citizen mean to you? Is it related to identity? And language?

Language learning context

- Which language do people speak with you when you first meet them?
- How do you feel if someone speak Swedish with you? And how do you react?
- Which language do you speak with strangers? Does it change depending on who you are with, or by yourself?
- How do you perceive others' reactions when you speak Swedish?
- Are there some contexts where you feel more or less confident to speak Swedish?
- How do you see your opportunities to learn Swedish today? (In school (SFI) and outside the school?)
- Do you practice or use your Swedish skills? When and in what situations do you that? How has that turned out?

Appendix C

Information Sheet

Hello!

My name is Fredrik Johnsson and I am a student at the Master's programme in language sciences with a specialization in bilingualism at Stockholm University. This semester I am doing research for my Master's thesis, which is about attitudes toward language tests for citizenship among adult learners of Swedish. I will focus on what attitudes these learners hold and what factors may affect these attitudes.

I would be very grateful to you if you could assist me by participating in this study! If you want to participate, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire that focuses on some background information and your attitudes toward language tests and language use. Later, you may also be asked to participate in an interview about the same topic.

Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without having to give any reason. If you want to cancel your participation, please contact me (fredrik_johnsson1@hotmail.com). Your data is confidential and will be securely stored, which means it will only be handled by me and shared with my supervisor. I will use a pseudonym to refer to you, and the published results will not lead back to you.

The material will only be used for the research in my Master's thesis. My hope is that the results will contribute new perspectives to the debate about language tests for citizenship and increase the understanding of language tests and their effects.

Please feel free to ask any questions that you may have about this study at any point.

Thank you for your help.
Fredrik Johnsson

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