

North-South entanglements in Somali-Swedish family language policy: Practices, ideologies and everyday challenges

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Abstract

This thesis explores the family language policies (FLP) of two Somali-Swedish families living in Rinkeby, Stockholm. It focuses on the relationships between FLP and identity construction in different social spaces. It aims to address three main gaps in the FLP research in Sweden: in representation, methodology, and epistemological understandings of family, language, and policy. Most studies focus on families originating in the global North, which renders invisible the practices of families representing minoritized indigenous or immigrants – the South in the North. Moreover, few studies investigate FLP in interaction, resulting in a knowledge gap of FLP as practiced. In general, issues of power in relation to languages, social inequalities and status in society are barely present, yet, understanding relationships between linguistic practices and social structures at different scales seems crucial for understanding how language ideologies emerge and inform FLP. This study thus contributes to the field of FLP by investigating the language practices of two Somali-Swedish families, the language ideologies shaping these practices, as well as the everyday challenges they face in raising children multilingually. It uses an ethnographic design, drawing on interviews and fieldnotes, with attention to researcher positionality. Throughout, the thesis takes a decolonial stance, discussing how North-South entanglements are present in the interactions of marginalized populations and illuminating their experiences of struggle and oppression. Findings suggest that, for these families, FLP is an intentional act of maintaining the Somali language, although practices do not always align with this policy. Participants use in fact a broad linguistic repertoire in their interactions, constructing multiple identities in different spaces through their discursive practices, which are connected to their FLP. These practices are informed by ideologies on the importance of Somali in identity-building and in connecting people within the Somali diaspora, and by the supposed benefits of multilingualism. Participants report challenges in maintaining their FLP, such as the main role attributed to mothers in language maintenance, facing negative reactions to FLP from peers and society, and lack of institutional support. Results from this thesis contribute to redressing the identified gaps by researching participants' own views on what is important for them and what challenges they face, an essential element for a decolonial approach. They also offer a critical perspective on multilingualism in FLP, locating language within southern perspectives. Results could also aid state actors working with Somali-Swedish families, enabling them to offer more focused support regarding raising multilingual children.

Keywords

Decoloniality, family language policy, identity, language ideologies, language maintenance, language practices, multilingualism, Somali.

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1. Introduction

Rinkeby is a neighborhood located in the north of Stockholm. It takes around 20 minutes by subway to get there from Stockholm's central station, but socioeconomically speaking, there is an abyss between the central neighborhoods and Rinkeby. According to statistics from the city of Stockholm¹ from 2021, over 90 % of the population in Rinkeby was either born abroad, or has two parents born abroad, compared to 30% in Stockholm as a whole. Among this group, over 50% have their origins in Africa. Unemployment there is three times as common as in Stockholm as a whole and the average yearly income is just below half of the average for the rest of the city. The vast majority of the 16 900 inhabitants in Rinkeby lives in rental apartments, and educational levels are in general lower than Stockholm's averages.

Rinkeby is an example of an area that can be characterized by what Vertovec (2007) defines as super-diversity. The term super-diversity was coined by Vertovec in order to understand the interplays between a number of factors such as country of origin, migratory status, labor market experiences, place of residence and languages spoken, which have changed the social landscape of the United Kingdom due to increased migratory flows in the beginning of the new millennium (Vertovec, 2007). This super-diversity of resources would then lead to more unpredictable identities for individuals, as traditional identity markers such as language or ethnicity no longer can be applied (Ndhlovu, 2016). Critiques of super-diversity, however, point out that the term has been coined from a northern perspective to describe developments that are new only to the global North, since a variety of migratory processes among different people and for different reasons has been the norm in the global South for centuries (Ndhlovu, 2016). Nevertheless, the concept itself is still of interest to illuminate the vast complexity of urban populations in areas like Rinkeby.

However, just resorting to super-diversity is not enough to account for the complexities of these new emerging identities in contemporary societies (Ndhlovu, 2016). As an alternative framework to capture the ways contemporary diasporas make sense of their own experiences, Ndhlovu (2016) suggests taking perspectives grounded on the global South. One of these southern perspectives is decoloniality. Decoloniality, as Mignolo (2018) describes it, is not a discipline or a field of study, but rather an approach to interrogating dominant structures of knowledge which is grounded on the southern urge to settle with the "geopolitics of knowledge" (Mignolo, 2018, p. 361) in order to understand power contrasts between North and South in all aspects, including language.

In neighborhoods characterized by super-diversity such as Rinkeby, Blommaert & Rampton (2011) note that there usually is a multiplicity of linguistic resources, which generates complex relations among speakers of different languages, with each of these individuals carrying to every particular interaction their own linguistic repertoire. The notion of linguistic repertoire attempts to move away from concepts of languages as fixed

¹ <https://start.stockholm/om-stockholms-stad/utredningar-statistik-och-fakta/statistik/omradesfakta/>, retrieved 31/10/22.

systems, sets of competence and separate entities to instead englobe fluid, creative language practices that are grounded in local social practices as well as in the individual's life trajectory (Busch, 2012, 2015). An individual's linguistic repertoire reflects thus at the same time both their biographies and their present, where different spaces of highly diverse language practices require different language resources (Busch, 2015).

In these spaces of super-diversity, languages can be viewed as commodities with different values attributed to them in the local market, where the access to and distribution of linguistic resources is as a rule uneven across the population (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, Pujolar, 2007). Even when multilingualism is acknowledged by official policies, they usually involve local territorial minorities, with immigrant languages being excluded from discussions on linguistic rights (Pujolar, 2007). Such policies create a system divided between an elite language, where bilingualism, when present, is based on monolingual ideals of language and competence, and a mass bilingualism of groups whose languages are systematically given less value in the market (Pujolar, 2007). This discrepancy in the values ascribed to different languages and linguistic practices poses concrete problems and dilemmas for populations stemming from the global South. Economic consequences, for example, mean a restriction on immigrants' chances in the local labor markets (see Sundberg, 2013, for an overview on the labor situation in Sweden). It also has consequences to the family sphere, as we will discuss later.

Discussions on Rinkeby and language have often focused on the variety of Swedish spoken there, usually described as "Rinkeby Swedish". Previous research points out that Rinkeby Swedish has been highly stigmatized, as indexing falling standards and as a non-legitimate variety of Swedish (Stroud, 2004; Jonsson, Franzén & Milani, 2020). Its speakers have many times been portrayed as more prone to violence, as less intelligent and, overall, as a threat to Swedish society (Stroud, 2004; Jonsson, Franzén & Milani, 2020). In this way, language ideologies of 'correctness' and 'purity' are tied to broader ideologies of race, ethnicity and class. Language ideologies can be defined as a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p.193; Irvine & Gal, 2000). One of the most diffused language ideologies is the notion of a so-called "standard language" as the most correct one, a variety that is normally defined by the language practices of privileged groups in society (Cushing & Snell, 2022). Flores & Rosa (2015) argue that this phenomenon can be explained by means of raciolinguistic ideologies, which construct racialized subjects as linguistically deviant from the perspective of the white gaze.

While the relevance of Rinkeby Swedish to broader social questions is signaled in the research literature (see Jonsson et al., 2020; Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Stroud, 2004 among others), there is also a clear lack of local voices and perspectives in research on Rinkeby and language, especially that focusing on multilingualism. While many articles approach Rinkeby Swedish as a linguistic variety, only one paper so far focuses on the multilingual experiences of local actors (Olgaç, 2001). The paper draws on interviews with parents and educators to discuss language socialization in children with Somali origin.

Olgaç's choice of studying Somalis in Rinkeby is not arbitrary. Rinkeby holds a large population of Somali origin, to such extent that some people call it Little Mogadishu. A consequence of over 30 years of civil war, it is estimated that about 100 000 people either born in Somalia or with both parents born in Somalia are currently living in Sweden, and

Somali is one of the 10 largest languages spoken in the country (Osman et al., 2021; Palm et al., 2019). Somalis are often reported to have particular difficulty integrating into Swedish society as far as factors such as education levels and unemployment are concerned, and the Somali population is reported to be more dissatisfied than others with public services such as the Swedish health care system (Eriksson et al., 2016). It is therefore of upmost importance to address the experiences of people of Somali origin in Sweden when it comes to language and society, as language may be a crucial factor for understanding these social outcomes. Moreover, one central issue for the Somali community in diaspora when it comes to language is its importance in maintaining a Somali identity (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Arthur, 2004; Hopkins, 2010). What is meant by identity here is a social, interactional phenomenon rather than an internal psychological state (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Within this view of identity, language plays an important role, as identity becomes the product of linguistic practices in different interactions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and identity may in turn enhance the motivation to maintain a certain language within the family (Tseng, 2020). Given the importance of the relation between language and identity for the Somali population, and of identity for language maintenance in general, it is also pertinent to explore the relationships between identity and language practices in the Somali-Swedish community.

One of the ways to address relationships between language and society is to study family language policy. As conceptualized by King et al. (2008), family language policy surged to combine language policy studies with child language acquisition research, taking into account language use in daily family interactions, parents' ideologies and beliefs about language and their goals in terms of learning outcomes. It was initially defined as "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King et al., 2008, p. 907), providing a frame to investigate family members' language ideologies, families' actual language practices and identity choices enacted through languages, among other issues (King & Fogle, 2017). Consequently, this frame provides us with the opportunity to study both the linguistic and the social context where families are inserted and which shape their language policy (King & Fogle, 2017). In the last decade, research on family language policy has significantly increased and, more recently, changed direction towards a more critical approach (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020). A critical approach allows us to tap into the consequences of hierarchization of languages, ethnicity and social class that emerge from coloniality, to challenge epistemic understanding of concepts such as 'language', and to make sense of the transnational experiences of families originating in the South with regard to language choices and practices (Lomeu Gomes, 2018).

In order to define what is meant by family language policy in this thesis, it is important to define the concepts of 'family', 'language' and 'language policy' as they will be considered here. As family language policy migrates from a more purely linguistic field of inquiry to englobe ideas from sociology and anthropology in a critical, ethnographic approach, the concept of family within this research tradition has been compelled to change. Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020), for instance, call for a current definition of family as an interpretive practice, a social institution governed by sets of practices, rather than as parents and children. As such, family encompasses, but certainly is not limited to, a group of people sharing the same spaces, both the private and the public, in a continuum.

Language within this critical approach is regarded in terms of repertoires, emerging from social interaction, rather than as separate entities tied to ethnicity, territory or nation (Pennycook, 2007). Focus lies on practices rather than proficiency, and multilingual practices as seen as translanguaging rather than as codeswitching (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). As we are speaking from a locus of super-diversity, it is also important to view language as one of many semiotic and communicative resources available to speakers (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). For the purpose of this thesis, I will be using conventional names for languages, such as Swedish and Somali, as the use of names for different language systems is a familiar concept to my participants, and these terms also emerge in the data. However, I will consider translanguaging practices and multilingual repertoires means into which adults and children engage in their everyday activities in order to achieve communicative aims (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). This answers the call by Lomeu Gomes (2018) to avoid conceptualizations of languages as autonomous systems with distinct units and instead to draw on notions of language as an unfixed category in order to make sense of families' experiences.

The theoretical framework used for research on language policy has traditionally been Spolsky's tripartite, composed of language ideologies, language practices and language management interacting with each other in dynamic and multidirectional ways (Spolsky, 2004, 2009; from Hu & Ren, 2017). However, as Lomeu Gomes (2018) notes, adopting Spolsky's framework as the only valid way to conceptualize language policy risks obscuring the lived experiences and epistemologies of people originated in the global South living in the North. This because Spolsky's framework does not tap into issues of oppressions and injustices many times experienced by this population, and it also restrains the kinds of questions being asked in family language policy research (Lomeu Gomes, 2018). Spolsky's framework has also been contested as not accounting for the experiences of other family constellations, for instance of families with autistic children (Metreveli, 2022). Adopting a critical, decolonial perspective, Lomeu Gomes (2018, p. 63) suggests that as we aim to unveil the ways language and power are entangled in society, assuming knowledge production as situated, and 'problematizing the given', Spolsky's definition of language policy may not be enough to inform research on transnational practices and language use. In the present thesis, policies will therefore be considered from a critical southern frame, using ethnographic perspectives to disentangle the relationships between policy and practice.

In conclusion, family language policy will be here defined as in the terms of Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020): 'the sociolinguistic inquiry of language practices and policies in multilingual transnational families' (p. 153). Family is here understood as a social institution, language is defined as practices rather than as fixed categories, and policy is viewed from a decolonial perspective where language and power issues are highlighted in the light of the experiences and struggles of people stemming from the global South, underscoring intersectional dimensions of social categories in the centre-periphery axis (Lomeu Gomes, 2018).

It is of particular epistemological importance in the field of family language policy to give voice to families originating in the global South as they transit through migratory processes to the global North, since these families' experiences are still underrepresented in the literature (King & Fogle, 2017; Lomeu Gomes, 2021). The overall aim of this thesis

is therefore to contribute to the family language policy field by focusing on Somali-Swedish families, which will be further motivated in the subsequent section.

2. Background and motivation

Migration to Sweden started to grow after World War II, but has escalated from the 1980's and 90's due to a series of conflicts in areas like the Middle East and the Horn of Africa (Kupský, 2017). Increased migration has posed many challenges in terms of integration to Swedish society in a similar fashion to other countries in the North, as discussed in the introduction. One of these challenges is language. Sweden has an outspoken policy that defines Swedish as the official language of the country, a language that should be used, protected and developed (Sundberg, 2013). However, in terms of official language policies, Sweden usually stands out as a country with a particularly progressive view on multilingualism. Although education is carried out in the majority language Swedish from pre-school age, the State advocates through the Educational Act (Skolverket, 2016) the development of multilingual children's cultural identity and "mother tongue", the officially used term, in pre-schools. For school-aged children, the State offers mother tongue instruction as an official school subject through The Swedish Education Act (Utbildningsdepartementet, SFS 2010:800 2010) for all children with at least one parent or legal guardian who speaks another language at home, provided some conditions are met, such as a certain number of students and teacher's availability. In health care services and other institutional settings, an interpreter can be provided free of charge for a large number of languages, a right not inscribed in the law, but widely diffused in order to guarantee that practitioners can provide the necessary information for clients and that health care is given under the same conditions for the whole population (Socialstyrelsen, 2016). Besides, Sweden has also recognized five indigenous languages and Swedish sign language as national minority languages (Sundberg, 2013). This status entitles speakers of these languages with the right to learn, use and develop their language, but Sundberg (2013) notes that the Swedish State has received critics by the Council of Europe among others for not doing enough to maintain those languages.

However, in the Swedish public discourse, multilingualism is many times viewed through negative lenses, for example by the media, and Sundberg (2013) righteously questions whether multilingualism is seen as a resource or as a constraint in Swedish society. Voices have been raised against mother tongue instruction for several years (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017), even more now with the ascension of the extreme right to the government after the elections in 2022, who are not only discussing the end of mother tongue instruction, but also threatening to remove rights such as the right to an interpreter in medical settings. Immigrant languages and varieties of Swedish that started to flourish as a consequence of increased migration and mobility have awakened worry and mistrust in the majority society, to say the least, being socially constructed as inferior, bad and even dangerous (Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Stroud, 2004; Sundberg, 2013). Previous research also points out difficulties implementing the country's language policies in education (Fredriksson & Lindgren Eneflo, 2019; Palm et al., 2019). Moreover, the effects of pervasive monolingual ideologies have been found both in teachers' education, which is described

as permeated by the monolingual norm (Wedin & Rosén, 2021), and in health care settings, delaying the referral of multilingual children to speech therapy services due to paediatric nurses' outdated ideas on a slower language development for multilingual children as compared to their monolingual peers (Nayeb et al., 2014).

As outlined in the introduction, one of the most vulnerable groups in Sweden regarding this dynamic between language and society is the population of Somali origin (Eriksson et al., 2016; Osman et al., 2021; Palm et al., 2019). A report by the Open Society Foundations (2014) on Somalis in the city of Malmö raises language as one of the barriers in promoting good contact between Somali-speaking people and official authorities such as governmental agencies and health care providers as well as in everyday issues like making friends among other ethnic groups. Among other issues, young women participating in their study voiced worries about their children learning neither proper Somali nor proper Swedish due to segregation-related problems such as poor-quality pre-school education, as most of the population of Somali origin lives in underprivileged neighborhoods with a high concentration of immigrants, many times in precarious housing conditions.

The worries voiced by these women lead us back to the field of family language policy. The rapidly increasing literature on family language policy, however, many times fails to deal with crucial issues for marginalized populations such as the Somali one, which also holds for research conducted in Sweden. Three critical gaps are noted here. Firstly, in the Swedish context, there is a clear lack of representation in family language policy research when it comes to large immigrant groups, such as people originating from the Middle East, Africa or the Balkans. Lack of representation includes the indigenous population and the official minority languages as well. This focus on experiences by people originating from the global North in Swedish family language policy research mirrors the general state of the field, where a diversity of loci in regard to both site of research and the populations studied is still absent. Most of the research within family language policy more broadly still focuses on so-called WEIRD populations (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic, as conceptualized by Henrich et al., 2010), an issue identified by Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020). As the authors inquire, what about low-status languages in marginalized societies in WEIRD-countries, among other groups still absent from research? This lack of representation compromises our understandings of how a variety of families conceptualize and enact their language policies, and the mechanisms behind their choices.

Secondly, there seems to be a lack of studies using ethnographic approaches in family language policy in Sweden. Instead, most studies rely either on quantitative data from questionnaires, or on qualitative interview data. This limits our understanding of family language policy as in the first case we do not gain nuanced understandings of complex multilingual contexts, and in the second we have no knowledge of the extent to which actual practices may differ from reported practices, an issue commonly flagged in sociolinguistic research. Moreover, semi-structured interviews may also limit what participants reveal when it comes to their lived experiences. Ethnographic fieldwork and ethnographic interviews, in contrast, offer greater potential for a rich understanding of insider perspectives, obtaining more emic accounts of participants' experiences by,

among other things, following the line of inquiry as set by participants and understanding the research process as co-constructed by researcher and participant.

A third concern with respect to the current literature on family language policy in Sweden are the definitions of ‘family’, ‘language’ and ‘language policy’. Languages are generally understood as separate named entities, ignoring the fact that named languages are not neutral, but socially constructed through sociopolitical forces that serve dominant interests (Makoni & Peacock, 2007, from García et al., 2021) and without considering and validating participants’ full linguistic repertoires, including possible translingual practices. This view on language helps to perpetuate notions of the multilingual individual as a person with “full competence in different languages” (Blommaert et al., 2005, p.199), a notion which excludes and stigmatizes people with different linguistic practices. Similarly, the family is often regarded normatively as two parents and their children, a notion that has been challenged to incorporate more diverse family groupings (Bozalek, 1994).

Finally, a problematization of ‘language policy’ is in general not enacted in the current literature in Sweden. Language policy is mostly defined through Spolsky’s tripartite framework of language practices, beliefs and management (Spolsky, 2004), without questioning its suitability to the studied populations. As Metreveli (2022) discusses, this view of language policy may not be enough to capture the experiences of populations located on the other side of Santos’ abyssal line (2014), a line divided by a “system of visible and invisible distinctions, the visible ones being the foundations of the invisible ones” (p. 118) that Santos calls abyssal thinking. Policy is also many times described in research in terms of methods such as One Parent One Language or Minority Language at Home, approaches that frequently do not match the practices of multilingual families and may also be unhelpful or even detrimental to the well-being of marginalized populations.

In sum, there are three main gaps in the research on family language policy in Sweden: in representation, methodological approach, and epistemological understandings of family, language, multilingualism and language policy. There is, thus, a clear need to change focus of investigation in future studies in the area in Sweden, both in terms of the studied populations, in terms of theoretical and methodological approaches, and in terms of themes addressed.

The present thesis proposes therefore to address the above outlined issues by taking a qualitative, ethnographic approach to study family language policy in Somali-Swedish families living in Rinkeby. Taking a decolonial perspective on language practices and ideologies, it seeks to investigate the everyday language practices and language-related challenges of such families and how broader ideologies of language, ethnicity and value shape family language choices. In this way, it seeks to understand how family language practices, ideologies and challenges shape the possibilities for constructing desired identities in different spaces. The focus will lie on mothers’ interactions with their children and mothers’ experiences. While all caregivers play a part in language socialization, in contexts where gendered parenting plays a role, mothers’ engagement in promoting multilingualism is particularly important (Irving Torsh, 2020). A second reason for focusing on mothers is that being a female researcher might make it difficult for me to gain access to fathers in such contexts, due to particular views on gender and gender roles.

3. Research aims and questions

The aim of this thesis is, as stated above, to explore family language policy in Somali-Swedish-speaking families living in Rinkeby. In so doing, I further examine the relationships between family language policy and possibilities for identity construction in different spaces. I understand family language policy as shaping and shaped by everyday linguistic encounters and participants' language ideologies, which in turn are tied into broader societal and diasporic discourses of linguistic value. In order to examine these relationships, I investigate how participants' language ideologies are constructed in and through their lived experiences as representatives of the South in the North, and how these ideologies are manifested in their language practices in everyday life, within the family and outside it. I also explore the challenges families face in putting their intended family language policy into practice. My overarching research question is thus: what are the relationships between family language policy and family members' possibilities for identity construction within and outside the family?

To investigate this, I ask three sub-questions:

1. What are family members' linguistic practices?
2. What language ideologies inform and emerge from these practices?
3. For families aiming to raise their children multilingually, what challenges do they report when it comes to making and implementing decisions?

My main argument throughout this thesis will be that an adequate understanding of these families' experiences can only be achieved by investigating the power dynamics between the North and the South, which determine how different values are ascribed to different languages and linguistic practices, and often, by extension, to their speakers. There are two broader goals with the present work. The first one is to contribute to epistemic justice by making space for southern voices in northern research, in this case by illuminating Somali-speaking families' lived experiences of multilingualism in Sweden. The second one is to improve the kind of support offered by professionals such as health care practitioners and education staff to Somali-speaking parents who aim to raise their children multilingually. Here the thesis hopes to contribute by researching participants' own views on what is important for them and what possible challenges they face, an essential element from a decolonial perspective. This thesis may then be a step towards tailoring language policy solutions to such families' actual needs and could potentially lay some of the groundwork for public policies and guidelines.

4. Literature review

4.1 Family language policy

The published empiric literature on family language policy has increased exponentially since King et al. (2008). There is also a current strive for increasing diversity within

family language policy research in terms of types of families and language contexts, research questions as well as methodologies (King, 2016), making it impossible to examine all literature in the field. The focus of this review will therefore lie on articles addressing family language policy in Sweden, family language policy and identity, articles taking a critical approach, and family language policy in Somali populations.

4.1.1 Family language policy in Sweden

Even though Sweden has a large population of transnational families, the literature on family language policy in Sweden is still quite restricted. Most of the published articles found investigate family language policy in primarily northern populations speaking Indo-European languages such as English (Roberts, 2021), English, French and Spanish (Soler & Roberts, 2019), Russian (Abreu Fernandes, 2019), Polish (Lubińska, 2021) and Lithuanian (Bissinger, 2019). Both official minority languages and languages used within large communities of marginalized immigrants are clearly underrepresented in Swedish family language policy research. The focus seems to have been mainly on people who have come into the local economy in a higher scale, and whose linguistic resources allow them mobility across different scales in Sweden, representing a form of “elite” multilingualism.

This lack of representativeness raises questions of whose agenda is being raised in family language policy research in Sweden, and who is producing knowledge about the local conditions of family language policy. As Moya (2011) ponders, who we are has a significant impact on the type of knowledge we aim to produce. Depending on where we speak from, in a broader sense, we tend to see some, but not others, we concern ourselves about some issues, but not about others, we use some theories but not others, which has epistemic implications to the type of research that is conducted (Moya, 2011).

Methodologically, the found papers fall into three categories. There are those using questionnaire data only, those using interview data, and those that take an ethnographic approach, either through participant observations or through video recordings. In the first category, Bohnacker (2022) investigates family language policy in Turkish speaking families using a quantitative approach through a questionnaire with over 100 participants. The study therefore does not explore the families’ actual language practices. In addition, even though the Turkish-speaking population could have been a good example of a more marginalized group, certainly facing their own struggles when it comes to mobility and resources within the hierarchical social constraints in Sweden, the author does not discuss how these issues potentially shape participants’ family language policy. The author does recognize that family language policy is not isolated from the social context it is inserted in, but questionnaire questions and results still focus on more traditional views of family language policy such as reported language use, language management and outspoken language ideologies in the form of the importance of different languages (Bohnacker, 2022). Results suggest that although parents aim to maintain Turkish as the home language, children were reported to use mostly Swedish, particularly in peer interactions, which Bohnacker attributes to attendance in Swedish pre-school and to some extent to parental background.

Also relying on quantitative data from a questionnaire answered by more than 400 people, majorly from the United States and the UK, Roberts, (2021) also shows that parents

declare Swedish being the preferred language for peer interaction according to the societal ideology, albeit the high status of English in Swedish society. Whether factors in parents' background influence language use at home and how languages are used in these families are issues the author raises as inconclusive and leaves as suggestions for further research. Once again, using a quantitative approach appears not to be enough as to examine issues of how linguistic resources are distributed and attributed with different values in society (Heller, 2007), not deepening the discussion on language ideologies. The large number of participants makes it also impossible to elucidate what is the particular, the specific of each family's experience, and what is common to others, as well as to understand the meanings of these experiences for participants (Creswell and Poth, 2018).

Using a qualitative approach drawing on semi-structured interviews, Lubińska (2021) and Soler & Roberts (2019) discuss language ideologies and reported language practices in Polish families (Lubińska, 2021) and two multilingual families speaking English and Spanish and English and French respectively (Soler & Roberts, 2019), all living in Sweden. Findings in Soler & Roberts suggest that language practices in multilingual families are highly influenced by interpersonal factors, and that family members who grew up in multilingual settings see translanguage practices as less problematic, whereas members who grew up monolingually express the idea that the true 'self' can only be expressed when you speak your first language.

For the Polish families in Lubińska (2021), the main ideology, as the author expresses it, is to maintain Polish as the home language, a practice that is constantly negotiated by different generations. As the author concludes, it seems that maintaining positive relations between family members surpasses the need to pass on Polish to the next generation, something the author attributes to an apparent lack of rational or explicit justification for their family language policy, stating that "the available data demonstrate no ideological explanations for this policy" (Lubińska, 2021, p. 427). Investigating family language policy through interviews poses some problems, though. Interview-based data is not able to disentangle parents' reported language use to the actual language practices within the family, as results are not based on naturalistic data. It may also fail to attend to issues not overtly mentioned in the data but that could have been observed in practice.

From an ethnographic perspective, Bissinger (2019) address the Lithuanian community's challenges in their language maintenance efforts. Based on participant observations and semi-structured interviews, the author argues that the language discourses emerging from their language practices combined with their ideology on the importance of maintaining Lithuanian influence their family language policy. These language practices and ideologies are not explicitly discussed, though, and the article focuses instead on the language discourses. Also on an ethnographic take through analysis of video interaction, Abreu Fernandes (2019) discusses how Russian-speaking mothers use everyday activities to support children's language development in Russian, making use of explicit teaching strategies alongside with consistent language use. No discussion on issues such as language ideologies is carried out by the author. Finally, Roberts (2022) also makes use of video recordings to analyse interactions between parents and children during homework in English-Swedish families. Even though Roberts does not use the term "family language policy" to describe the study, it does tap into language practice issues, concluding that language expertise is an important factor as to the practices used within

the family, with translations and interpretations being a pervasive feature of daily interactions. What is left outside of these studies are the ways in which languages interact with social dynamics and social categorizations in Sweden, overlooking important social issues that could have been investigated if authors took a more critical approach. The lack of a critical approach to the family language policy field is not unique of Sweden, though (Lomeu Gomes, 2018; Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020).

To sum up, as outlined in the background section, there is a gap in family language policy studies in Sweden regarding representativeness, questions asked, theories applied and methods used which this thesis aims to help fill in. One of the issues not investigated in Swedish family language policy research is its relation to identity.

4.1.2 Family language policy and identity

Identity is considered an important component for language maintenance in transnational families, since languages are usually associated with certain social groups, creating a sense of membership (Tseng, 2020). This association tends to enhance language maintenance, at the same time that stigmatization and marginalization processes within society contribute to discourage multilingual language practices, since “delegitimizing language is a powerful way to delegitimizing identity” (Tseng, 2020, p. 113). As with other subfields of inquiry within family language policy, it is difficult to examine the whole literature published in the area of family language policy and identity. This review will therefore be narrowed down to studies investigating how identities are constructed through family language policy, excluding thus studies that only discuss identity as part of the motivation for language maintenance. A smaller number of studies examining identity construction were found in the literature search. Four of these studies will be discussed more closely, showing a variety of topics within family language policy and identity research, with each of the studies having its own focus.

The first study to be discussed is interested in how identities are constructed within an explicit family language policy frame of raising children bilingually in Spanish and English (King, 2013). The author investigates through ethnographic observations and interviews how linguistic identities are constructed and performed by three sisters in an Ecuadorian-U.S. family. Results draw attention to the fact that pervasive ideologies of idealized bilingualism as full competence in both languages combined with the varied language competence among siblings shape the sisters’ identities as more or less successful and impact their family’s language practices.

Changing focus to explore how identities are constructed throughout the life-span of a woman whose parents’ language policy was to adhere to the majority language Iranian in detriment of their other language Azerbaijani, Aghblagh & Rajabi (2020) conducted multiple interviews on her past experiences and ethnographic observations of her present interactions with others. The authors conclude that the parents’ language policy created an identity conflict for the participant, where she felt excluded from the immediate community as pro-Azerbaijani/anti-Persian ideologies started to emerge among her acquaintances.

Another study that proposes to explore how identities emerge from family language policy is Alasmari (2023). Using an auto-ethnographic account consisting of fieldnotes, reflexive journals and recorded conversations of the author’s own transnational family,

an Arabic-speaking family located in the United States, the author seeks to understand how a religious identity is constructed and (re)negotiated during language socialization between the parents and their 3-year-old child. Data shows that an emerging Muslim religious identity surfaces in the child from the dynamics of the family's language policy which proclaims a variety of phrases with religious connotations and the use of language referring to religious places.

Finally, a study that takes a more similar perspective to what this thesis intends to take in terms of identity and family language policy was carried out by Ellis & Sims (2022). The authors investigate how parents' identities as multilingual subjects in a Korean-Irish/Australian family are constructed and how they shape their family language policy, thus impacting on their child's identity construction. However, perceptions on parent's identities are grounded in background interviews, and not in interaction, as the present work proposes. Part of a larger multi-case project on multilingual parenting in remote areas of Australia, the study data consists of video recordings, fieldnotes and interviews. Results show that parents display insecurities as to their own linguistic identities, which affects their family language policy in the light of their own regrets and feelings of dislocation. Their child's identity is described as being constructed in a dynamic way in the in-betweens of parents' desires and her own experiences in society.

While the above studies all investigate the interplays between identity and family language policy, not all of them discuss how identities are constructed during observed interactions between parents and children. Moreover, on a theoretical note, the studies do not question fundamental terms in the field such as the concept of language, and do not fully explore issues of power dynamics between languages. It becomes therefore necessary to also look into research taking a more critical perspective.

4.1.3 Family language policy from a critical perspective

One study that moves in the direction this thesis aims to take theoretically is Lomeu Gomes (2021). Lomeu Gomes explores family language policy in Brazilian families residing in Norway. The focus of his study is language ideologies seen through decolonial lenses, although not tapping into actual language practices as the present study intends to do. The study draws on interview data collected with two Brazilian mothers raising their children multilingually in Norway, and aims to understand how these mothers make sense of their experiences as well as what discourses inform their language practices at home. Lomeu Gomes concludes that Brazilians living in Norway experience echoes of colonialism as they are positioned in certain places by Norwegians, who reproduce power relations that do not capture the complexity of these families' social positions.

Another study that aims to contribute to a diversity of representations and methodologies in family language policy research is Said (2022), who investigates language ideologies in Arabic-speaking families through a multimodal approach. Data was collected through surveys, audio-recordings of interactions, interviews and diaries entries by mothers in four families in the UK. Said concludes that family configuration intertwined with language ideologies in terms of core values such as cultural practices and religion is in fact what governs family language policy in these families.

On a theoretically similar note to what the present study proposes, Mirvahedi (2021) investigates how social structures shape family language policies in Azerbaijani families

in Iran through semi-structured interviews with thirteen parents of varied socio-economic status. As Mirvahedi discusses, it is only by investigating the interplay between different scales and strata that we can make sense of how family language policy emerges in the participant families. Highlighting issues such as the Persian hegemony in Iran, lack of institutional support and historical stigmatization, Mirvahedi's conclusion is that it is the way parents make sense of social structures that composes the ideological component of their family language policy and that informs their language practices.

One last empirical study looking into family language policy through methodologically similar lenses in a marginalized population is Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur (2018). The authors conducted observations and interviews with twenty Turkish-Dutch families defined as second generation immigrants in order to address issues of language ideologies, language practices and language maintenance in these families. The authors start from a traditional view on languages as separate entities in order to discuss language practices, but they do also discuss how social factors such as societal norms and ideologies influence ideologies and practices within participant families.

4.1.4 Family language policy within the Somali diaspora

When it comes to the Somali community, the only studies found explicitly addressing family language policy were conducted in Britain by Abdullahi & Wei (2021) and Abdullahi & Wei (2022). Both articles draw on the same collected data, but answering different research questions. Data was collected through documentary research, interviews, questionnaires and ethnographic observations involving families, young people and key people in the Somali community, thus a more multidimensional lens.

The first article aims to investigate sociolinguistic changes happening in the Somali-British community focusing on intergenerational changes regarding language practices (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021). The authors' findings suggest that younger generations have low proficiency in the Somali language, even though parents reported finding the Somali language important in order to maintain a Somali identity and to communicate with the older generations. The authors suggest that difficulties transmitting Somali as a heritage language could be due to family dynamics, with mothers often working on demanding jobs requiring shift work and having less time together with their children. The authors also name that the families observed seemed to lack a deliberate family language policy and credit it as an obstacle to passing on Somali to the next generation. In their conclusion, Abdullahi & Wei discuss the role of discrimination against Somalis in the UK and the low status of the Somali language in society as a possible contributing factor to English becoming the main mean of communication among the Somali youth.

In their second article (Abdullahi & Wei, 2022), focus lies on how family members manage communication gaps created by language shift among generations in everyday family interactions. After analysing interactions among family members with distinct linguistic repertoires, the authors conclude that differences in language practices easily become an obstacle in constructing strong family ties between older and younger generations, who need language brokers in order to effectively communicate with each other. The authors suggest a "lack of interest on the part of the children to learn Somali to a higher level" (Abdullahi & Wei, 2022, p.p. 160-161), and other individual factors

such as the ability to engage with the local Somali community or encouraging children to watch Somali TV as important for language maintenance.

If we adopt a more critical, decolonial approach to explore the above studies, it is noteworthy that Abdullahi and Wei make use of traditional concepts within family language policy research to analyse their data. Language practices are divided between Somali and English as two separate entities, with translanguaging practices being considered code-switching, and with a focus on competence rather than acknowledging participants' full linguistic repertoires. As the authors assume that participant families lack a family language policy, they fail to acknowledge the families' practices as in fact intrinsic language policy. Instead, northern-driven ontological assumptions are made where in order for practices to be considered "true" family language policy, decisions have to be made deliberately, presuming a middle-class approach to be the correct one and perpetuating stigmas on immigrant families' practices (Lomeu Gomes, 2018). There is also a lack of deeper investigation into issues of economic and social inequalities in British society, such as why it is the case that Somali mothers end up doing shift work that prevent them from spending more time with their children, why Somali grandmothers have such limited access to English, and why it is the case that Great Britain does not provide institutional support to encourage mother tongue maintenance. So even though the authors do touch upon certain issues of social inequalities, the study could have taken a substantially more critical stance in its discussion of the data.

It is thus clear from reviewing the previous literature that there is a lack of research on the Somali population in diaspora from a family language policy perspective, even though Somalis comprise a large immigrant group in many northern countries, including in Sweden. There is also an overall lack of studies within family language policy in the Swedish context taking a critical, decolonial perspective and investigating the experiences of families in more marginalized contexts. I also see an urgent need to start discussing family language policy and multilingualism as more than "the sum of languages understood as monolingual entities" (Heugh & Stroud, 2019, p.2) and to move away from ahistorical perspectives that neglect the role of History and social factors in shaping family language policy. Turning forward, there is a clear need to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the multilingual experience and the interconnectivities among individuals and communities in mobility (Heugh & Stroud, 2019). This task will forcefully entangle understanding social dynamics between the South and the North in order to analyse how language works in building social differences and inequalities (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017), as I will discuss in the theoretical framework.

4.2 Language ideologies and identity in the Somali diaspora

At the international level, the Somali diaspora and its consequences for Somali people living abroad have been the subject of research in several countries, notably in Britain. Many of these studies tap into issues of language and identity. In the early 2000's, Arthur (2004) identified the need to explore the role of English and Somali in the Somali population in Liverpool. The author conducted ethnographic interviews with members of the community, concluding that the Somali language held great importance to uphold a Somali identity, irrespective of proficiency, so that young speakers who were dominant in English still had the wish to pass on Somali to their children. In terms of family language policy and language ideologies, even though these terms are not used by the

author, the use of English by parents was seen with disapproval, but at the same time there was a strong concern about the importance of mastering English for children's achievements in society.

Later on, Hopkins (2010) investigated shifts in identity among Somali women in London and Toronto and how they negotiate the coexistence of both their traditional Somali identity and that of a citizen in the current country through their acts in everyday life. By using a life history approach, the author interviewed 37 women in England and in Canada. Among other findings, maintaining the Somali language was once again regarded as an important feature of the Somali identity (Hopkins, 2010). However, matters of language use were at the same time filled with conflicts and tension, as the younger generations had poorer command of the Somali language. This in turn made mothers feel like their children were slipping away from the Somali identity to join a wider, more diffuse, "black identity" along with other immigrant groups of colour with diverse backgrounds (Hopkins, 2010). A factor that according to Hopkins contributed to creating and maintaining a Somali identity in Toronto, unlike in London, was the prevalence of large groups of people with Somali origin in the same neighbourhoods, which is the case of Rinkeby in Stockholm. It is therefore of interest to investigate how Somali mothers raising their children in Rinkeby see the role of the neighbourhood when it comes to maintaining their language and the Somali identity.

Hill (2020) in her ethnographic work with Somali residents in Glasgow, Scotland, concludes that the Somali language is perceived to be essential for engaging with the Somali community as well as to understand its internal dynamics. Informants in her study do not list identity as a major concern. In fact, (lack of) participation in the community was seen as the main reason for maintaining the language. The author also portrays a national context filled with contradictions between official language policies supportive to multilingualism and practices that actually undermine community and communicative relationships among people of Somali origin. This creates issues of representation and power in the society where poor language skills in English obstruct the ability of people to speak for themselves in society (Hill, 2020). These are issues that are yet to be investigated in the Swedish context which in much reminds of Scotland. The study by Hill also taps into an important issue that the previous studies do not tap into: racism. Participants describe how they are perceived as "racialized Others" (Hill, 2020, p. 175) as soon as they enter the public space, and how this process is intimately connected to language, with participants being met differently depending on their proficiency in English. Scottish society, the author concludes, builds barriers based on racialized notions of language that directly impact minority populations' access to the public sphere, a phenomenon that might be present in contemporary Sweden as well.

Finally, Abdullahi and Wei (2021; 2022) have investigated issues of identity and language preference in different generations, as outlined in the above section. In relation to language ideologies and identity specifically, their data shows once again that participants find that transmitting the Somali language is crucial for establishing a Somali identity in the next generation. Struggles with language become therefore also struggles with identity, particularly in the case of the interviewed youth who strive for a British-Somali identity where both languages can be equally used.

Turning to the Swedish context, a lot of the research done on the Somali population has focused on health care aspects (see Eriksson et al., 2016, for a list of studies on child birth, vitamin D deficit, prevalence of autism and more). In terms of language, there are some studies in literacy development, the experiences of students that undergo mother tongue instruction in Somali and language socialization (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017; Palm et al., 2019, Rodell Olgaç, 2001). Referring to language and identity, students in Palm et al. connect the Somali language to a Somali identity, making an active choice to speak Somali and to continue taking mother tongue instructions classes as ways to establish Somaliness. These students prescribe a value to the Somali language which the authors claim work on the local linguistic market, but with no convertible value in the national market, as in the national context, Somali is still a low-prestige language. Finally, Osman et al. (2021) investigate the dynamics between parents and adolescents in Somali families in Sweden. The authors focus on issues of parenthood such as authority and equality in parent-children relations. Language here is surprisingly given a secondary role as a factor that increases the gap between generations, but not as an issue of major importance permeating participants' relationships.

In the above reviewed literature, little is investigated openly on matters of language ideologies of the Somali community in diaspora. However, from the readings it is clear that language is seen as intimately connected to identity and to a sense of belonging to the Somali community. Not transmitting the Somali language appears to be seen disapprovingly; on the other hand, younger generations seem to struggle to balance their identity as Somali and as members of the broader society. This seems to depend to some extent on their language proficiency. Issues of racism have been lightly touched upon by the literature which is surprising given the fact that the global North is historically an oriented 'white room' where some bodies are more visible and have less mobility than others (Ahmed, 2007). There is thus a need to further the investigation on language ideologies and identities within the Somali diaspora focusing on their social experiences.

5. Theoretical framework

As Blommaert (2018) notes, family language policy is a key field for investigating situated modes of social practice, since it involves both the implementation of communicative resources and the rationalization behind these practices. Language ideologies are essential in understanding how such rationalizations are made. Language ideologies are defined as "beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language structure and language use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states" (Kroskrity, 2010, p.1). Language ideologies also contribute to shaping the extent to which desired identities can be constructed in different spaces.

As previously stated, I take a decolonial approach to investigate the dynamics between language practices, ideologies and identities, and the conflicts that stem from the daily encounters between the global South and the global North. By this I mean that it is only through shedding light on the consequences of coloniality that we will be able to fully comprehend these families' experiences. Coloniality refers to the two axes of power that

arouse from and defined what was called America: the codification of differences grounded on the idea of races and of their subsequent natural superiority/inferiority, and the establishment of a new structure of control of labour and its resources on the basis of capital and the world market (Quijano, 2000). Mignolo (2011) argues that we still live under the legacy of coloniality, which inscribes a global racial and ethnic hierarchy that entangles with other hierarchies, such as the linguistic one. In order to break with this legacy, we need to start acknowledging modes and practices of knowledge previously denied, shifting the rules and assumptions rather than just the content of the conversation, aiming to “undertake epistemic reconstitution” (Mignolo, 2018, p. 380), which is what decoloniality aims to achieve (Maldonado-Torres, 2011; Bhabha, 2014). One way to achieve this change in focus is to investigate and validate other means of knowing, such as the linguistic practices of more marginalized populations, changing the locus of enunciation away from a uniquely Eurocentric perspective on languages.

Besides, this thesis also follows the claim by Santos (2012) that in order to make sense of the realities from the global South, we need to anchor them in epistemologies from the South. The South and the North are viewed here not as geographical places, but as a dual relation of flows and connections, where one part is marked by excluded, silent and marginalized populations and is separated from the other by an “abyssal line” when it comes to knowledge and thinking (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017; Santos, 2014). On one side of the line is science, knowledge and the law on their supposedly ‘true’ and universal forms, whereas on the other side we find beliefs, intuitions and the lawless (Santos, 2014). Entangling discourses from the North and South may thus potentially increase representation in research and expose limits of northern thinking, contributing to restoring visibility to certain types of knowledges, practices and repertoires (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017). It is therefore of importance for this thesis to analyse how the linguistic repertoires, knowledges and ways of being of people stemming from the South are rendered invisible and iconized into general social identities in their encounters with the North.

5.1 Language, identity and knowledge production

As Martín Alcoff (2011) claims, identity carries epistemic significance for decolonial projects because it acknowledges that situated experiences of marginalized and dispossessed subjects matter to knowledge production, as opposed to colonial discourses which disauthorize and silence certain groups’ identities and thereby their ways of knowing. Definitions and interrelations identified in research on identity can be useful as analytical tools for subjects who themselves experience the fundamental questions of whose knowledge matters and of “who knows?” (Martín Alcoff, 2011).

Identity is broadly defined by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) as “the social positioning of self and other” (p. 586). Bailey (2007) includes in his definition the notion of boundaries which groups construct when delimiting who shares the same identity and who does not. Moya (2011) defines identity in decolonialized approaches to research as “the complex and situated ways that situated, embodied human beings look out onto and interpret the world they live in” (p. 80). One’s identity and one’s experience are here seen as mutually constitutive, and both are relevant to knowledge production in the sense that knowledge is influenced by how we conceptualize the world. Thus, Moya considers identity as a key epistemic resource for social research, since identity is so intimately related to the

available social categories. Summing up, identity can be viewed as the way you position yourself socially and interpret the world, delimiting boundaries as to who shares your embodied experience and who is positioned outside as the other, contingent on one or more social categories.

One of these social categories is language. Notions of identity are intimately connected to language since linguistic competence is often important in order to be identified as a legitimate member of a certain group (Pujolar, 2007). For multilingual individuals, there may be even more identities to be acted out, as they can draw upon resources from several languages, and are often included in a range of cultural and social boundaries where they need to position themselves (Bailey, 2007). Advances in technology and economic well-being have also made it possible to keep in touch with your community both in your home country and with those in diaspora across the world in ways not previously available (Pujolar, 2007). This change of paradigm has had an impact on the transnational experiences of immigrants, turning identity into a more fluid concept, one which is in constant negotiation, redefinition and change (De Fina, 2016; Pujolar, 2007). Identity-building within transnational families often intertwines with issues of language ideologies, as the fostering of certain identities is shaped by the families' views on languages (De Fina, 2016).

In order to analyse matters of language and identity, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) suggest the use of five principles. The first is the emergence principle, which claims that identity surfaces through language use. Secondly, the authors introduce the principle of positionality. According to them, identity involves positioning yourself within a macro-level of categories, a local, particular level and also within a temporal dimension in a specific role as participant of specific interactions. The third principle is grounded in the concept of indexicality. Connecting indexicality to language and identity, Bucholtz & Hall suggest that identity emerges from several indexical processes during interactions, such as the clear mention of categories through language, presuppositions about your own and others' identities and the use of specific language practices tied to certain groups. Similar to Bailey's (2007) notion of boundaries between the same and the different, Bucholtz & Hall also present the idea that identities are constructed in relation to other social actors, the relationality principle. The authors further this notion of boundaries as to scope beyond the same-different axis to also englobe notions such as legitimate-illegitimate. Finally, the authors propose the principle of partialness. According to this principle, identity is seen as shifting, grounded in agency in different discourse contexts. All in all, Bucholtz & Hall's analytical concepts assume identity as socially constructed in interaction and emergent in discourse, which is the view that this study will adopt.

Besides issues of language and identity, this study also highlights differences between knowledges when it comes to the daily making of family language policy. Santos (2018) points out that whereas knowledge in northern epistemologies is usually individual-based, from a southern perspective it is many times immemorial or originated by the social experiences of oppression and struggles that individuals face, surging in "moments of action or reflection" (p.54). Santos explains that collective knowledge is often intermediated by certain individuals with particular authority within the community, who develop a critical consciousness and create new perspectives, being able then to interpret, analyse and orient others. At the same time, collective knowledge is borne by all

individuals of the community. Collective knowledge is also by nature oral, and not written, such as individually produced knowledge is. Santos (2018) calls for the importance of viewing oral knowledge as resilience, since the imposition of written knowledge by colonial and post-colonial contexts tends to minimize its importance. If we regard knowledge as embodied, as Santos does, then translating the lived experiences of individuals becomes a crucial process when attempting to build southern knowledges. However, as Santos claims, the harder the experiences of injustice, oppression and struggle, the more difficult they are to share and translate.

5.2 Language ideologies

The idea that language is tantamount to culture, and that, consequently, homogenous linguistic communities that share the same territory are sanctioned to claim their own nation is fundamental for the construction of European nation-states (Gal & Irvine, 1995). This notion also engenders claims that certain groups are naturally superior to others based on their language, since languages are empirically assumed to be a natural phenomenon and thereby detached from the social context where they emerge (Gal & Irvine, 1995).

These and other beliefs about “social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1989, p.255) are used to rationalize language use. They also allow participants to make assumptions about behaviours, morals and other aspects based on linguistic differences among social groups, (re)acting in relation to these ideological constructions (Gal & Irvine, 1995). Gal & Irvine suggest that this process is an essentializing one, distinguishing the self from the other by means of iconic representations of linguistic features that would somehow display a social groups’ essence, recursiveness of oppositions creating subcategories in each side of a contrast, and erasure of linguistic practices that do not match the expected norm, making atypical subjects invisible. Through discourse, “orders of visibility” are created in such a way that some people’s practices are put in the forefront whereas others’ are kept invisible (Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017).

The processes described above operate not only in the interaction between speakers, but also from an epistemological perspective in language research. Historically, northern linguists have viewed language through a northern tradition of one language - one culture - one nation (Pujolar, 2007). Linguistic research has thus been permeated by ideas on the connection between language and nation and of languages as distinct homogenous systems (Auer, 2007; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Heller, 2007). In this sense, multilingualism in research has often been regarded as two or more bound linguistic systems that coexist, a not entirely unproblematic standpoint, since it fails to explain the dynamics between languages in use (Auer, 2007; Heller, 2007). The standpoint of monolingualism as being the natural and the norm, whereas multilingualism is seen as a marked, unnatural form of speech very difficult to explain has also contributed to stigmatize multilingual speakers and their practices as less desirable (Bailey, 2007). For those reasons, Heller (2007) argues instead for a conceptualization of multilingualism as linguistic resources rather than independent systems, organized depending on specific social conditions.

According to Heller (2007), these resources are distributed in unequal ways, and their values are constructed from hierarchical social constraints created under specific

historical processes. The hierarchy between languages has therefore nothing to do with languages themselves, but with the specificities of the social political conditions where they emerge. In Heller's words, "our ideas about language(s) are not neutral" (p. 15). One of the processes that has been fundamental in the construction of the values attributed to different languages is colonialism. Colonialism, as defined by Stroud (2007), describes exploitative practices encompassing cultural, material and economic processes driven by the idea of "civilizing the natives". Within colonialism, language plays an important role as a means to control people, as colonizers apply Eurocentric notions of language and territory to organize colonies into administrable communities (Stroud, 2007). With the end of colonialism and the entrance of the post-colonial era, remaining colonial ideas connected to different language practices continue to be valid, constructing images of speakers dependent on their language practices, for instance the "loyal citizen" who masters and uses a "pure" language in accordance to the monolingual norm (Stroud, 2007). At the same time, in colonial contexts, artificial boundaries were drawn around groups of speakers for political ends, thus "inventing" languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005). This leads us to questions of who gets to define the value of different languages.

Kroskrity (2004) argues that, at an individual level, language ideologies are grounded in the speaker's social experience and built in the interests of specific social groups, but that speakers present varying levels of awareness when it comes to prevailing ideologies. He also argues that language ideologies are multiple by nature, due to the "plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on)" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 503). Moreover, Kroskrity lifts that language ideologies are an active part of the creation of social and cultural identities, as language ideologies have been used to naturalize limits between different social groups in terms of national identities. This sets aside groups who do not master the standard language advocated by the majority.

Such ideological valuations mediate social inclusion and exclusion (Piller, 2012). For example, multilingualism in northern countries has been seen as a barrier for social inclusion (Piller, 2012). This idea is based on the argument that migrants must have high linguistic competence in the majority language, which would bring both individual benefits in form of access to social and economic fields, and national benefits for the state. Not mastering the majority language leads then to a perceived causal relation between multilingualism and social exclusion (Piller, 2012). This argument fails, though, to account for why even migrants with high competence in the majority language many times still face social exclusion, having difficulty accessing the same levels of education, employment and health as the majority population. It also fails to account for the fact that monolingualism is not a guarantee of social inclusion, as Piller reminds us about speakers of African American English.

While ideologies are often seen as operating on global or national scales, it is also possible to investigate how they operate at a more local scale (Blommaert, 2018). One way is through the study of family language policy. Just as in higher scale orders, by exploring family language policy one might find that different linguistic resources are marked in terms of value, and that the rules guiding language use by speakers are learned through social experiences within local sociolinguistic hierarchies (Blommaert, 2018). This thesis intends therefore to explore language ideologies within a family language policy frame

both from a broader perspective on the historical and contemporary values attributed to different languages and from the micro perspective of influencing factors for each family.

5.3 Spaces, scales and indexicality

Blommaert (2007) calls for the importance of developing new theoretical tools in order to analyse the dynamics between languages in the globalized world, where issues of language practices become entangled with social, political and ideological processes. One useful concept to analyse data which originates in power imbalances between languages is the notion of scales (Dong & Blommaert, 2009). The authors claim that scales can be regarded as vertical spaces where there is a hierarchical stratification process from local to global, and where mobility presupposes resources, therefore movements across scales are movements of power. Scale is here intimately connected to space, which is seen as an agent in sociolinguistic processes, movements between spaces also being movements across scales (Blommaert et al., 2005; Dong & Blommaert, 2009). Space is arguably neither passive nor neutral, being responsible for shifts in linguistic practices and styles, attaching or removing value to certain linguistic resources (Dong & Blommaert, 2009). In this sense, notions of linguistic competence are also tied to the space where language is used, with place being crucial in defining which linguistic resources are relevant or valued (Blommaert et al., 2005). Space can, in other words, both enable and disable speakers in relation to their repertoires

Spaces are also constructed semiotically by discourse, indexing different meanings in different circumstances (Blommaert et al., 2005). Considering all discourses around Rinkeby, it is of interest to investigate in which ways Rinkeby as a space operates for the participants, and whether they move between different spaces. It might be the case that space here is more than a mere context for communication. It may come to the foreground as an important agent dictating to a certain extent norms and rules as to speakers' behaviours, practices, their attributed values and their identities (Blommaert et al., 2005).

Connecting scales and spaces to family language policy, Blommaert (2018) argues that studying family language policy automatically entails studying different scales, from the global migration level to the family micro-cosmos. Blommaert also claims that through family language policy one may investigate both the private scale, where intimacy laces and affection are situated, and its opposite, the public scale, where orientations towards success and mobility may be the driven forces. The family sphere is also an excellent arena to look into how language is shaped and viewed in different spaces, as families may circulate among several places, probably having to adjust their language practices.

When analysing power imbalances between languages in different scales and spaces, the notion of indexicality becomes a suitable concept because it points to important aspects of power and inequality in different semiosis (Blommaert, 2007). Indexicality, as Blommaert puts it, is not arbitrary and unstructured, but ordered in patterns of perceptions of similarity, pointing to predictable directions, creating orders of indexicality. These orders relate to each other in terms of mutual valuations, such as higher/lower or better/worse (Blommaert, 2007). Indexicality helps to clarify how different modes of semiosis are attributed with different values, with some modes being given systematic preference while others are constantly being excluded and disqualified. When analysing indexicality in the data, it is of importance to consider more than the literal meaning of

what is being said (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). In other words, Blommaert & Rampton argue that contexts of communication should not be assumed, but investigated, and that analysing semiotics requires an understanding of its importance and its position in the world.

6. Research design and methods

The present thesis takes a qualitative ethnographic approach, since the questions I am asking refer to the *whats* and the *hows*, attempting to investigate interactions between language practices, external factors and language ideologies, which would perhaps only superficially surface in quantitative research. A qualitative approach allows me to collect naturalistic data and to use interpretative frameworks that address the meanings these mothers attribute to multilingualism, locating myself as an observer in their world and making it visible through a series of representations (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This is a much more meaningful way to make sense of these mothers' experiences than to collect quantitative data with a larger group of informers. Ethnography is also consistent with a decolonial stance, since it provides space for participants to communicate their world views from their own frames of reference, taking the perspective of those who carry historical experiences of oppression and marginalization (Gogoi & Sumesh, 2023).

The study draws on data collected through ethnographic observations combined with semi-structured interviews with two Somali-Swedish families living in Rinkeby, Stockholm, between November 2022 and February 2023. The starting point here is the statement by Heller et al. (2018), "all research activities occur in socially situated communicative events" (p. 56). This means that as a researcher, I must be aware of the forms of production of the data and how it impacts the data I am working with. It is therefore important to clarify the methods I have used and their limitations.

The first method of data collection is ethnographic observations. More specifically, this study takes a linguistic ethnographic perspective rather than a traditional ethnographic approach, focusing on language as "communicative actions in social contexts" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 27), and investigating how language is used and what it reveals on social constraints, structures and ideologies. This ethnographic perspective implies a more limited amount of time in the field, and is suitable for the scope of this study.

However, ethnographic observation on their own would not be enough in order to answer my research questions, as these answers may not surface during the limited period of observations. Moreover, observations may not be enough in order to tap into the lived experiences and the ideologies of the participants (Copland & Creese, 2015). Combining observations with semi-structured interviews thus allows me to access knowledge that is not observable, and the combination of both methods allows me to engender new analytical angles and findings (Copland & Creese, 2015).

Interviews are a suitable method for studies investigating personal experiences since they allow participants to examine their motives and reflect upon their life events in a way that direct observations cannot reach (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In this study, I am considering interviews more as social practice than as a mere research instrument, treating interview

data as productions emerging from socially situated communicative events (Heller et al., 2018; Talmy, 2011). This means that the interviews are not just regarded as a means to collect information, but as a collaborative process where both the *whats* that are being said and the *hows* are taken in consideration, with utterances not being taken at face value (Heller et al., 2018; Talmy, 2011). In addition, I attempted to be aware of the different levels of listening that interviewing require both listening to what participants say, to their outer voice and to the process as well as to the essence of what is being said (Seidman, 2006). By interviewing participants in this way and collecting their stories, I hope I was able to capture the meaning-making practices that enlighten the way they experience processes of negotiation, power relations and multilingualism in family language policy.

Interviews as a research method have their own limitations as well. One limitation with interviews is that interviewees tend to try to find coherence in narratives and worldviews even when there isn't any (Lamont & Swidler, 2014). Moreover, the power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee may also lead to the interviewee trying to demonstrate competence in the role cast to them by the interviewer (Slembrouck, 2004), in this case the role of a competent multilingual mother. The awareness of the formality of the interview setting may create apprehension in the interviewee and lead to an inclination to please the interviewer, taking the interview process for granted (Copland & Creese, 2015). I have attempted to minimize these risks during the interview processes by establishing trustworthiness before the interviews, by preserving the flexibility that semi-structured interviews entails, allowing for digressions and topic changes, and by trying to maintain the centrality of the participant's perspectives (De Fina, 2019).

6.1 Participants and data generation

My entry point to the data are two Somali-Swedish families living in Rinkeby with children in pre-school age and early school age. Pre-school and early school age is a relevant age span for this study since pre-school and early school education are many times the opening wedge for multilingual children to the majority society system, including the majority language. It is therefore a critical period for parents attempting to establish a multilingual family language policy where both the minority and the majority language develop alongside each other (Gruszczyńska, 2019; Surrain, 2021). It is also a period where many children shift their preferred language from the minority language to the majority one, making it especially challenging for parents wishing to keep the minority language active at home (Surrain, 2021). It is therefore a particularly interesting period to study when attempting to investigate families' language use at home, how this use is informed by their experiences and beliefs and how it impacts identities within the family.

I am aware that by naming these families Somali-Swedish I might have run the risk of simplifying notions of a group (Heller et al., 2018). I have nevertheless considered the hypothesis that the boundaries I am creating here may actually be more diffuse and mobile in reality than what I am describing. Hence, I have discussed this nomenclature with participants and both agreed that Somali-Swedish is a definition that applies to their families.

6.1.1 Participants

Families were recruited through a snowball sampling strategy combined with convenience sampling within my own network built by almost 10 years working as a child speech-language pathologist in a clinic located in Rinkeby. Both these sampling methods have previously been used to recruit participants within so-called “hard-to-reach” populations, i.e., populations that do not traditionally participate in research (Raifman et al., 2022). Knowledge about the target population as well as working together with community partners increase the probability of people participating in research, and both sampling methods are particularly adequate for qualitative research, since findings do not attempt to be generalizable (Raifman et al., 2022).

The procedure adopted was to ask colleagues and acquaintances to help me find suitable families and hanging up posters informing about the project in suitable sites. I hung up posters in the local speech-language pathology clinic, the local child health centre, the children’s section at the local library and the local open pre-school. A copy of the poster is included in appendix A. I have also visited a story telling session that many mothers of Somali origin attend and spoke to possible candidates.

Mothers who showed interest in the study, whether they expressed it verbally to one of my connections or directly to myself, were approached for a first presentation of the project. In case they were still interested in participating, I went through the information sheet and consent form together with them. The information sheet and consent form can be found in appendix B. Information was presented orally as well as in print and mothers were given the opportunity to ask questions. About 10 families who were approached showed interest in the project in an initial phase. Three of them went on to sign the consent form. The focus children in these families were informed during the first encounter that I would be visiting them a few times to see how their mothers spoke to them and passed on the Somali language, older children in family 2 were informed that it was a research project. Due to time constraints and unforeseen events, one of these families had to interrupt their participation during the data collection. Their data has been removed from the project. No potential participant contacted me through information from posters, all people I was in contact with during the project were either recommended by someone or approached by me.

Participants in family 1 (see table 1) were recruited according to the above-mentioned procedure through the speech language pathology clinic where I work. One of the children had previously attended speech therapy there, and the child’s case was closed at the time we made contact. Participants in the second family (see table 1) were also recruited according to the described procedure, but through a snowball sampling method. They were recommended by another mother who had shown interest in the study, but who could not participate.

The two families who completed the data collection procedure and whose data composes the results of the study are here presented in table 1:

Table 1. Demographic data for participant families

	Family 1	Family 2
Family members and ages	Hawa, 34 y., husband, Nadiah, 6 y., Nuh, 4 y.	Faduma, 37 y., husband, older children 14, 12 and 10 y., focus child Safiya 4 y.
Mother's educational level and working status	Primary education, currently on maternity leave, previously unemployed	Higher education, full-time employed as a pre-school teacher
Mother's self-reported linguistic repertoire	Somali, Swedish, some English and some Arabic	Somali, Italian, Swedish, some English and some Arabic
Mother's time of residence in Sweden	14 years	16 years

One of the requirements to take part in the study was that the mother was able to communicate in Swedish as well as in Somali, which excluded families where the mother is newly arrived in Sweden or has not had the chance to learn the language. Communicating in Swedish was important because I interacted with participants in Swedish. Moreover, information about the study and the consent form were not translated to Somali due to lack of funding. However, since participants reported themselves to be comfortable speaking Swedish, translation should not have been a problematic issue.

6.1.2 Data collection procedures

Data was collected during four encounters with each participant family where I could observe their everyday interactions in a natural setting, followed by an interview with each of the mothers. Encounters were carried out from November 2022 to February 23, summarizing in total about 9 hours for family 1 and 8 hours for family 2. Table 2 shows the dates, sites and duration of encounters. Encounters were organized depending on the families' availability. Me as a researcher and the participants had to constantly create our boundaries and frames during the research process, with uncertainty being regarded as part of the process (Heller et al., 2018). Situations observed in everyday life included picking up children from school, running errands, playtime at home and other home interactions, participating in organized sports activities and visiting the local library. Interviews were conducted in the end of the data collection process so that I had time to observe the families first and build my own hypothesis that I could later check with the interviewees.

Table 2. Dates, sites and duration of encounters for each participant family

	Family 1	Family 2
Encounter 1	7/11, we pick up Nadiah from school and run errands in Rinkeby centrum, 1 h	6/1, playtime at home, 2 hs
Encounter 2	15/11, playtime at home, 2 hs	15/1, we meet at home and go to sports practice, 2 hs
Encounter 3	21/11, playtime at home, 2 hs	5/2, playtime at home, 2 hs
Encounter 4	7/12, playtime at home, 3 hs	25/2, we visit the local library, 1h
Interview	20/12, at home, 55 min	28/2, in my office, 60 min

Field observations focused on language practices. Language practice here is understood as language use by members of the family, regardless of named languages. Although participants report a broader linguistic repertoire, the study focuses on their daily linguistic practices in Somali and Swedish, not investigating how their other reported languages impact their family language policies, since their use has not surfaced from the data. As a researcher in the field, I am aware that different levels of participation were required as we negotiated our roles during the ongoing research process (Copland & Creese, 2015). Sometimes I took a more active role during our encounters, at other times I resorted to being a more passive spectator.

Since I do not speak Somali myself, even though I understand it to some extent, I constantly had to check with the participants if the observations I made corresponded to what was actually being said by asking them for translations whenever necessary. For particularly interesting interactions for the analysis, I asked them to provide me with both the Somali version of specific sentences, and the Swedish translation.

The ethnographic data consists of fieldnotes. I was hoping to combine them with audio and video recordings of family interactions, but participants were not willing to be filmed. Fieldnotes do not attempt to be a mirror of the reality observed, but a manufactured construction of lived experiences, and therefore are to be regarded as interpretive in nature (Elingson & Sotirin, 2020). In my fieldnotes, I attempted to follow the suggestion by Elingson & Sotirin (2020) of considering fieldnotes as “data on the make” (p. 30). In this sense, fieldnotes were not treated as static and limited to a specific point in the research, but as open to diverse arrangements of power, sense and reconfiguring relations as the research process unfolded. Following Copland & Creese (2015), the adopted procedure was to divide fieldnotes into observation reports and more reflective notes, including autoethnographic accounts of reflexivity. Fieldnotes were assembled, organized and classified for every family as soon as possible after every visit on the field.

Interviews covered personal experiences on raising multilingual children, seeking for emerging language ideologies. Interviews were conducted in Swedish in a place chosen by the participants. They were audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim, translations to English were made for the excerpts discussed in the results section. Interviews were

based on an interview guide rather than on fixed questions and they took approximately one hour to complete. The English translation of the interview guide for each family can be found respectively in appendix C and D. The data consists of conversational data and I aimed at eliciting answers from the participants that describe and explain their experiences and thoughts about multilingualism.

6.2 Data analysis procedure

The data analysis aims to investigate complexity, connectivity and intersectionality (Heller et al., 2018) in order to fully answer the research questions. Since I have collected different types of data, analysis was carried out in a triangulation process, using both interview data and fieldnotes that result in the material informing my findings (Heller et al., 2018).

I will now describe the data analysis method. After assembling the data, I engaged in an inductive analytical process, following the data analysis spiral process described in Creswell & Poth (2018). Data was organized in files according to participants. Fieldnotes and transcriptions were then read several times in search of common topics which were coded aiming to identify similarities and differences across topics. Several themes later emerged from this coding process.

One important note to make here is on how transcriptions are handled in this thesis, as transcriptions are not impartial and void of meaning; they are in fact the result of conscious choices and require reflexivity from the part of the researcher (Bucholtz, 2000). Ochs (1979) states that the transcriber should be aware of the filtering process transcriptions entail and that decisions regarding transcriptions should be made in line with the state of the research field. As Bucholtz (2000) further develops, transcriptions in discourse analysis and ethnography are ultimately a political act by the researcher, who inevitably needs to be aware of the ideological implications of her choices when transcribing spoken language.

Seeing transcription as an embodied process, who I am as the transcriber will surely shape the transcriptions I make (Cavanaugh, 2021). I would therefore like to clarify that I have decided to transcribe conversations in standard Swedish and translate them to standard English, regardless of the form used by participants and by myself. This since dialectal particularities in the use of Swedish are not in question or of any relevance for the research carried out here. I follow Bucholtz's (2000) point that standard written language does not adequately capture dialectical variation, which may lead to stigmatization of speakers when dialectical features are transcribed into "wrong" written language. I am aware, though, that using standard forms may also imply inadequacy of the original form of speech, as Bucholtz remarks. However, I claim here that in the case of research done in marginalized populations where the focus is not on the linguistic variety spoken, the risks of stigmatization overshadowing the content of what is being said is larger than the risks of erasing the particulars of participants' vernacular.

Transcriptions done in Somali follow the spelling and the grammar used by participants, as they are my source when it comes to Somali. Participants have also orally translated their sentences to Swedish and I have taken notes on the translation. I have double-checked translations from Somali to English and Swedish by using Google translate in order to make sure I have got sentences right.

When analysing qualitative data, the researcher brings a series of assumptions regarding what is expected to be found, which can be viewed as pre-textualities (Slembrouck, 2004). In order to avoid having my own pre-contextualizations influence my view on the data, I tried to approach it in an open-minded way as to avoid relying on my own experience as a multilingual mother and a speech language pathologist to make sense of others' experiences.

Data analysis should be considered as recursive and dialogical, just as the other steps of the research process (Heller et. al, 2018). It is therefore of importance to take the analysis back to the participants and check if my interpretations are in consonance with what they meant, and whether they agree with my claims. For the scope of this thesis, I attempted at doing that by coding the ethnographic data before the interviews, so that I could check my interpretations and observations with the participants at that time.

The analysis of the data departs from a critical discourse analysis stance, aiming to uncover links between local language practices (discourses) and broader social and ideological processes (Martin-Jones & Gardner, 2012). Language practices are here seen through critical awareness lenses as a means for dealing with the challenges that the globalized era presents and how knowledge, through discourse, is reshaped in social practices at micro-, meso- and macro-scales, that is, discursive events, discursive practices and social structures (Fairclough, 1999). The philosophical approach taken in this study is an ontological one, aiming to investigate the nature of reality for these mothers, with different individuals presenting different perspectives. (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The interpretative framework guiding this research is decoloniality, trying to capture how colonialist and post-colonialist practices and ideologies influence, in this case, experiences of motherhood and multilingualism. Combining ontology with decoloniality, I aim at describing a "reality that is based on power and identity struggles" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 36).

Finally, data will be represented by key quotes and observations that summarize the meanings created during the research process.

6.3 Data validity and trustworthiness

High quality ethnographic research requires immersion in a community (Leve, 2022). Leve describes that one possible way to guarantee the validity of qualitative data is to first become acquainted with the norms of the community, and then to interview participants and verify your observations with them. I have worked in Rinkeby with Somali-Swedish families for about a decade, and even though my experience differs from ethnographic immersion, I consider myself as somewhat acquainted with some of the Somali community practices. This has hopefully helped me navigate everyday life in the participant families and to make adequate interpretations of the gathered data.

Other ways to guarantee the quality of ethnographic research are to thoroughly describe the data generation and analysis procedures and to engage in reflexivity and self-disclosure, as well as seeking participant feedback (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Following their standards, I am here attempting at describing the methods in such a way that it helps promote a good level of validity for the presented data. A reflexivity section is presented below where I discuss my own role as a researcher in the research process. Participant feedback was sought during the interviews in order to confirm or refute my observations.

Finally, the concept of trustworthiness is a valuable one to assess qualitative research. According to Adler (2022), trustworthiness is achieved by transparency of both theories and methods used, including discussing reflexivity, triangulation of the data analysis through other researchers or participants and having raw data available. Adler (2022) also argues that identifying and stating your own bias in addition to keeping to overall scientific rigor are other ways to guarantee trustworthiness in qualitative research. In this thesis, I am aiming at building trustworthiness through a transparency of processes which include being reflective of my own position in all stages of research and triangulating the data as much as possible.

6.4 Ethical issues, reflexivity and limitations

6.4.1 Ethical issues

As the Swedish Research Council states, studies based on participant observations imply important ethical issues that have to be dealt with (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017). It is important to keep the participants' identity undisclosed and to prevent any damage. The Swedish Research Council also present four concepts for good research: secrecy, professional secrecy, anonymity and confidentiality (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017). The most relevant of these concepts for this study are anonymity and confidentiality. There are no personal identifications of participants in any of the collected data and they have chosen pseudonyms for themselves and for their children in order to guarantee their anonymity. Their integrity and private lives are being protected as to reduce the risk of causing any harm to their physical, mental and social integrity.

Informed written consent was required in order to participate in the study. Adult participants received written as well as oral information about their participation and they signed a consent form that conforms to ethical requirements and data processing procedures by Stockholm University, see appendix B. Written consent was given in two copies; one for participants and the other kept by the researcher in a locked drawer at my office. In order to protect their integrity, participants were anonymized and fieldnotes, transcriptions and audio recordings were saved in an external hard drive. Adult participants were informed about their right to withdraw at any point.

No harm was meant to be done to the participants during the research. However, the subject of the interviews could potentially have raised distress in the participants, since decision making in motherhood is often morally intense, and acknowledging its complexities is essential when doing research on motherhood (Callaham, 2021). By acknowledging that, I was hopefully able to reduce "judginess" and the possible guilt and shame that could plague my informants (Callaham, 2021). My own position as a multilingual mother but with a different background, including a perhaps perceived advantage as an "expert" on multilingualism and language development may have had an impact on what participants were willing to share and the image they may have tried to convey, as we inevitably found ourselves in different positions of power. Transparency and dialogue were the stepping stones of my fieldwork in order to constantly re-negotiate our positions as researcher and participants as necessary, so that we could build trust relations.

6.4.2 Reflexivity

As with any other interpretative study, there is a chance that the specificities of my own experience and of my worldviews will surface into my interpretation of the findings. When conducting this research, I must also be aware of how my own profile might impact the type of questions I am asking, my relation to the participants and the type of data that I gather.

I am, just as my participants, a person of colour, an immigrant who does not speak Swedish as my first language, and a mother raising my children multilingually within a system that is sometimes foreign to me even though I have lived in Sweden for many years. I moved to Sweden at about the same age of Hawa and Faduma. As Faduma, I have taken a university degree in this new country, and I work full time with children. Having worked for a long time in Rinkeby has also given me a somewhat positive reputation, which is something both Hawa and Faduma mentioned was one of the reasons for endorsing the study. Hawa and Faduma were both acquainted with me through the clinic, Hawa as a parent of a child who had attended it, and Faduma as a cooperation partner in several patient cases as their teacher. The similarities in our background and my own work experience have thus certainly presented me with advantages when it comes to accessing my participants and connecting with them.

We do, however, differ when it comes to language background, and religious beliefs, with both Hawa's and Faduma's religious identity being immediately disclosed by their use of a hijab. I am sure that these differences have entailed different challenges when it comes to meeting the majority population, and I do not doubt that both Hawa and Faduma have had many more experiences of racism and prejudice than I have. Hawa and I also differ in terms of formal education. It is sometimes difficult to put our impressions into words, but I have a strong feeling that the power imbalance between researcher and participant was more unequal in the case of family 1 than of family 2, and that formal education and working status may have played a role.

I have a strong personal interest in social justice, and with ten years work experience in Rinkeby, my eyes inevitably turned to the need of somehow promoting social justice at some level for the Somali community, so often marginalized. This has surely impacted on the type of questions I am asking here, on which observations I have found most interesting, and on the ways that I am theorizing my interpretations of these mothers' experiences. However, in ethnographic research, there is a risk of the researcher trying to build sympathy for the participants, especially when they belong to traditionally marginalized populations (Small, 2015). Small points out that in these cases, the main risk consists on highlighting aspects that evoke pity or sorrow at the expense of aspects that nuance the presented image. Small's response to these risks is to seek empathy rather than sympathy, aiming to understand the other's conditions and not exoticizing participants and reinforcing stereotypes. By reflecting on my own history and experiences, I aimed at empathizing with participants. I have truly intended to present a nuanced picture of participants and to break with stereotypes of Somali women during the course of this work. I hope to present here a vast account of participants' experiences that is not grounded in exotic stereotypes.

6.4.3 Limitations

The mothers I am recruiting for this study have at least one thing in common besides ethnic background and place of residence: they all report feeling comfortable speaking Swedish. I believe the families I am working with have a higher level of integration in the Swedish society than many other Somali families living in Rinkeby. It is probably the case that their experiences and ideologies might differ from others with lower social capital, for instance newly-arrived families or families where for any reasons the mother never developed strong skills in the Swedish language. This brings a clear limitation to the scope of this study, and the findings made here do not attempt to be generalizable to other families of Somali origin.

Even though I have taken measures as to guarantee the validity of the data presented here, some limitations still arise. Data collection could have been extended to a longer period of fieldwork, as well as with a larger number of families. This was not possible due to time constraints, but it would surely have enriched the data. As I do not have Somali as part of my own linguistic repertoire, there could be nuances in the conversational data that I am missing, as I have had to rely on my observations of interactions and on my participants for translations. Finally, my narrow experience with qualitative research may also have limited my ability to make observations, ask relevant questions and take adequate notes, which may have impacted the results I got as well as my interpretations.

7. Results

Results will be presented in sections that each discuss one of the study's sub-questions. For each section, subthemes that emerged during the coding and data analysis process will be discussed separately.

7.1 Language practices

When analysing the language practices of participants in this study, three subthemes emerged: using named languages as one single resource, aiming to enrich the children's linguistic repertoire and using language practices to index the Somali experience. The following language transcription key will be used for dialogues among participants:

text: Swedish

text: Somali

text: translation from Swedish

text: translation from Somali

7.1.1 Languages as one single resource

Ethnographic observations conducted with the participant families suggest that, in everyday life interactions, members of these families present during observations engaged in a fluid exchange between the named languages Somali and Swedish, sometimes with a predominance of Somali and some embedded phrases or words in Swedish, sometimes the other way round. However, these languages were pretty much never named or discussed as separate entities, they were rather utilized as one whole

language resource by mothers and children. The following extracts illustrate how Hawa and Faduma used named languages as one single resource:

Example 1, family 2

Visit nr 3, fieldnote. Faduma asks Safiya in Somali to get a sweater and Safiya comes back bringing pyjamas:

Faduma: Safiya, det här är pyjamas, Faduma: Safiya, this is pyjamas, **sweater funaanad waa mid kale** **is something else**

Example 2, family 1

Visit nr 2, fieldnote. Hawa offers her children a beverage:

Hawa: **Ma waxaad rabtaa** äppeljuice Hawa: **Do you want apple juice or tea?**
ama shaah?

As Hawa and Faduma operated in the in-betweens of Swedish society and their Somali identity, they seemed to use their whole multilingual repertoire in order to best translate their knowledges and experiences into language practices. Hawa in example 2 probably chose the word “apple juice” in Swedish because it is a much more common beverage in Sweden than in Somalia, whereas the traditional Somali tea she was preparing can hardly be described as the Swedish “te”. Faduma in example 1 seems to be clarifying a misunderstanding of what a sweater is by contrasting “funaanad” to a common everyday term in Swedish, “pyjamas”.

The children also engaged in multilingual practices in everyday situations, using a broad linguistic repertoire when interacting with their mothers, as in the following examples:

Example 3, family 2

Visit nr 3, fieldnote. Faduma and Safiya are discussing what to have for lunch. Safiya’s brother participates in the conversation:

Faduma: **Maxaad dooneysaa inaad** Faduma: **What do you want to eat?**
cuntid?

Safiya: **Bariis**

Safiya: **Rice**

Bror: Lasagne

Brother: Lasagne

Safiya: Inte lasagne, spaghetti

Safiya: Not lasagne, spaghetti

Faduma: **Spaghetti iyo suugo**

Faduma: **Spaghetti and sauce**

Safiya: **Haa, suugo**

Safiya: **Yes, sauce**

Example 4, family 1

Visit nr 1, fieldnote. Hawa asks Nadiah what she did at school:

Nadiah: **Sameynay** bokstaven A

Nadiah: **We did the letter A**

However, children’s perceptions of language practices within the family sometimes differed from what participants actually did. Their perceptions seemed to be more in line

with their mothers' expectations for their families than their actual practices. Hawa mentioned several times during our encounters that she only spoke Somali with her children, when in fact her repertoire consisted of both languages. This idea that Somali indexed the language to be used at home seemed to be quite rooted in Nadiah, to the extent that she herself reacted to her own language use when it broke the family's pronounced expectations:

Example 5, family 1

Visit nr 3, fieldnote. Me and Hawa have a long conversation in Swedish. Nadiah is sitting by us drawing, apparently listening to our conversation. Hawa leaves the room, Nadiah then reacts:

Nadiah (till mamma): Vart ska du?	Nadiah (to her mother): <u>Where are you going?</u>
Nadiah (till mig, överraskad): Jag pratade svenska med mamma, jag ville prata somaliska	Nadiah (to me, surprised): <u>I spoke Swedish to mom, I wanted to speak Somali</u>

The example above suggests that Nadiah indexed Somali as the language to be spoken with her mother, identifying her interaction with her mother in Swedish as strange and almost rule-breaking, even though both Nadiah and Hawa used Swedish as part of their everyday repertoire in other situations.

All in all, findings suggest that although there is an expectation by the mothers that the family language should be predominantly Somali, both the mothers and the children participating in the study engaged in translanguaging practices in their interactions.

7.1.2 Enriching the linguistic repertoire

It was clear throughout my visits in the field that Hawa and Faduma aimed to constantly enrich their children's linguistic repertoire in both languages. However, the ways they approached this task differed between families. While Hawa usually used a more implicit strategy of repeating words in different languages, or of using one language to explain the other without naming them, Faduma engaged in a much more explicit way. Faduma often asked Safiya to repeat words in Somali or to translate from Swedish to Somali, especially when they were engaging in play, as in the example below:

Example 6, family 2

Visit nr 1, fieldnote. Faduma and Safiya are playing together, Safiya is bringing orange objects to show her mother:

Faduma: Kan maxay?	Faduma: What is this?
Safiya: Lejon	Safiya: <u>Lion</u>
Faduma: Af-soomaali?	Faduma: In Somali?
Safiya: Libaax	Safiya: Lion

Hawa, on the other hand, took a different approach. Here we have an example of how she tackled the task of explaining the difference between the Swedish verbs "take" and "carry" by expanding on Nadiah's repertoire, but without labling languages:

Example 6, family 1

Visit nr 1, fieldnote. Nadiah speaks to her mother using the verb “carry” in Somali, but she consistently says “take” to me when she speaks to me in Swedish:

Hawa: Nadiah, **waxaad tidhi qaado**, Hawa: Nadiah, **you said carry, carry**
qaado betyder bära means carry

It is quite possible that this difference in approach reflects a difference in educational and professional level. Faduma is, as previously noted, a highly educated pre-school teacher, whereas Hawa has a lower education level. I have discussed this difference with Faduma, and she herself credited it to her professional experience, noting that as a pre-school teacher, she knows what children need in order to develop language. Hawa ascribed her knowledge as coming from her husband and his mother, who is described as great with children, and who has contributed to her and her son’s learning.

In conclusion, while both participant families attempted to enrich their children’s linguistic repertoire, their approach differed both in terms of strategies and in terms of source of knowledge.

7.1.3 Language practices as indexing Somaliness

As noted by previous research, it seems that within the Somali diaspora, the Somali language is of particular importance in order to establish a Somali identity and the notion of Somaliness (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Arthur, 2004; Hopkins, 2010; Palm et al., 2019). Speaking Somali, then, is an important way to index the Somali identity, and through language practices, family members find a means to connect with the global Somali diaspora. I am now going to analyse two episodes where the use of the Somali language particularly connected Hawa’s and Faduma’s families with the experiences of the Somali diaspora.

The first one regards family 1, Hawa and Nadiah. During my second visit on the field, Hawa and Nadiah engaged in playing “money transfer”, sending a fictitious financial remittance to a person in Somalia. Using old cell phones, Hawa pretended to call Nadiah and asked her for money for a trip. Nadiah took then some toy money and went to Hawa, who was sitting behind a toy cashier. They exchanged the following conversation:

Example 7, family 1

Visit nr 2, fieldnote. Hawa and Nadiah engage in playing money transfer together:

Hawa: **Intee in leeg ayaad**
rabtaa inaad dirto?

Nadiah: Femhundra kronor

Hawa: **Yaad rabtaa inaad**
u dirto?

Nadiah: Hawa Mohamed

Hawa: **How much do you**
want to send?

Nadiah: Five hundred
crowns

Hawa: **Who do you want**
to send it to?

Nadiah: Hawa Mohamed

Hawa: **Waa maxay
nambarkeeda?**

Nadiah: (rabblar siffror på
svenska och somaliska)

Hawa: **Ok, sameeyey**

Nadiah: **Mahadsanid, bye**

Hawa: **What is her
number?**

Nadiah: (says numbers in
Swedish and Somali)

Hawa: **Ok, done**

Nadiah: **Thank you, bye**

In order to make sense of the above conversation, it is necessary to understand the different positions that actors take based on their social experiences (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). Sending money to family and acquaintances around the globe is a familiar chore for people with migration background, with remittances being an important source of income in developing nations (Matthew Hoyer, 2022). In the particular case of Somalia, the failure of institutions in the country has opened up for money transfer services to flourish (Matthew Hoyer, 2022). Somalia is a large receiver of international monetary remittances, and remittances play an important role for the local economy, with about 40% of the population depending on remittances at some level in the absence of functioning national safety nets (Matthew Hoyer, 2022). It is therefore highly likely that Hawa has sent money to acquaintances in Somalia at some point, and that she may have brought her children with her while doing that, as Nadiah seemed to be very familiarized with the setting. When playing money transfer with her child, Hawa established a clear connection between her family and the global scale of the Somali diaspora by using Somali to ask Nadiah the same questions that a great number of Somali people around the world are probably being asked. However, Nadiah's use of Swedish in her answers reminds us of the specificities of their own experiences in the local scale, in Sweden.

Moving on to another example of how language practices combined with other forms of semiosis indexes the notion of Somaliness, we turn to family 2, Faduma and Safiya. In Faduma's family, all children play basketball. Faduma herself is a basketball enthusiast, driving her children and their team mates to and from practices and games, and playing herself in a local female team. Unlike other mothers in the area, though, Faduma also encourages the practice of organized sports for Safiya. Faduma explained to me that many parents in Rinkeby see the importance of starting with organized sports when their children start school, but not in pre-school age. But being an enthusiast herself, and considering that Safiya deserves her own social life, Faduma has had her in basketball practice since the age of 3. At our second encounter, Faduma invited me to join her and take Safiya to her basketball practice, which takes place in a sports hall located in a socio-economically more advantaged neighbourhood closeby. This was the first practice of the term, and although some of the parents knew Faduma from previous terms, she was a new face for many parents in the hall. As we arrived at the sports hall and entered the basketball court, the whiteness of the room struck me, it felt like "walking into a sea of whiteness" (Ahmed, 2007, p.157). The only coloured people in the room were me, Faduma and Safiya. The room was not only white, it was also clearly monolingual. The only language heard was Swedish. The young instructors that led the practice had names that indexed a multicultural origin, but in this space, their potential multilingual repertoire

was made invisible, as so was mine. Parents talked to each other in Swedish during practice, but almost no one turned to Faduma for small talk the whole hour we spent there.

The noticeability of Faduma's body in this homogenous space occurred in several planes. As the room was so white-oriented, Faduma's racialized presence was likely marked as unfamiliar in relation to the other participants of the scene (Ahmed, 2007). It was not only through skin colour that Faduma's presence was marked. She was the only one wearing a hijab, the only one whose religious beliefs were made visible through her clothing. She also chooses to wear a typical Somali dress on top of her clothes when she goes out, further indexing her Somali origin (Hopkins, 2010). And last but not least, she entered the room instructing Safiya in her broad linguistic repertoire, being the only person whose multilingualism was visible in the room, as exemplified in the extract below:

Example 8, family 2

Visit nr 2, fieldnote. Faduma instructs Safiya out loud during basketball practice:

Faduma: Safiya, du måste titta på
pojken, **fiiri wiilka**

Faduma: Safiya, you have to look at
the boy, look at the boy

The examples above indicate thus an association between the use of Somali and a Somali identity, which is constructed through participants' language practices combined with other forms of semiosis such as clothing, play activities and race.

7.2 Language ideologies

In this section, language ideologies emerging from the data will be discussed according to themes that surfaced during coding. Interview data will be presented in italics for original quotes in Swedish and then translated to English.

7.2.1 Perceived advantages of raising multilingual children

It is clear from ethnographic observations and interviews that both Hawa and Faduma considered multilingualism as very important. Both mothers highly valued their children's skills in Somali and Swedish. However, their views on language conformed to traditional notions of languages as separate systems that should not be mixed, quite in opposition to their everyday practices. Hawa voiced concerns that combining linguistic resources would make language acquisition more difficult, stating that "if you speak Somali, Swedish, Somali, Swedish, they won't learn Somali, they won't learn Swedish". For Faduma, conforming to her own notions on languages as separate systems was described as a personal struggle, since these notions conflicted with her own practices. In her words: "I should speak only Somali, but I can't".

Still, one of the central reasons why Hawa and Faduma found it so important to raise multilingual children was that speaking Somali was for them a crucial part of the Somali identity. Hawa stated that "Somali is important for them because they are Somali". Faduma also stated that language is an important part of her children's identity. However, according to Faduma, high competence and proficiency were not essential in order to construct a Somali identity through the Somali language:

Det (somaliska språket) är någonting som de känner igen som sitt. (...) Även om de inte kan språket 100% som jag gör känner de att det är en trygghet, de känner igen sig (som somalier)

It (the Somali language) is something that they recognize as their own. (...) Even though they don't know the language to 100% like I do, they feel it is a security, they recognize themselves (as Somali)

These thoughts are in line with previous findings that the Somali language is essential in building a Somali identity, regardless of proficiency (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Arthur, 2004; Hopkins, 2010; Palm et al., 2019).

Another important reason that was mentioned for transmitting Somali to the next generation is that it allows children to connect to other people within the Somali diaspora. Hawa explains why knowledge of Somali is important in this sense:

Att de förstår om vi reser bort till ett annat land. (...) Det kan hända att någon som inte kan svenska kommer till oss på semester och då kan mina barn inte säga ett ord till dem

That they understand if we travel to another country. (...) It may happen that someone who doesn't know Swedish comes to us on holidays, and then my children can't say a word to them

Faduma expressed similar views on how knowing Somali facilitates contact with other family members in diaspora, commenting that "when you go visit (family), they have the mother tongue, so it's not so difficult to translate between them".

As civil war has driven the Somali people to flee to other countries, being able to communicate in Somali is seen as an advantage for mobility in different spaces, attributing value to a language that in the local Swedish scale tends to be systematically disqualified (Blommaert, 2007). Globally connecting people in the Somali diaspora, however, is not a factor previously mentioned in the literature. Published articles focus more on the importance given to the use of Somali to communicate within the local community (Hill, 2020; Hopkins, 2010) or with older generations (Abdullahi & Wei, 2022), not tapping into the potential of Somali as an international resource that allows people in diaspora to keep in touch on the global scale.

One last aspect that is not discussed in previous studies with Somali participants are their perceptions of the so-called bilingual advantage. Both Hawa and Faduma expressed confidence that raising their children multilingually is an asset in their development. Hawa mentioned that "it builds their brains". For Faduma, the greatest advantage was that knowing one language would make it easier to learn others:

När barnen kan sitt språk, då blir det lättare att kunna svenska. (...) Barn som kan modersmålet är bättre på svenska. (...) De som inte kan modersmålet, de är inte lika bra (på svenska), det är forskning det

When children know their language, it makes it easier to learn Swedish. (...) Children who know their mother tongue are better in Swedish. (...) Those who don't know their mother tongue are not as good (in Swedish), it is research

Participants in Lomeu Gomes (2021) also describe perceived advantages of multilingualism, something the author attributes to the habitus of Brazilian upper classes who value an imagined cosmopolitan way of life. As it is not the case of participants in this study, who both rather belong to a lower socio-economic stratum, it would have been

interesting to further investigate where their ideas on the bilingual advantage come from, particularly as research evidence on the existence of cognitive advantages of bilingualism is still inconclusive (Van den Noort et al., 2019).

To sum up, results suggest operating ideologies on Somali as a language that indexes a Somali identity, and that allows people to establish and maintain contact with others who are part of the Somali diaspora. Moreover, findings suggest that perceptions of the bilingual advantage also help parents to pursue with multilingual practices.

7.2.2 Contesting ideologies of deficit and danger

As we discussed participants' ideas on language, the interplays between language and society emerged in different ways for Hawa and Faduma. Hawa started answering my question on what society can do to help promote multilingualism with an embarrassed giggle, stating that "I'm not the best to talk about these issues". When Hawa questioned her own legitimacy to discuss social aspects of language, she seemed to be denying the relevance of her own embodied knowledge, constructed through her lived experiences of oppression and struggle (Santos, 2018). She did, though, move on to consider the advantages of living in Rinkeby when it comes to language:

Det hjälper (att många kan somaliska i Rinkeby) för att ett ord som de hör hemma kan de också höra ute

It helps (that many people speak Somali in Rinkeby) because a word they hear at home, they can also hear outside

The space Rinkeby was thus ascribed an important role in promoting multilingualism, an idea that contests the public opinion's views on the supposed detrimental effects of living there. Hawa continued her reasoning by describing a documentary on Swedish people living in the United States that she had watched. In her reflections, she questioned: "they live at one place together. Well, why do they live at one place together? Why can't we?". By voicing her dissatisfaction with the way different modes of living are attributed different values, Hawa puts dominant ideologies of the dangers of grouping certain ethnicities but not others into question.

Faduma, on the other hand, felt more at ease while discussing social aspects of language. One of the possible reasons for that are her previous experiences of being contested for her embodied being, which leads us back to the basketball practice described above in example 8. The space where this interaction took place was clearly stratified, with Swedishness perceived as whiteness, and monolingualism being the unmarked norm. When Faduma entered the room, her embodied presence with all the semiotic signs surrounding her was likely positioned by others as belonging to a different social category, one of deficit. Their gazes towards Faduma almost created a sense of disorientation in the room (Ahmed, 2007). However, Faduma did not seem to pay attention to any of that. She spoke out loud to Safiya in Somali, talked to me and other parents in her variety of Swedish, she took up space as if very used to having to occupy places not constructed for her.

My impressions of this scene were confirmed during our interview. Faduma and I discussed this episode, which according to her was not unique. Faduma mentioned that

Swedish people “distance themselves”, and that “they think that we don’t know anything”, recalling other instances where she met with parents of Swedish ethnicity during basketball games:

När jag är där med mina barn kollade alla på mig, ”aha, men hon kommenterar basket”. Alltså, jag kan basket, men de räknar inte att jag kan basket. ”Aha, vad sa hon? Hon kan basket” (härmar någon som sneglar förvånat åt sidan). Det är så (fnissar). Jag bryr mig inte, jag pratar med honom och jag fortsätter bara (vi skrattar)

When I’m there with my children, everyone looked at me, “aha, but she’s commenting basketball”. I mean, I know basketball, but they assume that I don’t know basketball. “Aha, what did she say? She knows basketball” (imitates someone looking surprised sideways). It is the way it is (giggles). I don’t care, I talk to him and I keep on going (we laugh)

She attributed her easiness in that space as something that came with age and experience, naming that “it was tough in the beginning”. According to Faduma, as a newly arrived immigrant in Sweden she felt more pressure to speak Swedish, but now she feels strong and confident about what is important for her:

Nu känner jag mig starkare. (...) Nu vet jag vad som gäller, jag kan både svenska och somaliska, jag vet vad som är viktigt. (...) För vissa svenska tycker när du pratar somaliska, ’varför pratar de inte svenska?’, men jag vet att jag inte ska bry mig

Now I feel stronger. (...) Now I know what it’s about, I know both Swedish and Somali, I know what is important. (...) Because some Swedes think when you speak Somali, ‘why don’t they speak Swedish?’, but I know I shouldn’t care about that

Faduma’s experience here resonates with that of participants in Hill (2020), where language proficiency and, in Faduma’s case, knowledge of basketball, mediate the way you are looked upon by the majority population. However, the encounter related above cannot fully be understood if we do not take into account the ways in which coloniality is still at play in the everyday meetings between the North and the South. When parents project discourses of lack of language knowledge, and knowledge in general, into Faduma’s embodied subject, they are reproducing colonial notions of who is entitled to carry knowledge and who is not (Martín Alcoff, 2011).

To conclude, dominant language ideologies of deficit and of the dangers of certain subjects’ multilingualism and ways of being are constantly being contested by participants. They question these ideologies both through embodying their full identities in different spaces, with all the semiosis they carry in terms of practices, and through attributing value to spaces and practices which are seen with mistrust and made invisible by society at large.

7.3.3 Language ideologies in the family and in the public scale

Looking at ideologies within the family scale, participants described raising multilingual children as majorly the mother’s role. This traditional view on women’s role when it comes to child upbringing among the Somali population in diaspora is shared by participants in Abdullahi & Wei (2021) and also discussed by Hopkins (2010).

Hopkins (2010) notes that gender dynamics in Somali families in resettlement usually change according to the situation in the new country, bringing conflicts between the South and the North as to men's and women's positions in the family. These conflicts often lead to a redefinition of gender roles within the family. However, a problematization of gender roles or gender dynamics was not enacted by participant families. Hawa did show awareness of fathers' role in child upbringing, but she still credited most of it to the mother:

Pappan kan göra många saker, men mamman gör mest, om vi säger sanningen, det är mamman som lär dem allt

The father can do many things, but the mother does the most, if we say the truth, it's the mother who teaches them everything

Faduma did not express such views as openly as Hawa, but she also noticed a clear difference in the positions that fathers and mothers take when it comes to transmitting Somali to their children:

Speciellt män (bär med sig vanorna från hemlandet). (...). För kvinnorna är det lite annorlunda, de blir mer medvetna. (...). Papporna vet också, men de tror att allt är självklart. (...). Mammorna är mer engagerade

Especially men (carry their habits from their home country with them). (...). For women it is a little bit different, they become more aware. (...). Fathers know also, but they think it's all given. (...). The mothers are more engaged

Hawa acknowledged the existence of families consisting of single mothers and children, and stated that they may have different needs when it comes to family language policy:

Alltså vi kan inte döma (mammor vars barn inte pratar somaliska) för att det kan hända att i deras familj så är de upptagna helt och hållet, hon kanske är ensamstående

I mean, we cannot judge (mothers whose children don't speak Somali) because it might be the case that in their family, they are completely busy, maybe she is a single mom

The experiences of Somali single mothers raising their children in exile are also discussed by Hopkins (2010), where single mothers express distress as to having to be an example of good conduct and take the role of both father and mother. But mostly, Hawa's and Faduma's thoughts conformed to the traditional gender roles and family compositions that apply in Somalia (Hopkins, 2010), largely attributing the responsibility of language maintenance to the mother.

Moving to the public scale, when aiming to raise their children multilingually, participants reported having to deal with ideological confrontations from their surroundings. Hawa described being questioned by friends and other people she meets as to her family's language choices, stating that "a few think that they should mostly learn Swedish because they live here". Faduma reported her own experiences of being criticized by others with Somali origin, but for her children knowing for little Somali. She described her husband as being a major critic of other parents in the past, but now they are the ones who are being questioned:

Jo (vi får kritik för att) de kan för lite. Min man får sån kritik, för att han brukade kritisera andra, 'varför kan inte dina barn somaliska?' Nu brukar de säga 'Vad hände med dina barn?' (vi skrattar)

Yes (we get criticized because) they know too little. My husband gets this kind of criticism because he used to criticize others, 'why don't your children know Somali?' Now they tell him 'What happened to your children?' (we laugh)

Faduma described Somali people as very critical of members who do not speak Somali, as do participants in Arthur (2004). This since speaking Somali is regarded as a major part of the Somali identity, as discussed above. Faduma told the story of a friend who had poor language skills in Somali and was bullied, with people telling her that "you are not Somali, you don't speak Somali, you don't know the language".

In terms of the broader society, Hawa described people in Sweden as well-informed on the importance of multilingualism: "everybody knows that the Somali language is important. Home language is important". Hawa's experience contrasts to that of participants in Hopkins (2010), who describe experiencing racism connected to language in Scotland. They describe being immediately perceived as the racialized Other in daily encounters with Scottish people and that their language competence is immediately questioned in these encounters.

In contrast to Hawa, Faduma related facing negative reactions from people of Swedish ethnicity she has encountered when it comes not only to language, but in fact to her whole embodied being. Besides the examples related to basketball, Faduma recalled an instance with a co-worker who was ethnic Swedish and who came to work at the same pre-school she worked in in Rinkeby:

De har också helt fel uppfattning om människorna också. De tror att de som inte är från Sverige är något helt annat. (...). Efter att hon hade jobbat en eller två månader med mig sa hon 'Vet du, du är jättesnäll' (vi brister ut i skratt). (...). Hon sa 'Jag var jätterädd, jag ville jobba här men samtidigt vågade jag inte komma hit'. Jag sa 'Habibi, det här är helt vanliga människor'

They have a completely wrong impression about the people as well. They think that those who are not from Sweden are something completely different. (...). After she had worked with me for one or two months, she said 'You know, you are so kind' (we burst into laughter). (...). She said 'I was really afraid, I wanted to work here but at the same time I didn't dare coming here'. I said 'Habibi, these are completely normal people'

As Jonsson et al. (2020) problematize, people living in suburbs such as Rinkeby are often viewed as dangerous in the Swedish eye, with the neighbourhood itself also being portrayed as a threatening place indexing another space than their construction of Sweden.

To conclude, language ideologies operating within the local Somali population seem to reinforce the importance of Somali in order to establish belonging, whereas the responsibility for transmitting the language apparently is mostly imposed on mothers. There also seems to be a general discourse in society on multilingualism as essentially positive, in line with the country's official language policy. At the same time, broader ideologies operating in society continue to view multilingual practices with mistrust. The

contestation and simultaneous acquiescence of dominant language ideologies, together with the perceived advantages of multilingualism and the Somali population's own ideologies appear to inform these families' language policy, which will be examined next.

7.3 Formulating a multilingual family language policy

7.3.1 Family language policy as an intentional act

When it comes to family language policy, earlier studies on the Somali community did not find evidence of any formulation of explicit language policies within participant families. Authors however appear to have overlooked language practices as intrinsic family language policy and concluded that no family language policy was present in participant families (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021). However, data from Hawa and Faduma suggests that Somali parents do elaborate on language policies for their families, whether it is in dialogue with their partners, or through their own internal reflections. In Hawa's case, family language policy was openly discussed and formulated before their children were born, but not in terms such as One Parent One Language or Minority Language at Home. Besides, language practices among family members seemed to be a recurrent conversation topic between Hawa and her husband. The following extracts from her interview illustrate her formulations on family language policy:

Innan vi fick barn diskuterade vi att de skulle lära sig det bästa som de kan, somaliska, svenska, engelska

Before we had children, we discussed that they would learn the best they could, Somali, Swedish, English

Han sa till mig, 'Hawa, när vi får barn då måste vi lära dem somaliska, okej?'

He said to me, 'Hawa, when we have children, we have to teach them Somali, okay?'

Jag själv säger allt som händer hemma (till min man), om de har sagt nya saker, om de har pratat med mig (på somaliska). (...) Vi pratar bara om barnen (vi skrattar)

I myself tell everything that happens at home (to my husband), if they say something new, if they spoke to me (in Somali). (...) We just talk about the kids (we laugh)

Faduma's case differed from Hawa in this respect. Faduma admitted that, when she was younger, newly arrived in Sweden, and expecting her first child, family language policy was not one of her concerns:

Det blev som det blev (med första barnet). Men när jag kom hit så kunde jag inte det svenska språket, jag var fokuserad på helt annat. (...). Det märkte jag först när hon var lite äldre och jag kunde svenska, oj, men hon kan inte somaliska

It was what it was (with the first child). But when I came here, I didn't know Swedish, I was focused on something else. (...). I realized first when she was older and I knew Swedish, oh, but she doesn't know Somali

As previously discussed, Faduma declared feeling pressured to learn Swedish as a newly arrived immigrant. She also expressed not feeling as sure about herself at that time. The

hegemonic pressure to assimilate that people originating in the South feel in northern contexts seems to have impacted family language policy at that time. Nevertheless, when Safiya was born, almost 10 years later, her age, her job as a teacher and her previous experiences led Faduma to reformulate her family language policy. Faduma described how she, internally, decided to proceed in a different way when it came to language use:

Med Safiya var jag mer medveten, jag var äldre också. (...). Jag hade kommit in i arbetslivet, såg vad som var viktigt att prioritera, jag hade mer erfarenhet också som mamma och mer kunskap. (...). Ok, nu vet jag vad jag har missat, då behöver inte hon missa. (...). Safiya kan ju mycket mer somaliska än vad hennes syster gjorde

With Safiya I was more aware, I was older as well. (...). I had joined the working force, I saw what was important to prioritize, I had more experience as a mother, too, and more knowledge. (...). Ok, now I know what I missed, then she doesn't have to miss it. (...). Safiya knows much more Somali than her sister did

Although Faduma did not expressly state that she and her husband planned to use Somali with their children, defining an explicit family language policy, her account suggests that within herself, she did formulate a language policy to employ with Safiya.

Overall, findings suggest that, contrary to what previous literature on Somali populations shows, these two families do formulate their family language policy as an intentional, conscious act to maintain the Somali language alongside with Swedish, although this formulation can be manifested in different ways for different families.

7.3.2 Challenges of a multilingual family language policy

In the course of our interviews and during our ethnographic work, Hawa and Faduma mentioned on several occasions that raising their children multilingually could sometimes be a challenge for them and for other people they know. Participants described three main challenges: that a multilingual family language policy takes time and effort, that the mother's working situation may aid or hinder multilingualism, and that a multilingual family language policy is reliant on the mother's proficiency in Somali.

Firstly, both Hawa and Faduma described raising their children multilingually as an effort, and as something that requires a lot of time. Hawa described her success in passing on Somali to her children as a time-consuming struggle on several occasions, summarized in her interview: "I fought, I gave her all my time". Her advice to other mothers aiming to raise their children multilingually was to spend time with them, no matter how little at a time. In Hawa's words, "if you have time, then this time you have, it can be one hour, it can be two hours, it can be 30 minutes, give them the time you have".

Faduma agreed with Hawa that raising multilingual children is an investment that requires time, stating that "we have to find time with them". She also attributed successful experiences to parents being able to invest time in their children, describing cases where she meets children who speak Somali fluently: "check (the results) if you invest on it, it's all about how parents spend time with them".

When discussing time constraints in everyday life, Hawa showed awareness of how the mother's working situation may aid or constitute a hindrance for multilingualism in the family, an issue that Abdullahi & Wei (2021) also found among Somalis in London. In

the following extracts from her interview, we can see how she associated being unemployed as a positive aspect for her children's language development, and how she saw the situation for working women as more problematic in this respect:

Det finns mammor som måste jobba. (...). Men i Sverige så jobbar vi 8 timmar, sen efter 8 timmar kommer vi hem. (...). Alla kommer hem, då kan du sitta med dem

There are mothers who have to work. (...). But in Sweden we work 8 hours, after 8 hours we come home (...). Everybody comes home, then you can sit with them

Hon hade tur att jag har varit hemma och jag var arbetslös, jag ger dem all min tid

She was lucky that I have been at home and I was unemployed, I give them all my time

The fact that many Somali women are excluded from the labour market in Sweden is here turned into something positive when it comes to maintaining the Somali language within the family, allowing children to have a full multilingual linguistic repertoire. Faduma agreed that having to work may make it more difficult to spend time with your children, but along the same lines as Hawa, she did not see work as a major hindrance. Instead, she credited lack of competence in the Somali language to parents' priorities rather than to having to work:

Man måste prioritera också, vissa föräldrar, de har ju tid (efter jobbet), men det beror på vad man prioriterar

You have to prioritize as well, some parents, they have time (after work), but it depends on what you prioritize

In this sense, Hawa's and Faduma's views contrast to findings in Abdullahi & Wei (2021). While the authors suggest that working conditions for Somali women in Britain, with precarious jobs involving shift work, are a major contribution to the lack of proficiency in the Somali language amongst the younger generations, Hawa and Faduma see the working situation in Sweden as less problematic in this respect. According to them, at least in the Swedish context, favourable labour market conditions imply that you still have time to invest in your children's multilingualism even if you have to work. It is then up to the individual to prioritize and invest this time into promoting multilingualism.

Another challenge identified is that multilingualism is considered reliant on the mother's proficiency in Somali. This is an issue that both Hawa, Faduma and participants in Abdullahi & Wei (2021) discuss as problematic. Hawa described it as a risk, stating that "maybe she was born here and doesn't know the language herself". Faduma also discussed the challenge it poses to the younger generation of parents-to-be:

De tar det på svenska, det är enklaste, eller de själva inte kan. Vissa föräldrar som är blivande föräldrar är inte starka i modersmålet

They take it in Swedish, it's the easiest, or they themselves don't know. Some parents who are parents-to-be are not strong in their mother tongue

The fact that Somali origin does not automatically entail competence in the Somali language is also mentioned in Palm et al. (2019). Adolescents in this study see it as a concern that their generation may not have enough competence in the Somali language to pass it on to the next generation, which would affect the building of a Somali collective identity, since it is largely dependent on the Somali language.

One last issue in relation to applying a multilingual family language policy that Faduma described is differences between generations. According to Faduma, the older generation is less aware of the importance of passing on Somali as well as of what it takes in terms of time and investment to be successful. She described the older mothers as “not as aware” and that language for them is a less important issue. In her own generation, Faduma saw examples of women who are more aware and who invest more in transmitting Somali. Faduma rested her hopes in the younger generation of mothers. In her view, young mothers are good at raising multilingual children since they are more aware and know the importance of growing up with both languages:

De yngre är ju faktiskt mer medvetna. De är duktiga, de vet att det är viktigt, både modersmålet och svenska

The younger ones are actually more aware. They do a good job, they know that it is important, both mother tongue and Swedish

The generation gap that Faduma described is also discussed in Arthur (2004), whose younger participants show a strong will to pass on Somali regardless of their own proficiency in the language. Faduma did see lack of proficiency as a challenge, as discussed above, but she also viewed young mothers as both capable of and willing to improve their own language skills in order to transmit Somali to their children. Faduma told me the story of a friend of hers who barely knew Somali herself, but who invested in learning the language because she wanted her children to speak Somali. Her investment, according to Faduma, paid off: “she said ‘I invested, invested, invested (on her own language skills), and now my children know Somali’”.

In order to face these challenges, Faduma enumerated several instances where society can make a difference for multilingual families, whereas Hawa considered it to be mostly the family’s responsibility. According to Faduma, public organs such as the BVC², Öppna förskolan³, libraries, speech and language pathology clinics and medical centres should all remind parents on the importance of speaking their language with their children. She valued the fact that the local library has a larger offer of books in Somali compared to when her older children were small. She also expressed the need for spaces where parents who speak the same language can meet together with their children.

A final important aspect that Faduma raised when it comes to handling the challenges of a multilingual language policy, being a pre-school teacher herself, was how pre-schools work with mother tongue. As outlined in the background, it is part of Swedish pre-school

² BVC means Children’s health center, responsible for following children’s development up to school age.

³ Öppna förskolan means “open pre-school”, it is a free pre-school form where parents are welcome together with their children to meet with other parents and children under the guidance of teachers in place.

guidelines to promote mother tongue among multilingual children. Faduma noticed, however, difficulties implementing this policy in pre-schools in Rinkeby, just as participants in Fredriksson & Lindgren Eneflo (2019) describe. In her experience, some pre-schools work more actively with mother tongue than others. So, even though Sweden has a series of official policies to promote multilingualism, in practice, Faduma expressed that they are not enough. She believed that promoting multilingualism should be part of the role of everyone who encounters multilingual families in public services, and that larger efforts on the part of pre-schools are necessary.

8. Discussion

In order to understand the practices, ideologies and experiences described above, I am resorting to the concept of identity as the ways in which you position yourself socially, interpreting the world and delimiting boundaries of similarity/otherness in terms of social categories (Bailey, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Moya, 2011). My starting point are Bucholtz and Hall's analytical tools (2005), composed of five principles: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness. Besides, identity is here seen as partial, depending on discourse contexts and the degree of uptake by interlocutors (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

These principles enable me to see how identities shift and change as participants move through spaces and across scales. Spaces and scales are here understood as in Dong & Blommaert (2009), two closely connected concepts that work as agents in attributing values to linguistic resources, both enabling and disabling certain practices. As these attributed values vary depending on the actual space, notions of indexicality aid us in examining how aspects of power and inequality operate in the different semiosis participants find themselves in (Blommaert, 2007). The social experiences participants undergo within this hierarchy of language resources become then the grounds to their own concepts and ideas about language, leading to a plurality of language ideologies that in turn inform participants' practices (Blommaert, 2018; Kroskrity, 2004). With regard to the lived experiences of the Somali-Swedish population, it is, I claim, imperative to take a decolonial perspective in order to make sense of how these entanglements between identity, spaces, scales and ideologies occur in the unfolding of encounters between the North and the South in the North, rendering some modes of being more salient and visible than others (Martín Alcoff, 2011; Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017).

Bearing this frame in mind, I will now discuss the above results according to each sub-question. Throughout this discussion, I will point out how these practices, ideologies and challenges can be viewed from a southern perspective of knowledge construction in order to contribute to family language policy research in a direction which is more transformative and less normative (Lomeu Gomes, 2018). It is also my intention to explore how epistemic differences between the North and the South continue to mould distinct spheres of life, including language and identity, as a way to endorse epistemic reconstitution, which Mignolo states is the main goal of decoloniality (Mignolo, 2018).

8.1 Language practices and identities as hybrid and multiscalar

The use of languages by participants as one single, combined resource in everyday life reinforces claims that in multilingual settings, it makes more sense to regard languages as resources and practices rather than as independent systems that coexist and which participants sometimes switch between as codes (Heller, 2007; Lanza, 2021). Similar translanguaging practices to the one outlined in the present study are reported by the young participants in Palm et al. (2019), who describe their language practices as fluid, natural and seamless, and not as the combination of two separate languages.

These translanguaging practices that Faduma and Hawa engage on forcefully entail multiple identities. As Faduma and Hawa transit between the use of different languages in order to best capture their experiences, they seem to position themselves in the intersections of Somali and Swedish identities during these temporary interactions at the local level of the family (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). At the same time, by reinforcing the use of Somali at the private scale, Hawa and Faduma contribute to their children's emerging identity as members of the Somali community, which is line with findings in previous research that state that the Somali identity is strongly connected to the use of the Somali language (Abdullah & Wei, 2021; Arthur, 2004; Hopkins, 2010). Through the repeated unfolding of these micro-interactions that both contradict and complement each other, these families construct their transnational identities as multivocal, hybrid and heterogeneous (De Fina, 2016). The children, however, seem not to navigate these multiple identities with the same ease as their mothers. When Nadiah in example 5 realizes that she used Swedish at home, a language that for her apparently indexes the public scale, it seems to cause her a feeling of strangeness. The coexistent sameness and strangeness of this encounter seems to disrupt her construction of the family's identity, reinvoking surprise as her previously constructed representations break down when she resorts to the use of Swedish at home (Antonsich, 2018).

This constant negotiation between these multiple Somali and Swedish identities through language practices seems to be part of Nadiah's engagements with her mother in everyday life routines and play. If we take a closer look at example 7, the money transfer play sequence, we can observe how Hawa and Nadiah participate in a dialogue where their Somali and Swedish identities are under constant construction and reconstruction. An emerging Somali identity is built in this encounter as Hawa, through her language practices and through the re-enacting of her experiences with monetary remittances, establishes her and Nadiah's position in relation to the macro-category of Somali immigrants (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Nadiah, in turn, positions herself, in the temporary scale of this specific interaction, as Somali-Swedish, indexing through her language practices and her familiarity with the scenario not only the global scale of the diaspora, but also the local scale where she operates. In Bucholtz & Hall's terms, identity here emerges from the indexical processes that Hawa and Nadiah undertake, creating, through language practices, clear boundaries as to what is the same and what is different about their experiences (Hawa – the global scale of the Somali diaspora; Nadiah – the global scale plus the local scale in Sweden). As previously discussed, these identities are partial and in constant renegotiation. They involve positioning yourself in relation to the social context at every particular interaction, as Nadiah in example 5 clearly positions herself as a Somali-speaking individual in that specific interaction. These examples show how the

transnational experiences of participants mould their identities through constant negotiation and change depending on the context of interaction (De Fina, 2016; Pujolar, 2007). Nadiah's positioning as sometimes identifying herself as Somali, sometimes as Swedish, with identities overlapping depending on context, is shared by her mother. Hawa herself described her children as Somali-Swedish, with their Somali identity being ascribed to their language practices. Just as highlighted by participants in Hopkins (2010), maintaining the Somali language is considered by Hawa to be an important stepping stone in constructing the boundaries of Somali identity and establishing belonging to the community.

Since acquiring a large repertoire in both languages becomes an important feature of this transnational identity construction, mothers keep trying to enrich their children's language repertoires during everyday life. Nevertheless, Hawa and Faduma diverge as to their accounts of where their know-how comes from. Faduma seems to attribute her success in enriching Safiya's repertoire to a certain form of knowledge that may be seen as the northern view of knowledge (Santos, 2018). Her knowledge, she describes, comes from her formal university education on children's language development and what is best for them from a certain epistemological perspective, in line with what Swedish society values. Hawa's knowledge, on the other hand, stems from a collective knowledge passed on from one generation to the next. It is based on her mother-in-law's experience with children, which makes her a legitimate knowledge producer who can pass it on and orient the next family generation in the family scale. Hawa's mother-in-law is, nonetheless, not viewed as a knowledge producer by society at large, and in the 'geopolitics of knowledge' (Moya, 2011, p. 83), her teachings are not attributed with the same value as the academic merits that Faduma holds. Hawa's experience is more in line with a southern view on knowledge, and of knowledge production as the fruit of collective efforts and orally transmitted experiences (Santos, 2018). Following Santos (2018), the passing on of knowledge in Hawa's family may be regarded as an act of resilience, since, epistemologically speaking, this type of knowledge has been dismissed on and on by northern views on what "knowing" entails.

Proceeding with the topic of multiple identities, it is noticeable that the possibilities for identity construction are, however, not only determined by participants themselves. Other social actors play a major role at determining participants' identities in relation to who they are along the boundaries of the same and the different (Bailey, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). As participants enter the public space and move from the home scale into public or institutional ones, their linguistic competence and even their embodied being are many times put into question, with their repertoires being devalued by others (Blommaert et al., 2005; Dong & Blommaert, 2009). This dynamic becomes quite clear when we analyse the episode of Safiya's basketball practice, from where example 8 is taken. When Faduma enters the basketball court, she appears to be disregarded as the Other by the other parents. Faduma's skin colour combined with her clothing and language practices are likely to index a mixture of ideologies on segregation, inequality and underprivilege on the one hand, and potential danger and suspicious on the other hand (Hill, 2020; Hopkins, 2010; Milani & Jonsson, 2012). By speaking the way she does and looking the way she does, her practices seem to get racialized and made hypervisible, with her multiple competences being erased in the name of an iconic social identity

recognized by the other parents, who in turn almost ignore her presence in the room (Hill, 2020; Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017). Just as other members of the Somali community in diaspora experience, the encounter between Faduma and the other parents at practice places her in a marginalized position, both communicatively and socially (Hill, 2020). In this scale, Faduma's linguistic repertoire is not seen as a resource. The space clearly constructs her multilingualism as irrelevant, and dismisses it as a liability rather than a resource, preventing her from truly integrating into Swedish society. When parents fail to acknowledge Faduma as a legitimate conversation partner based on the semiosis she embodies, they comply with colonial ideologies on whose knowledge is relevant and whose is not, silencing her ways of knowing (Martín Alcoff, 2011).

Even though she has the room's white and monolingual orientation against her, when Faduma confronts this northern hegemony and continues to exist just the way she is, it can almost be seen as an act of resistance, showing that "we can arrive, and things can stay in place", as Ahmed puts it (2007, p. 164). Seemingly unknowingly, Faduma's actions during Safiya's basketball practice become a great example of the shifting of geographic reasoning that Maldonado-Torres (2011) calls for in academia: by affirming her embodied southern identity, she positions herself epistemically as a legitimate bearer of knowledge, defying the Eurocentric norm enacted in the room. What we have here, thus, is a typical, everyday case of the struggles between epistemologies that Santos (2018) describes, where freedom of being is a contested field, constrained by the limitations imposed by the hegemonic epistemology of whoever is the most authorized to define the limits at play. Faduma does, however, manage to impose her own limits, a know-how she has acquired through years of repeated experiences of denial. This seems to create in her micro-cosmos what Santos calls "counterhegemonic freedom" (2018, p. 65), autonomous and emancipatory, which liberates her to be the way she is.

8.2 Language ideologies: how entangling northern and southern epistemologies inform family language policy

The conceptions that participants rely on to rationalize their language use seem to be grounded on a traditional view of languages as autonomous systems that may coexist, but separately. This traditional view on languages has probably been socially constructed on the grounds of the monolingual norm from the northern tradition, and clearly follow northern epistemologies on what languages are (Bailey, 2007; Pujolar, 2007; Stroud, 2007). Looking at the specific context where these notions are constructed, in Sweden, we find remains of colonialist discourses on "pure" languages as "good" and "civilized" with multilingual practices still being stigmatized and deemed as "bad", and as a threat to society (Bailey, 2007; Jonsson et al., 2020; Stroud, 2007).

Participants' will to conform to dominant language ideologies on what languages are in detriment of their own practices is perfectly understandable in the light of the historical dynamics between the South and the North. The imagined modernity of northern ideas cannot exist without the deploring of southern ways of knowing, a process that has persisted for centuries (Mignolo, 2018). As southern modes of knowledge continue to be denied, conforming to the northern norms becomes a way to position yourself on the right side of Santos' "abyssal line" (2014). Faduma for example attributes her ideas on the benefits of multilingualism to research, valuing the type of knowledge that northern epistemologies esteem the most. By crediting her knowledge to research, she knows her

argument is closed, whereas if she convoked collective knowledge, her argument may have been weakened in face of the “abyssal line” (Santos, 2014; 2018).

Still on the topic of dominant language ideologies, as the social discourse on the importance of Swedish for integration is constructed by the majority population, with multilingualism consequently being a hinder, social inclusion and exclusion end up mediated by the prevailing discourses on language ideologies (Piller, 2012). These discourses fail, though, to account for why a person with such good command of Swedish as Hawa is outside the labour market. In fact, the truth is that language proficiency does not automatically lead to social inclusion (Piller, 2012). Hawa notices quite perspicaciously the existing contradictions on discourses on multilingual practices and of different modes of being when it comes to space, depending on which side of the abyssal line you are on. Her thoughts on Swedish people living in the US illustrate well this contradiction. Hawa’s reflections on Swedish people living abroad, who are not questioned when they live together in the same areas and stick to their own language practices, leads us to fundamental differences on attributed values to ways of being in the North and in the South within the North. Discursive practices on the importance of integration and of language proficiency in this process legitimate some ways of being, while it renders other invisible (Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017). Participants’ lived experience of these discourses and the feelings of oppression they are submitted to are highly ignored and erased by the majority population, who fails to see any signs that contradict their ideological framing that living in, say, Rinkeby and speaking Somali and Swedish is detrimental to society, but living in the United States and speaking Swedish and English is not (Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017). Epistemologies of the North continue therefore to operate in order to deny the possibility of abyssal exclusion, instead converting it into a natural fact that it is harmful for some people to live together and be the way they are, but not for others (Santos, 2018).

Since language ideologies are naturally plural (Kroskrity, 2004), there is no contradiction in the fact that participants show evidence of conforming to prevailing ideas on language on the one hand, and on the other hand displaying thoughts contesting the norm. Another example of divergent thinking that surfaces from the data is the idea of Somali being a language with a global value. Hawa describes it as a language that allows participants to communicate when they travel abroad, and when they receive guests from other countries. The value that Somali acquires in the context of the global Somali diaspora is reinforced by transnational families’ increased mobility across the globe due to advances in technology and in economic welfare (Pujolar, 2007), although it does not entail any significant increased values on the official market of global capitalism. Mobility can thus be seen as a driving force orienting families towards multilingualism in the global scale, in opposition to the local scale where the Somali language indexes lower status (Blommaert, 2018; Palm et al., 2019). The differences in value attributed to Somali by participants and by society as a whole can once again only be truly understood if we consider the social and political context where they emerge (Heller, 2007). In Sweden, the majority population hardly views Somali people as global citizens who travel abroad and receive guests from foreign countries, but rather as a group that faces particular challenges integrating into society (Eriksson et al., 2016). The attributed value of the Somali language and therein their speakers’ thoughts and practices are hence rendered

invisible by Swedish society (Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017), another example of how the northern view on knowledge keeps silencing southern epistemologies (Mignolo, 2018; Santos, 2018).

Moving on to the topic of language and identity, it is previously established that language is an important component of identity, in general as well as in the Somali population (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Hopkins, 2010; Palm et al., 2019; Pujolar, 2007; Tseng, 2020), a finding that the present study corroborates. One of the ideologies on the Somali language that emerges from the data is precisely its importance in building a Somali identity. Participants aim at fostering their children into a certain identity as Somali through their language practices. As identity is defined through how you position yourself in relation to others in a similar-different axis and how you interpret the world you live in from your embodied experiences (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Moya, 2011), finding similarity through language brings comfort and security, according to participants. This holds even when linguistic competence is not at its highest, which is a similar finding to what adolescents in Palm et al. (2019) express.

In terms of family language policy, within the Somali community, Abdullahi & Wei (2021) suggest a lack of deliberate family language policy despite the reported importance of the Somali language within the community as one of the factors that hinder younger generations from learning Somali. However, the present study shows clear evidence of explicitly planned family language policy in the participant families, both in the form of an outspoken dialogue between parents in the case of Hawa, and as the result of an internal reflection on past experiences in the case of Faduma. These results contribute to the body of research on family language policy showing evidence of declared policies even in more marginalized populations (Bezioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Lomeu Gomes, 2021; Mirvahedi, 2021; Said, 2022), moving away from ideas on deliberate family language policy as a phenomenon somewhat associated with “elite” bilingualism or the middle class (Lomeu Gomes, 2021).

Nevertheless, in order to make sense of how participants’ language ideologies translate into family language policy, it is once again necessary to analyse how they make sense of the social structures they are embedded in (Mirvahedi, 2021). In the axis Somalia-Sweden, we see once more in Faduma’s case the dynamics between North and South operating to undermine multilingual practices. Northern societies expect immigrants from the South to learn the majority language as fast as possible in order to supposedly gain access to society and prevent social exclusion (Piller, 2012). These expectations, though, seem to have impacted on Faduma’s family language policy, delaying her oldest daughter’s contact with the Somali language. As Faduma tried to get inserted into society through learning Swedish, her Somali identity had to be renegotiated through the use of Swedish as the family language in order to conform to the country’s monolingual norm and northern ideas on what a “loyal citizen” is (Piller, 2012; Stroud, 2007).

As Faduma reflected on her previous experiences with her older child, her family language policy changed. When Safiya is born, Faduma finds herself in a different position within Swedish social structures, which impacts her identity as a multilingual mother. Although her embodied being still indexes otherness in the macro-scale of Swedish society, her position as a competent Swedish speaker, inserted in the labour market, enables her identity to shift from the language learning immigrant to a fully

multilingual individual within the micro-scale of the family (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This in turn strengthens Faduma in her decision of promoting multilingualism within the family. Reflections on how family language policy change over the years depending on the social position occupied by family members in different points of time is not something I have found present in the family language policy literature in Sweden or within the Somali community. Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur (2018) discuss how family language policy evolves with parents' experiences with the older children, but not in relation to social factors such as social inclusion and employment.

Analysing Hawa's case, ideas on the importance of the Somali language and on the benefits of multilingualism seem to clearly lead parents to overtly discuss a family language policy to be applied, which is also found in other marginalized groups (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). Hawa and her husband seem to make a conscious decision to reinforce the emergence of a Somali identity in their family through their family language policy. This occurs through their language practices, through the constantly positioning of themselves as Somali in their dialogues with each other and in the interactions with their children, and through indexing Somaliness by following the language practices of this community (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The constant renegotiation of their family language policy in the everyday life, with continuous dialogues on how the children are doing, is not something I have seen discussed in the previous literature in Sweden or within the Somali community, though. The international empirical literature discussed does not tap sufficiently into everyday renegotiations of family language policy, giving the impression of family language policy as fixed and rigid, and not as subject to dialogue and adaptations as the present data suggests.

8.3 Challenges of conducting a southern family language policy in the North

Hawa and Faduma show awareness of the challenges that aiming to raise multilingual children encompass for their families, and they present a series of measures that they believe can help other Somali families to promote multilingualism. The challenges described impact every family's ability to put their intended family language policy into practice contingent on a variety of factors.

In terms of parental beliefs, Hawa and Faduma repeatedly express the idea that multilingualism is the result of a personal effort, and a time-consuming process that permeates their identity as mothers. Mothers in Said (2022) also describe transmitting Arabic as hard work. As they ground their ideologies in beliefs influenced by the prevailing monolingual norm, Hawa and Faduma find it prejudicial to engage in simultaneous multilingual practices, as discussed above. However, not engaging in these practices, which are part of their multiple transnational identities (Pujolar, 2007), turns into a personal struggle. In this struggle, mothers on the one hand find their own practices detrimental, and on the other hand keep making use of them in their everyday life. This contradiction between ideologies and practices seems to be associated with a certain level of self-doubt, burdening what Callahan (2021) calls motherhood's "moral load".

I am here talking about "motherhood" rather than "parenthood" because results suggest that participants view promoting multilingualism as primarily the mother's responsibility. Whereas one might see it as a cultural internal factor of the Somali community, which it

possibly indeed is (see Abdullahi & Wei, 2021, and Hopkins, 2010), there seems to be a more general agreement within marginalized populations on the role played by mothers in family language policy. Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2018) note that within Turkish families in the Netherlands, mothers were more active in maintaining multilingualism. Said (2022) also notes that among her Arabic-English speaking participants, mothers were the driving force behind multilingualism in the family, and that successful transmission of Arabic indicated successful motherhood.

Another reported challenge, consequently, is lack of proficiency in the Somali language among mothers. Younger parents are usually seen through a language deficit lens, where their lack of competence in Somali is viewed as a hindrance to passing it on (Abdullahi & Wei, 2021; Hopkins, 2010). Older generations are also mostly discussed in terms of language deficit, but in this case in the majority language (Abdullahi & Wei, 2022; Hill, 2020). However, when Faduma discusses her hopes on the younger generations, her views on young mothers as capable of improving is certainly refreshing. Instead of just victimizing them or stating their language deficit as a fatality that cannot be changed, she chooses not to see what they lack, and instead to focus on their potential to develop. When Faduma focuses on the young generation's ability to improve their language skills in Somali, she is crediting them with the possibility of becoming producers of knowledge through their embodied experiences, continuing to construct collective knowledge of the Somali language within the community (Santos, 2018). According to Faduma, the most important is to help parents be aware of the importance of the Somali language, and of the effort it takes to pass it on, so parents won't take that children will speak Somali for granted and will invest their time. Hawa's solutions go on a similar note, parents need to be aware of the time it takes to raise multilingual children, and to make a conscious choice of investing their time in being together with their children.

Looking into described challenges arising from broader social perspectives, we see that labour market in Sweden is considered as at the same time a hindrance and an aid for multilingual families. As mothers are many times forced to enter the labour market, irrespective of cultural expectations on their roles, the time they spend with their children automatically decreases. This decrease in time with the children due to having to work is also discussed by Abdullahi & Wei (2021) as one of the keys to the low proficiency in Somali among younger generations, as previously noted. In this respect, Hawa sees her unemployment as positive for the family's language policy, making it easier to spend time speaking Somali with her children. When doing so, Hawa positions herself as an agent of her family language policy, with unemployment indexing the power to put it in practice in spite of societal discourses on multilingualism and social exclusion in the public scale (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, Piller, 2012).

On the other hand, although both Hawa and Faduma agree with claims that being a working mother makes it more difficult to implement a multilingual family language policy, they do see the well-regulated working conditions in Sweden as favouring multilingualism. According to them, mothers still have the ultimate power to dispose of their spare time and to invest in multilingualism by spending time with their children after the working day, which is not described as particularly strenuous. This claim contradicts findings in Abdullahi & Wei (2021), who describe the labour market in Britain as in fact undermining multilingualism in Somali families due to the harsh working conditions this

population faces. Mirvahedi (2021) notes that the informality of workplaces in Iran is a factor that helps support language maintenance within the Azerbaijani community, but not exactly as a factor supporting family language policy in the home scale as the present study suggests.

Since mothers are expected to enter the labour market, they have to resort to pre-school education in order to be able to work. Pre-school education becomes then an important agent in maintaining or disrupting multilingualism. The impact of majority language pre-school and school education in the maintenance of the minority language is discussed in several studies (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur 2018; Bohnacker, 2022; Mirvahedi, 2021; Surrain, 2021 among others), but it is not something that participants here lift as carrying any major importance for their families. This may be due to the fact that in the Swedish context, the Educational Act in pre-school (Skolverket, 2016) and the Swedish Education Act in schools (Utbildningsdepartementet, SFS 2010:800 2010) aim at promoting a multilingual identity, something that both participants show awareness of. However, working within pre-school herself, Faduma sees that pre-schools implement this act to different extents, an observation confirmed by Fredriksson & Lindgren Eneflo (2019). Faduma believes that one of the possible solutions for the working-parent dilemma is that pre-schools should get better at implementing the Educational Act, an alternative that is not available in many other national contexts. Faduma believes that a stronger implementation of the Educational Act would somewhat counterweigh the fact that working mothers spend less time with their children. This, together with the favourable working conditions mentioned above, would make the Swedish context as particularly supportive of multilingual family language policies.

However, this supposedly favourable context for a multilingual family language policy in Sweden clashes with factors regarding the symbolic values that different semiosis represent, factors that I argue can only be understood considering North and South entanglements. Mirvahedi (2021) also argues that parents' power to implement their desired family language policy is subject to local social structures, which is clearly the case in the present data. One challenge that participants describe related to local social structures is facing negative reactions from other members of the local community and from society as a whole, with Hawa's and Faduma's experiences diverging quite a lot in this respect. Faduma recalls several instances in different spaces where her identity as a competent mother, professional, speaker of Swedish, basketball expert and so forth is challenged in interaction with others. Faduma's repertoire and her own embodied self index otherness to such an extent that she is not only made invisible in these interactions, but is even deemed as downright dangerous as she moves across spaces (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017).

One episode of negative reactions that draws particular attention is Faduma's encounter with a new co-worker. Faduma's and other teachers' multilingualism, variety of Swedish, skin colour, clothing and religion all index non-Swedishness to the degree where they are immediately perceived as dangerous. Santos' "abyssal line" (2014) between North and South in this encounter is flagrant. The identity Faduma is ascribed emerges from her language practices and her embodied being, with the other teacher positioning her in a macro-level of social categories as the Other, indexing presuppositions tied to a certain social group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). As the teacher gets to know Faduma, though,

boundaries between the same and the different shift, and the other teacher positions Faduma in a closer relationality as a legitimate partner (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In this sense, Faduma's identity keeps being constructed and reconstructed in interactions departing from discourses on shared experiences and differences. To sum up, Faduma is again at first perceived as the "racialized Other" who has to prove, through her linguistic competence and her behaviour, that she is not a threat to Swedish society, a similar struggle to Hill's participants in Scotland (2020). Once again, this encounter cannot be understood without revising dynamics of colonialism and post-colonialism still very much present in contemporaneous society. This epistemological struggle, returning to Santos' (2018) terminology, is a clear remain of the clashes between North and South. De novo, by confronting the limits imposed on her in daily life oppressions, Faduma continues her silent struggle towards liberation. As Santos argues (2018), this "everyday forms of resistance" (p. 66) are only possible through the lived knowledge of oppression, requiring an awareness of injustice that Hawa does not seem to possess to the same extent.

In contrast to Faduma, Hawa describes her experience as one of consensus about the importance of multilingualism, stating that she has never faced negative reactions from Swedish society as a whole. Hawa's experiences may be explained by her relative lack of mobility within spaces. Hawa spends most of her time in Rinkeby, at home or running errands. The space where she moves can be considered an enabling space for multilingualism (Blommaert et al., 2005), a space where multiple linguistic repertoires and ethnic diversity are recognized as the norm. In the framed practices where Hawa and her children operate in everyday life, multilingualism is seen as a valued asset that allows her to communicate with a larger variety of people. Maybe if Hawa transited more in other scales in the larger social order, she would have faced more instances where her repertoire would have been disqualified and questioned, as Faduma has experienced. Hawa's lack of mobility across scales may be due to her weaker position in society, as movement across scales presupposes resources she apparently does not have (Dong & Blommaert, 2009).

The central role that space gains for Faduma and Hawa in both enabling and disabling their multilingual identities and practices reinforces Dong & Blommaert's (2009) account of space as neither neutral nor passive, but in fact as an active agent in attributing values to different linguistic resources (Blommaert et al., 2005). The space Rinkeby in particular is constructed by both Hawa and Faduma as a safe space where they are allowed to exist and thereby resist, their embodied experiences of struggle turning into collective knowledge borne by individuals in the community (Santos, 2018). Their view on Rinkeby as an agent that enables multilingualism and attributes values to their repertoires contrasts enormously to the public discourse of a violent, dangerous segregated suburb (Blommaert et al., 2005; Milani & Jonsson, 2012).

This contrast is a great example of how spaces are constructed through discourse and assigned different meanings depending on the circumstances (Blommaert et al., 2005). It also seems to be the case that the space Rinkeby plays a significant role in how family language policy is shaped and regarded, with people criticizing each other for children's lack or "excess" of competence in the Somali language. Hopkins (2010) discusses how space helps shaping identity in people of Somali origin in Toronto and in London, with spaces once again being decisive in order to define which resources are valued or not

(Blommaert et al., 2005). Hopkins concludes that differences in the demographic distribution between the two cities contribute to maintaining or not a Somali identity within the Somali population. The same phenomenon seems to be observed in Rinkeby, where the large prevalence of people of Somali origin apparently contributes to maintaining the Somali language alive, both by enriching children's repertoires in everyday encounters and by the expectation of a certain level of competence in the language by the other members. Space becomes here thus a relevant actor for family language policy. Showing awareness of that, Faduma even suggests improvements as to how this space can promote multilingualism even more, both through physical meeting places for parents sharing the same language background, and in the form of support by public organizations located in the area.

8.4 Suggestions for future studies

This thesis raises several issues that could well be further investigated in future studies. One of them relates to the way different strategies for enriching children's linguistic repertoire in everyday life may or not impact language acquisition for children with Somali as a heritage language. The significance of space in this process could also be further studied, as the space Rinkeby seems to carry great importance in maintaining the Somali language. Could we possibly see the same types of conflict that Hopkins (2010) shows between London and Toronto if we compare Rinkeby to other spaces?

Another issue raised here that deserves further attention is how Callahan's "moral load" (2021) of being responsible for thinking through, implementing and evaluating the family language policy impacts multilingual mothers. It would also be of importance to investigate how to ease them of some of this burden, maybe by helping them to delegate parts of their moral responsibility (Callahan, 2021).

It is certainly of interest to further investigate Hawa's and Faduma's claims that favourable working conditions in Sweden such as an established 8-hour working day would help to promote multilingualism. Future research could also explore how Swedish pre-schools implement the Educational Act and how it impacts on children's minority language repertoire, as participants suggest it could act as a potentially protective factor in favouring multilingualism. In addition, following Faduma's suggestion, future studies could explore how meeting places for multilingual families could be designed in order to cater for their needs, as well as how public agents could implement language policies that further support multilingual families.

Moreover, future studies of family language policy within the Somali community could explore families with different configurations, such as families with single parents, or with parents living in different parts of the globe due to migratory status. It is also of great importance to investigate how families with even less access to and mobility in society make sense of their transnational experiences. Focus can also lie on children's agency in Somali family language policy, a topic that only recently has been picked up by family language policy research (Said & Zhu, 2019).

Finally, the need to diversify family language policy in Sweden continues. Further studies in the field could benefit from investigating other immigrant groups representing the global South, as well as indigenous minorities who speak Sweden's official languages.

9. Conclusions

The present thesis aimed at contributing to the field of family language policy by shedding light onto the practices, ideologies and challenges of a group that is underrepresented in research, both in Sweden and internationally: the Somali population. The thesis also aimed at advancing research on family language policy in Sweden in terms of analytical tools, claiming that it is not possible to fully comprehend the lived experiences of these families without considering the tensions produced by the daily encounters between the North and the South. It was therefore advocated that a decolonial perspective would be the most appropriate way to examine the generated data.

Regarding the state of family language policy in Sweden, this work contributes to advancing it in different aspects. Methodologically, it adds to the body of research conducted ethnographically in the field rather than through questionnaires and interviews. It also increases representation of marginalized minority groups in the local family language policy scenario. Theoretically, this study advances the field in Sweden in terms of utilized theories and epistemologies, moving away from notions of languages as separate systems. Instead, I am taking an epistemological stance where languages are viewed as practices rather than systems, and adopting a decolonial perspective where the daily conflicts between the South and the North are put into centre stage in order to make sense of how these families' experiences inform their language ideologies and shape their family language policy. In terms of findings, issues in family language policy not much explored in the literature in Sweden emerge from the data, such as how the value attributed to different practices in different spaces is contingent on social structures, and how families construct their multiple identities through language practices in their daily interactions.

The study's findings suggest that family language policy within participant families is a conscious and deliberate project to endorse multilingualism and to pass on the Somali language to the next generation. Participants tackle this task by using their linguistic repertoire in a number of situations in everyday life, such as in play and in daily conversations, with an outspoken aim of using mostly the Somali language, although their practices do not always align with this outspoken policy. The desire to transmit Somali to the children is grounded on ideas on the importance of the Somali language in order to develop a sense of Somaliness, of Somali as a language that promotes closeness and mobility in relation to other members of the Somali diaspora, as well as on the supposed benefits of multilingualism. Results indicate that when implementing their family language policies through translanguaging practices, participants position themselves and are positioned by others contingent on social categories, unfolding their multivocal, hybrid and heterogeneous identities through these everyday interactions (Bailey, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2016).

However, results also suggest that participants adhere to prevailing monolingual ideologies shared by society on languages as separate entities, even though their practices rather suggest the use of languages as one single resource, as well as on ideologies of language maintenance as being the mother's responsibility. This contradiction between language ideologies and language practices is perceived as strenuous for these mothers,

who have to juggle the main responsibility of transmitting the Somali language while conforming to society's notions of what a loyal bilingual citizen is (Stroud, 2007). Keeping a multilingual family language policy is therefore defined as a time-consuming effort which is subject to criticism both from within the Somali population and from society as a whole. Participants offer their own suggestions on how to tackle these challenges, such as by promoting spaces of multilingualism, receiving official support from actors such as pre-schools and health care practitioners, and making parents conscious as to the importance of establishing a Somali-speaking environment.

My main claim in this thesis has been that these mothers' experiences as they struggle to maintain their intended multilingual family language policy can to a large extent be understood by the fact that the North and the South are still divided by an "abyssal line" where some people's knowledges, repertoires and experiences are attributed more value than others' (Santos, 2014). This unequal distribution of values is by and large contingent on which spaces and scales participants transition into, with some spaces being more prone to support a multilingual family language policy, and some disabling speakers and their repertoires (Dong & Blommaert, 2009). This process of meaning-making creates then different orders of visibility in terms of knowing, speaking and being (Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017). Maintaining a multilingual family language policy in spite of these adversities faced by participants is therefore regarded here as nothing less than an everyday act of resistance (Santos, 2018).

By enlightening participants' experiences through this research project, I hope I have contributed to render practices, repertoires and knowledges of people who normally do not have a voice in northern research more visible, reinforcing the need for southern epistemologies within the North (Heugh & Stroud, 2019; Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017; Santos, 2012). I also hope that this study has contributed to help bridging the representational gap in family language policy research (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020). Finally, this study could potentially be used by official actors involved in child upbringing and welfare in order to establish policies that promote multilingualism in ways that address relevant issues for this specific population and help them thrive multilingually. Support from official actors is one of the measures requested by participants. By listening to their voices and recognizing their struggles, we may be able to introduce practices and knowledges that make better sense for the Somali population while at the same time acknowledging their own collective authorship and agency (Santos, 2018).

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Appendix A

Copy of the pamphlet that was put on public spaces around Rinkeby informing about the study.



Pratar du somaliska och svenska?

Skulle du vilja delta i en studie om flerspråkighet?

- Studiens mål är att ta reda på hur somalisk-svenska mammor pratar med sina barn och vilken sorts hjälp de skulle vilja ha för att barnen ska prata båda språk
- Studien består av intervjuer och hembesök
- Du som deltar och din familj är anonyma, det betyder att ingen personlig information om er samlas

Låter det intressant? Kontakta logoped Juliana Neves Lindgren för att veta mer:

E-mail: juliana.n.lindgren@

Telefonnummer: 076 XXX XX XX

Appendix B

Copy of information sheet and consent form used:

Information om att delta i forskningsprojektet "Somali-svenskas familjer språkanvändning i vardagen"

Information om projektet och hur deltagarna valts ut

Jag är logoped i Rinkeby och masters student på Centrum för tvåspråkighet vid Stockholms universitet. Jag vill fråga dig om du vill delta i en studie som heter "Somali-svenskas familjer språkanvändning i vardagen". Målet med studien är att ta reda på hur somali-svenska familjer pratar med varandra hemma och vilka utmaningar de har gällande barnens två språk. Jag frågar just dig därför att ni pratar somaliska och svenska i din familj och du har visat intresse för att delta. Forskningshuvudman för projektet är Stockholms universitet. Forskningshuvudman betyder den organisation som är ansvarig för projektet.

1. Vad det innebär att delta i studien

Om du tackar ja kommer jag att besöka din familj 4 gånger för att se hur ni pratar med varandra i vardagen. Vi gör det när det passar er. Jag kommer också att intervjua dig därför att jag vill höra vad du tycker om att ha flerspråkiga barn. Jag vill gärna spela in intervjuerna för att kunna lyssna i lugn och ro sen. Jag kanske ber er om jag får spela in när ni pratar med varandra hemma någon gång eller be dig om du kan tänka dig filma er en stund när ni hemma utan mig. Ni får säga till om ni inte vill att jag spelar in något eller om jag ska radera hela eller delar av inspelningar.

Det finns ingen speciell risk med att delta i den här studien. Du och din familj kommer att vara anonyma, det betyder att ingen kommer att veta att det är ni som jag pratar om. Ni kommer att få välja andra namn till er själva och jag kommer inte berätta var ni bor eller liknande saker.

2. Information om studiens resultat

Om du vill kan jag berätta för dig hur det gick och vad slutsatserna var när studien är klar. Man kommer även kunna läsa studien på engelska.

3. Det är frivilligt att delta

Det är helt frivilligt att delta i projektet. Du kan när som helst välja att inte vara med längre och du behöver inte säga varför. Om du väljer att inte längre vara med kommer detta inte att påverka dig eller din familj på något sätt. Om du inte längre vill vara med kan du berätta det för mig eller för min handledare så tar vi bort er från studien. Våra kontaktuppgifter finns här under.

4. Behandling av personuppgifter

Om du väljer att delta i projektet kommer jag att behöva ha viss information om dig, som ditt namn, ålder på dig och dina barn, vilka språk du pratar och ditt yrke. Denna information kommer att samlas in genom att jag frågar dig.

Stockholms universitet är personuppgiftsansvarig för behandling av dina uppgifter. Den rättsliga grunden för personuppgiftsbehandlingen är informerat samtycke enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning, artikel 6.1.e.

Personuppgifterna kommer att förvaras i en extern hårddisk. För att projektet ska kunna utföras kommer jag och min handledare att ges tillgång till personuppgifterna. Uppgifterna kommer att behandlas så att ingen annan kan ta del av dem.

När projektet är avslutat kommer informationen inom projektet att sparas i minst 10 år utan dina personuppgifter, det vill säga du kommer att vara anonym.

Enligt EU:s dataskyddsförordning samt nationell kompletterande lagstiftning har du rätt att:

- återkalla ditt samtycke utan att det påverkar lagligheten av behandling som skett i enlighet med samtycket innan det återkallades
- begära tillgång till dina personuppgifter
- få dina personuppgifter rättade
- få dina personuppgifter raderade
- få behandlingen av dina personuppgifter begränsad.

Under vissa omständigheter medger dataskyddsförordningen samt kompletterande nationell lagstiftning undantag från dessa rättigheter. Rätten till tillgång till sina uppgifter kan exempelvis begränsas av sekretesskrav, och rätten att få uppgifter raderade kan begränsas av regler rörande arkivering.

Om du vill åberopa någon av dessa rättigheter ska du ta kontakt med projektansvarig forskare Caroline Kerfoot eller dataskyddsombudet vid Stockholms universitet (dso@su.se).

Om du är missnöjd med hur dina personuppgifter behandlas har du rätt att klaga hos Integritetsskyddsmyndigheten. Information om detta finns på myndighetens webbplats (imy.se).

5. Ersättning

Ingen ersättning betalas ut för att ni deltar i det här projektet.

6. Kontaktinformation

Juliana Neves Lindgren, julianan.lindgren@

Caroline Kerfoot, caroline.kerfoot@

Karolina Wirdeas, karolina.wirdeas@

Samtycke till att delta i forskningsprojektet "Somali-svenska familjers språkanvändning i vardagen"

Jag har läst och förstått den information om studien som anges i dokumentet

"Informationsblad". Jag har fått möjlighet att ställa frågor och jag har fått dem besvarade. Jag får behålla den skriftliga informationen.

☐ Jag samtycker till att delta i studien som beskrivs i dokumentet "Informationsbladet"

☐ Jag samtycker till att mina personuppgifter behandlas på det sätt som beskrivs i dokumentet "Informationsblad"

Plats och datum

.....

Underskrift och namnförtydligande

.....

Appendix C

Interview guide for Hawa's interview:

- Background questions
- Language use within the family: thoughts and discussions based on field observations
- Importance of Somali/Swedish for the individual and the society
- Reactions from her surroundings and thoughts about her surroundings regarding the family, Rinkeby and society
- Need of support for Somali-Swedish families

Appendix D

Interview guide for Faduma's interview:

- Background questions
- Discussion about shared experiences in the field
- Language use within the family: thoughts and discussion based on observations
- Importance of Somali/Swedish for the individual and within society
- Reactions from her surroundings and thoughts about her surrounding regarding the family, Rinkeby and society
- Need of support for Somali-Swedish families

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