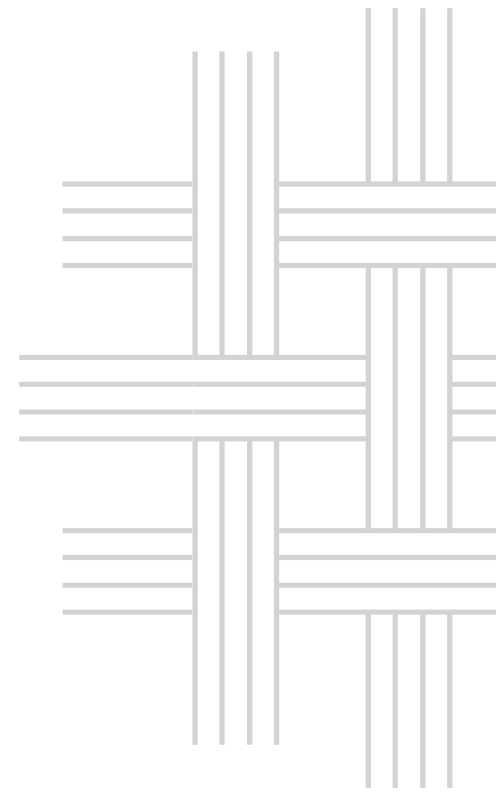




Inland Norway
University of
Applied Sciences



Faculty of Education

Hilde Thyness

Inclusion in parent-teacher relationships

**A sociolinguistic approach to language
and media practices in multilingual contexts**

PhD in Teaching and Teacher Education
2024



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Abstract

This article-based doctoral thesis investigates the roles of language and media practices for processes of inclusion and exclusion in relationships between majority language speaking teachers and parents who have Norwegian as an additional language. The study responds to a need to examine language and media practices in these relationships as it has received little attention internationally as well as in Norway. The analytical framework builds on nexus analysis in a sociolinguistically oriented qualitative study comprising interview and interactional data from both teachers and migrant parents. The aim is to investigate the complexities in parent-teacher relationships that are characterised by multilingualism and which are increasingly managed through interaction in digital channels. A post-digital perspective on interaction is applied, whereby digitally and non-digitally mediated interaction are seen as continuous parts of our interpersonal communication (Tagg & Lyons, 2022). Therefore, the overarching research question is: What are the opportunities and constraints for inclusion through parents' and teachers' language and media practices in multilingual contexts? The three dissertation articles shed light on this question from different angles.

Article 1 provides a qualitative micro-analysis of parent-teacher and employer-employee digital interaction. Through the lenses of orders of indexicality (Blommaert, 2005a, 2007; Silverstein, 1976, 2003), adequation and distinction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and interactional punctuation (Busch, 2021), a key finding is that despite a discursively constructed "correctness ideology", the interlocutors negotiated equitable relationships through the deployment of semiotic resources and strategic media choice. Still, Norwegian was identified as the language of communication between all the participating parents and teachers, which represents a challenge for parents with limited access to Norwegian linguistic resources.

Article 2 focuses on how teachers construct their roles and responsibilities for the inclusion of parents with Norwegian as an additional language and shows that important tensions exist in the teachers' discourses (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Davies & Harré, 1990). A key opportunity for inclusion resides in the teachers' core inner values of care for all parents and their discursive orientation towards language-as-resource (Ruiz, 1984). The potential opportunities provided by these 'discourses-of-ideals' are, however, circumscribed by the dominant monolingual ideology and the lack of institutional support mechanisms.

Article 3 aims at challenging the circulating monolingual ideology by providing the teachers with a visualisation of the parents' mediational repertoires, the mediagram (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021). The analysis shows that the mediagram constitutes a useful and discrete form of mapping of the parents' linguistic and media repertoires and contributes to challenging the teachers' monolingual ideologies and deficit views of parents who have Norwegian as an additional language. However, the use of this visualisation tool should be accompanied by more holistic approaches to parent-teacher relationships, as supported by the interviewed parents. Importantly, it is argued that the framework of critical multilingual awareness (García, 2017) should be extended to include digital resources to be up to date with the fact that parent-teacher interaction is primordially digitally mediated in post-digital contexts.

In sum, this thesis shows important opportunities for inclusive and equitable parent-teacher relationships when extending the understanding of language to include digital resources and when based on the core teacher identity feature of care and recognition of linguistic diversity. However, this thesis also identified constraints in terms of the dominant monolingual ideology and the lack of institutional support to teachers, which emphasises the need for addressing other scales of the education system in order to achieve sustainable solutions for equity on the parent-teacher relationship level.

Sammendrag

Denne artikkelbaserte doktorgradsavhandlingen undersøker hva språklige og digitale praksiser betyr for inkluderings- og ekskluderingsprosesser i relasjoner mellom majoritetsspråklige lærere og foreldre som har norsk som andrespråk. Studien svarer på et behov for å undersøke språklige og digitale praksiser i disse relasjonene da dette har fått lite oppmerksomhet både internasjonalt og i Norge. Dette kunnskapshullet adresseres gjennom en sosiolingvistisk, kvalitativ studie der det analytiske rammeverket bygger på nexusanalyse. Studien omfatter intervju- og interaksjonsdata fra både lærere og innvandrerforeldre. Intervjuene analyseres for å undersøke kompleksiteten i foreldre-lærer-relasjoner i flerspråklige kontekster hvor interaksjonen i stor grad foregår gjennom digitale kanaler. Det er anlagt et overordnet post-digitalt perspektiv på interaksjon, hvilket innebærer at digital og ikke-digital interaksjon ses på som et kontinuum (Tagg & Lyons, 2022). Derfor er det overordnede forskningsspørsmålet: Hva er mulighetene og begrensningene for inkludering gjennom foreldres og læreres språklige og digitale praksiser i flerspråklige sammenhenger? Avhandlingens tre artikler belyser dette spørsmålet fra ulike sider.

I artikkel 1 gjøres en kvalitativ mikroanalyse av den digitale interaksjonen mellom foreldre og lærere, og arbeidsgivere og ansatte. Gjennom et teoretisk rammeverk som bygger på «orders of indexicality» (Blommaert, 2005a, 2007; Silverstein, 1976, 2003), «adequation and distinction» (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), og interaksjonell tegnsetting (Busch, 2021), er et sentralt funn at til tross for en diskursivt konstruert "korrekthetsideologi", fremforhandlet samtalepartnerne en likeverdig relasjon gjennom bruk av ulike semiotiske ressurser og strategiske medievalg. Likevel ble norsk identifisert som kommunikasjonsspråk mellom alle deltagende foreldre og lærere. Dette representerer en utfordring for foreldre med begrenset tilgang til norske språkressurser.

Artikkel 2 setter søkelys på hvordan lærere konstruerer sine roller og sitt ansvar for inkludering av foreldre med norsk som andrespråk. Analysen viser at det eksisterer viktige spenninger i lærernes diskurser (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Davies & Harré, 1990). En sentral mulighet for inkludering ligger i lærernes indre verdier om omsorg for alle foreldre og deres diskursive orientering mot språk-som-ressurs (Ruiz, 1984). Potensialet som disse 'idealdiskursene' gir, er

imidlertid begrenset av den dominerende ettspråklige ideologien og mangelen på institusjonelle støttemekanismer.

Artikkel 3 tar sikte på å utfordre den ettspråklige ideologien som er i sirkulasjon gjennom en visualisering av foreldrenes medialiseringsspektra, mediagrammet (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021). Analysen viser at mediagrammet kan være en nyttig og diskret form for kartlegging av foreldrenes språklige og digitale ressurser. Videre kan det bidra til å utfordre lærernes ettspråklige ideologier, samt mangelsyn på foreldre som har norsk som andrespråk. Bruken av mediagrammet bør imidlertid følges opp av mer helhetlige tilnærminger til foreldre-lærer-relasjoner. Dette kommer fram gjennom intervjuer med foreldrene. Et hovedargument i denne artikkelen er at rammeverket for kritisk flerspråklig bevissthet (García, 2017) bør utvides til å omfatte digitale ressurser for å være i tråd med det faktum at foreldre-lærer-interaksjon primært er digitalt mediert i post-digitale kontekster.

Alt i alt viser denne avhandlingen at det er gode muligheter for inkluderende og likeverdige foreldre-lærer-relasjoner når man utvider forståelsen av språk til å inkludere digitale ressurser og når relasjonen er basert på lærernes kjerneverdi knyttet til omsorg og anerkjennelse av språklig mangfold. Begrensningene denne avhandlingen peker på når det gjelder den dominerende ettspråklige ideologien og mangelen på institusjonell støtte til lærere, understreker behovet for å rette oppmerksomhet mot andre nivåer i utdanningssystemet for å oppnå bærekraftige løsninger for likeverdige relasjoner mellom foreldre og lærere.

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Hilde Thyness

Oslo, 20 December 2023

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Dissertation articles

Article 1

Thyness, H., & Lexander, K. V. (2023). Indexing the 'included' migrant? Social categorization and interpersonal digital interaction between labor migrants, teachers and employers in Norway. *Language & Communication*, 88, 27-40.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2022.10.003>

Article 2

Thyness, H. (2023). Teachers' construction of their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with multilingual parents – A case from Norway. *Language and Education*, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2023.2221251>

Article 3 – (submitted to an international journal)

Thyness, H. Exploring mediagrams as a visual tool to encourage teachers' critical multilingual awareness through parent-school interaction in Norway.

1 Introduction

In the context of globalisation, migration and technology saturation, the sociolinguistic composition of Norwegian society has become increasingly complex over the last 50 years (Kulbrandstad, 2018). The inclusion of migrants, or rather problems related to inclusion, has been a core topic in polarised debates in the Norwegian context since the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Norwegian population gained momentum from the late 1960s (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014), and remains one of the greatest challenges facing our communities (Official Norwegian Report 2017: 2). In these debates, the role of Norwegian language skills in processes of inclusion features as a central concern and is often emphasised as the *sine qua non* for inclusion in work and education, and for allowing for close relationships between migrants and Norwegians (cf. Brekke & Fladmoe, 2022). Still, as an overarching value, Norwegian policy documents related to migration and education are firmly anchored in asset-based approaches to diversity and inclusion (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017, 2018). Schools are also pinpointed as a crucial arena for the social inclusion of migrant parents (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018), and importantly, digital interaction has been proposed as a way to break down language barriers between the home and the school, as well as to enhance the quality in the home-school cooperation (White Paper 22 (2010-2011), pp. 109-110). In this context, the social relationship between parents and teachers is established and maintained in a nexus of what the parent and teacher respectively bring to the relationship and the wider political and societal discourses related to migration, language and home-school cooperation.

Against this backdrop, this study contributes to our knowledge about how language and media practices in parent-teacher interaction in multilingual contexts can be a site of inclusion and exclusion. To investigate this nexus, I draw on mediated discourse analysis and its analytical branch, nexus analysis (Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), as a form of discourse analysis that focuses 'on the linkages between discourse and action and how these play out in complex social situations' (Scollon & de Saint-Georges, 2012, p. 66). Teachers have been given particular attention in this study because they hold a powerful position for processes of inclusion and exclusion by representing an important state-governed institution. My work is thus located at the intersection of two key dimensions of parent-teacher relationships in

contemporary society – namely, parent-teacher relationships in multilingual contexts and digitally mediated parent-teacher interaction. As I will demonstrate in Section 1.3, these issues have received attention in previous research, but rarely in combination. It is this combination that constitutes the contribution and originality of the present dissertation.

I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of the current policy framework for inclusion of migrant parents in the parent-teacher relationship (Section 1.1). In Section 1.2, I discuss the historical backdrop for the current policy framework and the contemporary tensions in the discourses on language and inclusion in Norway. I then identify research gaps and situate my project in relation to previous research (Section 1.3), before I present the research design and research questions in Section 1.4. In Section 1.5, I present the outline of this summary article.

1.1 Inclusion in parent-teacher relationships in Norway

The migrant parent and the teacher contribute to the parent-teacher relationship with different backgrounds, expectations, and mandates. The teacher is part of established institutional arrangements and faces a group of parents that is increasingly diverse. The migrant parent faces the Norwegian immigration laws and regulations, which differ according to different migrant statuses. Labour migrants from the European Economic Area and the European Union follow the legal arrangements that regulate the free movement of labour migration within these areas. For them, there are no formal or rights-based language learning requirements, but clear expectations to migrants' language learning prevail in policy documents (The Norwegian Government, 2021; Ødegård & Andersen, 2021). Refugees and persons applying for family reunification and citizenship, however, have both the legal right and the obligation to attend to the free-of-charge Norwegian Introduction Programme, which includes Norwegian language training. In return, there are specific language requirements for obtaining Norwegian citizenship (The Citizenship Act, 2022, Section 8; The Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2019). In the laws and regulations concerning immigration to Norway, language is thus presented as a precondition for legal inclusion (The Integration Act, 2020).

As parents, the migrants encounter the Norwegian school system. The legal authorities state that ensuring the quality of the cooperation is a mutual responsibility between the parents and the school (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017, p. 21). Still, the responsibility for

initiating and facilitating interaction with the parents is primarily accorded to the schools and teachers (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017, p. 20). The Education Act therefore affirms that education in schools shall be 'in collaboration and agreement with the home' (The Education Act, 2019, Section 1-1.). In the policy documents on education, inclusion is explicitly linked to the normative idea of a good society: 'A good society is founded on the ideals of inclusiveness and diversity' and, 'All pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large' (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017, p. 6). An asset-orientation towards linguistic diversity is thus part and parcel of the educational policy documents' definition of inclusion.

In contrast to requirements and expectations for Norwegian language skills related to immigration and work, there are no formal language skills requirements for parents with children enrolled in the Norwegian school system. On the contrary, a recent White Paper asserts that 'parents shall receive the information they need in a language and format they can understand' (White Paper 6 (2019-2020), pp. 24-25. My translation). To achieve this, the active use of interpreters and the translation of important information are emphasised as key strategies (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020, p. 3). However, parents are also met with expectations in the educational policy documents, whereby the parents are acknowledged as the most important caregivers for the children and there is emphasis on the importance of parents' 'attitude to school' for the students' learning and engagement (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017, p. 21). The core curriculum further acknowledges that different needs, expectations and opinions between the home and the school may create tensions and challenging working conditions for the teachers. Therefore, 'the school must state clearly what it is able to and must provide, and what is expected of the home' (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017, p. 21). As the language of interaction is not mentioned explicitly here, the question of whether Norwegian skills are included or not in 'what is expected of the home' is open to interpretation and may vary from teacher to teacher and from school to school.

1.2 Migration, language, and inclusion in the Norwegian context

To understand the complexities of the language and media practices in parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings, it is important to establish an understanding of the

historical and institutional context in which these relationships evolve. In this section, therefore, I will focus on societal and political discourses and discuss the historical backdrop for the contemporary ideologies and discourses on language and inclusion in the Norwegian immigration and educational contexts. I will argue that competing discourses on language and inclusion have tenaciously permeated the immigration and educational fields in Norway. On the one hand, an asset view of language diversity has been increasingly emphasised in recent decades, and on the other, migrants' lack of Norwegian skills frequently appears as the main challenge for successful integration. This section forms an important backdrop for the analysis in terms of identifying the discourses, people and places that are significant to processes of inclusion and exclusion in parent-teacher relationships (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 9).

1.2.1 Migration to Norway

Historically, Norway has been a country of net emigration, and with immigration primarily from Europe. It was not until 1967 that Norway experienced net immigration and immigration increasingly encompassed non-European migrants². It was with this “new immigration” that the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Norwegian population gained momentum (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014, pp. 15, 202; Sørensen, 1977, pp. 16, 26). The expansion of the EU to Eastern Europe in 2004 led to one of the major waves of labour immigration to Norway, and during the refugee crisis in 2015, Norway became one of the largest European recipient countries of refugees (Official Norwegian Report 2017: 2, p. 39). More recent numbers reveal that Norway is among the OECD countries that has had the highest immigration numbers relative to the population during the last decade (Official Norwegian Report 2017: 2, p. 12), and during the autumn 2023, Norway received more Ukrainian refugees than its neighbouring countries (The Norwegian Broadcasting Company, 2023). In total, approximately 20 % of the Norwegian population are immigrants or were born to immigrant parents (Statistics Norway, 2023a). The increasing linguistic diversity that follows this migration is reflected in the pupil and parent groups. Of all children in basic education, 19% come from families with an immigrant background. Approximately 8% of these children were themselves born outside of Norway, and the rest were born in Norway to immigrant parents (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2022). More than 200 countries are

² In Norwegian policy documents and the societal debate, the term ‘immigrant’ is used. When not referring directly to policy papers, I will use ‘migrant’ to emphasise the aspects of mobility and shifting identities.

represented in these numbers, and the largest groups come from Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Sweden, and Syria (Statistics Norway, 2016, 2023a).

1.2.2 Language and inclusion of migrants

During the nation-building processes in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, national integration and equality between social classes were central values, related to both cultural liberation from Denmark and political liberation from Sweden. In the associated quest for national identity, the educational system and the Norwegian language emerged as the primordial vehicles. Anchored in a German romantic idea of the distinctive characters of a nation and nurtured by a “one nation – one language”-ideology, the role accorded to education in the national language as part of the nation-building process was prominent in Norway (Slagstad, 1998; Telhaug & Mediås, 2003). From the perspectives of nation-building and emancipation from foreign rule, the values of equality between social classes and the development of the Norwegian language as a rupture with Danish rule can be seen as positive forces. However, egalitarian traditions also led to an understanding of equality as homogenisation and assimilation (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014, p. 159; Slagstad, 1998).

It was in the wake of the “new immigration” that the principle of mutual responsibility for inclusion between the migrant and the majority population was adopted in the first White paper on immigration and inclusion, launched in 1974 (White Paper 39 (1973-74)), and this is a principle that still applies as per the most recent strategy for inclusion (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018). However, there have been important changes in terminology over the years. Terms such as “foreign worker” and “people with a different culture”, which were prominent in the 1970s, have been replaced by an inclusive discourse whereby the Norwegian society is represented as inherently diverse (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014, p. 403; Olsen & Andreassen, 2018, p. 14). Also, recent surveys of the Norwegian population’s attitudes towards migration show that Norwegians are increasingly positive towards migrants when they have close relations to them, and Norwegians agree that migrants make positive contributions in the labour-market and in the cultural life (Brekke & Fladmoe, 2022; Strøm, 2019).

In contrast to the discourses described above, an increasing problem-orientation has continued to evolve since the 1990s, and the public debate on migration has been and remains

polarised. The debate often centres around rising social inequality, and on how migrants both contribute to the process of amplified inequality and constitute a threat to the Norwegian welfare system (Slottemo, 2020). An additional shift in the argumentation that began in the 1990s, has been to question the migrants' responsibilities more than the responsibilities of the majority population (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014, p. 403). In this debate, there seems to be a persistent ideological current that foregrounds the role of Norwegian language skills for successful inclusion (Djuve & Kavli, 2019, p. 37). The language-learning concerns are echoed in immigration policy documents (Kulbrandstad, 2017) and in the current integration strategy (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018), as well as in the contemporary political and public discourse (Bøhler, 2022; Melby, 2020; Wetås & Skretteberg, 2021). Finally, in the societal and political debate, "integration" is often used for short-term and externally observable dimensions, such as how the migrant can be integrated in work and learn to speak Norwegian as quickly as possible (Brekke & Fladmoe, 2022). In these debates, the migrant is often held accountable for failed integration, whereas questions related to characteristics of the Norwegian society tend to be veiled (Official Norwegian Report 2011: 14, p. 27). I therefore use the terms "inclusion" and "inclusive" in this thesis to avoid a one-way and unbalanced distribution of responsibility for processes of inclusion and exclusion towards the migrant (cf. Piller and Takahashi, 2011).

1.2.3 Language and inclusion of parents

The policy documents on education primarily address pupils with a migrant background and their language-learning needs. I will argue here that there are competing discourses within the field of language education that are likely to influence teachers' language ideologies. Also, migrant parents' language ideologies may be influenced by societal and political discourses through their encounters with the educational system through their children.

The multicultural nature of the school population was acknowledged in the education reforms of the 1980s, and as a result, mother-tongue education and the teaching of Norwegian as a second language were introduced. This has been interpreted as a shift towards a policy of recognition that challenged the persistent homogenising school ideology (Engen, 2003, pp. 239-240; Seland, 2013, pp. 198, 205). The reforms of the 1990s, 2006 and 2020 have further strengthened the overarching, normative resource-orientation towards diversity and inclusion, responding to an increasingly diverse society in terms of religious backgrounds,

minority populations, pupils with special needs, and cultural and linguistic diversity (Faldet et al., 2022). Simultaneously however, the policy documents' reference to mother-tongue instruction and functional bilingualism as values in themselves were, in the documents of the 1990s, replaced by an instrumental approach to mother-tongue instruction, whereby it should primarily play a role for Norwegian language-learning (Bubikova-Moan, 2017; Morken, 2009; Seland, 2013; Aarsæther, 2017). This instrumental approach is materialised in the regulations and practices as a mainstreaming model where the aim for mother-tongue instruction is to master Norwegian sufficiently to be able to participate in ordinary education. This tendency has been perpetuated in the education reforms of the 2000s (Engen, 2014, pp. 58, 70).

There have thus been two parallel developments in the discourses and policies on inclusion and language since the 1990s. On the one hand, normative and value-based orientations have been strengthened in both educational and immigration policy documents towards diversity and language as resources (cf. Faldet et al., 2022; Ruiz, 1984). On the other hand, the more practically oriented approaches to Norwegian language-learning in schools and the requirements for Norwegian language skills in immigration policies often lean towards problem-based understandings of multilingualism and monolingual ideologies (cf. Ruiz, 1984; Shohamy, 2006). Adding to these competing discourses, processes of inclusion play out in complex webs of discourses, ideologies and interpersonal relationships. Laws and regulations provide important normative direction for these processes but cannot completely govern them. Emotional aspects and the presence or absence of mutual recognition are also important (cf. Felder, 2018). These dimensions will be further developed in the discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of inclusion in parent-teacher relationships in multilingual contexts (Section 2.2).

1.3 Situating the project

As mentioned in Section 1.1, there are two strands of research that are particularly important for the present project: studies of parent-teacher relationships in multilingual contexts, and research on digitally mediated parent-teacher interaction. In this section, I will first clarify my use of terminology before I examine previous research in these fields in the European, North American and Australian contexts (Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2). This review of research expands

the quite limited literature reviews that were possible to conduct within the frame of the dissertation articles. Finally, the relevant research gaps are identified (1.3.3).

Various terms are used in the literature and in policy documents to describe home-school cooperation and interaction (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011), such as parental and family involvement, parental engagement (e.g., Albrecht, 2021; Pushor, 2012) and home-school-community partnership (Epstein, 2018). These various terms are used to highlight the nature of the relationship in the research literature, and to convey certain ideologies from the policy level (cf. Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Pushor (2012), for instance, proposed “parental engagement” to emphasise an equitable relationship whereby parents and schools enter a shared landscape of mutual responsibility and decision-making informed by the knowledge of both teachers and parents. Goodall and Montgomery (2014) proposed a continuum model from parental involvement to parental engagement to understand the process of increased parental engagement with children’s learning (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014). In Norwegian policy documents, home-school cooperation is the official translation for the dominant Norwegian term *hjem-skole-samarbeid* (see Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Throughout this thesis, when I refer to particular studies, I will use the term of that particular study. Where I summarise or refer to my own project, I will use ‘parent-teacher relationships’, as I zoom in on language and media practices and deem this term to be the most neutral and suitable to avoid alignment with a particular model of home-school relationships.

1.3.1 Parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings

The body of research on parent-teacher relationships across the contexts mentioned above has repeatedly shown that pupils’ academic and social development benefit from parent-school relationships that are oriented towards empowerment and identity-confirmation of the pupils and parents (e.g., Auerbach, 2004, 2010; Banks, 2009; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Cummins, 2000, 2009; Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003; Epstein, 2011; Gonzalez et al., 2005; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Nieto & Bode, 2018; Nordahl, 2015). Among the identified success criteria is the schools’ ability to take the multilingual parents’ perspectives on board in planning and leadership for school development in resource-oriented relationships (e.g., Albrecht, 2021; Blair & Haneda, 2021; Ishimaru & Takahashi, 2017; Prasad & Lory, 2020).

The schools' outreach to the parents in order to get to know them and to capitalise on their cultural and linguistic backgrounds is emphasised. Here, the funds of knowledge project in California has been influential in conceptualising links between the home and school for identity-confirmation and learning (Gonzalez et al., 2005). An influential approach originating in the European context is the framework of language awareness (cf. Cenoz et al., 2017; Hélot, Frijns, et al., 2018). Within this tradition, the Didenheim project in France (Hélot & Young, 2006) aimed to foster tolerance among pupils by addressing the linguistic and cultural diversity in the classrooms. The project was based on the parents' participation in presentations of their languages and cultures to the students and teachers as a way to bring the social and migratory realities of the languages into the classrooms. Among the important outcomes of this diversity-as-resource-based project was the empowerment of parents and improved parent-teacher relationships (Hélot & Young, 2006). Another key success factor is the identification of language barriers and the use of interpreters or bilingual teachers in parents' meetings and parent-teacher conferences to ensure mutual understanding (e.g., Blair & Haneda, 2021). In this line of research, there is often a broader approach to enablers and impediments for successful parent-teacher relationships, including, but not exclusively focusing on, language.

Often, typologies for different types of partnerships are elaborated or partnership models are broken down to their different dimensions to present a holistic approach to this relationship. For instance, Blair and Haneda (2021) proposed "collaborative partnerships" as a way forward for the parents and teachers of emergent bi/multilingual students. Based on a literature review, they presented four critical features in such a collaborative partnership: 1) valuing diversity based on an asset-based approach to families; 2) prioritising parents' goals, needs and concerns; 3) equalising the power imbalance between parents and schools; and 4) empowering parents to engage in and contribute to change. Applying these features to their own empirical material, the authors showed how a school managed to provide opportunities for parents with different languages to be heard and engaged through separate parents-meetings organised by different language groups. Here, school-wide approaches were found to be more sustainable than initiatives driven by individual teachers. However, school wide approaches were not a guarantee for successful relationships. For one parent-teacher relationship, despite the fact that the parents and teacher shared a language, the teacher

failed at the interpersonal parent-teacher level by not involving the parents in conflicts at school (Blair & Haneda, 2021, p. 22). In the second example, where there were weak structures at school level, the voluntary and individual efforts of some of the English as second language teachers, going beyond their official roles, resulted in collaborative partnerships.

Activities that have been found to be successful in terms of valuing families' language backgrounds are the development of dual-language books, bilingual libraries, the involvement of parents or grandparents in class for reading sessions or for engaging in activities with the children in a language of their choice and the active involvement of multilingual parents in the pupils' literacy education (e.g., Chow & Cummins, 2003; Conteh et al., 2014; Danbolt & Hugo, 2012; Mary & Young, 2021). These examples are in line with teachers' responsibility for 'how they negotiate identities with students and communities' (Cummins, 2009, p. 262). Relationship models that are based on validating and acknowledging parents' linguistic and cultural backgrounds and that bring them on board in genuine and equitable cooperation are prime examples of inclusive practices with minoritised parents.

However, the bulk of research on parent-teacher relationships in a multilingual setting accentuate important challenges. Schools and teachers are repeatedly criticised for holding deficit views of parents with migrant or minority backgrounds, where the responsibility for problems with cooperation and involvement is placed on the parents (e.g., Adebayo & Heinz, 2023; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Guo, 2012; Matthiesen, 2017). In many cases, there are discrepancies between the parents' and teachers' expectations in terms of their contributions to pupils' learning and parents' involvement in school-based activities. These discrepancies are often based on the fact that the parents are unfamiliar with the school system (e.g., Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Danbolt et al., 2010; Schneider & Arnot, 2018). The schools' and teachers' expectations are criticised for having a white middle-class bias where only certain types of parenting are valued, and where the cooperation is mostly based on the school's needs and preferences, without taking the parents' perspectives – or knowledge – into account (e.g., Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Guo, 2012; Heath, 1982; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Lareau, 2011; Matthiesen, 2017; Nordahl, 2015). This includes schools' and teachers' inconsistent and often lacking translation and interpretation, which thus make language an important barrier to interaction (Baraldi & Gavioli, 2023; Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Bouakaz, 2009; Bouakaz & Persson, 2007; Crozier

& Davies, 2007; Hamilton, 2013; Kavanagh & Hickey, 2013; Schneider & Arnot, 2018). These exclusionary practices are frequently based on the fact that the teachers are unaware of the languages spoken by the parents (Guo, 2012; Schneider & Arnot, 2018) and on the majority population's and teachers' persistent monolingual ideologies leading to deficit perceptions of multilingual parents (e.g., Adebayo & Heinz, 2023; Bouakaz & Persson, 2007; Mary et al., 2021; Righard et al., 2023). From the teachers' perspective, they often find cooperation with multilingual parents challenging, and they often work under conditions that impede their potential for inclusive practices (Flatraaker, 2016; Mary & Young, 2021; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2020). Teachers also often feel, and are, inadequately prepared for parent-teacher relationships in general (Dahl et al., 2016; Epstein, 2018; Gonzales & Gabel, 2017; Westergård, 2013).

These insights of inclusive and exclusionary practices are well documented and constitute an important backdrop for my study. Exclusionary language practices with parents are regularly mentioned in this scholarship, but rarely scrutinised in detail. We also know relatively little about digitally mediated interaction in these relationships.

1.3.2 Digitally mediated parent-teacher interaction

The technology saturation of contemporary societies, such as in Norway, has led to digital communication being an integral part of our every-day lives (Androutsopoulos, 2021b; Statistics Norway, 2023b; Tagg & Lyons, 2022. See also Section 2.3). There is a growing body of literature on the use of digital technology to support parental involvement and parent-teacher relationships. However, less is known about digitally mediated parent-teacher relationships in multilingual contexts, and particularly when zooming in on language practices.

In educational policies and research, digital communication and online learning platforms are often presented as having the potential to improve parent-teacher relationships (e.g., Goodall, 2016; Olmstead, 2013; White Paper 22 (2010-2011)). Studies confirm that parents and teachers have positive evaluations of, and attitudes to, digital communication due to factors such as convenience, immediacy, information accumulation and the availability of the school and the teacher (e.g., Blau & Hameiri, 2017; Bordalba & Bochaca, 2019; Bønnhoff, 2020; Hutchison et al., 2020; Kuusimäki et al., 2019a; Lewin & Luckin, 2010; Olmstead, 2013; Telem & Pinto, 2006; Thompson et al., 2015). However, an important part of the existing

research relates to digital inequality and technological aspects in terms of access to devices, connectivity and ICT competence. The lack of access to devices, expensive Internet connections and/or low ICT competence are, in many contexts, highly relevant and are reported to have exclusionary effects (e.g., Bønnhoff, 2020; Heath et al., 2015; Hollingworth et al., 2011; Katz & Gonzalez, 2016; Lewin & Luckin, 2010; Noguerón-Liu, 2017). Some studies have looked at success factors in these settings, such as the distribution of free devices, ICT courses and teacher support (e.g., Heath et al., 2015; Noguerón-Liu, 2017; Vigo-Arrazola & Dieste-Gracia, 2019).

In the context of relationships between Latinx homes and schools in the USA, a digital deficit view is noted whereby educational authorities at different levels (i.e., national, regional and local, down to teachers) presume that low-income families with a migrant background are 'digitally limited' (Pavlakis et al., 2023, p. 1016) in terms of skills, range of devices and Internet access. In contrast, empirical investigation reveals that a majority of these families do have Internet access and that many homes constitute media rich environments where parents are highly tech-savvy (e.g., Katz & Gonzalez, 2016; Pavlakis et al., 2023). Moreover, digital inequality cannot simply be solved through the public provision of devices, but must be seen in connection with the broader embeddedness of home-school power asymmetry and ensure that parents' conditions are taken into consideration, and that parental goals and needs are met (Noguerón-Liu, 2017).

When accessibility and connectivity are achieved, research focus is oriented towards topics such as media choice, parents' and teachers' attitudes to digitally mediated interaction, and the changing nature of parent-teacher relationships due to increasing digitalisation. Studies of media choice have established that the purpose for the interaction determines the actual choice of media, and also that media choice may affect the relationships that are mediated (Gershon, 2010; Madianou & Miller, 2012). Some studies have looked at specific channels, such as the frequency, content and outcomes of e-mail communication (Thompson, 2008), the feedback practices or the school's support for parental involvement through learning platforms (Oinas et al., 2017; Selwyn et al., 2011), or particular devices, such as attitudes to mobiles (Ho et al., 2013). Digital channels are considered to be particularly efficient for the sharing of non-sensitive information, whilst face-to-face or phone communication is often preferred in more complex or serious matters related to the pupils' social or academic

development, or to enable parents and teachers to get to know each other (Kuusimäki et al., 2019b; Olmstead, 2013; Reid et al., 2019; Thompson, 2008; Thompson et al., 2015). Flexibility in media choice among parents and teachers has also been found (Palts & Kalmus, 2015; Thompson et al., 2015). Palts and Kalmus (2015) found that most teachers align with the parents' media choice, and that the parents evaluate some channels as being more private, such as Facebook and Skype. Channels such as e-school, e-mail, SMS and phone calls were considered more suitable for parent-teacher interaction, and the mobile phone emerged as the most efficient as 'this information [...] goes straight to your pocket' (Palts & Kalmus, 2015, p. 75). Thompson et al. (2015) had similar findings regarding the use of e-mail. Parents' and teachers' channel preferences may also diverge, which may in turn affect the quality of the digital communication (Heath et al., 2015, p. 387; Palts & Kalmus, 2015).

Thompson et al. (2015) looked specifically at the convergence of media in smartphones to investigate media choice and channel preferences of 1,349 parents in the Midwestern USA. The convergence of channels opened for the use of a range of channels, such as SMS, Facebook and Skype. Still, e-mail emerged as the preferred channel due to convenience, the asynchronous nature allowing for reading and responding in their own time, and because e-mail was found to be a quick and easy communication channel (Thompson et al., 2015, pp. 195-196). Some of the parents justified their preference for asynchronous e-mail interaction by citing the opportunities to articulate their concerns through well considered composition (Thompson et al., 2015, p. 198). In contrast, in the research from Estonia by Palts and Kalmus, the Estonian participants reported the negative dimension of written interaction in terms of the time needed to carefully consider both the content and the format of messages. Despite this effort, the participants were not always reassured that their message adequately conveyed what they had intended to communicate, and they feared misunderstandings (Palts & Kalmus, 2015, pp. 74-75).

Parents' evaluation of digital communication according to parenting style and socio-economic background has been investigated. For instance, in the Danish context, Akselvoll (2016) interviewed 20 parents from different socio-economic backgrounds to examine the conditions for parental involvement in two schools using the online platform Parent Intranet. She found that parent-teacher cooperation was evaluated differently according to the parent's parenting style and strategies for involvement, and also that parents had ambivalent feelings towards

the app. Mothers with a parenting style that included intensive involvement and follow-up of their children – constructed as an ideal parent by the school – had a more positive evaluation of the cooperation. These mothers reported that success in following up everything in the app made them feel competent (Akselvoll, 2016).

On a more negative note, the potential problematic and even intrusive nature of digital technology has been reported. Akselvoll's study (2016) found that the school's online app facilitated the teachers' possibilities to reach the parents at all times. Parents with a less intensive parenting style reported that the expectations, demands and omnipresence of the school through the Parent Intranet overwhelmed them and was experienced as intrusive, potentially leading to the parents feeling that they failed in their parenting (Akselvoll, 2016). In a similar line, in a study of 15 mothers in the UK, Head (2020) found that digital technologies contributed to a bureaucratisation of the relationship, where attention and energy were drawn to managing communication and information more than to other forms of parental involvement. This is also a way for schools to orient parents towards "intensive parenting" – a parental model that is typical for the white middle class and that is culturally and socially contingent and focused on extensive prioritisation of the child over other needs of the family as a way to prepare the children for education and the future (Grant, 2011; Head, 2020). In a similar vein, Hutchinson et al. (2020) noted how parents found that the school's innovative literacy programme, based on collaborative student-parent-teacher blogging, was too time-consuming (Hutchison et al., 2020).

Teachers have also been found to experience negative aspects of digital communication. Teachers report the burden of being "always on" (Baron, 2008), which creates a blurring of the boundaries between work and private life, as parents often have high expectations for speedy replies, even outside of work hours (Hedlin & Frank, 2022; Selwyn et al., 2017). Time constraints and feelings of being overwhelmed with work have also been found to be an impediment for digital technology to enhance the parent-teacher relationship (Hedlin & Frank, 2022; Olmstead, 2013). Lack of school-wide systems and policies regulating and supporting teachers in their digital communication with parents may add to this burden (Hedlin & Frank, 2022). As a specific example of a weak system, teachers are often expected to share their private number to enable digital interaction with parents (Olmstead, 2013).

When looking more closely into the opportunities for two-way communication, there seems to be a tendency that the appearance of digital technology has not changed the traditional, one-way communication from the school, and that digital channels are primarily used to distribute information (Lewin & Luckin, 2010; Ozcinar & Ekizoglu, 2013; Pavlakis et al., 2023; Selwyn et al., 2011; Vigo-Arrazola & Dieste-Gracia, 2019). In this way, digital channels can be used to extend ‘the agenda of the school into the home’ (Grant, 2011, p. 297) by regulating pupils and parents towards the school’s needs or by being used to showcase snapshots of teachers’ best practices (Head, 2020; Selwyn et al., 2011; Vigo-Arrazola & Dieste-Gracia, 2019). A persistent tendency for communication practices that are based on the school’s needs can be found in the fact that the applications may lack compatibility with end users’ needs – that is, the parents. Palts and Kalmus found that teachers hold prejudices and presuppositions regarding parents’ channel preferences, and call for agreement between parents and teachers on communication conventions (Palts & Kalmus, 2015, p. 76). Head (2020) reported on a duplication of messages across platforms, and that the systems were unable to deliver messages to both parents. Additionally, it has been found that schools do not take the families’ preferences and needs sufficiently into account when choosing communication channels (Bønnhoff, 2020; Head, 2020). This is supported by research on school websites, which are primarily used for distribution of information about the schools to the parents and the wider community (Gu, 2017). Gu (2017) also observed a need to develop accessible websites for migrant parents with Swedish as an additional language as an inexpensive and efficient way of making migrant parents feel valued and welcome. Olmsted (2013) noted more generally that language formed a barrier to parental involvement, which is an observation that leads us to the few existing studies, to the best of my knowledge, that focus on language issues in digital home-school communication.

One of the rare Norwegian studies concerning online cooperation between migrant parents and kindergartens/pre-schools, schools and afterschool programmes, focused on how 16 migrant mothers from less digitalised backgrounds carry out and experience digitalised home-school cooperation (Bønnhoff, 2020). In this study, Bønnhoff found that the migrant mothers described four forms of work that they carried out when interacting with the school: receiving and giving messages; gaining insight into the lives of the children at school; supporting the children in education and leisure activities; and learning about parenting in a Norwegian

context. The digital channels were important sources for information-sharing and for the mothers to obtain a better insight into their children's everyday lives. The mothers also reported that the schools were highly available for them online. However, language and digital skills constituted important barriers to the mothers' own desire to be more available for the schools and for successful cooperation. These barriers led the mothers to experience feelings of inadequacy in their parenting practices. Importantly, the reported language of communication with the school was Norwegian, even for the mothers who had recently arrived in Norway. In terms of levels of digital skills, the mothers with lower digital skills experienced increased involvement when the interaction was non-digital.

In another study looking into digital communication in multilingual contexts, Piller et al. (2021) investigated the enrolment information on the websites of 30 linguistically diverse schools in Australia. Looking at language choice, multilingual information architecture, and references to linguistic diversity on the websites, they found that the web-pages were exclusively in English. When translation options were available, they too were indicated in English (Piller et al., 2021). Researching the context in the USA, Pavlakis et al. (2023) also found that the monthly newsletters to parents were translated, but all other digital information from the school was in English only.

This literature review shows that digital tools hold important potential for improved and inclusive parent-teacher relationships. However, there is no easy technological solution to ensure this. On the contrary, some of the findings indicate that "traditional" one-way communication is transferred to the digital channels with little or no consideration of the needs and preferences of the parents. As such, this research shows challenges for inclusive practices similar to the results reported in Section 1.3.1 on parent-teacher relationships in general and in multilingual contexts.

1.3.3 Research gaps in existing literature

The reviewed research contributes with important insights into opportunities and challenges for inclusive practices in digitally mediated parent-teacher relationships. Internationally, and particularly in the USA, there is extensive research on parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings. The scholarship on digital communication in parent-teacher relationships is growing. However, only very few studies exist that focus on digital

communication in multilingual contexts. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that include an *interactional sociolinguistics* approach to digitally mediated parent-teacher interaction in multilingual contexts. In these contexts, the extension of the linguistic repertoire to *digital resources* is also absent. Moreover, the visual and multimodal tools that have been used in multilingualism research have not focused on parents' transnational relationships as a gateway to challenging teachers' and school's monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997) and deficit views of minoritised parents. In the Norwegian context, the research on interaction between teachers and parents with Norwegian as an additional language is scarce.

This dissertation addresses these research gaps, and thus contributes to expanding the knowledge at the intersection of the strands of research reviewed in Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2. It does so by focusing on interpersonal digital parent-teacher interaction, on teachers' positioning in complex and constraining working conditions, and on a tool that expands the scope of critical multilingual awareness with digital resources with the aim to improve parent-teacher relationships.

1.4 Research design and research questions

To address the identified gaps, I apply nexus analysis in a sociolinguistically oriented qualitative study design comprising interview and interactional data from both teachers and migrant parents. I have adopted an overall post-digital perspective to interaction, whereby digitally and non-digitally mediated interaction are seen as continuous parts of our interpersonal communication (Tagg & Lyons, 2022). In this way, I aim to investigate the complexities in parent-teacher relationships that are characterised by migration and multilingualism, with a particular focus on the teachers' everyday work and the roles and responsibilities that they are expected to assume in these increasingly complex settings. Therefore, the overarching research question is as follows:

What are the opportunities and constraints for inclusion through parents' and teachers' language and media practices in multilingual contexts?

To answer this question, I build on the framework of mediated discourse analysis that is concerned with improving social issues in society (Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). As I will elaborate on in Chapters 2 and 3, the advantage of mediated discourse analysis is that it takes social action at the micro-level (e.g., language or media choice) as its point of departure

to examine how three main factors both constitute and are constituted by that social action and in turn the social issue. In this thesis, the social issue is the potential inclusion or exclusion of minority parents in the parent-teacher relationship. The key factors that circulate through the social action are: 1) the historical body – that is, the teacher’s and parents’ professional and private backgrounds and the parents’ migration and language-learning trajectories; 2) the interaction order (Goffman, 1983) – that is, the relationship between the parents and the teachers; and 3) the discourses in place – that is, the higher scale societal discourses, such as those related to language and inclusion in the policy documents and in the political and societal discourses, the discourses at the local schools, and the contextual factors involved in these discourses. These three factors intersect in a nexus of practice, which in the present study consists of language and media practices in parent-teacher interaction.

The study is article-based and part of the larger DigiMulti project³ investigating the role of digital communication in the relationship between migrants and their Norwegian interlocutors, in both public and private spaces. The focus of the larger project is divided between two domains that are considered crucial for inclusion – namely, education (the present project) and work (Lexander, 2023, 2024 (in press)). Dissertation Article 1 (Thyness & Lexander, 2023) has been co-written with the DigiMulti principal investigator and my main supervisor, Kristin Vold Lexander. Here, we consider both of these domains and draw on interactional sociolinguistics to scrutinise unfolding interaction between labour migrants and their children’s class teacher and their employer, respectively. At this micro-scale level, we are interested in how the deployed semiotic resources and media choices have interactional inclusive or exclusionary effects, how they contribute to interactionally accomplished identities, and how they affect the interaction order (Goffman, 1983).

To understand the ways in which this nexus of practice and the interaction order are affected by the parents’ and teachers’ historical bodies, I emphasise the participants’ emic perspectives in terms of how they experience and evaluate this relationship. In particular, it is important to understand how the parents and teachers position themselves within this relationship, and how they, from their perspectives, view the constraints and opportunities embedded in this relationship. This approach runs through all three articles. In Article 2, the focus of attention

³ <https://digimulti.inn.no/>

is on the teachers' subject positions that are made available within different discourses to shed light on the complexities of the teachers' work (Thyness, 2023).

As the nexus of practice is historically, socially and ideologically situated, an equally important approach comes from critical discourse studies. This approach is used to map higher-scale political and societal discourses that circulate through the unfolding digitally mediated interaction and through the parents' and teachers' metacommentaries on this interaction and their relationship. This approach too runs through all three articles.

The historical, social and ideological contingency of the nexus of practice does not make it a static routine. Rather, it is open to change as the different discourses flow through it in different ways and as the actors position themselves and others in relation to these discourses. Two important and competing discourses characterise the parent-teacher interaction and relationship: monolingual ideologies and the teachers' value-based recognition of diversity. Article 3, therefore, investigates how a visualisation of parents' linguistic and media repertoires can build on the teachers' recognition of diversity as a resource to challenge their monolingual practices with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language.

The three dissertation articles thus zoom in on different, but interrelated, parts of the language and media practices in parent-teacher interaction and contribute in different ways to answering the overarching research question. The overarching research question, the titles of the articles and their research questions are summed up in Table 1.

Overarching research question	What are the opportunities and constraints for inclusion through parents’ and teachers’ language and media practices in multilingual contexts?		
Article titles	1 Indexing the ‘included’ migrant? Social categorization and interpersonal digital interaction between labour migrants, teachers and employers in Norway.	2 Teachers’ construction of their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with multilingual parents – A case from Norway.	3 Exploring mediagrams as a visual tool to encourage teachers’ critical multilingual awareness through parent-school interaction in Norway.
Article research questions	What social categories are constructed of and by migrants and by their interlocutors? What acts of alignment and dis-alignment to values and discourses, stereotypes and ideals do the ideological assumptions related to inclusion engage?	How do Norwegian teachers construct their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language?	How can the mediagram contribute to teachers’ critical awareness related to existing language ideologies in parent-teacher interaction in multilingual settings?

Table 1: Overarching research question, the titles of the articles and their research questions

1.5 Structure of the summary article

After this introduction, the theoretical underpinnings for mediated discourse analysis and the theoretical framework of the dissertation are presented in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I elaborate on nexus analysis as the analytical branch of mediated discourse analysis, while presenting and discussing the recruitment process, participants, and methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter 4 provides a brief summary of the dissertation articles, which is followed by a discussion of the overarching research question in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 also includes research contributions and directions for future research. The three dissertation articles are presented after Chapter 5.

2 Theoretical framework: a multidimensional approach to language and inclusion

The aim of this chapter is to build an overarching conceptual framework for the analysis of the potential inclusion or exclusion of multilingual, minoritised parents through parents' and teachers' language and media practices. The theoretical constructs that I have drawn on to understand the relationship between language and inclusion have been presented and discussed in the three dissertation articles, but often only briefly. I will therefore elaborate on them here and discuss how they complement each other.

I begin with an explanation of the rationale for building on mediated discourse analysis, including a presentation of its key terminology (2.1). In the subsequent section, I present the theoretical underpinnings of my conceptualisation of the notion of inclusion (2.2), before I discuss the practice approach to language (2.3) and how this approach relates to the ontological understanding of identity as an emerging phenomenon (2.4). In the final section, I discuss language ideologies as a critical approach to the social functions of language (2.5).

2.1 Mediated discourse analysis

Inclusion and exclusion in parent-teacher interaction are characterised by complexity and multidimensionality. This involves the actions taken by the parents and teachers in their interaction, the local social and material context at the particular school, and the broader political and societal context of this interaction (cf. Hult, 2016, p. 201). To investigate this, it is necessary to adopt multiple vantage points and to consider the different scales, or dimensions, within which the parent-teacher interaction takes place. I therefore build on principles from mediated discourse analysis and nexus analysis as a scalar approach to language and inclusion (2.1.1). Subsequently, I present the key nexus analysis terminology that is relevant for this thesis (2.1.2).

2.1.1 A scalar approach to language and inclusion

Mediated discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary ethnographically oriented enterprise that draws on the research traditions of interactional sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and critical discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2005a; Hult, 2016; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Scollon & de Saint-Georges, 2012). These overlapping and complementary traditions, alongside

linguistic ethnography, converge in their concern for social issues in society (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Copland et al., 2015; Snell et al., 2015; Tusting, 2019).

The attentiveness to social issues and social justice is in line with developments in recent decades within the broad field of research investigating the social role of language that have highlighted the need for eclectic approaches that transgress disciplinary boundaries (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Hult, 2016; Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016; Rampton et al., 2015; Tusting, 2019). The concern that is common for these developments is the need for empirical investigation of interactional and discursive identity positions and relationship construction that avoids taking for granted predetermined and static social categories. The need for an ethnographic approach is emphasised to understand the individuals' emic perspectives and to grasp the complexities that exist at the local level. The critical approach allows for the analysis of power relations and the connections between local processes on the one hand, and of social and ideological processes at higher scales on the other (Androutsopoulos, 2021b; Blommaert, 2010; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016; Slembrouck, 2019b; Tusting, 2019).

Mediated discourse analysis represents a critical approach to social issues and inequalities. Through its analytic branch, nexus analysis, it takes social action as its point of departure and is concerned with mapping the discourses that circulate across scales through the moments of micro-level social action that are relevant for the studied social issue (Hult, 2016). Having mapped the relevant circulating discourses, an important tenet of mediated discourse analysis is to change them – with the aim to improve the conditions for the social issue at hand, an aim it shares with critical discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough, 1989). In this way, mediated discourse analysis is a form of 'discourse analysis to engage in social action' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 7). An explicit purpose for developing the nexus analysis framework was to 'extract a more general ethnographic theory and methodology which can be used to analyse the relationships between discourse and technology, but also to place this analysis in the broader context of the social, political, and cultural issues of any particular time' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 7). This framework thus shares the longstanding sociolinguistic concern of investigating and understanding the interdependence between actions and events at the micro-level and broader social and political processes at higher scales (e.g., Blommaert, 2005a, 2007; Hult, 2015; Lemke, 2000).

In this respect, it has been argued that nexus analysis is ‘an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach to the study of discursive flows across scales’ (Hult, 2016, p. 102). The notion of scale provides a flexible and nuanced approach to different spatial and temporal dimensions, where actions and processes occurring at different scale-levels influence each other, often in unexpected and unpredictable ways (Blommaert, 2010). The notion of scales has thus been increasingly important in order to understand and explain geographical and spatial consequences of globalisation – as a more granular concept that captures new complexities in these contexts (e.g., Slembrouck & Vandenbroucke, 2019; Spitzmüller et al., 2021). Spatial scales can be understood horizontally as layered and interdependent scales from the micro-level to the global level with the geographical circulation of people and labour – and language (Blommaert, 2010). For example, processes such as migration, occurring at the global scale, change the sociolinguistic composition at the local scale, such as in a school’s catchment area. And vice-versa, processes at the local scale, such as unemployment or war, affect regional and global processes of mobility and migration (cf. Blommaert, 2010, p. 33). Importantly, spatial scales are also understood in a vertical way, where power relations structure hierarchies of more or less valuable and prestigious languages and language varieties (Blommaert, 2010; Slembrouck & Vandenbroucke, 2019).

Scales are also inherently temporal, as the here-and-now interaction takes place against the backdrop of processes circulating at slower time-scales. These slowly circulating processes, such as policies, practices and identities, function as stable systems that require ‘integration across time-scales’ (Lemke, 2000, p. 283). The discourses circulating at slow time-cycles are linked to the constitutive forces of discourse. Such institutionalised discourses are important constituents of the ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53) and have naturalising, hegemonic effects (Blommaert, 2005a, p. 127; Foucault, 1971; Gramsci, 1999). As such, they are often beyond a person’s awareness. However, these same policies, practices and identities cannot be subsumed under ‘macro orders of existence’ (Carr and Lempert, 2016, p. 8), as local practices are exactly what constitute these higher order structures (Lemke, 2000, p. 276). Processes, events and interactions unfold simultaneously in space and time, which are indeed physical and temporal. They are also discursively constructed in that what is legitimate in a specific situation depends on how the interlocutors make different spatial and temporal dimensions relevant in that situation (cf. Blommaert 2010, p. 34). There is thus always a ‘co-presence of

different spaces and times in speech' (Busch, 2017, p. 355) or a 'layered simultaneity' in discourse (Blommaert, 2005a, pp. 130-131).

Applying principles of mediated discourse analysis in my project, I take language and media practices in unfolding digitally mediated parent-teacher interaction as a key theoretical and analytical unit (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004). A micro-analysis of this interaction is, however, not enough to understand processes of inclusion or exclusion. In addition to the co-construction of meaning and identities during the unfolding interaction, the digital interaction is embedded in its wider social, institutional and ideological context, including processes at lower scales, such as the individual, bodily scale, and higher scales, such as the institutional, societal and political scales. Based on this introduction, I will further present the key nexus analysis terminology relevant for this dissertation: social action, social practice, nexus of practice, historical body, interaction order, discourses in place and mediational means.

2.1.2 Key terminology

Social action is defined as 'any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 11). The iteration of social action in turn constitutes *social practice*. Social practice is understood quite narrowly in this framework, with a focus on the individual executing an iterative action (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, pp. 12-13). It is when the social practice, situated in its historical moment and material space, is repeated regularly that it is called a *nexus of practice* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 12). In this way, the nexus of practice encompasses: 1) the histories of the actors involved; 2) the interaction with others; and 3) the discourses relevant to that specific site. In the terminology of nexus analysis, these three intersecting factors are called respectively the historical body, the interaction order and the discourses in place.

The historical body (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13) is made up by the personal and professional backgrounds and experiences that each individual brings into a social practice. The historical bodies of the teachers in this study are shaped, among other things, by their teacher education, their practices over the years, and the language ideologies and discourses within which this practice has taken and takes place. The parents' historical bodies are shaped, among other things, by their migratory and language-learning trajectories, and their encounters with the Norwegian school system and teachers.

The interlocutors' historical bodies, or individual trajectories (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Heller, 2007, p. 344; Lemke, 2000, p. 278), encompassing their formal positions and social categorisations as teacher and migrant, contribute to shaping *the interaction order* (Goffman, 1983). Through this notion, one can attend to the roles, responsibilities, social relationships and power relations between social actors – that is, all the 'possible social arrangements by which we form relationships in social interactions' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13). The teacher and the parent have different roles and expectations in the parent-teacher interaction, and the multilingual, migratory and digital context is likely to contribute to a more complex interaction order.

The discourses in place refer to all the discourses that circulate through the particular moment of a social action – that is, both the higher-scale levels of discourse circulating in slow time-cycles, such as societal and political discourses, and local, interpersonal discourse that circulates more rapidly (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 14). Importantly, *the discourses in place* are understood as discourse cycles or itineraries whereby discourses change over time (Scollon, 2008). Moreover, they encompass how discourses 'precipitate' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 155) to produce the physical, material and financial context of a nexus of practice, and vice-versa, how this context 'evaporates' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, pp. 27-28) to discourse.

In a broad definition, taking into account geographical, social and temporal scales, Blommaert defines discourse as follows: 'discourse [...] comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use' (Blommaert, 2005a, p. 3). Following this definition, discourses are conceptualised as dynamic and complex in this thesis. They encompass language as social and local practice in interpersonal interaction, local discourses circulating at a school, and broader political and societal discourses circulating at higher scales (Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Scollon & de Saint-Georges, 2012). As social practice, discourse is imbued with power and mediated by and through ideology, and by social actors using mediational means (Blommaert, 2005a; Chun, 2019; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Slembrouck, 2019a). Seen through the lens of nexus analysis, 'broader social issues are ultimately grounded in the micro-actions of social interaction and, conversely, the most mundane of micro-actions are the nexus through which the largest cycles of social organization and activity circulate' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 8). Therefore, in contrast to most forms of critical discourse analysis, which focuses on the larger-scale

discourses, nexus analysis starts at the micro-level (Lane, 2014, p. 4; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The digitally mediated interaction between parents and teachers represents such local, micro-level discourses.

Finally, *mediational means* are the semiotic tools or resources that the individual uses to accomplish a social action (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 12). Included here are the linguistic and multimodal resources in both digitally and non-digitally mediated spoken and written interaction (e.g., Kress, 2010; Van Leeuwen, 2015). As digital technology has expanded the ways in which we communicate, construct identities and manage relationships, the different digital devices and applications, as well as their different affordances, are examples of mediational means (e.g., Gershon, 2010; Herring, 2004; Jones et al., 2015). Following a key insight from polymedia theory, digital interaction is considered through the ways in which individuals 'use a constellation of different media as an integrated environment in which each medium finds its niche in relation to the others' (Madianou & Miller, 2012, p. 3). The mediational means are thus resources that form an individual's mediational repertoire (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021. See Section 2.3) or polymedia repertoire (Tagg & Lyons, 2021). Palviainen (2020) has, for instance, shown how the nexus of practice of video calls in transnational families mediated their language practices and policies, facilitated distant parenting and ensured intimate family relationships.

2.2 Inclusion in interpersonal interaction

As a theoretical underpinning for inclusion, I draw on Felder's (2018) discussion of the structure and value of inclusion in education and Honneth's critical social theory of recognition (Honneth, 1995). Through these lenses, social inclusion is seen as a process that ensures positive and empowering interpersonal relationships through regulated forms of mutual recognition, social intentionality, and social action (Honneth, 1995; Felder, 2018, p. 60).

In Honneth's theory, recognition is divided into three interrelated forms: love, rights, and social esteem. The dimension of rights refers to the formal and political rights accorded to individuals and groups of people. Social esteem concerns how we can positively relate to our own specific features and abilities and allows for an acknowledgement of the valuable contribution of an individual (Honneth, 1995, p. 109). Importantly, it is based on this particular individual's difference from others. It is through this difference that the individual can make a

valuable contribution to society and thus be valued as a person. Social esteem therefore extends beyond a passive tolerance to solidarity as “a felt concern”, with the active recognition of an individual’s contribution as valuable, based on their individual traits, accomplishments and abilities (Honneth, 1995, p. 114). Love is found in intimate relationships that display feelings of mutual esteem and encompasses friendship (Honneth, 1995, p. 89), and here I extend this dimension to the parent-teacher relationship (cf. Felder, 2018, p. 67; Jakobsen, 2013, p. 363).

The cultural and normative interpretations of what is a valuable contribution, worthy of social esteem, are subject to social conflict and struggle and become dependent on the dominant interpretations in society (Honneth, 1995, p. 112). Consequently, the socially and culturally contingent process of determining which social features and contributions are to be valued, may operate as effective exclusionary dynamics. Institutionally established cultural values may here lead to denied access to equal status for certain individuals and groups (Felder, 2018, p. 60). Therefore, inclusion demands a shared goal, through social intentionality and social action (Felder, 2018, p. 58).

For the purposes of this study, Felder’s (2018) distinction between communal and societal forms of inclusion is useful. In this distinction, the societal sphere refers to what can be regulated through laws and regulations, whereas the communal sphere refers to interpersonal dimensions, such as feelings of trust and belonging (Felder, 2018, p. 57). Applying this distinction to the parent-teacher relationship, we see that it falls within both spheres. Parent-teacher interaction and cooperation is clearly anchored in the law, such as the regulation of parents’ meetings and parent-teacher conferences (cf. Regulation of the Education Act, 2006, Article 20; The Education Act, 1989, Sections 1-1 & 3-3d). Additionally, the parent-teacher relationship should ideally be characterised by mutual trust and a sense of belonging (cf. Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). The distinction between the communal and the societal spheres is interesting, because it draws attention to the fact that rights to access, or co-presence, as an externally observable form of inclusion, can be regulated. The rights-based approach is important as it represents a formal recognition of the rights of different individuals and groups in society. However, a rights-based approach to inclusion is otherwise ‘detached from feelings of liking and affection’ (Honneth, 1995, p. 100). There are thus risks that a rights-based approach to inclusion may be applied in an

instrumental way, whereby inclusion is understood in terms of the externally observable dimension of being under the same roof. Moreover, the parents' feelings of trust and belonging depend on how the parent-teacher relationship is negotiated. If the social and psychological dimensions of a sense of belonging and trust – “love” – are ignored through an instrumental, rights-based approach to inclusion, externally observable dimensions may entail internal exclusion (cf. Felder, 2018). Therefore, recognition in all forms can be seen as a prerequisite for inclusion and identity confirmation (cf. Cummins, 2009; Felder, 2018, pp. 60-61; Honneth, 1995). This means that an individual's sense of belonging, esteem and worth – both the parent's and the teacher's – is intrinsically linked to social processes at different scales.

Conditions of multilingualism and linguistic diversity are not explicitly touched upon by Honneth (1995) or Felder (2018). However, the increased sociolinguistic complexities in society at large and in the schools will also increase the complexity in the social interpretations of what are to be evaluated as valuable contributions. In the context of the present study, there are tensions, as I have shown in Chapter 1, between the recognition of multilingualism as a resource for both the individual and the society on the one hand, and the role accorded to Norwegian as a necessity for access to work, education and interpersonal relationships on the other. These tensions can be seen as a backdrop for the ideological constructions of language hierarchies that will affect both the majority population and the migrants' evaluation of the appropriateness of their deployed linguistic and semiotic resources (cf. Blommaert, 2010; Busch, 2017, p. 346. See also Section 2.4). The social interpretations of what count as valuable contributions will thus affect the migrants' historical bodies (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and lived experience of language through the bodily and emotional dimensions of the interaction (Busch, 2017, p. 341). In this way, the tensions in discourses may affect the interaction order between parents and teachers and thus the parents' experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Although Felder (2018) emphasises the intentionality of actors pursuing the shared goal of inclusion, unintentionality is an equally important aspect to shed light on, as unintentionality rooted in low awareness may lead to exclusionary practices (cf. Honneth, 1995, p. 138). I will return to this point when discussing language ideologies and language awareness in Section 2.5.3.

2.3 A post-digital perspective on language as social and local practice

In this study, I approach language as social and local practice (Pennycook, 2010). A practice approach to language means that language is considered through the ways it is used to make meaning in and of the world and not as an abstract system (Busch, 2012; Heller, 2007; Jones & Norris, 2005b; Pennycook, 2010).

A key theoretical construct in practice approaches to language is the notion of the linguistic repertoire, which was initially defined at the level of community as its collective ‘linguistic forms used in the course of socially significant interaction’ (Gumperz, 1964, p. 137). This community-level conception of the linguistic repertoire has been challenged in the context of increased mobility and mediatisation, as “communities” are becoming less stable as populations become increasingly diverse in many ways (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Backus, 2013). Responding to this diversity, the notion of the linguistic repertoire has been oriented towards individual repertoires, hinging on a person’s individual trajectories of mobility and language learning (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012). In this way, the linguistic resources that constitute the individual repertoire are changing and evolving through the person’s biographical trajectory: ‘Repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives’ (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 15). Language is thus not considered as a structure that is detached from and existing independently of its use, but as an evolving set of resources that speakers, as social actors, can draw upon to achieve certain goals (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012; Heller, 2007). Underpinning the understanding of language as sets of resources is the conceptualisation of bounded, named languages as a social construction (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). This sociolinguistic theoretical and analytical understanding of language does not, however, undermine the ideological force that named languages have in social, educational and political contexts, and these forces may also constitute constraints to the actors’ possibility to achieve their goals (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2016; Cenoz & Gorter, 2014).

In recent reconceptualisations, the notion of the linguistic repertoire has been extended to include more complex resources, such as postures, accessories and, importantly for the purposes of this thesis, multimodal aspects, covered by the notion of “semiotic repertoires” (Kusters et al., 2017). The proliferation of new and mobile communication technologies, in

particular the smartphone, over the past two decades, has further expanded the semiotic repertoires to include the affordances of the different media channels, as well as seeing the media as part of the repertoires. To theorise this complexity of linguistic, multimodal and media resources as unfolding in digital language practices, Lexander and Androutsopoulos (2021) coined the notion of mediational repertoires, defined as ‘a socially and individually structured configuration of semiotic and technological resources’ (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021, p. 2). Their focus was to develop a tool to visualise this repertoire: the mediagram (Section 3.2.2). In the same line of thought, Tagg and Lyons (2021) proposed the notion of polymedia repertoire, to capture how complex meaning-making processes take place through the integration of practices, devices, environments, modes and signs in the polymedia repertoire (Tagg & Lyons, 2021). In this thesis, I will use the term “mediational repertoire” in view of the role of the mediagram both for data collection and analysis purposes and as a research activity (Article 3).

In most parts of the world, digital interaction can now be considered as an integrated part of our everyday lives, where digitally and non-digitally mediated interaction are continuous parts of our interpersonal communication (Androutsopoulos, 2021; Tagg & Lyons, 2022). I therefore approach parents’ and teachers’ language and media practices in what has been called a “post-digital perspective” (Tagg & Lyons, 2022), where the technological advancement in mobile devices enables people to keep in touch from anywhere and to be “always on” (Baron, 2008; Deumert, 2014). This has been an enabling factor for the mobility of people and is an important way for transnational families to keep in touch, but is also important for interaction in more proximate geographical spaces (Lexander, 2021; Tagg & Lyons, 2022). In particular, the convergence of programs and applications in one portable smartphone increases the fluidity of peoples’ interactional practices across online and offline spaces (Madianou, 2014; Tagg & Lyons, 2022, p. 10). Furthermore, the fact that people tend to carry their smartphone with them everywhere may increase the sense of intimacy as messages can reach interlocutors directly, regardless of the time of day or their whereabouts (Tagg & Lyons, 2022, p. 10). With reference to recognition in interpersonal interaction (cf. Felder, 2018), such a feeling of intimacy may be an important part of the feeling of inclusion.

It has been argued that processes of mediatisation and mobility have sparked ‘speakers’ cognitive and discursive attention to their own and others’ communicative conduct’

(Androutsopoulos & Staehr, 2018, p. 122). In written digital interaction in many applications, there are temporal gaps during the unfolding interaction: between the reception of a message and the composition of a response; and on even lower scales, during the composition of the message, and between the composition of the message and the pushing of the send-button. This temporal gap afforded by asynchronous interaction creates a zone of metapragmatic reflexivity (Androutsopoulos & Staehr, 2018, p. 122), whereby the interlocutors can read and reread received messages, and importantly correct and revise messages both in terms of linguistic resources and other semiotic resources when composing a response. Recent approaches to interaction that is digitally mediated thus focus on the social embeddedness of this interaction in how, for instance, we manage relationships and construct and negotiate identities across temporal and spatial scales (e.g., Alexander & Androutsopoulos, 2023; Stæhr, 2015; Tagg & Lyons, 2022).

In this context of mobility and mobile semiotic resources (Blommaert & Backus, 2013), identities cannot be straightforwardly identified and presupposed in terms of stable social categories and language varieties. Rather, identities are seen as phenomena that emerge through interaction – that is, as relationally and discursively constructed and interactionally accomplished (Bucholtz, 2009; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Eckert, 2012, 2016; Silverstein, 2003). From this perspective, language and media practices and locally emerging identities are seen as constitutive of processes of social categorisation at higher scales (Blommaert, 2005a; Bucholtz, 2009; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This is echoed by Scollon and Scollon (2004), in their view of the constitutive role of the micro social action, which is simultaneously the nexus through which higher-scale ideologies circulate. This approach to identity is thus anchored in a practice approach to language, as it is at the interactional level that the deployed mediational resources acquire social meaning (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Pennycook, 2010). In the subsequent section, I will discuss identity as interactionally accomplished and locally emergent, keeping in mind that these local processes stand in a dialectical relationship to processes at higher scales.

2.4 A dynamic approach to identity

I follow Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) sociocultural linguistic framework for identity and interaction. They propose a framework of five interrelated principles for understanding

identity at the interactional level: 1) the emergency principle; 2) the positionality principle; 3) the indexicality principle; 4) the relationality principle; and 5) the partialness principle. The first two principles constitute the ontological understanding of identity – i.e., as emerging in interaction, as presented in the previous section and as discussed and analysed in Article 1, and as ‘the social positioning of self and other’ (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). This dynamic approach to identity captures post-structural ideas about identity as complex, multiple and shifting.

2.4.1 Identity as interactional and discursive positioning

Macro social identities, such as gender, social class, ethnic background or professional occupation are often too broad and general to capture identity processes that are salient at the local scale (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 591). In view of this, the positionality principle offers a nuanced view of identity and relationship construction as an inherently dynamic phenomenon (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991, p. 404). On the interactional level, we find temporary interactional positions taken by the interlocutors. These positions, called subject positions, following Davies & Harré (1990), can be expressed through linguistic resources and stances, as well as through multimodal and media resources, as also explained in Article 1 (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Davies & Harré, 1990). In positioning theory, identity is seen as the emerging and ever-changing process of the subject positions made available through different discourses. Identity is here inherently seen as multiple and potentially contradictory, in relation to both the different circulating discourses and the interactional orientation to real or perceived others (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 47; De Fina, 2013). The individual’s historical bodies (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) – i.e., the continuously evolving experiences and knowledge of the world that are also captured in the notion of biographical trajectory (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012) – represent one important impetus for positioning. As explained in Article 2, subject positions offer specific vantage points of the world, which may simultaneously veil other ways of seeing (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 46). This form of positioning is reflexive – i.e., a positioning of oneself (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Positioning is however always relational and reciprocal in character, which means that positioning oneself also entails positioning others, as well as being positioned by others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2013). One of the possibilities is to position oneself and others in line with presupposed stereotypes or ideals, and refers to the process whereby the self and

other-positioning emerge from a taken-for-granted discourse that the interlocutors agree on or at least abide by. As discussed in Article 1, in interviews, Emilia, through learning Norwegian, refused the socio-economic stereotype of the migrant taking blue-collar jobs, and thereby positioned herself as included in interaction and included through social mobility. However, as positioning is multiple, the ways in which the positioning of oneself is taken up by the interlocutors depends on the alternative discourses available to them. From my perspective, when taking the position as a critical researcher, Emilia's claim to the subject position as included through the acquisition of near native-speaker Norwegian competence, also positioned her as assimilated, submitting to a hegemonic language ideology in Norway with regards to Norwegian language skills as a prerequisite for inclusion. Through this example, we get a glimpse of how positioning can be intentional or unintentional, as the position as assimilated in this case was not Emilia's primary intention⁴ (cf. Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). Similarly, other-positioning can also be unintentional if there is not awareness concerning how the circulating discourses make available certain subject positions and block others, such as when teachers articulate deficit views of multilingual parents (cf. Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991).

2.4.2 Indexical links between language and identity

Indexicality is one of the processes behind positionality and offers a fine-grained approach to identity. This notion explains the process whereby links between linguistic and semiotic resources and identity categories are constituted (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Silverstein, 1976). As explained in Article 1, indexicality can be referential – i.e., referring to things or elements present in the context – or non-referential – i.e., the purely metapragmatic meanings of linguistic and semiotic features (cf. Silverstein, 1976). In this latter form, the latent potential of indexicality in any linguistic or semiotic sign depends on 'the degree of intensity of ideologization' (Silverstein, 2003, p. 194). The most direct ways of identity construction are explicit social categorisation and labelling during unfolding interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 594). Through ideological associations between labels and forms of talk, identity categories operating at higher scales may work as presuppositions for identity construction in interaction. Through the constitutive power of language, which is conditioned by its 'property

⁴ Emilia did express a high awareness of this possibility of double positioning on other occasions, referring to her process of "assimilation" with humour and self-irony.

of temporal transcendence' (Ochs, 1992, p. 345), language can constitute contexts in the past as well as the future, and, in this way, indexicals are over time sedimented into expectations, norms and preferences. Metapragmatic stereotypes such as "immigrant", "migrant worker" and "Norwegian teacher" are thus talked into being (Ochs, 1992, p. 345; Silverstein, 2003). The social meanings of such higher-scale social categories circulate at slower time-scales. The constructed category of "migrant worker" can, in many contexts in Norway, be associated with low-prestige jobs and weak Norwegian skills. And vice-versa, Norwegian marked by additional language features in spoken or written language in the Norwegian context may, through presupposition, index the "deficit migrant", such as that alluded to by Emilia in Article 1. This process shows how local social positioning and social categorisation and ideologies at trans-local levels are in a dialectical and co-constitutive relation (Silverstein, 2003; Spitzmüller et al., 2021, p. 5).

In a specific interaction, there are also less obvious ways of identity construction than the explicit labelling, such as evaluations, stances and styles (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 594). Here, the social meaning emerges through two processes: presupposition and entailment (Silverstein, 2003, p. 195). The evaluation of appropriate language use by a person in a specific situation hinges on the interlocutors' shared, presupposed understanding of that appropriateness. The actual social meaning emerges through the process of entailment, and may contribute to the reproduction or contestation of the presupposed indexical (Silverstein, 2003, p. 195). In the continuous flux of interpretation and reinterpretation through the processes of presupposition and entailment, these social meanings are thus not understood in a static way in unfolding interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008, p. 409; Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003). Rather, Ochs (1992) argued that the sedimentation of the indexical link between non-referential indexicals and higher order social categories is indirect. This means that it is the evaluation of the linguistic features and expectations of what kinds of people use those linguistic features that over time contribute to the social category of, for instance, "migrant worker", not the linguistic features in themselves (Ochs, 1992, p. 342). This more complex and less deterministic understanding of linguistic and semiotic resources contributes to explaining the emergent nature of identity in interaction (Bucholtz, 2009; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). The process of indirect indexicality is highly ideological, and the hierarchical effects of this will be further discussed in relation to language ideologies in Section 2.5.

2.4.3 Identity as a relational and partial phenomenon

At the heart of their sociocultural linguistic framework, Bucholtz and Hall place the relationality principle, whereby identity is interactionally accomplished according to ‘available identity positions and other social actors’ (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 598). One of the complementary relations subsumed under this principle is adequation and distinction. Adequation is the process by which differences that may damage the ongoing identity work are downplayed. The term does not imply that groups or individuals could or should be identical, but rather that they are positioned as sufficiently similar for the purposes of the ongoing interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 599). In contrast, the process of differentiation refers to the suppression of similarities to construct difference. The complementary relation of adequation and distinction was discussed and used as an analytical tool in Article 1 and will not be elaborated on further here.

One of the other intersubjective relations is authorisation and illegitimation. This pair was not included in Article 1, but I find it pertinent for this thesis as it concerns structural and institutional dimensions of identity construction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 603). Here, processes and relations of power and ideology are central to how identities are affirmed, censored or dismissed (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 603), and I will return to this when discussing language ideologies in Section 2.5. The relationality principle is closely related to the fifth and final principle – the partialness principle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 605). This posits that relevant parts of a person’s identity are foregrounded or backgrounded according to the identity and relational work going on during unfolding interaction. From one perspective, the practice approaches to language have stressed the opportunities for creativity and linguistic profusion, where interlocutors can draw on a variety of semiotic resources to achieve certain goals and enact certain identities in a deliberate and intentional way (e.g., Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 29; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In other circumstances, the construction of identity may be habitual and a less conscious process, both during unfolding interaction and in terms of awareness of prevalent ideological orientations, changing discourse contexts, and the interlocutors’ unequal access to prestigious linguistic resources (cf. Blommaert, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 606).

In this section, I have focused on language as social practice and identity as interactionally accomplished. As discussed, these local processes are both constituted by and constitutive of

broader social structures in a dialectical relationship. In the subsequent section, I will extend this discussion by conceptualizing language ideologies as scalar phenomena, mediating between structure and practice (Spitzmüller et al., 2021).

2.5 Language ideologies as a critical approach to language

In this thesis, the concept of language ideologies is used to investigate the role of standardised Norwegian in written digital communication (Article 1). Moreover, I examine how language ideologies mediate the interactionally accomplished and discursively constructed identities by and of parents and teachers in relation to discourses on language and inclusion circulating from higher scales (Articles 1 and 2), and I finally discuss how raised awareness of embodied language ideologies can contribute to more equitable language and media practices in the parent-school relationship (Article 3).

Language ideologies has been referred to as ‘a cluster concept consisting of a number of converging dimensions’ (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 7). The notion originated within the American tradition of linguistic anthropology and is often traced back to Silverstein’s definition: ‘any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use’ (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). Silverstein (1979) makes the connection between language structure and the social context in which it is used, between forms of talk and social forms, where language ideologies make up the mediating link between the two (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). Language ideologies can be made salient for micro linguistic features or named languages, and anything in between, and they are located in discourses circulating on different scales in different time-cycles (Blommaert, 2005a; Lemke, 2000; Pennycook, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Kroskrity (2000, 2004) distinguishes between five dimensions of language ideologies, and I will use these dimensions to structure the following discussion: 1) language ideologies can express the socio-political interests of a specific group (2.5.1); 2) they are multiple (2.5.2); 3) language users display different degrees of awareness of language ideologies (2.5.3); 4) language ideologies have a mediating role (2.5.4); and finally, 5) they play a role in identity construction (2.5.5).

2.5.1 The socio-political interests of specific groups

The first dimension is the socio-political interests of a specific group. Within this dimension we find for example the interests of the nation state in promoting national language ideologies along the lines of what is called the German, Romantic or Herderian view of language (Woolard, 1998, p. 16; Kroskrity, 2000, p. 10). Here, a “one nation – one language” ideology is constructed as a way of naturalising these language users’ dominant position, enabling them to draw the boundary, and thus exclude speakers of other languages. Historical processes of language standardisation and discourse on the relationship between the one nation and the one language contribute to this boundary-drawing by creating a standard, correct variety against which other varieties are evaluated (Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Silverstein, 2018; Woolard, 1998. See also discussion in McLelland, 2021). In this monolingual ideology, language variation within the national language is downplayed to produce an imagined community of national sameness (cf. Gullestad, 2002; Kroskrity, 2000, p. 24). Such ideologies and related policies still prevail in the European context (Caliendo et al., 2019, p. 1; Heller, 2011). A Norwegian historical example of this is when “nationality” was introduced in the 1865 census as a category defined upon linguistic criteria, thereby constructing language as the sign, or index, of ethnicity (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2014; Lane, 2010, p. 160). As explained in Chapter 1, a more recent example can be found in the Norwegian Introduction Programme and Citizenship Act, where there are specific language requirements for obtaining Norwegian citizenship (The Citizenship Act, 2022, Section 8).

2.5.2 Language ideologies as multiple

Language ideologies are multiple as a reflection of the many social groups and institutions in society, where ideologies exist as complexes of different shapes (Blommaert et al., 2016, p. 34). This dimension draws attention to the conflicts of interest that exist at different scales in society. In addition to a dominant national language ideology that emanates from a national centre of authority, the multiplicity of language ideologies is linked to converging or diverging ideologies across different sites, places, or centres of authority, as expressed in Silverstein’s notion of “ideological sites” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 136), Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of “field”, or Blommaert’s notion of “polycentricity” (Blommaert, 2005, 2007). In different fields, or according to different centres of authority, there exist ‘complexes of norms and perceived appropriateness criteria’ (Blommaert, 2007, p. 118). These centres of authority, or centring

institutions (Blommaert, 2005), are understood broadly, encompassing families and small social groups, and local and national institutions, such as the schools and the educational system in this thesis (Blommaert, 2005, p. 75). In this scalar approach to language ideologies, the state is considered to be a centring institution par excellence. As a state-governed institution, the school thus operates as an important centring institution, at multiple scales (Blommaert, 2005, pp. 75, 103). At the national scale, the school functions as a normative institution through policies and funding. At the local scale, it operates as a centring institution through the local school's ideas and discourses about language, and local policies and systems for parent-teacher cooperation. Also, local material conditions, such as financial priorities between competing concerns of which language is just one, will affect the formation of this local centre of authority. As a normative institution, the school is in a position to reproduce the dominant ideologies at multiple levels by being the centring institution towards which actors orient in order to be included (cf. Blommaert, 2005, p. 172).

A key concern in sociolinguistic and critical discourse studies is how we can, unconsciously, misrecognise coercive ideologies and discourses as natural due to the fact that they have developed over many years and are oriented towards a powerful elite (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991). In this way, through the process of misrecognition, the language ideology of the dominant population is naturalised and embodied in beliefs and practices. This process is theorised by Bourdieu (1990) as the *doxa* and the *habitus* – i.e., beliefs that remain unquestioned and unchallenged. Another perspective on naturalised language ideologies comes from Gramsci's (1999) notion of hegemony, where the circulation and operation of the dominant ideology is based on the consent of the dominated. In addition to the social origins of multiplicity, ideologies are thus multiple based on their different historical origins and the different time-scales at which they circulate. A case in point is what may be viewed as conflicting, or at least parallel, concerns between the Norwegian language-learning requirements as per the Citizenship Act and the overarching language-as-resource orientation in educational policy documents, as explained in Chapter 1. Here, the multiplicity of ideologies can be understood as discourses circulating at different spatial and temporal scales – both as conflicts of interests between groups or positions (i.e., the state vs. the migrant) – and as discourses in circulation at different time-scales (Lemke, 2000). In the educational field, Gogolin (1997) drew on Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* to coin the notion of the “monolingual habitus” to describe the

naturalised monolingual ideologies permeating discourses and practices in schools across Europe. The historical monolingual ideology, embedded in the monolingual habitus of the schools and teachers, may indicate a slowly circulating and persistent ideology that sustains and reproduces the dominant view of Norwegian skills as the only path to inclusion. Although there are competing resource-oriented discourses related to linguistic diversity, the monolingual discourses have thus circulated for a longer time than the more recent discourses on language diversity as a resource. The notion of “layered simultaneity” (Blommaert, 2005, pp. 130-131) captures this process, whereby discourses that circulate at long time-scales and that are oriented towards higher social scales than the here and now may be invisible to us in our everyday practices.

2.5.3 Language ideologies and language awareness

The third dimension is related to the varying degrees of awareness of language ideologies displayed by language users (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 18). In some definitions of ideology, these are conceived of as rationalist and conscious ideas that can be articulated at a metalevel (Woolard, 1998, p. 6). Other definitions include degrees of unawareness, where language ideologies are ‘embodied in communicative practice’ (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 496) and as such can be observed in an individual’s language practices (Silverstein, 1979, 2003). In this way, awareness can be seen as a continuum from something close to high or full metapragmatic awareness to unawareness in terms of language ideologies being ‘submerged into practice’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 105). This continuum can be linked to the insight from Silverstein that ‘to “understand” one’s own linguistic usage is potentially to change it’ (Silverstein, 1979, p. 233).

As a research tradition that complements the field of language ideologies within linguistic anthropology, I now turn to the European tradition of (critical) language awareness. Research and theory development on (critical) language awareness is primarily focused on language education, classroom practices, student-teacher relationships and as an important part of teacher education (e.g., Finkbeiner & White, 2017, p. 3; Handford et al., 2019; Hélot, 2017). Attention to the wider community in general and the parents in particular is, however, an implicit or explicit part of the theory and practices (e.g., García, 2017; Hélot & Young, 2006). Over the past four decades, the different applications of the notion of language awareness have brought about different conceptualisations (Hélot, 2017; Hélot, Van Gorp, et al., 2018).

In the following, I will discuss continuities and discontinuities within three of these language awareness traditions to position this project within the strand of critical multilingual awareness and to explicitly orient it to the field of parent-teacher relationships.

The notion of *language awareness* originated in pedagogical initiatives in the UK for cooperation between L1 and L2 teachers to 'bridge the gap between mother tongue and foreign language teaching' (Hawkins, 1984, foreword) as a response to poor academic achievements. Critical approaches to this form of language awareness emerged early on. Based on the fundamental ideas of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989), the Critical Language Awareness approach emphasised aspects of ideology, power, and privilege (Clark et al., 1990, 1991; Fairclough, 1992). The aim of this critical approach to language awareness was to question and challenge the existing naturalised language ideologies to help children from other language backgrounds or non-standard dialects (Clark et al., 1990, 1991). A main focus for this tradition is to unravel the ways in which discourse produces and maintains power relations in society, as well as to challenge, resist and change these relations.

One approach to language awareness that has been taken up and adapted in recent research, and which encompasses the critical perspectives, is James and Garrett's (1992) five domains of language awareness. This approach elucidates the distinction between the more cognitive and performance-oriented dimensions and the sociocultural dimensions of language awareness (cf. Frijns et al., 2018). James and Garrett's five domains are: 1) the affective domain, pinpointed as the most crucial issue in language awareness, which concerns attitudes and sensitivity to and interest in language; 2) the social domain, which addresses the relations between groups in an ethnically diverse society; 3) the power domain, which concerns awareness related to the power of language to operate as a rhetoric instrument of manipulation; 4) the cognitive domain, concerning knowledge about language and how it works, both as a system and in use, thus referring to the metalinguistic and metacognitive dimensions of language learning; and 5) the performance domain, which refers to an individual's command of a language and language abilities (James & Garrett, 1992, pp. 17-18). Although multilingualism was acknowledged by James and Garrett, multilingual perspectives were not a prominent part in early developments of critical language awareness in the 1990s (Finkbeiner & White, 2017, p. 6). With the multilingual turn in second language and language

education (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014), there has been an increased interest in and focus on multilingualism in societies and schools. Over the past two decades, the critical thinking around language has been expanded with a more explicit concern for multilingualism, and critical multilingual awareness has been advanced as a key component in teachers' enactment of social justice and inclusion in classrooms and communities (Cenoz et al., 2017; García, 2017).

The critical multilingual awareness approach (García, 2017) focuses primarily on teachers' classroom practices with regard to languages (translanguaging practices) and assessment practices that contribute to identity confirmation of the pupils in all subject matters. To achieve this, teachers need to develop linguistic tolerance and asset-based approaches to multilingual pupils and families; they need to develop awareness of historically and socially contingent power relations; teachers need a critical understanding of how language use in society has been naturalised and to acknowledge that named languages are social constructions. Finally, critical multilingual awareness encompasses action as it calls for "language activism" (García, 2017, p. 269). This latter point is in line with a main aim in the critical language awareness programme, that awareness needs to lead to action – e.g., in the form of changed practices and discourses (Fairclough, 1989; Janks & Ivanič, 1992).

There have been two recent adaptations of the critical multilingual awareness approach (García, 2017) and of James and Garrett's five dimensions of language awareness (1992). First, building on these two frameworks, Prasad and Lory (2020) proposed a critical multilingual awareness framework, where they placed the power dimension at the centre of the framework, as the pivot of discussions on multilingualism and language diversity (Prasad & Lory, 2020, p. 809). Second, Van Gorp et al. (2023) argued that, although the power dimension is indeed crucial, it can be better understood on the basis of the other four dimensions, and particularly the social and affective domains. In Prasad and Lory's (2020) framework, the social domain concerns the 'linguistic and cultural identity/ies, understanding linguistic diversity and intercultural aspects of language learning and relationships with language users'; and the affective domain has been defined as the 'socio-emotional feelings associated with languages, language learning and language users' (Prasad & Lory, 2020, p. 809). Whilst the critical multilingual awareness approach encompasses the importance of linguistic repertoires and language practices in the wider community (García, 2017; Prasad & Lory, 2020), research and

theory building on language awareness have so far primarily been centred on teaching, learning, beliefs, and ideologies within classrooms – i.e., related to students, teachers, student-teacher relationships, and pre- and in-service teacher professional development (cf. Svalberg, 2016).

Building on the three approaches to language awareness discussed above – language awareness (James & Garrett, 1992), critical language awareness (Clark et al., 1990, 1991; Fairclough, 1992) and critical multilingual awareness (García, 2017) – the primary focus of this thesis is the critical domain of power and ideologies. However, as found by Van Gorp et al. (2023, pp. 19-20), the power domain can only be understood in connection with James and Garrett's other domains, and in particular the affective and social domains. I therefore include these two perspectives when I approach teachers' critical multilingual awareness from a language ideologies perspective, where the main aim is not to investigate language learning but to understand the power structures, and the inclusive or exclusive effects embedded in language practices. My approach is further oriented to a key tenet of critical language awareness and mediated discourse analysis (Scollon 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) – i.e., that awareness also needs to be 'turned into action' (Janks & Ivanič, 1992, p. 305).

2.5.4 The mediating role of language ideologies

The fourth dimension of language ideologies, as presented by Kroskrity, is the role of language ideologies as mediating 'between social structures and forms of talk' (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 21), where 'ideology and social relations are understood [...] as mutually constitutive' (Woolard, 1998, p. 10). Indexicality, as this ideologically laden, mediating process is known, was discussed in Section 2.4.2. In this section, I will focus on the notion of orders of indexicality (Blommaert, 2007, 2010), which focus more on the social and hierarchical effects of the indexical links between language and social categories.

Orders of indexicality refer to 'stratified patterns of social meanings often called "norms" or "rules"' (Blommaert, 2005, p. 172). These are connected to power relations through the ways in which some forms of semiosis are accorded value whilst others are not. The power to decide which language varieties are valued is not equally distributed, but relies on 'systemic patterns of authority, of control and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion *by real or perceived others*' (Blommaert, 2007, p. 117. Emphasis in original). These real or perceived

others function as centring institutions from which the power to create indexicals emanates. As discussed in relation to the multiplicity of language ideologies (Section 2.5.2), the power of definition of different centring institutions leads to hierarchies of linguistic and semiotic resources, as the rules of circulation and access vary across contexts and groups (Blommaert, 2010). Orders of indexicality is thus a scalar approach to language in society that exposes not only asymmetrical power relations between access or not to the prestigious varieties of a language, but also a more fine-grained, ethnographic understanding of how the specific resources within a repertoire may have power and indexical value at one scale-level, and not at another. Focusing on language, this means that some language varieties enjoy higher value and status because they are used and authorised by important centring institutions at higher scales – for instance, the standard variety at the national scale. This means that this language variety will have wider geographical and numeric distribution than local varieties. Such prestigious varieties often have long histories of coming into being (Silverstein, 2003), compared to new and emerging repertoires at the individual scales, for instance (cf. Slembrouck, 2019b, p. 77), to which I turn in the next section.

2.5.5 Language ideologies and identity construction

At the individual or bodily scale, a person will develop linguistic repertoires according to what is necessary for them and according to what is accessible to them during their biographical trajectory (Blommaert & Backus, 2013). In Section 2.3, I discussed the social and interactional approach to language and identity. From a critical perspective, the evolving linguistic repertoire is governed not only by what becomes available, but also by the absence of presupposed appropriate linguistic resources (Busch, 2017). In this way, the lack of access to higher-scale semiotic resources may constrain access to an identity as legitimate and included in a given group (cf. Blommaert, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Jones & Norris, 2005b). Drawing the partialness principle of identity construction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) together with the insight that linguistic resources are unequally distributed (Blommaert & Backus, 2013), the migrant without access to semiotic resources that are highly valued in this hierarchy runs the risk of being illegitimised as a deficient speaker within the stratified system of orders of indexicality. To sum up, language ideologies are in this thesis understood as complex, dynamic, historically layered, contradictory and competing phenomena that emerge from, and are all

the while subjected to, local processes of social positioning and indexicality (Spitzmüller et al., 2021, p. 1).

2.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have built a theoretical framework for this thesis that allows for an investigation of the role of mediational repertoires for processes of inclusion and exclusion from different vantage points – as dynamic, flexible and emergent, and as ideologically governed in socially stratified hierarchies. Importantly, this framework provides the lenses through which I can understand how these processes play out in complex interpersonal relationships based on intentionality and unintentionality.

3 Methodology: A qualitative research design guided by nexus analysis

This study applies the analytical branch of mediated discourse analysis, nexus analysis, to study inclusion in parent-teacher relationships as ‘discursive flows across scales’ (Hult, 2016, p. 102). In a qualitative research design, three data collection methods have been used to this end: collaborative collection of digital interactional data, semi-structured interviews with the visual support of mediagrams (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021) and semi-structured interviews.

In this chapter, I present the activities of nexus analysis, the recruitment process and the participants (3.1), as well as the methods of data collection (3.2). I then continue with a discussion of the transcription and data management (3.3) and analytical approaches (3.4) before discussing issues of quality in qualitative research (3.5). Finally, I present and reflect on the challenges and limitations of the research presented in this dissertation (3.6) and elaborate on the ethical considerations made (3.7).

3.1 Engaging, navigating and changing the nexus – The recruitment process, the participants and the alteration of project course

There are three main activities in nexus analysis: engaging the nexus, navigating the nexus and changing the nexus. These three activities are conducted in an iterative and interconnected process (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 9; Lane, 2014). Going back and forth between these activities, a main tenet of nexus analysis is the evolving nature of research projects, as the researcher becomes more familiar with the field that is studied and learns from the interaction with the participants (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 81). Before I explain how this was highly relevant for the present project, I will briefly present the broad ideas of these activities.

The activity of *engaging the nexus* includes identifying the social issue before getting involved with the participants. When *navigating the nexus*, the researcher collects and analyses data. During this phase, through the interaction with the participants, data collection and ongoing analysis, the scope of the project is further adjusted towards what emerges as the most pressing issues (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The final activity, *changing the nexus*, can be achieved through the research process in several ways. The most important change, according

to Scollon & Scollon, is ‘the change of positions and identities of the researcher’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 81) – that is, changes in the researcher’s understanding of the complexities of the studied social issue through the interaction with the participants and analysis of the data. Secondly, the interaction with the participants will inevitably also influence their historical bodies (Blommaert, 2005b; Hult, 2015, p. 225; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 149). The knowledge production in the form of scientific publications is a third way. Finally, the nexus can be changed if one manages to nudge one of the discourse cycles by conducting specific activities. In this project, I have attempted to achieve this by including the mediagram as an explicit activity as part of the research design (Article 3).

The justification for applying nexus analysis is that it provides analytical tools, a set of terminology and visualisations to disentangle the historically and socially contingent discourses that are enmeshed in social practices. Scollon and Scollon summed up the aims of nexus analysis with these questions: ‘Who is doing what and where are they doing it and what are the cycles of discourse which are circulating through this moment of action?’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, pp. 82-83). Translating this to the present dissertation, I aim to map the discourses that circulate through the nexus of language and media practices in the parent-teacher interaction to understand the ways in which these contribute to processes of inclusion or exclusion.

The current project initially had an *interactional sociolinguistics* approach to inclusion in the educational domain. The aim for the recruitment of participants and the data collection was to collect interactional and interview data that could shed light on the inclusive or exclusionary roles of language practices in the digitally mediated interaction between Lithuanian parents and teachers in the Norwegian school. However, when I began the recruitment process, Eastern Norway was under fluctuating and periodically heavy Covid pandemic restrictions. This turned out to complicate both the recruitment and data collection processes, which also led to a change of approach.

The initial strategy was to recruit Lithuanian parents through snowball sampling, relying on my own and my supervisor’s networks, and then to contact their children’s class teachers. For the recruitment of Lithuanian parents, it became difficult to move beyond the first contact person (cf. Geddes et al., 2018). A possible reason for this challenge may be the power issues at play in the parent-school interaction, whereby parents might evaluate participation in a

project that investigates processes of inclusion and exclusion as threatening for their relationship with the class teacher and the school. I, as the researcher, might be part of that threat, belonging to the majority population and having a background as a teacher. This could entail that some of the potential participating parents perceived me negatively as an outsider investigating a sensitive topic (Parker et al., 2019). Also, some participants who had initially been positive to participation subsequently withdrew. The design feature of several interviews may have had a discouraging effect for potential participants, and two of the parents who withdrew after having signalled an intention to participate justified their withdrawal by their busy schedules. Despite these difficulties, six Lithuanian parents were successfully recruited (see Table 2).

For the recruitment of class teachers, I adopted as a standard routine the initiation of contact via the principal or the person who had the delegated responsibility. Despite a very positive reception of the project by the school leadership, both school leaders and teachers were overwhelmed with additional administrative and educational tasks due to oscillating Covid pandemic regulations. Additionally, some of the teachers that I approached were unavailable due to sick leave or parental leave. The reliance on the specific class teacher thus added vulnerability to the recruitment process and only three teachers accepted participation in the project at this stage (see Table 2).

As a third data source, observation of parents' meetings and parent-teacher conferences was planned. This was also prevented due to the Covid restrictions. It is likely that access to these meetings would have been difficult under normal circumstances due to the potential for sensitive content. When adding the heavy and new workloads experienced by the teachers during this period, I found it ethically problematic to request access to these meetings in addition to the interviews and interactional data.

Towards the summer of 2021, I took stock of the recruitment and data collection processes and evaluated the options and potential for further recruitment in a volatile Covid period. As mentioned above, I had six participating Lithuanian parents and three teachers at this point:

Pseudonym	Role	Data
Emilia	Parent	Interview data and interactional data
Anne	Teacher	Interview data and interactional data
Jolanta	Parent	Interview data and interactional data
Hege	Teacher	Interview data and interactional data
Daniele	Parent	Interview data and interactional data
Daniele's class teacher	Teacher	Interactional data
Greta and Adomas	Parents	Interview data
Karolina	Parent	Interview data

Table 2: Participating parents and teachers during the summer of 2021

The three Lithuanian parents-Norwegian teacher dyads indicated by the figures in Table 2 seemed to be insufficient as an empirical basis for the project, as only two teachers participated with both interactional and interview data. The main question at this point, then, was to find a way to contribute to valuable knowledge production in the field of language and inclusion within the framework of my project, despite the conditions under which the recruitment and data collection took place. I thus decided to alter the course.

Acknowledging that research projects change during the process (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 81; Hult, 2015, p. 221) and that a research project ‘arises from the values and the position of the researcher’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 78; see also Section 3.6), I drew on my teacher background to reframe the project. The result was twofold: 1) realising that a closer analysis of the teachers’ discourses could shed light on a key dimension of this nexus of practice, namely the teachers’ historical bodies, I oriented the project towards research questions that could be analysed through interview data with the teachers; and 2) I started recruiting teachers with no consideration for the country of origin of the migrant parents in the teachers’

classes to investigate the use of the mediagrams in the parent-teacher relationship. This part emerged as a response to two findings from the analysis so far in the project: 1) teachers' lack for information about the parents' mediational repertoires; and 2) the need for enhanced teacher critical awareness about the effects of their language practices with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language. In this way, for Articles 2 and 3, the project evolved away from the purely interactional sociolinguistics approach designed within a discourse-centred online ethnography framework (Androutsopoulos, 2008), where extensive participant observation is among the main data collection methods, towards relying more heavily on interview data. Therefore, the interviews for Articles 2 and 3 are described as qualitative interviews, and not as ethnographic interviews (cf. De Fina, 2019).

The process here described entailed that the data collection took place in two overlapping phases. During the first phase, I recruited Lithuanian parents and their children's class teachers with the aim of collecting interactional, observational and interview data (Article 1). During the second phase, overlapping temporally with the first, I recruited teachers in my own network for interview data related to their experiences of cooperation with parents with Norwegian as an additional language (Article 2) and their reflections on the use of mediagrams (Article 3). In the second phase, one additional class teacher for the participating Lithuanian mother Emilia's child, Lukas⁵, was recruited for the part of the project focusing on digital interactional data (Article 1). A focus group was also set up at one of the participating teacher's school as a method to diversify the ways in which I could collect data on teacher discourses. And finally, three teachers – Bente, Liv and Ingrid – were recruited to study the use of mediagrams (Article 3). Via these teachers, four family members were also recruited to this part of the study. For confidentiality purposes, these family members are not given pseudonyms in the thesis, and school affiliation, age, and specific geographical and linguistic backgrounds are not disclosed. Teacher and parent profiles are provided in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

⁵ Inadvertently, this pseudonym is used both for the caretaker in Article 1 and the teacher in Article 2 and the rest of this thesis. I refer to the teacher when I use the name Lukas in this thesis.

Pseudonym	Gender	Data	Years teaching	Formal background
Anne	F	3 interviews (1 face-to-face and 2 via Zoom), 34 school app messages (sent and received)	30 +	Pre-school teacher education Primary school teacher education years 1-4 Special needs education Multicultural education
Hege	F	3 interviews (face-to-face), 5 SMS messages, 1 school app message (sent and received)	20 +	Primary school teacher education Special needs education
Bente	F	4 interviews (face-to-face)	20 +	Primary school teacher education
Lukas	M	2 interviews (face-to-face), 23 school app messages (sent and received)	5	Primary school teacher education years 5-10 Master's degree
Liv	F	3 individual interviews (1 face-to-face and 2 via Zoom)	7	Primary school teacher education Masters' degree, including multicultural education
Ingrid	F	2 individual interviews (1 face-to-face and 1 via Zoom)	17	Primary school teacher education Special needs education Multicultural education
Liv and Ingrid		1 paired interview (face-to-face)		
Focus group	2 M, 4 F	1 focus group interview	Not available	Not available

Table 3: Teacher profiles

Pseudonym	Gender	Data	Employment	Country
Greta	F	3 interviews (1 face-to-face and 2 via zoom)	Self-employed and cleaner	Lithuania
Adomas	M	2 interviews with Greta (1 face-to-face and 1 via zoom)	Farm worker	Lithuania
Karolina	F	2 interviews (face-to-face)	Public sector employee	Lithuania
Jolanta	F	3 interviews (face to face) and interactional data 5 SMS messages, 1 school app message (sent and received)	Self-employed and business owner	Lithuania
Emilia	F	7 interviews and interactional data 34 school app messages (sent and received) 23 school app messages (sent and received)	Public sector employee	Lithuania
Daniele	F	6 interviews and interactional data	Accountant	Lithuania
Three parents and one adult daughter	3 F 1 M	2 interviews with one mother 1 interview with one father 1 interview with one mother and her adult daughter	Not available	Asia, the Middle East and East Africa

Table 4: Parent profiles

3.2 Methods of data collection

The data set analysed in this thesis is made up of interview data, digital interactional data and mediagrams. In this section, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of these methods, the specificities of how the data was produced and how they contributed to answering the research questions. Figure 1 below shows how the three dissertation articles are based on this data.

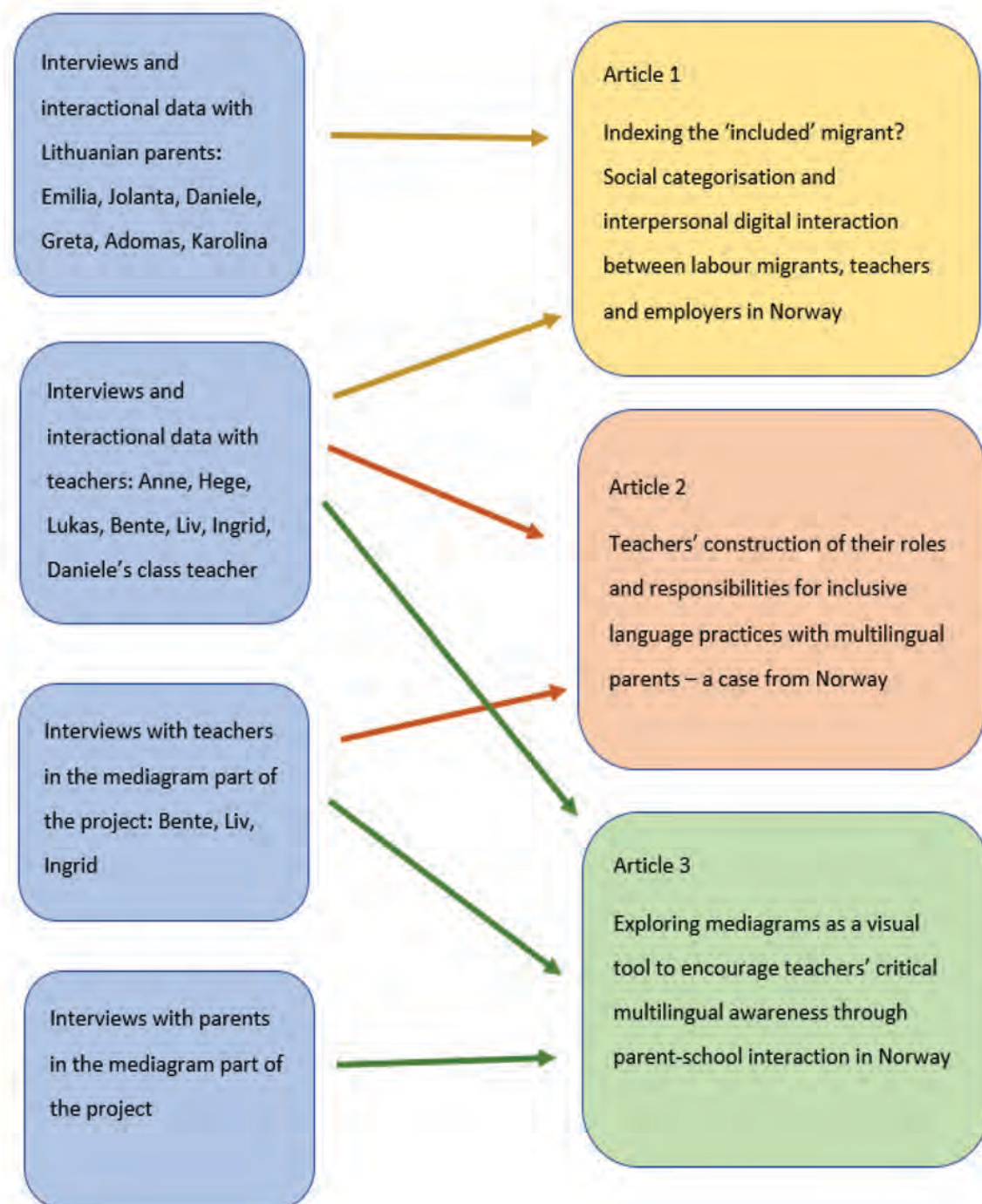


Figure 1: Data feeding into the articles

3.2.1 Qualitative interviews

The interviews served several, partly overlapping, purposes in this project. I have conducted 41 individual interviews with parents and teachers, one paired interview with two teachers,

and one focus group interview with six teachers. In total, I have approximately 45 hours of recordings.

Interviews are indispensable arenas in which to study the participants' perspectives on language practices and inclusion. Data collected through interviews enhances critical scrutiny of these perspectives – for instance, in relation to social inequality – by delving into language ideologies and social categorisation (Blommaert, 2005a; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Copland et al., 2015; Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016). With reference to how inclusion is conceptualised in this dissertation, where an important distinction is made between inclusion as externally observable dimensions on the one hand, and a sense of belonging and well-being on the other (see Section 2.2 on inclusion), the interview was deemed to be the most suitable method for gaining access to participants' (and in particular the parents') understandings and lived experiences of inclusion.

I will now turn to the roles of the different types of interviews for the different purposes in this dissertation: the individual interview (3.2.1.1), the paired interview (3.2.1.2) and the focus group interview (3.2.1.3).

3.2.1.1 Individual interview

Using the recurrent in-depth interviews, I searched for insight into the participants' experiences, evaluations and interpretations of the role of digitally and non-digitally mediated interaction for processes of inclusion or exclusion. The interviews with the parents and the teachers were supported by mediagrams (Section 3.2.2) and semi-structured interview guides. This allowed for a flexible approach to the conversation, enabling unelicited accounts, and opened for relevant follow-up questions. As I met with most of the participants several times, the topics of the interview guides were touched upon in a rather unstructured manner, and with some variety between the participants (cf. De Fina, 2019, p. 155). This process also led to several revisions of the interview guide as new topics or new ways of seeing things emerged. In addition, I continued the literature review during data collection, both on methodology and theory. The interview guides were thus adjusted as I gained new insights (see Appendices 1-3 for examples of topics covered and example questions).

All interviews typically started with a “grand tour question” (Brenner, 2006) allowing the participants to talk freely about their backgrounds. This is a way to enhance the interviewee's

control over the interview situation and may reveal aspects to be followed up. I then actively sought for a conversational style in the interviews (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 579), both with the parents and the teachers. The most important reason for this was that I wanted to create a permissive and non-threatening atmosphere for the participants. For the interviews with the parents, this was particularly important in order to attenuate potential unfavourable power effects of my position as a member of the majority population, as a former teacher and as a researcher. For this reason, I met with the parents at a place of their convenience; sometimes this was in their homes, sometimes at a café. One of the parents who participated in the mediagram part of the project preferred to meet at her home. The other parents in this part of the project preferred to meet at the school. With these, I needed an interpreter to facilitate the communication (see discussion in Article 3). With the teachers, the interviews were carried out at the schools where they worked or online (according to Covid pandemic regulations) within the teachers' working hours. For both the parents and the teachers, I introduced myself quite thoroughly by informing them of my professional background, including language learning experiences, and relevant aspects of my private life, such as marital status and children.

In line with concerns for creating a safe interview situation and for the establishment of trust, the face-to-face interview was the default and unquestioned mode when planning for data collection. Regrettably, however, it was not possible to conduct face-to-face interviews during periods of Covid pandemic lockdowns, and the relevant participants were asked to take part in digitally mediated interviews (see Table 3). Two of the participating parents at this point preferred to wait until it was possible to meet face-to-face. In total, I conducted 10 digitally mediated interviews, including one telephone interview.

In connection with the collection and analysis of interactional data, the interviews provided access to the participants' evaluation and interpretation of the specific digitally mediated interaction, the media choices and the deployment of semiotic resources, as important parts of the social context of the interaction (Androutsopoulos, 2008). The interviews also formed the backdrop for the selection, analysis and interpretation of digital interactional data to shed light on the relations between digital texts and their production and reception practices (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 2). They are thus part of a triangulation of data: interview data, mediagrams (3.2.2) and digital interactional data (3.2.3).

3.2.1.2 Paired interview

The paired interview was conducted with two teachers who joined the mediagram part of the project. The two teachers shared the class teacher responsibility for one class and were thus already engaged in conversations about opportunities and challenges in their daily work with their pupils and parents. The paired interview was not primarily set up for methodological reasons, but due to convenience for the teachers in their busy schedules, as they had a weekly slot in their timetable for cooperation.

In all types of interviews, I actively used probes to request more information and to elicit the interviewees' evaluation of what had just been said (cf. Copland et al., 2015, p. 32). In the paired interview, I used probes both directly to the teacher as a follow-up and towards the other teacher to obtain her views on the same issue.

3.2.1.3 Focus group interview

The focus group interview was arranged as an interactive group discussion, with discussion among the participants that was not continuously led by the researcher (cf. Gibbs, 2012; Marková et al., 2007). The aim of the focus group organised in this project was twofold. First, it served as a complementary method for exploring circulating language ideologies, ideas about the relation between language and inclusion, and teachers' construction of their roles and responsibilities as socially shared knowledge (Marková et al., 2007, p. 49). Second, it contributed to a better understanding of 'consensus and diversity across participants' (Morgan & Hoffman, 2018, p. 251).

When the focus group interview was conducted, I had already met with the participating teacher at the school for three interviews. The focus group consisted of her and five of her teacher colleagues. In terms of group composition, this group was small enough to contribute to a supportive and intimate atmosphere (Robinson, 2020, p. 341). The focus group was homogenous in terms of profession, employer and language background, but heterogenous in terms of age, gender, professional background and the grade in which they taught. The interview was conducted in the school's staff room – both for convenience and for the added value of their comfort by being on their own turf (Krueger & Casey, 2015, p. 5).

A semi-structured interview guide was developed for the focus group interview. To complement the interview guide, excerpts from the core curriculum and the integration

strategy ‘Integration through knowledge’ served as stimulus materials (Marková, 2007, p. 77) to evoke and guide the conversation in this focus group. They also served as a stepping-stone for me to ask follow-up questions. These two documents provide important directions from the policy level to the practical level regarding views on language diversity, migration and inclusion. I primarily took the role of an observer, but also as a moderator, both by managing leaps and detours, and by probing and bringing the discussion back to the topics that were relevant for the project (cf. Marková et al., 2007, p. 88. See interview guide and excerpts in Appendix 3).

3.2.2 Mediagrams

Mediagrams are visual representations of a person’s linguistic and media repertoires, which were coined by Lexander and Androutsopoulos as mediational repertoires. It is a method for ‘the elicitation, visualisation and analysis of the interplay between language and media choices’ (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021, p. 1), and was developed as a methodology for collaborative research on mediational repertoires in multilingual and transnational families. In this project, the process of developing a mediagram served three purposes:

1. As a collaborative approach to data collection with Lithuanian parents and other parents who have Norwegian as a second language
2. As a support for the interviews, as a focal point for the conversation and as a point of departure for collecting interactional data
3. As a visualisation
 - a. for me as a researcher, for easy comparison across participants
 - b. for the teachers and parents in the mediagram part of the project, to prompt critical reflection on how the use of mediagrams can be a means for enhancing teachers’ awareness about language diversity and media choice and thus for their approach to multilingual parents. This is an innovative approach to both data collection and analysis that aims to create conditions for dialogue and reflection.

As a collaborative and speaker-centred approach to data collection (see also Lexander & Thyness, 2024, forthcoming), the participant, or I (– acting as a secretary), sketched a first

draft – a media map. To explain what a mediagram is, I showed the participants a mediagram representing my own meditational repertoires. The draft mediagram in Figure 2 is the digital version of Daniele’s media map, which was created after the first meeting.

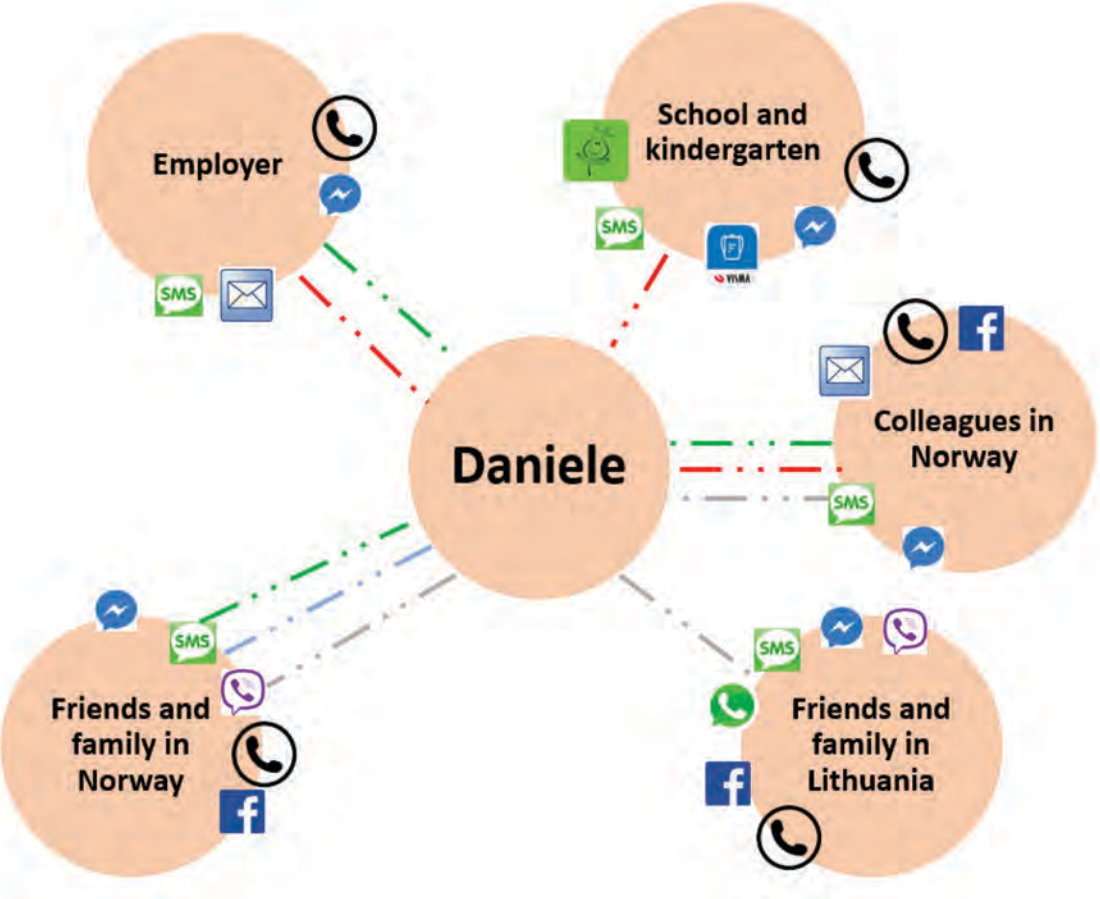


Figure 2: Draft mediagram

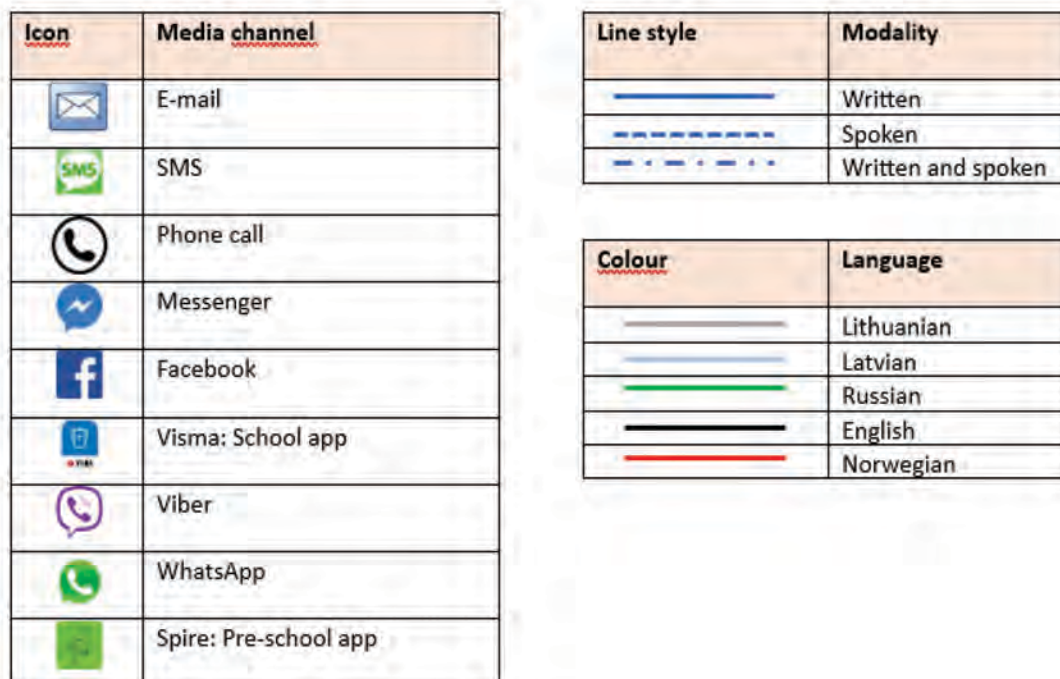


Figure 3: Legend mediagram, based on Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2023, p. 81

As we can see, Daniele is at the centre of the star pattern, surrounded by selected groups of interlocutors. The app icons indicate the media channels used with each group of interlocutors. The line style indicates modality, where continuous lines indicate written modality, dotted lines (none in this mediagram) indicate spoken modality, and mixed lines, which are the most frequent in the present mediagram, indicate both written and spoken. The colours of the lines indicate different languages, as shown in Figure 3.

In the subsequent interviews, we revisited the mediagram in terms of apps, languages, modalities and groups of interlocutors. In the course of the interviews, the groups of interlocutors were defined more precisely by, for instance, dividing “school and pre-school” into “school”, “parent group” and “pre-school”, as displayed in Daniele’s final mediagram in Figure 4.

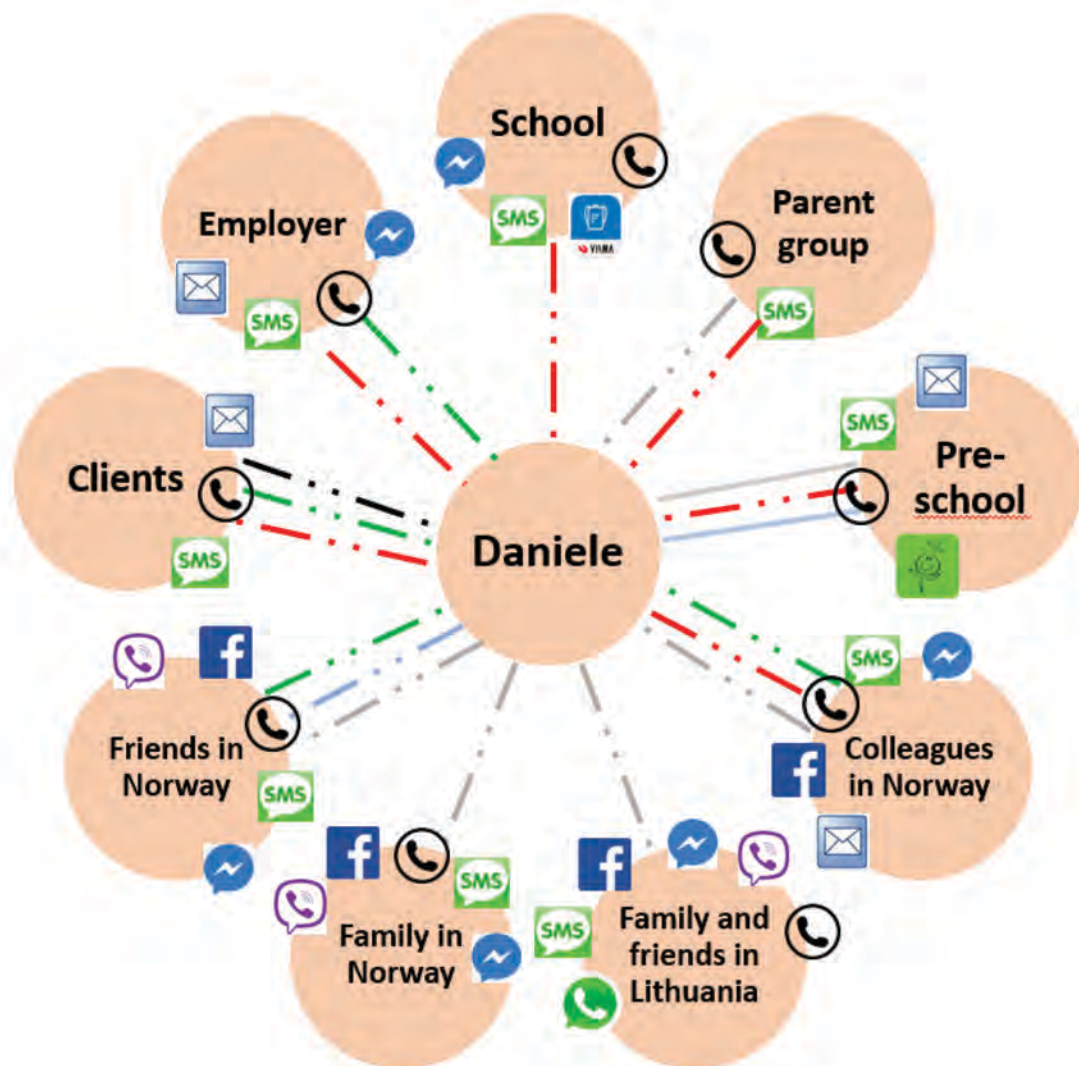


Figure 4: Daniele's mediagram

One of the strengths of the mediagram is that it visualises, in a striking way, the nature of the person's multilingual, multimodal, and transnational digital communication. I used the mediagram in interviews to engage the participants in metalinguistic reflection and to elicit information about modalities, semiotic resources, media choice and language choice between the parent and the school. As an eye-catching example, Daniele's mediagram shows that her communication with the school is monolingual, whilst digital language practices with most other groups of interlocutors are multilingual. As the mediagrams created in this study operate with groups of interlocutors, as opposed to individual interlocutors, the displayed multilingual practices may conceal monolingual practices with individual interlocutors within the specific group. In the parent group, for instance, Daniele communicates in Norwegian with

Norwegian parents and in Lithuanian with other Lithuanian parents in her son's class. Still, the single line to the school indicates that among the potential interlocutors at the school – that is, the class teacher and the school leadership – there are none that use languages other than Norwegian with Daniele.

A note on the role of the mediagram in relation to the practice approach to language adopted in this thesis is warranted. By representing named languages with different colours, the mediagram can be criticised for reifying language boundaries. However, the mediagram as a data collection tool is developed through qualitative interviews with the participants and is compared with examples of their digitally mediated interaction. This approach allows the participants' lived experiences of language and possible fluid language practices to be addressed (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021, p. 15).

3.2.3 Interactional data

I collected digital interactional data in the form of school app messages and SMS messages sent between Lithuanian parents and their children's class teachers. The purpose of collecting and analysing digital interactional data was twofold: 1) to observe the participants' digital language practices; and 2) to use the interactional data as part of the interviews to elicit participants' awareness and evaluation of their own and their interlocutors' language practices (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 8). With an interactional sociolinguistics approach to the digitally mediated interaction, I have collected sequences of interaction to capture how it unfolds (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2017, p. 242).

The interactional data has been selected by the parents. The definition of 'boundaries of "shareability"' (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021, p. 9) thus rested with the parents. In this way, they actively took part in the data collection process through their selection of SMS and school app messages and sharing these during the interviews (cf. Section 3.2.1.1). This active involvement of the participants in the collection of data gives enhanced room for emic perspectives, in line with ethnographic principles (Androutsopoulos, 2017).

3.2.4 Summing up

The total data corpus collected for this project is summarised in Table 5 below.

Data source	Number of participants	Length of interviews of Quantity of messages/mediagrams
Interviews with parents	9, including the adult daughter of one of the participating parents	Approximately 26 hours
Individual interviews with teachers	6	Approximately 17 hours
Paired interviews	2	61.5 minutes
Focus group interview	6	48.38 minutes
Mediagrams	4 parents, 3 teachers	7 mediagrams
Interactional data parent-teacher dyads	4	58 school app messages (sent and received) 5 SMS messages (sent and received)

Table 5: Number of participants and data quantity

3.3 Transcription and data management

The interviews were recorded with the Dictaphone app, which was developed for collecting research data, such as audio recordings, on smartphones while also ensuring confidentiality (University Information Technology Center, 2023). I then transcribed all the interviews myself, using NVivo as the transcription tool.

The interview material is quite extensive (about 45 hours), and the transcription was therefore a time-consuming activity. As the transcription is regarded as being an essential part of the research project, it was time well spent, as it allowed for a thorough familiarisation with the interview data and the participants, and also with my own role as an interviewer. The interviews were transcribed immediately or very soon after the interview had taken place.

This facilitated the representation of contextual details such as body language, facial expressions, tone, pauses and laughter that accompanied the verbal responses (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 207; Copland et al., 2015, p. 194; Silverman, 2017). In addition, the interviews were transcribed verbatim, and quite close to oral style. This means that the transcriptions represent dialectical and Norwegian as an additional language features in addition to the contextual details. The decision for this level of transcription was based on my planned analysis of the interviews – i.e., for analysis of discourse as a social practice (see Section 3.4.1) – and not for microanalysis of the use of semiotic resources.

The interpreter-supported interviews were also transcribed in Norwegian, using my written notes to distinguish between the participant and the interpreter. For the articles, which were written in English, I myself have translated the interview excerpts into English. They have been translated into standard English as the language practices in the interviews were not the focus for analysis.

3.4 Data analysis

The data has been approached through an abductive process. The analysis started during the data collection process, and continued as data was transcribed, read, interpreted and revisited several times, along with the reading of theory and literature (cf. Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 223; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). For all three articles, principles from critical and ethnographic approaches have been used to guide the analysis of interview data. This double approach facilitated the analysis of both ideologies, discourses and identity positions as dynamic, multiple and often contradictory (Kroskrity, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Davies & Harré, 1990). The interviews are thus analysed as a mapping of how layered discourses circulate through them (Hult, 2016, p. 104).

3.4.1 Analysis of individual interviews

In the first article, the qualitative microanalysis of linguistic and semiotic features in the digital interactional data was integrated with ‘the analysis of metalinguistic discourse’ (i.e., the interviews) as the indispensable ethnographic elements in the analysis uncovering the semiotic complexities of digital language practices (Androutsopoulos and Stæhr, 2018, p. 122). As the role of the interview data changed due to the change of research design, and as the

amount of interview data also increased, the transcribed material from the interviews became rather extensive. This caused me to change my analytical approach to the interviews.

For Articles 2 and 3, the transcribed interviews have been approached from two perspectives: from an emic perspective and from a critical perspective. In the first phase, I focused on the emic perspectives to emphasise the participants' own views of their social and linguistic trajectories, and their migratory and professional trajectories for the parents and the teachers, respectively, that were relevant to the overarching topic of inclusion. In other words, these parts of the interviews bring forward the participants' historical bodies and their description and evaluation of the interaction order (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 580; Goffman, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). In the second phase, the discourse analytical approach opened for a critical, etic approach to the interview data, analysing power aspects and how discourses and ideologies on migration, language and inclusion circulated from the political, societal and local scales through the interviews, and how the participants reproduced, engaged with or contested these (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004). For this purpose, the interviews were an important source in order to explore the parents' and the teachers' language ideologies and how they constructed social categories, as well as their roles and their responsibilities for inclusion. These two phases have been distinguished practically by two different ways of coding.

The aim of the coding process was twofold: 1) to compress the data material and make it more manageable; and 2) to add transparency and rigour to the analytical process. Coding is not a precise science; rather, it is an interpretive act. As a coding profile, I used 'eclectic coding' (Saldaña, 2016, p. 213) as I transitioned between drafts of coding strategies.

I performed the coding manually, as the use of computer-assisted coding applications, such as Nvivo, may increase the risk of jumping to "descriptive coding" – that is, a list of topics and subtopics that 'generally does not offer the analyst insightful meanings about the participants and their perspectives' (Saldaña, 2016, p. 76). In the first coding phase, I drew on various data-driven, first cycle codes, such as 'in vivo' and 'affective' coding. In vivo coding uses the participants' words, which allows the participants' emic perspectives to be foregrounded as an important feature of the interview data. Affective coding includes methods such as emotion coding, values coding and versus coding (Saldaña, 2016). These were used to bring to the fore tensions, emotions, values and beliefs in the participants' accounts. Versus coding

was, for instance, useful when coding teachers' descriptions of their own responsibilities versus those of the school management's for collecting information about the parents' mediational repertoires, or teachers' tendency to pass the responsibility for inclusion to the parents versus their empathy with parents who are visibly excluded from the conversations during parents' meetings. First cycle coding was also useful in order to minimise the risk of jumping to conclusions through my own biases as a teacher and as a researcher (see Section 3.7 for researcher positionality).

During the first phase of coding drafts, patterns of discourses began to crystallise, both within and across interviews. I thus transitioned to the second coding phase, where I tried to understand the first phase coding in light of theory and research literature. Daiute (2014) labels this search for common "scripts" in data from multiple participants as 'shared ways of knowing, interpreting, acting in the world [...] implicit shared orientation that organize people's perceptions and actions' (Daiute, 2014, p. 142). Alongside the coding process, I wrote analytic memos both as an additional code-generating method (Saldana, 2016, p. 44) and as a place to critically discuss with myself the coding choices and what they would mean for the presentation of the analysis.

3.4.2 Analysis of focus group and paired interviews

I initially approached the focus-group interview transcript in a similar way as for the individual interviews. To take full advantage of the focus group interview as a site for exploring socially shared knowledge in terms of language ideologies, the interconnectedness of language skills, and inclusion and social categorisation, this interview was additionally analysed for the discursive resources used by the teachers (Marková et al., 2007). The following resources emerged as salient: participative or non-participative listeners in terms of the presence or absence of supportive comments; discursive resources for showing agreement or disagreement, and for consecutive adding of similar information; overlapping speech versus single speaker turns; and split floor discussions. These features enabled me to 'capture the dynamics involved in the construction of the socially shared knowledge' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 104). The analytical interest in these specific interactional resources resides in the social meaning-making of which they are part. By way of example, I will use an excerpt in which the teachers talked about the difficulties related to interaction with parents whose Norwegian and English language skills were poor, as these were the languages that the teachers might

share with the parents at this school. It was raised as a general solution that they, in these cases, need to resort to using the children as language brokers. In this excerpt, I have asked a follow-up question to that of whether the parents of a specific pupil used English. I analyse the rapid turn-taking and overlaps in speech in the form of supportive comments as ways to co-construct group internal agreement:

The transcription rules used are:

For rapid turn-taking: >

For overlaps in speech: []

For emphasis: underlined

Hilde: But did they speak English, or did they use English or not?

L6: Not very [no] good [no] L6: Not good. No. They were not at their son's level in English [two teachers: no, no] I sat with them a couple of times when we had this barbeque in the summer, right, together [m-hm] [m-hm] and chatted with the father, and it was demanding > L1: it was difficult [inaudible] > L6: yes, very difficult > [L1: Yes, difficult to communicate] L6: in those cases, one has to talk via the pupils [yes], right [yes]

Hilde: men snakka de engelsk, eller brukte de engelsk eller ikke?

L6 ikke veldig [nei] bra [nei] L6: ikke bra. Nei. De var ikke på sønnens nivå i engelsk. [to lærere: nei, nei] Jeg satt et par ganger når vi hadde sånn grillfest her på sommeren, ikke sant, sammen [mm] [mm] og prata litt med far, og det var krevende > L1: det var vanskelig [utydlig] > L6: ja, veldig vanskelig > [L1: vanskelig å kommunisere der] L6: da må man snakke via elevene [ja], ikke sant [Ja. Ja.]

My interpretation of the discursive resources in this excerpt is that they contribute to co-construct the task of interacting with parents who do not speak Norwegian as 'very difficult'. This positions the teachers as the challenged part in these interactions and undermines the asymmetrical power relations. Moreover, I understand the absence of alternative approaches to these parents, except for the use of the children as language brokers, as an expression of a shared, underlying language ideology, whereby the teachers are oriented towards a view of language-as-problem (cf. Ruiz, 1984). This is just one of several examples of episodes with

frequent presence of supportive comments, and sometimes also overlaps in speech and split floor discussions. The analysis shows that these resources form a cluster that is used when the teachers agree on and co-construct a problem-oriented view of the parents. In these episodes, assumed socially shared knowledge in terms of language ideologies including only the languages spoken by the teachers and a strong connection between Norwegian language competence and inclusion are allowed to circulate unchallenged. This co-construction of meaning draws on and reproduces dominant higher-scale discourses, and constructs an us-them dichotomy between the teachers and the parents. In the opposite cases, when confronted with potential internal disagreement and adversarial positions, there is systematically lower presence of the rapid turn-taking, overlaps in speech and supportive comments. These episodes are more frequently characterised by single speaker turns and silent listeners.

Turning now to the paired interview, the two teachers appeared to a large degree to be coordinated, in agreement and as a dyad that knew each other well. An important feature of this paired interview was how the two teachers supported each other's statements and took opportunities to flesh out each other's utterances with supporting comments such as 'yeah, yeah, yeah' or 'uh-uhm' (mm), finishing each other's sentences or co-constructing sentences without appearing to be offensive. The two teachers in this interview had a highly critical approach to what they regarded as common and wide-spread language ideologies and practices. For instance, they talked openly about their own prejudices and how they were aware of the deficit views of the migrant that exist in society and in their own minds. In contrast, despite a few utterances oriented towards the teachers' responsibilities and challenges related to the school as an institution in the focus group interview, the problem orientation to language and the construction of the deficient migrant were more prominent here than in the paired and individual interviews.

The different types of interviews and the two different recruitment processes yielded somewhat different approaches to language and inclusion. Several of the teachers had professional backgrounds that included diversity and migratory perspectives, which have contributed to forming their historical bodies. The critical stance of Ingrid and Liv in the mediagram part of the project could be traced back to their formal education (cf. Golden & Kulbrandstad, 2019, p. 58). However, an important difference between the two recruitment

phases is the fact that the recruitment for the mediagram part of the project was critically framed from the outset. It is likely that this influenced which teachers joined, in terms of their interests and degree of critical awareness of language. Also, the ways in which the interviews advanced in terms of the co-construction of knowledge, and in particular co-construction of the meaning of my questions, might be influenced by how the participating teachers understood the project. Interestingly, this difference did not change “the what” of the topic of language and inclusion, in terms of the information that was shared, but rather “how” it was talked about. My interpretation of this is that it confirms that monolingual discourses and deficit views of parents who have Norwegian as an additional language are in circulation and are part of the teachers’ socially shared knowledge.

3.4.3 Analysis of digital interactional data

In Article 1, a qualitative micro-analysis of mediational repertoires in unfolding digital interaction was conducted, and the analytical process is explained in detail there. I will only very briefly recapitulate the approach here. As Androutsopoulos (2016) argues, visible language can be considered as a distinct level of stylistic practice, and multimodality surfaces as a salient component in relational work (Dresner & Herring, 2014; Konrad et al., 2020). The coexistence of several semiotic modes, such as emoji, punctuation and text composition, in addition to linguistic resources, emerged as salient for the co-construction of meaning and identities (Androutsopoulos, 2017, p. 240). The use of these resources is thus understood as part of the interactionally accomplished construction of identities and relations. These resources were analysed with a view to how they contributed to acts of adequation or distinction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) between the interlocutors, and how acts of distinction at one level, such as an act of accusation, through the use of linguistic resources, could be balanced by acts of adequation by other resources, such as the use of emojis. Furthermore, the discursive construction of social categories and orientations to certain language ideologies in interviews were contrasted with the actual semiotic resources deployed in the unfolding interaction and the interlocutors’ evaluations of these. Importantly, media choice was included as an integral part of the participants’ semiotic practices, where the ‘medium is part of the message’ (Gershon, 2010, p. 3), and emerged as a potentially powerful part of the performance of identities and exertion of power.

3.5 Quality in qualitative research: Rigour, transparency and transferability

The use of classical criteria, such as reliability, validity and objectivity, to describe and evaluate quality in qualitative research is disputed, and there are numerous discussions of attempts to replace these with criteria that are more appropriate to the distinctive character of qualitative research (see e.g., Tracy, 2010; Toma, 2011). This applies to the present dissertation too, which is written in an epistemological tradition where knowledge production is an interpretive endeavour, situated and co-constructed between researcher and participant (e.g., Copland et al., 2015). In this section, I will discuss the quality of my research project in relation to alternative quality criteria, such as credibility, transparency, member checking, sincerity and transferability (cf. Toma, 2011).

Credibility has become a key quality criterion in qualitative research. The present dissertation relies on seven teachers and nine parents, and I have quite a large amount of interview data per participant (see Table 5 in this chapter). The size and depth of the sample allowed for a thorough analysis of the interviews and the interactional data. In this way, the interview data collection and analysis are rich in nuance and complexity, which is a strategy that provides an alternative approach to a high number of participants (cf. Toma, 2011, p. 271; Tracy, 2010, pp. 841, 843). A strength of the data set is that it includes the perspectives of both parents and teachers. Member checking is a critical part of credibility and can be done in several ways. In the present project, member checking has been conducted in two ways. As part of the recurrent in-depth interviews, I have had the opportunity to revisit issues and elicit additional information, evaluations and perspectives from the participants. In the same way, the participants had the chance to reformulate positions or withdraw things they had said in earlier interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 221). As a way of ending each interview, I asked the participants if they wanted to add something or comment upon some of the issues that had been raised during the interview. I relied primarily on this approach for the first article. For the second and third article, I also shared a draft article with all the participants to allow for critical input and corrections of mistakes (see also 3.7). No requests for substantial revisions were made by the participants.

Credibility is furthermore linked to another quality criterion, which is called “sincerity” by Tracy (2010). Key elements here are transparency and self-reflexivity. Transparency concerns disclosure of the research process, the recruitment strategies and processes, the participants

and the ways in which the research has been conducted, including the evolution of the research project (Tracy, 2010, p. 842; Toma, 2011, pp. 274-275). Although I have strived for transparency in the articles, word-count limitations constrain the level of detail. Additional information about and discussion of the above-mentioned aspects are explained in the previous sections. Transparency is moreover closely related to self-reflexivity, in terms of both the researcher's positionality and potential biases when interpreting the data, and the dilemmas related to conflicting ethical concerns. These concerns are discussed further in Section 3.7.

As the main goal of qualitative research is usually not generalisability, understood in quantitative, statistical terms, but contextualised and situated knowledge, qualitative research relies on considerably smaller sample sizes than quantitative research. An important sign of quality remains that the study can be used to understand other, similar instances (Schreier, 2018, p. 84). In this respect, transferability has been proposed as a reconceptualisation of generalisation (see e.g., Schreier, 2018; Toma, 2011; Tracy, 2010). Transferability is a shared effort between the author of a study and its readers, where thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the research context are necessary to enable readers to assess whether the research is transferable to their contexts (Schreier, 2018, p. 86). In the articles and in the background chapter (Chapter 1), the historical and contemporary backdrop for the higher-scale political and societal ideologies and discourses on language and inclusion have been described. The analysis of the interviews and interactional data in relation to those higher-scale discourses for the local construction of identities and emerging discourses have also been discussed. The analysis shows that there are transferable findings between the schools. This indicates that other teachers and schools in Norway, and potentially outside of Norway, may find this research useful. Transparency is crucial for transferability. I have accounted for the participants' backgrounds relevant to the research questions, and I have given some detail of the schools in question, as far as possible with regard to confidentiality concerns. Finally, transferability also encompasses how the data collection and analysis have been supported by, and related to, existing research literature and theoretical frameworks. (Tjora, 2018, p. 19; Toma, 2011, p. 272). These aspects have been accounted for both in the articles and in Chapters 1 and 2, and also contributes to how the reader can transfer the findings to their own context.

3.6 Challenges and limitations

Some of the challenges and limitations of this project have already been explained in Section 3.1. In this section, I comment on some of the related challenges and limitations that have not previously been addressed.

One of the hallmarks of quality in qualitative research is the triangulation of data – that is, drawing on more than one data source, such as interview data, observational data and document analysis (cf. Toma, 2011, p. 272). In the present project, the planned data collection for triangulation purposes was not possible to implement. Access to a larger quantity of interactional data, with greater variation, as well as access to observation of parents' meetings and parent-teacher conferences would have contributed to richer data and potentially more nuance in the analysis. However, triangulation is not the only way to conduct high-quality research, and has even been criticised for a potential inherent risk of an instrumental approach to finding “the truth” through sufficient triangulation points (Mason, 2002). In the present project, the research questions were revised in order to be able to contribute to relevant knowledge production through interview data.

The interactional data set has a lack of variation in terms of language choice (see also Section 3.1). The Lithuanian parents who participated with interactional data have lived in Norway for more than ten years and reported feeling confident using Norwegian. Greater variation in the participants' Norwegian language skills could have expanded the scope of the analysis. Still, the parents provided rich retrospective narratives related to language learning and interaction with the school during their first years in Norway. Although I do not have access to digital interactional data from the parents participating in the mediagram part of the project, two of them reported that they depended to different degrees on language brokers or digital translation tools in their interaction with the school.

Sampling strategy is intimately connected to quality. Snowball sampling is subsumed under purposive sampling (Schreier, 2018, p. 88). As the project evolved, so did the sampling strategy, and I turned to convenience sampling for the second data collection phase. Both of these strategies have received justified criticism for the random nature of the recruitment process, as they depend on the researchers' network and on participant availability (Schreier, 2018). However, the assessment of the suitability of the recruitment strategy must be conducted in relation to the goal of the research project, and also to material and practical

framework conditions (Toma, 2011; Schreier, 2018). Under the previously explained conditions, these recruitment strategies still led to the participation of nine parents and seven teachers who had the courage and dedication to stay with the project over the course of several interviews (- as many as six interviews for some of the parents), and to conduct additional classroom activities for some of the teachers.

3.7 Ethical aspects

When carrying out research in general, and in multilingual settings in particular (De Costa et al., 2020; Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016), ethical considerations need to be taken into account at several levels, along the macro-micro continuum (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Perry & Mallozzi, 2014, p. 398). In this section, I will first address macro-ethical aspects, before turning my attention to the micro-ethical dimensions of positionality, reflexivity and language use during data collection.

The present study has been conducted within the guidelines of The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (2021). As I have collected personal data, the study has been reported to and been approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), which since 2022 has been known as the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research (SIKT). Informed consent was obtained from all the participants and all names and personal data are anonymised. The informed consent form was provided in Lithuanian and Norwegian, with the translation to Lithuanian being conducted by an authorised translator. The two parents with whom I needed an interpreter for the interviews were provided with the written consent form in Norwegian, which was then translated to their first language by an informal interpreter of their choice.

The activities here described represent the macro-ethical level – that is, the procedural level by which a research project complies with the external regulation of the national approval board. In addition, macro-ethics is also concerned with the research outcomes and the societal benefits of research (The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees, 2023). Although this level ensures that important ethical considerations are made, the macro-level does not, and cannot, provide detailed guidance for the practicalities of the researcher's day-to-day work, such as how the researcher can take care of the participants' well-being, or how to deal with the specific ethical dilemmas that arise during the contact with the participants, the

analytical work and the writing up of the reports (cf. Kubanyiova, 2008; The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees, 2023, p. 8).

Part of the micro-ethical level includes the closely related notions of positionality and reflexivity (De Fina, 2019). Positionality is defined as the researcher's relationship to the participants and the topic of study, and attention to how the co-construction of knowledge is influenced by broader social practices and ideological currents constitute key concerns (e.g., Berger, 2015; Copland et al., 2015; Dordah & Horsbøl, 2021). The researcher contributes to this co-construction both by the identity features that they bring into the interview situation (both predefined categories and as perceived by the interviewee) and by the questions that are asked and the ways in which they navigate the building of trust in the relationship with the participant. This includes the framing of the project in the informed consent form, and extends to the analysis and writing up of the scientific material (Berger, 2015; De Fina, 2019). Reflexivity is the key tool to monitor the effects of the researcher's positionality to research credibility (Berger, 2015, p. 221). Reflexivity and disclosure of position is of particular importance when aiming to study language ideologies implicated in discourse data, as 'there is no privileged knowledge, including the scientific, that escapes grounding in social life' (Woolard, 1998, p. 10). A key insight from nexus analysis is that the research process will change the historical body (i.e., the position) of the researcher (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). This can be compared to a processual, fluid and dynamic understanding of positionality rather than a static understanding (cf. McKinley, 2019, p. 5). With the teachers in particular, my position changed from being an insider to being in a position where I saw their practices from a critical outsider perspective. Here, it also becomes clear that research in itself is an ideological endeavour (e.g., Slembrouck, 2001, p. 40), in that the discourse analysis conducted in this thesis has adopted a critical stance, and thus sees the social issue (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) from a certain position. I will elaborate on this point after first having discussed my position vis-à-vis the parents.

In my interaction with the Lithuanian parents, who are labour migrants, and the four parents who participated in the mediagram part of the project, I was at the outsider-end of the continuum in two respects: I am both a representative of the majority population in Norway (and, as such, a potential proponent of monolingual language ideologies and exclusion) and a teacher, and may thus be perceived as a representative of the Norwegian school. In other

words, I was an insider of their “the other”. My perceived outsidership may have had a bearing on the relationship that I was able to build with them and on what was shared with me during the interviews. However, I also share identity features and experiences with the parents, such as being a mother of children in the Norwegian school system and having experienced being a second and foreign language learner and user during stays in France and Mali. I actively sought to build on this, both in my relationship with the parents and during the data analysis. Finally, I also experienced advantages of being at the outsider-end of the continuum (cf. Berger, 2015), as I got the impression that the parents were pleased that someone was taking an interest in their perspectives (cf. Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). A case in point is Karolina, who towards the end of the first interview exclaimed: ‘You should have come to me earlier, that would have been like therapy [laughs]. Actually, when relocating, that is, relocating to another country, one almost needs therapy’ (*Du skulle jo kommet til meg litt før, da hadde vært som en terapi [ler] eh trenger man når man flytter, asså bytter land, så trenger nesten terapi*). The intention of giving the parents a voice was a position that was strengthened as I increasingly drew on critical perspectives.

Language use in the interviews is an important contributor to inequities in power relations between the researcher and the participant. The interviews were conducted in Norwegian with the Lithuanian parents⁶ and with one of the parents participating in the mediagram part of the project. As all these parents were confident in using Norwegian, it would probably have been seen as patronising to suggest another language of communication. An interviewer position closer to them linguistically and culturally could, however, have obtained a different relationship and thus different answers. Specific ethical concerns related to the interviews with the two parents with whom I needed an interpreter, such as the language of the consent form and the language in which the interview was conducted, are discussed in Article 3.

With regard to the interviews with the teachers, an important ethical dilemma that I faced was related to an inherent challenge when studying the more powerful, as teachers can be approached as being vulnerable or in a privileged position (Appleby, 2016; Kelchtermans, 2009; Kubanyiova, 2008). The dilemma teased out by Appleby (2016) relates to what she argued is the perceived vulnerability of the teachers, from their emic perspective, contrasted

⁶ I completed a ten-hour online course in Lithuanian with the aim of being able to establish a relationship with the Lithuanian labour migrants.

with their privileged position, such as the privileges that come with being a native speaker, as are the teachers who participated in this project. The researcher's ethical dilemma thus concerns how to accommodate the need to promote an agenda where the reproduction of inequality is critically scrutinised and challenged (i.e., a macro-ethics of social beneficence) on the one hand, without harming the relationship with the participants or their integrity (i.e., a micro-ethics of care) on the other (Appleby, 2016, p. 759; Kubanyiova, 2008). In Section 3.2.1.1, I explained my approach to the interview situation and how I sought to create a positive relationship with the participants. My understanding of my rapport with the teachers, both during and after the interviews, was that we had accomplished just that. I also consider the member checking by sharing the draft articles was a way to ensure that the teachers were given an opportunity to respond to my analysis.

The above-mentioned ethical dilemma between macro- and micro-ethical considerations also highlights the asymmetrical power relations between the participant and the researcher, whereby the demarcation line between societal beneficial research and coercion resulting from positive rapport may be thin (Kubanyiova, 2008, p. 513). Ideally, in line with ethnographic principles, I should have included the relevant participants in a discussion concerning my findings and my dilemmas. Due to the timeframe of the project, this was not feasible, and I settled for a solution where I shared a late draft of the articles with the participants to allow for comments and correction of obvious errors.

3.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have explained and discussed the methodological framework of this thesis, which is built on nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The recruitment process, the participants and the alteration of the project have been described, followed by the methods of data collection and analysis. One purpose of this chapter was to show the connections between the different methods, between the data and the articles, and the internal coherence of the project as a whole. This aim is further pursued in the summary of the dissertation articles.

4 Summary of the dissertation articles

In this chapter, I start with a recapitulation of the project trajectory. I then provide a summary of the main findings of the dissertation articles, and flesh out how they are interrelated.

4.1 The project trajectory

In the dissertation articles, I approached the research question from different sociolinguistic perspectives. In an interactional perspective, the focus was on mediational repertoires and identity negotiation in digitally mediated interaction. Framed by positioning theory, part of the analysis was centred on the teachers' historical bodies for inclusion or exclusion in multilingual contexts. From a critical approach, I studied identity construction as interactionally accomplished and discursively constructed, and examined teacher critical multilingual awareness through the lens of language ideologies.

In line with nexus analysis principles (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004), the direction of inquiry follows the paths that emerge as the most salient during the evolution of a research project. In this process, the researcher is a key factor, as the trajectory of the research project will be decided upon by findings that have been constructed by the researcher based on her evolving historical body throughout the project. In this light, key findings relevant for the project evolution from Article 1 led to the formulation of the research questions for Article 2. In turn, key findings from the preliminary analysis for Article 2, brought about the idea for the mediagram part of the project in Article 3. The way in which these articles are chronologically and thematically interrelated is illustrated in Figure 5, which also presents the key findings:

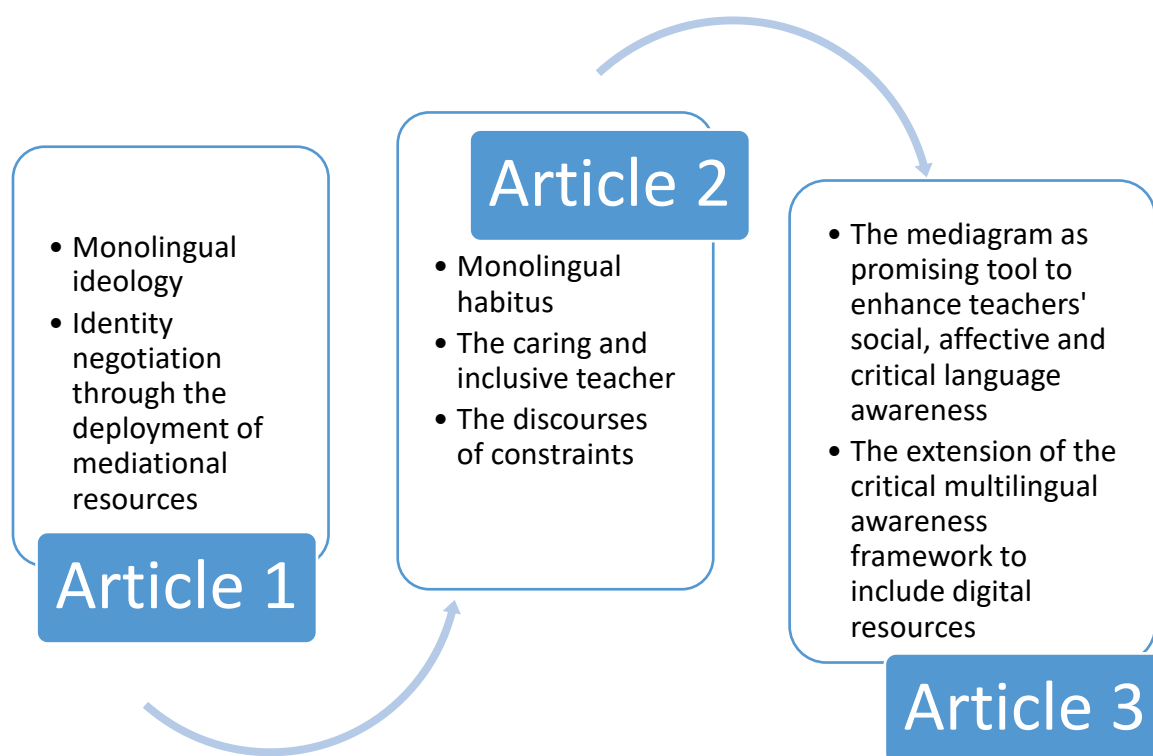


Figure 5: Key findings, and chronological and thematic evolution of the articles

4.2 Article 1

Thyness, H., & Lexander, K. V. (2023). Indexing the 'included' migrant? Social categorization and interpersonal digital interaction between labor migrants, teachers and employers in Norway. *Language & Communication*, 88, 27-40.

Article 1 covers the two areas of focus in the DigiMulti project – namely, education (more specifically, parent-school collaboration) and work, as two domains that are considered crucial for inclusion in society. We zoomed in on digital interaction between labour migrants and their children's class teacher and their employer, respectively. The following research questions were asked:

1. What social categories are constructed of and by migrants and by their interlocutors?
2. What acts of alignment and dis-alignment to values and discourses, stereotypes and ideals do the ideological assumptions related to inclusion engage?

To explore these questions, we drew on orders of indexicality (Blommaert, 2005a, 2007; Silverstein, 1976, 2003), adequation and distinction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and interactional punctuation (Busch, 2021). Through these lenses, we conducted a qualitative micro-analysis of digitally mediated parent-teacher and workplace interaction.

The analysis showed that both Lithuanians and their Norwegian interlocutors constructed an “ideal migrant” – with a key social feature of learning Norwegian quickly. The participants discursively oriented towards a monolingual Norwegian ideology, and discursively constructed a “correctness ideology” based on a normative mode of writing (cf. Duchêne et al., 2013). Although the monolingual discourse also materialised in the language practices, the correctness ideology was contested, both metapragmatically and interactionally. During unfolding interaction, both teachers and parents, as well as employers and employees, accepted and disregarded linguistic errors and were primarily concerned with making themselves understood.

In an example from the educational domain, Daniele took advantage of a strategic media choice and capitalised on the temporal gap afforded by the asynchronicity of the written interaction to compose her message. Furthermore, she and the teacher drew on different semiotic resources, particularly emojis in this SMS interaction, to find a solution to the specific problem while also accomplishing a co-construction of identities as being on good terms – in a cooperation mode – where Daniele’s deviations from completely correct Norwegian did not produce a social effect of exclusion.

4.3 Article 2

Thyness, H. (2023). Teachers’ construction of their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with multilingual parents – A case from Norway. *Language and Education*, 1-18.

Article 2 builds on a key finding from Article 1 – that is the monolingual ideology that was present both in language practice and in the parents’ and teachers’ metapragmatic discourses on interaction, language and inclusion. The main aim for this article was to examine the teachers’ perspectives on inclusion in light of the monolingual ideology, so, I asked:

How do Norwegian teachers construct their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with parents having Norwegian as an additional language?

Drawing on interview data with six teachers, and one focus group, I applied positioning theory (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Davies & Harré, 1990) and Ruiz' (1984) orientations towards language to analyse the discourses that circulated as the teachers constructed their roles and responsibilities for the inclusion of multilingual, minoritised parents. Three discourses crystallised in the analysis: 1. the discourses of ideals; 2. the discourses of language-as-problem; and 3: the discourses of constraints.

These discourses made available certain subject positions for the teachers which again contribute to explaining some of the complexities behind the teachers' language practices. More specifically, they created tensions and competing self-positioning by the teachers as well as the un-intentional other-positioning of the parents. Through the discourses of ideals, the teachers oriented towards inclusion as a heartfelt value, and towards language-as-resource (cf. Ruiz, 1984) to construct the inclusive caring teacher. However, these discourses were primarily general in nature and did not refer to real migrants or actual teacher practices. They also came into conflict with the discourses of language-as-problem. This discourse, pervaded by a monolingual habitus, led to an un-intentional other-position of the "deficit" parents who had failed when not complying with the language requirements of the "included migrant". Adding to these complexities, the discourses of constraints offer avenues for understanding why the teachers primarily end up with exclusionary language practices in both online and offline interaction with multilingual parents. As concluded in Article 2, the constraints in terms of lack of institutional support and systems, and competing priorities during the teachers' workdays, emerged as the most important impediments to inclusive practices at the local level. During congested working days, the teachers seemed to fall back on a monolingual habitus in their interaction with the parents.

Two critical issues emerged from this article: 1. the teachers' lack of information about parents; and 2. the need for questioning what seemed to be a monolingual habitus (cf. Gogolin, 1997, p. 42; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

4.4 Article 3

Thyness, H. (submitted to international journal). Exploring mediagrams as a visual tool to encourage teachers' critical multilingual awareness through parent-school interaction in Norway.

To address the two issues that emerged from Article 2, the aim for Article 3 was to explore whether the mediagram (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021) could serve as a mapping tool of parents' mediational repertoires, and encourage the teachers to critically engage with monolingual ideologies and stereotypical views of migrants. The research question for this article is:

How can the mediagram contribute to teachers' critical awareness related to existing language ideologies in parent-teacher interaction in multilingual settings?

In this study, the pupils created mediagrams at school, with guidance from the teacher. Subsequently, the pupils continued this at home to include the visualisation of one of their parent's digitally mediated interaction, before returning this double mediagram to the teacher. I analysed interviews with three teachers through the lens of a critical multilingual awareness framework foregrounding the importance of the social and affective dimensions of language awareness for fostering critical language awareness (Clark et al., 1990, 1991; García, 2017; James & Garrett, 1992; Prasad & Lory, 2020; Van Gorp et al., 2023). In view of the overarching focus on inclusion, I also analysed interview data from four family members to include their perspectives on the use of the mediagram. In the post-digital perspective, digital language practices are considered as part and parcel of the linguistic and cultural identities, and I therefore argued for the inclusion of digital resources as part of the object of study in critical multilingual awareness research (Androutsopoulos, 2021).

In the analysis, following Van Gorp et al.'s (2023) emphasis of the social and affective dimensions as an important foundation for critical language awareness, I argued that the participating teachers' critical engagement with their monolingual practices was founded on their resource-orientation to language (cf. Ruiz, 1984) – i.e., the social domain – and their deep-felt inclusive values for inclusion, and care for the parents – i.e., the affective domain. A key finding here is the discretion afforded by a mapping of mediational repertoires in the form of a mediagram, as a way to reduce the risks for the teachers of appearing patronising in relation to the parents. Moreover, the analysis showed that the use of the mediagram contributed to strengthening the teachers' critical language awareness as it questioned and challenged existing stereotypical assumptions and deficit views of parents. Importantly, the analysis showed that the mediagram can direct teachers' attention to the parents' needs in terms of media choice and the use of other semiotic resources.

An important caveat is warranted, however. Without a critical framing, the mediagram can potentially contribute to the nurturing of normalised assumptions about language and deficit categorisation of migrant parents with Norwegian as an additional language. The more critical parents' perspectives sustained this need for caution. They emphasised the need for combining the mediagram with face-to-face meetings, and doubted that the use of the mediagram in itself would lead to changed practices.

4.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have provided a short summary of the three dissertation articles and how they are connected. This summary of the findings, along with the theoretical framework (Chapter 2) and the introduction (Chapter 1), constitute the foundation for the discussion in the next chapter. The discussion of these findings will further sustain the discussion of the main contributions of my thesis.

5 Discussion: Opportunities and constraints for inclusion in a post-digital perspective

5.1 Chapter introduction

The dissertation articles contribute to answering the overarching question for this thesis from different perspectives. As defined in Section 1.4, the research question is:

What are the opportunities and constraints for inclusion through parents' and teachers' language and media practices in multilingual contexts?

I have adopted an overall post-digital perspective to this question (see Section 2.3). Through this perspective, I have investigated the social, material and digital embeddedness of the nexus of practice, i.e., language and media practices in parent-teacher interaction, studying how the parents and teachers managed *the interaction order* – i.e., their relationship. Importantly, I have studied how they, through their *historical bodies*, constructed and negotiated identities across channels, modes, time and space (cf. Alexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Tagg & Lyons, 2021, 2022). *The discourses in place* – i.e., the broader historical and ideological discourses that circulate through this nexus, and the specific institutional and contextual conditions within which the nexus of practice is situated – constitute an important backdrop for the discussion.

My discussion of the findings on the opportunities and constraints for inclusion is organised around the following three intersecting factors that circulate through the nexus of practice: the interaction order (5.2); the historical body (5.3); and the discourses in place (5.4). In Section 5.5, I provide a discussion summary, before I end with a discussion of the contributions and limitations of this thesis, and paths for future research (5.6).

5.2 The interaction order – inclusion at the interactional scale

Digital channels offer particular opportunities for equitable identity negotiation and inclusion in the parent-teacher interaction. In this section, I focus on the opportunities and constraints related to temporal and mediational resources.

In this study, the affordance of asynchronicity and the option for written digital interaction, where the temporal gaps between the reception of and the response to a message allow for a zone of reflexivity (cf. Androutsopoulos & Staehr, 2018), emerged as important. Although

taking place in a relatively short time-scale (cf. Lemke, 2000), these temporal gaps are larger than what is available during a non-digital face-to-face meeting or a digital chat (cf. Stæhr, 2015, p. 33). The participants, such as Daniele (Article 1), took advantage of this temporal gap to proofread and revise their messages by resorting to digital tools such as online dictionaries, Google Translate and built-in spell checkers before pushing the send-button.

A related opportunity for identity negotiation was found in the deployment of semiotic resources that can contest higher-scale language ideologies and social categories. By making use of these resources, parents and teachers can be enabled to co-construct more equitable parent-teacher relationships in their digitally mediated communicative practices (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). As shown by the analysis of the SMS-interaction between Daniele and the class teacher in Article 1, punctuation and the use of emojis emerged as salient resources particularly for Daniele for positioning herself as a legitimate speaker. By drawing on these presupposed shared semiotic resources, Daniele and the teacher downplayed potential adversary identity positions that might have emerged from the unequal access to the standard language (cf. Blommaert, 2007, 2010). In this way, through the intentional use of semiotic resources, the interlocutors can contest 'doctrines of linguistic correctness' (Woolard, 1998, p. 21).

Whilst most of the parents used emojis frequently, the teachers' use of this semiotic resource varied considerably. Hege made active and intentional use of emojis, and pictorial attachments are included in her mediational repertoire. She used this to create a positive atmosphere and to build a stronger relationship with the parents. A prime example of the opportunities represented by the fluidity of interactional practices across digital and non-digital spaces is materialised in Hege's practice of sending pictures of pupils during the school day. For example, she could send a picture of a happy pupil to the parent as a follow-up to the parent's worry about the child feeling a bit sick in the morning. In this way, the multimodal affordances of digital channels enabled Hege to convey very physical and real conditions and emotions through digital means (cf. Tagg & Lyons, 2022; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Moreover, for Hege, this constituted an important resource for the construction of an inclusive teacher identity. In some respects, this is consistent with research on parental involvement through teachers' sharing of pictures of pupils on Instagram to stimulate conversations about the school day between parents and children (Hutchison et al., 2020).

Nevertheless, as the example of Lukas, Emilia's daughter's class teacher, shows us, multimodal and semiotic resources are not indispensable. In contrast to Hege, Lukas had made other active choices regarding his professional conduct as a teacher, aligning with the constructed "correctness ideology" (Article 1). Two important features were to avoid using emojis and to include a formal "best regards" (*vennlig hilsen*) in the messages' final positions, to index the professional character of the interaction. When Emilia evaluated him as a friendly and inclusive teacher, it was based on her impression of him from face-to-face meetings at the school. For instance, Emilia recalled a face-to-face interaction with Lukas as they were walking up the stairs to her daughter's classroom. During this walk, Lukas turned his whole body towards Emilia and smiled as they chatted – a gesture that Emilia evaluated as inclusive and nice. The more formal, and potentially more dismissive, character of his written digital messages was thus seen in light of the non-digital interaction and available semiotic resources in this space (Kusters et al., 2017; Tagg & Lyons, 2022), as Emilia read digital messages from him based on her experiences from face-to-face meetings.

Media choice emerged as a potential resource for leveraging power relations. Daniele took advantage of the different channels in the repertoire that she shared with the teacher in their co-constructed communicative space to choose the channel in which she knew she could reach the teacher after work (cf. Tagg & Lyons, 2021). In this way, she took the lead in the interaction and positioned herself as a powerful interlocutor with the right to pursue her agenda on her own terms.

However, it can be argued that the power of media choice primarily rests at other levels within the school system (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 160). First and foremost, school communication applications such as Visma or Transponder, through which the communication is supposed to take place, are decided upon by the municipality as the school owner. This may give less room for agentic media choice for both the parents and the teachers, and is important in terms of affordances. As we saw in the SMS-interaction between Daniele and the teacher in Article 1, the school app did not support pictorial attachments, which was an important resource for Daniele in this particular interaction. Also, Daniele reported that the school app did not previously include emojis. Potentially, then, the parents are prevented from drawing on their whole mediational repertoire in the interaction with the school. Parents and teachers in this project circumvented this by jointly deciding upon

alternative channels, such as e-mail, SMS or Facebook Messenger. In this way they co-constructed a shared space of interaction to achieve their goals, which was counter to the top-down decisions regarding media choice (cf. Tagg & Lyons, 2022, p. 37). However, this is a complex field in which to navigate, with layered power relations, whereby the schools and teachers in many ways hold the final power to decide upon media choice (see also Pavlakis et al., 2023, p. 1027).

The key constraint for inclusion is the fact that the primary success factor for effective parent-teacher interaction in the empirical material is the use of Norwegian. Through the interviews, it became clear that the use of interpretation is unsystematic. Teachers reported that they often do not provide interpreters for meetings where they would have needed an interpreter, and that it also has occurred that they have provided an interpreter for meetings where it was not necessary. Written information is not usually translated. My findings thus support other studies on language choices in parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings (e.g., Bønnhoff, 2020; Pavlakis et al., 2023; Piller et al., 2021). In this way, the opportunity for taking advantage of the zone of reflexivity (Androutsopoulos & Staehr, 2018) was only available as long as the interaction was conducted in a language that the teachers understood, and preferably Norwegian. Reflection on choice of language did thus not find its way into the zone of reflexivity on the teachers' side. The time for proof-reading was rather accorded to the "correctness ideology", in terms of writing correct Norwegian orthography, following punctuation conventions, and actively making choices on the use of other semiotic resources. The opportunities and constraints discussed in this section are sustained by processes at the individual scale. In the next section, I turn to the participants' historical bodies, with a main focus on the teachers.

5.3 The historical body: teachers' and parents' contributions to the interaction order
In this section, I will focus on three aspects that emerged as being particularly salient for processes of inclusion and exclusion at the scale of the historical body: teacher availability (5.3.1), monolingual ideologies (5.3.2) and teacher positioning and critical language awareness (5.3.3).

5.3.1 Fluidity of interactional practices: teacher availability

The teachers participating in this study have shown that they are, to a large extent, also available for the parents outside of working hours, such as Daniele's son's class teacher who responded in the evening (Article 1). The intrusive potential of interaction through digital channels for both teachers and parents that has been reported in other studies (e.g., Akselvoll, 2016; Head, 2020; Hedlin & Frank, 2022; Olmstead, 2013) was not foregrounded in the interviews with the teachers and parents in this project.

The teachers had different justifications for their availability. Lukas, for example, referred to his conception of what the teacher role entails by stating that he saw it as his duty to respond, regardless of whether he was at work, on the bus or already at home. He deemed this to be particularly important in his position as a class teacher. In this way, the convergence of platforms and smartphone applications enabled the parents and teachers to customise their communicative needs to other daily tasks (cf. Tagg & Lyons, 2022, p. 45). A potential downside is that Lukas' working hours seem to spill over into his private life (cf. e.g., Hedlin & Frank, 2022) – a dimension that he did not problematise. The importance of the teachers' availability was supported in interviews with the parents. The parents' access to the teacher, regardless of the time of day or their whereabouts, contributed to a sense of intimacy provided by the possibility to reach the interlocutors 'with messages going straight to an individual's pocket' (Tagg & Lyons, 2022, p. 10). The easy access to the teachers contributed to building trust and to making the parents feel safe and recognised (cf. Felder, 2018; Honneth, 1995), potentially levelling out asymmetries in the power relationship between them. However, the expectations for teacher availability represent one of the multiple tasks that is part of the subject position of "the overworked teacher", as reported in Article 2.

5.3.2 A widely circulating monolingual ideology

A key constraint to inclusive language practices was the deep-seated monolingual ideology – what I analyse as a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997, 2002). In line with the broad definition of language ideologies, the monolingual ideology identified here is both ideational, linked to assumptions about appropriate language use, and present in actions as "submerged" into practice by long habit' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 105). Based on this interpretation, I argue that the teachers' exclusionary language practices are unintentional; the monolingual ideology is naturalised and not an object of critical reflection (Bourdieu, 1991; Gogolin, 1997).

In this way, the teachers are oriented to indexicals operating at the national scale-level, instead of to the parents' needs at the local, immediate level (cf. Blommaert, 2007, 2010).

The claim in this thesis that a dominant monolingual ideology is circulating is supported by findings from the interviews with the parents. All the parents participating in this project argued that the responsibility for intelligibility in the parent-teacher interaction rests with them. This indicates that, parallel to the diversity discourses, a monolingual hegemony persists (Gramsci, 1999), whereby the migrant parents submit to the dominant monolingual ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997; Gramsci, 1999). As discussed in Section 3.6, the Lithuanian parents participating in this project were confident in their use of Norwegian. Still, their narratives related to their language learning trajectories during their first years in Norway show how communication with the school was difficult or absent due to the lack of social support from the school in terms of translation of written information and interpreters at meetings. These earlier experiences, accumulated over time, are inscribed in the parents' historical bodies (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). In their lived experiences of language, they have been exposed to feelings of fear, inadequacy and having lower social value, which may sustain their submission to the monolingual ideology (cf. Busch, 2017; Honneth, 1995; Kavanagh & Hickey, 2013). In this way, the parents assume the communicative burden (cf. Chaparro, 2014; Lippi-Green, 1997). Some of the parents' preferences for written digital communication related to the opportunities for text composition to comply with the normative expectations in this space, e.g., the "correctness ideology" (Article 1), can be analysed as an explicit expression of this.

5.3.3 Teacher positioning and critical language awareness

The teachers' expression of care and concern for all parents within the discourses of ideals (Article 2) represents a major opportunity on the bodily scale (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and contrasts with the monolingual habitus. What seems to be a deep-seated teacher value encompasses a friendly and inclusive view of the parents and involves the teachers assuming the main responsibility for the relationship. This finding confirms previous Norwegian research on teacher identity (Søreide, 2006). Zooming in on language, the teachers' general orientation towards linguistic diversity as a resource, which is in alignment with the teachers' mandate, also constitutes an important opportunity for inclusive language practices as it represents what is 'thinkable about language in society' (Ruiz, 1984, p. 16). This resource-orientation is supported by reports from some of the parents that the teachers explicitly endorsed the

parents' use of their home languages with the children and granted the responsibility for the pupils' Norwegian language learning to the schools. Such a valorisation of the use of the home languages is a key feature of identity confirmation (Cummins, 2001), whereby the parents feel accepted as they are. As such, it can be interpreted as a sign of inclusion in the interpersonal sphere (cf. Felder, 2018) and of affective and social language awareness (James & Garrett, 1992; Van Gorp et al., 2023). This is consistent with a recent Norwegian study on the relationship between the celebration of multilingualism in the language curricula and language teachers' perceptions of the use of multilingualism in the classroom (Myklevold & Speitz, 2021). This study found that the teachers were positive towards linguistic diversity and to the idea of drawing on the pupils' multilingual repertoires.

In contrast, a key constraint for inclusive language and media practices is linked to the fact that the teachers seemed to be unaware of the power that they hold, in terms of language and media choice, and tended to see the parent-teacher relationship from their perceived position as vulnerable. From this subject position, the teachers seemed to be blind to the parents' needs. An interesting bi-directional form of affective language awareness surfaced here. The primary theoretical focus of the affective dimension of language awareness is related to the minoritised language user's emotions and feelings associated with language use (James & Garrett, 1992; Prasad & Lory, 2020, p. 809). This form of affective awareness can be subsumed under the subject position of the "caring, inclusive teacher" (Article 2). However, the findings in my study also suggest that there seems to be an affective awareness oriented towards the teachers' own vulnerability. This confirms previous research on teacher identity that has pointed to challenges related to research with teachers who see themselves as vulnerable, but who, seen from a critical researcher position, are privileged (Appleby, 2016). My findings extend this insight through the fact that this bi-directional affective awareness became particularly evident through the reported discrepancy between face-to-face meetings and in digitally mediated interaction. The teachers reported about the use of interpreters in face-to-face meetings, although this provision was somewhat unsystematic and incidental. In written digital communication, there was no evidence of translation. My interpretation of this is that language barriers become salient in face-to-face meetings because, in these situations, the teachers are also affected. In this way, there is an awareness in the affective domain directed towards the teachers themselves, in terms of their feelings of inadequacy. In

contrast, in written digital communication, particularly when the teachers are mostly concerned with the school's needs and are oriented towards traditional one-way information (see Section 1.3.2), potential language barriers are invisible to the teachers during the action of distributing the information. In this asymmetrical power relationship, there is clearly an 'uneven distribution of the [...] communicative burden' (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 69), whereby the burden of understanding and making themselves understood is accorded to the migrant parent. This created an us-them division between the teachers and the parents, whereby the teachers positioned the parents who had not yet learned Norwegian as "the deficient other". Whether this other-positioning is unintentional or not (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991), it hinders the intentionality in language practices that is needed in order to foster inclusive relationships (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Felder, 2018).

However, I will argue that the teachers' core values of inclusion and care constitute a promising foundation for how the teachers can more intentionally orient their communication towards the parents' needs and modes of expression. I base this interpretation on the opportunities presented by the teachers' willingness to engage critically with their language and media practices through the work with the mediagram, and to imagine changed practices in the future. This means that teachers' discourses and practices are not only shaped by discourses that circulate from different historical positions and higher order levels in a stratified space (which I will elaborate more on in Section 5.4), but are also oriented towards 'future expansions of patterns of recognition' (Honneth, 1995, p. 139). The work with the mediagram showed that the teachers' stereotypical views of minoritised parents can be challenged. In this way, it has the potential to change the way in which they (implicitly and unknowingly) communicate deficit views of both the parents' and teachers' identities (cf. Chow & Cummins, 2003, p. 54). By building on the teachers' historical bodies of inclusion and care, the mediagram can spark enhanced inclusive practices through increased awareness within the power, social and affective domains (cf. Van Gorp et al., 2023). In this way, teachers and parents can develop 'a shared semantics that enables personal experiences of disappointment to be interpreted as something affecting not just the individual himself or herself but also a circle of many subjects' (Honneth, 1995, p. 139). In particular, the power domain is crucial for catalysing change (cf. Cummins, forthcoming; Prasad & Lory, 2020; Van Gorp et al., 2023). By extending the notion of critical multilingual awareness with digital

resources, parents' full mediational repertoires can be recognised. This may represent a way to increase the opportunities to counter what has persistently been found in research on home-school relationships – i.e., that the cooperation is governed by the school's needs and does not take the parents' perspectives and needs into account (e.g., Blair & Haneda, 2021; Bønnhoff, 2020; Gu, 2017; Piller et al., 2021).

The three teachers that participated in the mediagram part of the study displayed a more critical, affective and socially oriented language awareness. They pointed to the asymmetrical parent-teacher power relations and existing stereotypes, the emotional harm that the monolingual interaction may inflict on the parents, and the particular needs of parents who have Norwegian as an additional language (cf. James & Garrett, 1992; Van Gorp, 2023). This did not, however, change these teachers' practices but added to their vulnerability in terms of feeling inadequate and guilty for not adjusting their language practices to the parents' needs. Their critical focus encompassed explicit critical awareness of their own language practices, of the school leaders' lack of attention to multilingualism, and also of existing negative stereotypes of migrants in the society and in their own historical bodies (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004). I turn to these ideological and institutional dimensions in the next section.

5.4 The discourses in place: Ideological and contextual factors

One way of understanding the tension between the discourses of ideals and the monolingual habitus is by seeing them as oriented towards different temporal and spatial scales. Although inclusion, as a basic and foundational value, has been part and parcel of educational policy documents during recent decades, a monolingual ideology has also long been in circulation (see Sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3). The recognition of migration-related linguistic diversity, whereby the monolingual discourse is challenged, is more recent (cf. Honneth, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; see also Section 1.2.3). The tensions between these discourses represent conflicts of interest in society, and the discursive recognition of multilingualism does not seem to have found its way into the participating teachers' practices in a systematic way. The opportunities at the interactional scale discussed in Section 5.2 are thus circumscribed by the dominant monolingual ideology when parents do not have access to higher order linguistic resources (Blommaert, 2007, 2010).

Although it is legitimate to criticise the teachers' monolingual practices, as this seems to be in conflict with the education policies (e.g., The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020), the participating teachers faced a linguistically highly diverse parent group. Arguably, in such contexts, one cannot expect that all interactional challenges can be solved at the level of the teacher. An important constraint for teachers' inclusive language practices with multilingual parents is the lack of attention to this issue from the municipality as the school owner, from the school leaders and also among their colleagues. Consistent with the findings in previous research in Norway related to parent-teacher relationships in general, the participating teachers were mostly left to themselves in their cooperation with parents (cf. Bæck, 2015; Faugstad & Jenssen, 2019). This seems to lead to a form of nested unbalanced distribution of the communicative burden (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997). When the teachers leave the communicative burden to the parents, it is in part due to the fact that the school leaders leave the teachers alone in their interaction with the parents. A specific challenge is related to the translation of messages. Here, we are faced with what can be called an untapped potential within the school system, in terms of affordances often associated with digital environments. One of these affordances is the access to online translation. At the time of data collection, there were no digital translation opportunities at the participating teachers' schools. If the parents had need of translation, the recourse to Google Translate was tacitly left to the parents. In contrast, Daniele reported about the pre-school's distribution of written material in Lithuanian, facilitated by Google Translate. Whilst she acknowledged that this led to some awkward translations, the quality of translation between Norwegian and Lithuanian was acceptable. Importantly, this gesture was very positively evaluated by Daniele. At the level of the teacher, however, the "correctness ideology" and the teachers' awareness of representing a normative institution emerged as important concerns. Doubts concerning the quality of Google Translate, the obvious difficulties for the teacher to conduct quality control, and the teachers' desire to use a correct and appropriate language in their position as teachers, made the teachers reluctant to use this tool. Thus, Ingrid called for having a translation tool at her disposal precisely because she considered such an effort from the school's side to be more inclusive than leaving it to the parents to find a solution to the language barrier (Article 3). In this way, Ingrid's critical awareness of how the communicative burden could be shifted to the school was restricted by lack of provision of what could be an important mediational means from higher scales (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Additionally,

the challenges related to interpretation and translation in parent-teacher interaction point to wider problems in the ensuring of inclusion. Global linguistic hierarchies also affect what takes place at this level. As Ingrid and Liv emphasised, in some languages they struggle to find interpreters at all. Another challenge is related to the requirement of ensuring confidentiality in interpreting, as for some languages, there are only a few users in Norway. A final challenge addressed by Ingrid concerns the parents' literacy in their preferred languages. These challenges cannot be resolved at the level of the teacher, but need to be adequately addressed at other scales of the educational system.

Another specific institutional constraint was the lack of school-wide routines for accessing information about the parents' language skills and preferences (Articles 2 and 3). This created challenges at different levels. First, it prevented the teachers from facilitating appropriate communication with parents, such as interpreting during meetings. Second, when potential language barriers surfaced, some of the teachers were constrained by their awareness of existing stereotypical views of migrant parents. In this way, the negative effects of alluding to deficit views of the migrant who does not speak Norwegian complicated some of the teachers' lived experience of asking parents about their language skills due to a fear of appearing to be offensive (see Bente, Article 2). As discussed in Section 5.3.3, not even the critically inclined teachers were enabled to act according to their beliefs, values and critical insight into the potential negative and exclusionary effects of their monolingual practices.

This raises a debate about institutional and contextual constraints in terms of what the valid constraints actually are and to what extent the teachers' foregrounding of their vulnerabilities is more of a defence mechanism. I argue that the constraints reported on by the teachers in this study are valid. This is supported by previous research on teacher beliefs that has shown that contextual factors at different scale-levels impinge on the teachers' working conditions at the local scales (Basturkmen, 2012; Buehl & Beck, 2014, p. 74; Dahl et al., 2016, p. 26). Financial priorities, schools' different approaches to professional development, specific challenges in a student group that occupy the teacher's capacity, and competing expectations from school leaders, parents and pupils are examples of external obstacles. An important contextual factor confirmed by the present study is the teachers' very busy working days, which are filled with competing priorities that exceed their capacity (see also Basturkmen, 2012; Dahl et al., 2016; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2020). Research on professional development

shows that whole-school approaches, the school leaders' commitment to change, the allocation of time for teachers to collaborate and reflect, as well as the wider school system, are crucial for ensuring sustainability (e.g., Hargreaves & Fullan, 2015; Kirsch et al., 2020; Prasad & Lory, 2020; Schultz et al., 2023). Time for reflection, cooperation among teachers and holistic approaches are also key for the development of critical awareness of language, as concluded by research on critical language awareness in teacher education (e.g., Duarte & Günther-van der Meij, 2022; Mary & Young, 2018). Not only is sustainability jeopardised if the system relies on individual teachers, but inclusive language practices will also be incidental, depending on the individual teacher's historical body (e.g., interests and formal education), rather than being systematic across the school as an organisation (cf. Blair & Haneda, 2021).

5.5 Summing up

As this discussion shows, there are both important constraints and wide-ranging opportunities for inclusion in parents' and teachers' language and media practices. At the local, interpersonal level and at shorter time-scales, there seem to be opportunities to build equitable parent-teacher relationships by understanding that the mediational repertoire is multi-layered and nested (cf. Tagg & Lyons, 2021, p. 733). These opportunities are based on the parents' and teachers' intentional deployment of semiotic resources across digital and non-digital settings that offer opportunities to break away from stereotypes and ideals. Particularly for the parents, this represents an opportunity to construct themselves as legitimate, authorised speakers (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Moreover, the processes of adequation in interpersonal interaction can increase inclusion through what I understand to be a sense of shared intention of cooperation on safe and supportive grounds (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Felder, 2018). These intentional processes of adequation are furthermore linked to the crucial teacher identity feature of care, which involves a disposition towards thinking about what is best for all parents. Through the discourses of ideals, the teachers show that they are oriented towards discourses that promote resource-views on linguistic diversity. These discourses are also circulating at higher scales and can be associated with the longstanding, general ideal and value of inclusion in the Norwegian education system.

There are, however, important constraints in terms of a slowly circulating and dominant monolingual ideology that seems to have been submerged into the schools' and teachers'

practices (Gogolin, 1997; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Kroskrity, 2000). Moreover, an unfortunate synergy seems to exist between this monolingual habitus and discourses that circulate at shorter time-scales – i.e., the lack of attention to multilingualism at the participating schools, the workloads that exceed the teachers' capacity and the privatised character of the parent-teacher interaction (cf. Bæck, 2015; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2020). Taken together, these factors effectively constrain the opportunities that are available at the bodily and interpersonal scales.

From a highly critical perspective, then, the teacher discourses that express resource-orientations towards linguistic diversity could be dismissed as token discourses that pay lip service to ideals with no root in real intentions for enhanced practices. However, my claim is that the combination of the teachers' care for the parents, the teachers' willingness to critically engage with their monolingual ideologies and the opportunities provided in the digitally mediated interaction provide solid grounds on which to build in order to foster equitable parent-teacher relationships. To this end, a resource-orientation to multilingualism needs to permeate the entire educational system, including paying adequate attention to the complexities and challenges that the teachers encounter in their everyday work.

5.6 Contributions, limitations and future research

In many ways, my findings confirm the existing knowledge related to opportunities and constraints for inclusive and equitable parent-teacher relationships in digital and multilingual contexts, respectively (see Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2). The novelty – and primary contribution – of this thesis is to bring the digital interactional dimensions into the study of parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings. Particularly, by approaching digital and linguistic resources as integrated parts of the parents' and teachers' mediational repertoires (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021; Tagg & Lyons, 2021), I have been able to probe into opportunities and constraints for equitable identity negotiation through the available affordances across digital and non-digital spaces.

To the best of my knowledge, Article 1 provides the first qualitative micro-analysis of digital interactional data in parent-teacher interaction in general. It thus provides a much-needed empirical investigation of how both parents and teachers navigate, evaluate and negotiate linguistic, semiotic and digital resources to co-construct identities as included. Much of the

previous research on digitally mediated and online interaction has been centred on youths and focused on creativity, playfulness and identity negotiation in their digital communicative practices (e.g., Androutsopoulos, 2015; Androutsopoulos & Busch, 2021; Røyneland, 2018; Stæhr, 2015), on family language policies in transnational families (e.g., Lexander, 2021; Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2023; Palviainen, 2020; Palviainen & Kędra, 2020) and work-related digital interaction (e.g. Lexander, 2023, 2024 (in press); Tagg & Lyons, 2021, 2022). The present thesis brings to the table empirical data from a different domain – i.e., the school domain, that has shown how two specific groups of adult interlocutors in this domain, parents and teachers, interact with each other. As the empirical contribution related to the role of mediational repertoires in parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings of this thesis is small, further research on these aspects is needed.

Additionally, in bridging the fields of digital parent-teacher interaction and parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings, this thesis draws attention to the advantages of considering interactional practices as a continuum across digital and non-digital spaces. One of these advantages is to avoid presupposed dichotomies and expectations of parents' needs in these two spaces. Rather, they complement each other – for example, in the opportunities for communicating physical and real conditions and emotions through multimodal digital means, and in the opportunities to broaden the range of spaces in which parent-teacher identity negotiation can take place (cf. Cummins, 2009; Felder, 2018; Tagg & Lyons, 2022). As my findings suggest, there is a need to investigate the parents' interactional preferences in terms of mediational means, as for some parents, asynchronous, written interaction represents an important resource, whilst for others, an interpreter in face-to-face meetings would be better. The opportunities and constraints across these spaces need to be taken into account, both in the practice field and in research.

Moreover, the findings emphasise the embeddedness of the parent-teacher interaction in the specific historical, institutional and ideological contexts, where monolingual ideologies still seem to dominate. The empirical contribution in this respect relates to the important complexities that exist in the teachers' everyday work in digital and non-digital parent-teacher interaction through the parallel teacher discourses that open for opportunities, as well as highlighting important institutional and contextual constraints across these spaces. This is an important extension of the existing knowledge on teachers' working conditions that is of

crucial importance for school leaders, school owners and policy makers. A small but significant finding in this respect was that there seems to be more teacher language awareness in face-to-face meetings than in digital communication.

Article 3 provides an important contribution by bridging recent extensions of the notion of the linguistic repertoire and recent developments in theoretical approaches to language awareness. The practice approach to language taken up in the critical multilingual awareness framework, emphasises the historical and social contingency of language boundaries, and calls on teachers to critically engage with the naturalised language ideologies in society (García, 2017). Building on the insights from research on mediational and polymedia repertoires (Androutsopoulos, 2021a; Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021; Tagg & Lyons, 2021), I argue that critical multilingual awareness also has to include digital resources to be up to date with the fact that interactional practices, relationship management and identity construction are increasingly digitally mediated in post-digital contexts.

In this research project, I have applied research methods that are both commonplace and new in sociolinguistic research. The most prominent methodological contributions are the extension of the use of the mediagram from a tool for collaborative research with multilingual families to being used for research on parent-teacher relationships, and its innovative use, as the pupils and parents created double mediagrams (cf. Lexander & Thyness, 2024, forthcoming). The strength of the mediagram as compared to other visualisations of multilingualism is that it highlights a person's transnational relationships and mediational repertoires. As the findings in Article 3 indicate, the visualisation of transnational relationships can challenge deficit views of parents whereby they are positioned as "socially deprived". In this way, the mediagram can boost teachers' resource-oriented view of the parents. The mediagram is thus well suited for research on digitally mediated interaction in the school context. The mediagram also constitutes a contribution to the practice field, as a tool to bridge the home-school relationships, which has been suggested in a recent study that used the mediagram for the purposes of exploring the interconnectedness of a multilingual child's languages, social interaction and use of touchscreens (Little & Cheng, 2023). The double mediagrams created in the present study take this a step further, with the potential to enable parents, students and teachers to explore and become aware of their mediational repertoires. The discretion afforded by mapping the pupils' and parents' mediational repertoires in the

form of a mediagram emerged as important, and makes it a particularly interesting contribution to the practice field.

There are some important limitations to the present research project. Ideally, there should have been more variation in the participating parents' Norwegian and digital skills. The primary participating parents – the Lithuanian mothers – were all confident users of Norwegian and digital devices and tools. As demonstrated by other studies, both language and digital skills can represent major barriers in the parent-teacher interaction (e.g., Bønnhoff, 2020). A second and partly related limitation concerns the relatively small sample size. This increases the risks that the findings rely too much on the participants' perspectives. There are also limitations linked to the imbalance in the data sample in favour of interview data, as compared to the original research design, which included more opportunities for data triangulation. A higher number of participants, greater variation in participant profiles and access to a broader range of data sources would have yielded more robust data on parent-teacher relationships in a post-digital perspective. A final limitation is linked to the limited time available and the small sample size for the mediagram part of the study. Ideally, this sub-project should have followed the teachers' discourse itineraries over time to see if the mediagram activity led to changed practices (cf. Scollon, 2008). Future research on the mediagram should be scaled up to whole-school participation, be longitudinal, preferably be included in a broader approach to parent-teacher interaction, and finally be scaled up to a point where the parents' language expertise was mobilised in the parent-teacher relationships.

Having noted these limitations, I would like to emphasise that the work in this thesis is in dialogue with accumulated knowledge and theory within the broad fields of sociolinguistics and home-school relationships. In this way, the work builds upon and supplements the existing evidence-base for policy-making and professional development.

6 Dissertation articles

1



Indexing the ‘included’ migrant? Social categorization and interpersonal digital interaction between labor migrants, teachers and employers in Norway

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the co-construction of identities of inclusion and exclusion in digitally mediated migrant–host community interaction. Through both interview and digital interactional data, we look at the discursive social categorization of and by Lithuanian labour migrants and their majority population interlocutors and analyze the semiotic practices by which identity categories are talked and written into being in home-school collaboration and workplace interaction. To capture the negotiation of power, (in) equality and authority, we apply the concepts orders of indexicality (Blommaert, 2007), and adequation and distinction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Our analysis shows how participants draw on various semiotic resources to interactionally construct identities as included, such as media choice, punctuation, text composition and multimodality.

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1. Introduction

Legg bort kebab-norsken! ‘Put away the Kebab-Norwegian!’ This is the title of an opinion piece in a Norwegian national newspaper (Sunder, 2021). The author argues against the use of the Oslo-based multiethnolectal speech style referred to as ‘Kebab-Norwegian’ in popular discourse (see e.g. Røynealand, 2018). The message is that imperfect Norwegian indexes immigrant backgrounds and obstructs social mobility.

While there is widespread acceptance and encouragement of using dialects within all social domains in Norway, this linguistic tolerance does not necessarily apply to varieties that are marked by ‘immigrant’ languages. Rather, language correctness is often used as an argument for considering someone to qualify as ‘Norwegian’ (Røynealand, 2018; Røynealand and Jensen, 2020). The quoted opinion piece thus represents a common discourse on the connections between language and the processes of exclusion and inclusion in the Norwegian public debate. In this paper, we examine how the ideologies underlying such discourses affect the co-construction of identities in migrant–host community interactions. What social categories are constructed of and by migrants and by their interlocutors? What acts of alignment and dis-alignment to values and discourses, stereotypes and ideals do the ideological assumptions related to inclusion engage? We investigate these questions by drawing on interview data and digital conversations collected through a four-year project (2020–2024) on digital interaction, multilingualism, and inclusion in Norway from a sociolinguistic perspective.

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Our paper is based on the hypothesis that digital communication is a key channel in the relationship between migrants and Norwegians, both in private and public spaces, and therefore, in a longer perspective, for social inclusion and exclusion. It is situated within recent work that examines how people interact digitally with rich and multifaceted linguistic and semiotic resources, including choice of media (Androutsopoulos, 2021; Deumert, 2014; Lexander and Watson, 2022). It joins recent efforts to conceptualize language ideologies as dynamic phenomena that emerge from, and all the while are subjected to, local processes of social positioning and indexicality (Spitzmüller et al., 2021). We focus on two domains that are considered crucial for inclusion in society; namely, education (more specifically, parent-school collaboration) and work.

Parent-school interaction increasingly takes place through digital media, a trend that was amplified by school lockdowns during the Covid-19 pandemic. While there is considerable research on the collaboration between multilingual migrant parents and schools (Banks, 2009; Cummins, 2014) and on digitally mediated parent-school interaction (Kuusimäki et al., 2019; Palts and Kalmus, 2015), work on digital interaction with multilingual parents is only starting to emerge (Piller et al., 2021). Our study contributes to this emerging field with an interactional sociolinguistic approach to the negotiation of inclusion of multilingual parents in digital parent-school interaction.

Furthermore, while there are several studies of language in digital interaction in the work context—most of these look at so-called white-collar workplaces—only a few of them look at multilingualism (Jonsson and Blåsjö, 2020; Lee and Chau, 2021). Further, studies with blue-collar workers mainly focus on face-to-face communication (e.g. Gonçalves and Kelly-Holmes, 2020). The fact that digital tools are crucial for all kinds of workplaces where the conditions of access and availability are met is thus overlooked to a large extent (but see: Lyons and Tagg, 2019; Tagg and Lyons, 2021). Research on digitally mediated interaction between majoritized and minoritized language users in education and work contexts is thus needed, not in the least to understand the complex processes of inclusion and exclusion in interpersonal interaction. As our study shows, these cannot be reduced to externally observable dimensions, such as employment status. Rather, they hinge on how interlocutors use linguistic and semiotic resources to make meaning and to position themselves and others within complex relations of indexicality (Blommaert, 2010; Carr and Lempert, 2016).

The paper starts with an outline of the background for the study and a brief introduction to the Norwegian context (Section 2). In the theoretical framework (Section 3), we discuss the concept ‘orders of indexicality’ (Blommaert, 2007; Silverstein, 2003) as a lens to capture the negotiation of power, (in)equality, and authority in digitally mediated interaction between migrants and their majority population interlocutors. In Section 4, we present the methodology, situated within ethnographic approaches to study the embeddedness of digital discourse in social life (Androutsopoulos, 2021). The analysis first considers the ideological assumptions upon which the participants evaluate their interaction in interviews, comparing the migrants’ and their interlocutors’ perspectives (Section 5). Second, we analyze how these ideologies relate to the ways in which identities are co-constructed in digital interaction (Section 6), analyzing in detail a parent’s interaction with the teacher and an exchange between the caretaker and the manager at a hotel. We show that a broad range of semiotic practices contribute to the indexicality operating at the interactional level, as summarized in Section 7.

2. Inclusion, assimilation, and exclusion in the Norwegian context

While Norway has been a multilingual country for centuries, linguistic diversity further increased when the modern labor immigration to Norway gathered pace during the 1970s (Kulbrandstad, 2017). Statistics Norway, the national statistics entity, uses two official migration-related terms: ‘immigrant,’ a person who has immigrated to Norway, and ‘Norwegian-born to immigrant parents.’ These terms were introduced in 2008 and replaced the collective terms ‘the immigrant population’ (*innvandrerbefolkningen*) and ‘second-generation immigrants’ (*andregenerasjons innvandrere*), the latter having been criticized for its biased focus on the migrant dimension of a multicultural identity (Dzamarija, 2008). Accordingly, Statistics Norway does not use the term ‘immigrant’ for a person born in Norway to immigrant parents but still provides figures for ‘Norwegian-born to immigrant parents’ to enable tracking of living conditions, employment rates, etc. (Dzamarija, 2008, 2019). In 2022, there were almost 820,000 settled immigrants in Norway and more than 205,000 Norwegian-born to immigrant parents. The total number of these two categories is thus 1,025,175, representing 18.9% of the total population (Statistics Norway, 2022b).

Work-related migration accounts for 40% of the total migration, and Lithuanians make up a considerable part of this population. Lithuanian migration to Norway is recent and part of the third wave of migration from the country, i.e. post-independence migration for economic purposes mainly (Ramoniene, 2021). The first substantial immigration to Norway started in 2004, when Lithuania became member of the European Union, and soon accelerated to the point that Lithuanians today make up the second biggest group of migrants in the country (Statistics Norway, 2022a).

In official discourses and policies on inclusion in the Norwegian context, there is widespread agreement that employment and education are key success factors (Brekke and Fladmoe, 2022; Fangen and Mohn, 2010, p. 139), while there are two lines of arguments when it comes to the role played by language. On the one hand, language diversity is viewed as an asset in both education and work (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018); on the other, for both these sectors, Norwegian language competence is considered the single most important factor for successful integration¹ (Kulbrandstad, 2017). Language

¹ In Norwegian policy documents, the terms ‘integration’ and ‘inclusion’ are used interchangeably, although ‘integration’ is the more frequently used term. In this article, we use ‘inclusion’ to avoid an unbalanced distribution of responsibility for processes of inclusion and exclusion towards the immigrant.

diversity is only an asset when combined with Norwegian (Kjelaas and van Ommeren, 2019). This emphasis on Norwegian language skills to qualify as ‘Norwegian’ (Røynealand, 2018) substantiates an understanding of inclusion as assimilation and conforms to the central idea of ‘imagined sameness,’ whereby immigrants, in the eyes of the Norwegian majority population, are supposed to become more like them (Gullestad, 2002). Monolingual ideologies and discourses thus tend to overshadow diversity discourses and are supported by political discourse. A recent example is a statement by the former Minister of Education regarding the stricter language requirements in the new Citizenship Act, where she claims that the ability to speak and understand Norwegian is a condition for participation in work and civic life (Melby, 2020). In this way, she advocates for a common language ideology, where language skills are taken as an objective sign of an immigrant’s determination to integrate (Bugge, 2021).

Discourses on inclusion in the Norwegian context are thus a complex constellation where Norwegian language skills, employment status, and (non-) participation in the educational setting are emphasized. Social categories of the ‘included’ or ‘non-included migrant’ are often built upon these features, with language skills being positioned as a prerequisite for both employment and social recognition (Piller and Takahashi, 2011, p. 371). Following this line of thought, key questions when considering inclusion are: 1. what kind of inclusion is at stake, as the externally observable dimensions, e.g. employment status, do not call attention to the emotional aspects of inclusion (Dalen et al., 2022; Qvortrup and Qvortrup, 2018) and 2. inclusion into what (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2011; Piller and Takahashi, 2011), as inclusion and exclusion in everyday interaction are processes where power and equity are central (see e.g. Hélot, 2021 for education; Lüdi, 2017 for workplaces). In this article, we understand inclusion as the Lithuanian migrants’ reported experiences of belonging and trust as well as both their and their Norwegian interlocutors’ orientations towards diversity discourses and practices.

The experience of inclusion varies from one specific situation to the other, and exclusionary practices may stem from ideologically based unequal distributions of responsibility where the communicative burden and acquisition of language skills are placed on the migrant (Chaparro, 2014; Piller and Takahashi, 2011). Here, we bring together the construction of inclusion in discourse with the construction of inclusion in interaction to consider how the participants discursively index inclusion or exclusion through alignment or dis-alignment with social categories. Our perspective is thus focused on interactionally accomplished and contextually contingent identities, constructed as more or less included or excluded.

3. Orders of indexicality and semiotic practices

To delve into the connections between semiotic practices and processes of inclusion or lack of inclusion, we draw on the notion of indexicality (Silverstein, 1976, 2003), which shows how the social meanings of linguistic or semiotic signs are linked to context. In a concrete interaction, indexicality can be referential (i.e. referring to things or elements present in the context) or non-referential (i.e. where meaning is purely pragmatic), signaling “the personae of the speech event” (Silverstein, 1976, p. 30) and where we can set social boundaries through speech (Silverstein, 1976, p. 17). In this paper, we consider this latter form of indexicality that demands thorough analysis of the social and cultural context of an utterance or interaction.

Indexicality posits that there is a dialectical process in any interaction where linguistic facts and social facts meet and mutually influence each other through pragmatic presupposition or entailment (Silverstein, 2003). In this process, macro and micro contextual elements, such as macro discourse and local social categories, may reinforce or contest each other (Silverstein, 2003). The interlocutors can draw on various semiotic resources that they deem appropriate in that specific context to align with presupposed social frames, thus contributing to a sedimentation of the indexicals’ social meaning. In this way, social categories such as ‘immigrant,’ ‘migrant worker,’ and ‘Norwegian’ are talked into being. However, semiosis cannot simply be subsumed under ‘macro orders of existence’ (Carr and Lempert, 2016, p. 8), as interlocutors also contest the presupposed indexicals through creative use of semiotic resources. We thus see that semiotic practice is individual and local and, at the same time, engages with more general issues or processes (Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003).

In the context of migration and mobility, Blommaert (2007) draws on the notion of indexicality (Silverstein, 1976, 2003) and Foucault’s order of discourse (Foucault, 1984 [1971]) to coin the concept of ‘orders of indexicality.’ We apply this concept, which refers to ‘systemic patterns of authority, of control and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion by real or perceived others’ (Blommaert, 2007, p. 117), to capture the negotiation of power, (in)equality, and authority. These patterns constitute a hierarchy that is socially determined, where different forms of semiosis are accorded higher or lower value, like in the “Kebab-Norwegian” example quoted at the beginning of this paper. Modern labor immigration has increased the complexity of social spaces, like the workplace or the school. The hierarchies of forms of semiosis are thus amplified, and language variation may index perceived social- and skill-related characteristics of whole groups of migrants. The connection between the indexical value of a semiotic resource and its social meaning hinges on its ideological force (Silverstein, 2003, p. 194). In multilingual contexts, ideologies exist as complexes of different shapes and are not always explicitly expressed (Blommaert et al., 2016, p. 34). In these contexts, the pressure to acquire the standard varieties of the national language will often entail a heightened awareness of compliance or lack of compliance with these ways of expression (Blommaert, 2013).

The important normative power of the educational field (Blommaert et al., 2016; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) and its status as gatekeeper of the official written language norm could thus be expected to affect the construction of identities when interacting in this space.

To analyze how orders of indexicality may play out in digitally mediated interaction, we will draw on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) sociocultural linguistic approach to identity and interaction, which posits that interactional positions may accentuate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories of identity. This framework builds on the capacity of indexicality in the emerging co-construction of identities in interaction through 'labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 585). The line from interactional positions to categories of identity can be considered through the notions of adequation and distinction. Adequation is focused on similarities considered as salient for the identity work, thus downplaying differences that may damage the efforts to adequate individuals or groups. Its opposition, distinction, relies on the suppression of similarities to construct difference. Processes of inclusion and exclusion in interpersonal interaction are complex and driven by how interlocutors use linguistic and semiotic resources to make meaning and to position themselves and others. We will show that there are tensions and interplays between the Lithuanian and Norwegian participants' constructed categories and the Lithuanians' alignment and dis-alignment with these both as discursively constructed and as interactionally accomplished identities.

A range of semiotic resources are drawn upon to carry out contextualization work in digitally mediated interactions. We also include choice of media as an integrated part of the participants' semiotic practices, where 'medium is part of the message' (Gershon, 2010, p. 3). Aspects, such as preference and choice within the spoken-written- and synchronous-asynchronous continuums and the time of day an interaction is initiated, responded to, and closed, may have interactional implications (Androutsopoulos, 2021; Madianou and Miller, 2012). Busch's (2021) notion of interactional punctuation conceptualizes punctuation as a device for organizing written interactions sequentially and establishing shared meanings between the participants. Punctuation serves as contextualization cues displaying interactional stance, indicating interpretations of utterances and guiding sequential progress. Emojis and emoticons are used for similar purposes. Recent research (e.g. Gibson et al., 2018) adopts fine-grained approaches, where emojis are considered part of language and part of the text where they fill pragmatic, stylistic, and illocutionary functions and enhance interactionally contingent interpretation (Dresner and Herring, 2014; Sampietro, 2019). In this paper, we consider the use of semiotic resources, such as pictures, punctuation emojis, and media choice, in processes of adequation or distinction.

4. Data and methods

Our analysis considers qualitative data from a project investigating language practices in digitally mediated interactions between Lithuanian migrant workers and their Norwegian interlocutors. Informed by interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982) and discourse-centered online ethnography (Androutsopoulos, 2008), we see digital language practices as an integrated part of people's everyday lives (Androutsopoulos, 2021). We therefore investigate the embeddedness of digital discourse in small social units, more specifically interactions between parents and teachers and between colleagues at work. In interviews, we sought to tap into the participants' social and linguistic trajectories and construction of social categories. We talked about their definition of and practices related to social inclusion and their evaluation of these, and we discussed their interpretations of the interactional data they shared with us.

Interview and digitally mediated interaction data were collected in 2020 and 2021. The participants were recruited through snowball sampling and the authors' social networks. A total of five mothers² and one father and three teachers were interviewed by the first author about their parent-school interaction, and six teachers took part in a focus-group interview. In addition, ten Lithuanian labor migrants, two of them part of the group of mothers, were interviewed by the second author about their workplace interactions, along with three of their Norwegian employers (see Tables 1 and 2 for an overview of participants referred to in this paper).

Table 1
Parents and teachers referred to in paper.

Pseudonyms	Gender and role in the project	Employment	Data
Greta ^a	F, mother	Self-employed and cleaner	3 interviews, no interactional data
Jolanta	F, mother	Self-employed and business owner	4 interviews, 5 SMS messages, 1 school app message (sent and received)
Emilia	F, mother	Public sector employee	6 interviews, 34 school app messages (exchanged with Anne)
Daniele	F, mother	Accountant	6 interviews, 25 school app messages, 26 SMS messages (sent and received)
Anne	F	Teacher	3 interviews, see Emilia for interactional data
Liv	F	Teacher	No interactional data

^a All names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

² Unintendedly, mostly mothers were recruited. This may be due to the fact that the researchers are female and accessed mothers in the snowball sampling.

Table 2
Employees and employers referred to in paper.

Pseudonyms	Gender and role in the project	Employment	Data
Lukas	M, employee	Caretaker	3 interviews, 76 SMS messages
Jurate	F, employee	Social worker	3 interviews, 40 SMS messages, 57 Messenger messages, 17 Snapchat messages
Urte	F, employee	Assistant in pre-school	3 interviews, 61 SMS messages and 88 Messenger messages
Ignas	M, employee	Farm worker	3 interviews, 68 SMS messages
Mari	F, employer	Hotel manager	2 interviews, 58 SMS messages
Randi	F, employer	Farmer	2 interviews, 35 SMS messages

All interviews, except with two employees, were conducted in Norwegian, as most participants felt comfortable in this language. Informed consent forms were provided in both Lithuanian and Norwegian. Considering potential power asymmetries between teachers/employers and migrants, we first recruited the Lithuanian participants and subsequently their Norwegian interlocutors.

We conducted three to six interviews with each participant. Interactional data was collected through screenshots from cell phones/other devices that participants uploaded on a secured digital project platform and through taking pictures of the cellphone screen. The interviews and the selection, sharing, and consideration of the digitally mediated interaction excerpts were conducted both face-to-face and online, in line with pandemic restrictions.

The transcriptions of the recurrent in-depth interviews have been iteratively read to gain an insight into emergent social categories, both as explicitly and implicitly expressed. We compared how the Lithuanians and their Norwegian interlocutors talked about inclusion, what importance they accorded to Norwegian language skills, and which personal characteristics they associated with ‘an included migrant,’ both when they talked about these aspects in general terms and in terms of their specific relationships to each other. This reading allowed for identifying patterns, or lack of patterns, across the workplace and education contexts. Furthermore, it allowed for obtaining a contrasting view on the macro and micro dimensions of the interconnectedness of language and inclusion. The interviews also formed the backdrop for the interpretation and the analysis of the interactional data (Androutsopoulos, 2008, 2021), as they provided an insight into the participants’ awareness and interpretation of how linguistic resources are actually employed in interactions and how processes of inequality may play out (Blommaert, 2010).

Our analysis is carried out from our position as researchers interested in multilingualism and social inequality but not in isolation from other experiences as former teachers (both authors) and as a farmer occasionally benefitting from work carried out by Lithuanian migrants (second author). Both authors have completed a 10-h Lithuanian online course with a private teacher to enhance relationship building with the Lithuanian participants. Still, our positions are closer to those of the Norwegian interlocutors than those of the Lithuanian migrants, and we bring the awareness of this into our work, seeking to identify how it may influence both the interviews and our analysis.

5. Inclusion as discursive construction

In the first part of the analysis, we consider social categorization of and by Lithuanian labor migrants and how this is substantiated by their majority-population interlocutors. We draw on interview data to analyze ideological orientations and assumptions upon which these categorial constructions rest. First, we show how two poles of identities are constructed: the included, ideal migrant, and its contrasting, excluded persona. We then look at how this ideal is contested both directly in the discourse as well as indirectly through dis-alignment with the monolingual Norwegian ideology. Finally, we consider the participants’ evaluations of their and their interlocutors’ semiotic practices in the interactions in view of this.

The active, invested, and interested migrant emerges as an ideal in the interview data. Two aspects appear as particularly important in the metapragmatic construction of this included migrant. First, their assumed responsibility for a positive representation of themselves as interested is exemplified through this utterance by Greta: ‘We have to try first, to show that we want to be here’ (*Vi må prøve først og vise at vi vil være her*³). Second, they emphasize their commitment to learning Norwegian through investment and audacity. Again, Greta sustains this by stating: ‘I am not afraid’ (*jeg er ikke*

³ All translations into English are done by the authors.

redd). Norwegian language skills are in this way associated with personal features, such as a positive attitude and an active and fearless approach to language learning and use at the level of indirect indexicality (Bucholtz, 2009; Ochs, 1992).

Embedded in such underlying expectations of a swift transition to Norwegian, the responsibility to acquire sufficient skills to be able to understand and communicate in Norwegian rests with the migrants, as expressed by Jolanta: 'It is not the Norwegians who shall learn your language, it is you who shall learn the language' (*Det ikke norske skal lære ditt språk, det er du skal lære språk*⁴). Also, employers referred to employees' responsibility with regard to the failure of initiatives of Norwegian language learning that had been provided through the workplace. This monolingual ideology is also manifested in both parents' and teachers' talk about written communication, where the Norwegian language ideology is linked specifically to the standardized written norm. The mothers expressed a desire to use 'correct language.' Workers also expressed a fear of making mistakes, such as when Jurate got a new job and had to write reports in Norwegian. The fear only disappeared when she experienced that nobody seemed to have trouble understanding her or accused her of incompetence.

The discursive construction of the 'included migrant' is contrasted with a persona who has poor Norwegian language skills and who is likely to be a victim of social dumping. This category is brought up by both teachers and employers as well as by the migrants themselves, some of who have experienced abusive employers. In the first interview with Emilia, one of the mothers, she recalled observing the unequal power relations when she accompanied her father as a teenager for summer jobs in Norway. Already then, she 'strongly felt the hierarchy' (*kjente jeg bare hierarkien der*) and the stigmatization related to being a migrant worker. This experience made her determined to break away from the socio-economic stereotypes and prove that she was more than a 'helpless migrant worker' (*hjelpeløs innvanderer*) whose only options were to 'work at the old people's home or at the café' (*jeg skal ikke være på gamlehjemmet, jeg skal ikke jobbe på kaféen*). For Emilia, acquiring the Norwegian language has been crucial to construct her identity as included, or non-excluded, in the Norwegian society, using the metaphor of being 'completely inside' (*fullstendig inne*). This is echoed by the teacher Liv who, admitting how she is confronted with her own prejudices, easily associates Norwegian language skills with resourcefulness. In a similar vein, Jurate talks about how she felt like a bus with the sign 'not in service' before learning the Norwegian language. In interviews, she described her path of learning and getting the social worker job that she dreamt of, even speaking the local dialect now to the extent that people qualified her as 'a real Norwegian.'

So, Norwegian language skills are described and experienced as the *sine qua non* of social mobility and inclusion, and the migrants in this project seem to both accept and discursively contribute to the construction of categories based on a Norwegian 'correctness' ideology, whereby specific social characteristics are conditioned by language skills.

There are, however, important signs of contestation. A case in point is a fracture in the monolingual Norwegian ideology emerging from interview data with the teachers, parents, employers, and employees: the acceptance of using English in interaction. In the hotel where four of the participants work, for instance, the language policy states that all employees should speak either Norwegian or English. This is a prerequisite to get a job and a policy to follow when interacting at the workplace. For Daniele, one of the mothers, the ability to resort to English in the interaction with the teachers for both her husband and her children is important for her experience of inclusion, which she describes as to 'feel as good as I do in Lithuania' (*om jeg føler seg så godt som jeg gjør i Litauen*). For the teachers, the overarching goal is successful communication and not necessarily use of Norwegian, or correct Norwegian, which substantiates the need for a disentanglement of macro ideologies and discourses and local interaction.

Another important fracture in the monolingual ideology, brought up by Daniele, is her current teacher's support of Lithuanian as the home language. Daniele explains that this endorsement gives rise to 'a good feeling' (*god følelse*), a feeling of recognition. Daniele also reports having a safe and positive cooperation with the teacher and that she believes the teacher does not treat her any differently than others because she is an immigrant. This indicates that the teacher, through her slight orientation towards the diversity discourses, manages to build a sufficiently friendly environment for Daniele to feel acknowledged as a legitimate participant in an equitable interaction. We will return to these aspects in Section 6. Finally, evaluating their interactions, the interlocutors both accept and disregard 'incorrect' written language practices. Jolanta, who may experience feelings of fear when approaching an unknown person in written Norwegian, is much more secure within familiar relations, such as with the teachers: 'No, I write, everybody knows that I am a foreigner, they understand' (*nei, skriver, alle vet at jeg er utlendinger, de har forstå*). The teachers paid equally little attention to 'incorrect' language when appearing in digital interaction, exemplified here by Anne: 'Yes, I don't mind other errors because it is due to that spoken form, and I know that I write in funny ways myself' (*Ja, andre feil, det tenker jeg ikke så veldig mye på fordi at dette her er den derre muntlige*

⁴ Some of the interview excerpts in Norwegian show that it is the second language of the participants. They have been translated into standard English, as the focus for this paper is language practices in written digital interaction, not in spoken language in the interviews.

formen, som jeg vet at jeg selv skriver mye rart). Features indexing Norwegian as a second language to the Lithuanian participants are not commented upon by the Norwegian interlocutors in the material collected, but interview data suggests that employers do correct employees' Norwegian language.

Our analysis shows that the participants' ideological positions regarding the standard written norm, i.e. both explicit and implicit assumptions about appropriate choice of language of interaction, manifest themselves primarily in the general discourse about language. In this discourse, the social construction of the included migrant category hinges on normative modes of speaking and writing (cf. Duchêne et al., 2013), and simultaneously contributes to the implicit construction of a contrasting pole: the migrant worker that is too lazy or too scared to learn Norwegian. This is particularly salient within the educational domain, partly informed by macro discourses on Norwegian skills as a success criterion for academic success, job attainment, and inclusion. We thus see that the control over and access to the official written norm as a higher order semiotic resource is discursively a matter of power and potential inequality (Blommaert, 2010) and that the underlying assumption is that control over the prestigious form is a prerequisite for inclusion (Piller and Takahashi, 2011). In interviews about the actual interaction, however, the absence of sanctions in terms of explicit corrections or metalinguistic comments is evidence of an orientation towards acceptance of non-normative language use in both the work and education contexts. In the following analysis of these interactions, we see how interlocutors deal with the risks of exclusion through semiotic practices and that there is room for variation and diversity.

6. Indexicality and interactionally accomplished identities

When we consider the range of media available for communication as an environment of affordances, media choice contributes to shaping the interactional accomplishments and the relationships that are mediated (Madianou and Miller, 2012). Media choice is thus also part of the performance of various identities and exertion of power (Gershon, 2010). In our analysis of interactional data (i.e. one parent–teacher interaction and one workplace interaction between a hotel caretaker and a manager), we therefore investigate the choice of media alongside the use of linguistic signifiers, emojis, and punctuation. We consider how semiotic resources emerge as salient to indexicality operating at the interactional level and feature as acts of alignment and dis-alignment to values and discourses, stereotypes, and ideals (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Silverstein, 2003).

We first analyze an SMS exchange between Daniele and her son's teacher. Before going through the exchange chronologically, we must recall the overall desire of both the parents and the teachers to produce texts in 'correct language.' Daniele's preference for written interaction, as expressed in interviews, is enmeshed with the opportunities afforded by written, asynchronous interaction, in terms of proof-reading and editing of both linguistic signs and other semiotic resources. While tools like Google translate and built-in spellcheckers are useful to display 'prestigious orthographic competence' (Busch, 2021, p. 9), they are not functional to detect morphological or syntactical deviations from the official norm. While the orthography in Daniele's message is overall correct, her messages reveal that Norwegian is a second language (e.g. in terms of syntax). Daniele does not, however, report on sanctions or metalinguistic commentary about her language practices today, pointing to other stylistic elements than 'correctness' as central and also to relational work (Locher and Watts, 2005) and the language ideologies of the teacher outside of the digitally mediated interaction, as detailed in Section 5. However, fear is part of her language-learning trajectory, and she estimates that it took four years before she started talking Norwegian:

- Daniele: *jeg kunne forstå, kanskje ikke alt, [...] men jeg var redd å snakke*
I could understand, maybe not everything [...] but I was afraid to talk
- Hilde: *Hva var du redd for?*
What were you afraid of?
-
- Hilde: *Var du redd for å ikke bli forstått? Var du redd for at de skulle tenke, eh ting?*
Were you afraid of not being understood? Were you afraid of them thinking uh things?
- Daniele: *Eh, alt. Alt.*
Uh, everything. Everything.

The interactional example we analyze centers around the recurrent problem of Daniele's son coming home from school with dirty clothes. Daniele's approach to the teacher is accordingly one of complaint. This can be understood as an act of distinction, as she takes the identity position of a parent demanding changes in the attention given to her son. However, the interlocutors downplay this act of distinction by a range of semiotic resources to index alignment. The analysis is supported by interview data with Daniele, and the findings will be discussed with reference to interactional and interview data from other participants.

Hei, beklager, at skriver så sent, men det er ikke mulig å sende bilder via appen, derfor skal prøve har. 🙈 har spørsmål - hva barna gjør på skole/sfo? Hver dag sin ute klær og sko må vaskes i vaskemaskin, før det må ta av alle jord ute... er det ikke lov å si dem å ikke ligge på jorde i vann?... forstår at han kommer helt vått, men så skitten? 🙈🙈🙈 eller 🙈 er så spesielt? 🙈🙈🙈

Fig. 1. Daniele, mother, SMS, sent at 18:47 p.m.

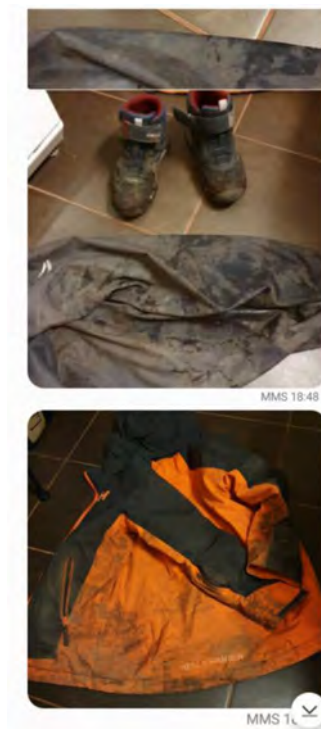


Fig. 2. Attachment to SMS in Fig. 1.

- 1: Hi⁵, sorry to write this late, but it's not possible
- 2: to send pictures via the app, that's why I shall try here. 🙈
- 3: I have a question – what do the children do at school/after school recreational program? Every day
- 4: (son)'s outdoor clothing and shoes need to be washed in the washing machine,
- 5: before that I have to take off all the mud outside... is it not allowed to tell them
- 6: not to lie on the mud in water?...I understand that he comes
- 7: all wet, but that dirty? 🙈🙈🙈 or (son) is that
- 8: particular? 🙈🙈🙈

This message exposes the affordances of the SMS platform as compared to the school app. The first aspect relates to availability, as Daniele knows the SMS will be read by the teacher after work hours, whereas school app messages will only be read the following day. While the mother excuses the SMS at the late hour, enhanced with a see-no-evil monkey emoji (Fig. 1, line 2), the fact that it is past work hours does not prevent her from sending it. The second reason for this media choice is that the school app does not support pictorial attachments, as the mother also expresses in the SMS. This option is important for her to substantiate her complaint and to allow the teacher to share the pictures with other employees at the school (see Figs. 2–7).

⁵ 'Hi' (Hei) is the standard greeting when opening a spoken interaction in Norway and in writing, when the interlocutors know each other.

In her following formulation of an indirect reproach, formed as a question, Daniele uses ellipses (lines 5 and 6) which she evaluates this way: ‘... could maybe use several words, but instead I use only dots, that, I think it is quite easy to understand what I mean without saying more.’ (*kanskje kunne bruke mer ord, da, men isteden bruker bare prikker, atte jeg tror det er ganske lett å forstå hva jeg mener uten å si mer.*) The ellipses thus not only have an interactional function, according to Daniele, expressing her emotional state, but also constitute a resource for composing a more compact message. The dots may moreover be understood as critique enhancers, leaving the complaints hanging in the air and alluding that not all has been said in this matter; their function is pragmatic, indexing an affective stance (Busch, 2021). The dots draw attention to the extra efforts it takes to clean the clothes and the underlying insinuation that the teachers should pay more attention to the children when they are outdoors.

The reproach is succeeded by three emojis: a face screaming with fear, a see-no-evil monkey, and a woman facepalming (line 7). The final, rhetorical question is followed by three crying faces (line 8), which also occupy the final position of the message. The alternation between interactional punctuation and emojis thus ties in with ‘graphic contextualization practices by using topological slots in which, for example, emoticons and emojis would also be placed for contextualization work.’ (Busch, 2021, p. 3).

The teacher’s quite lengthy response, combined with the fact that she replies outside of working hours, may indicate that she takes the complaint seriously.

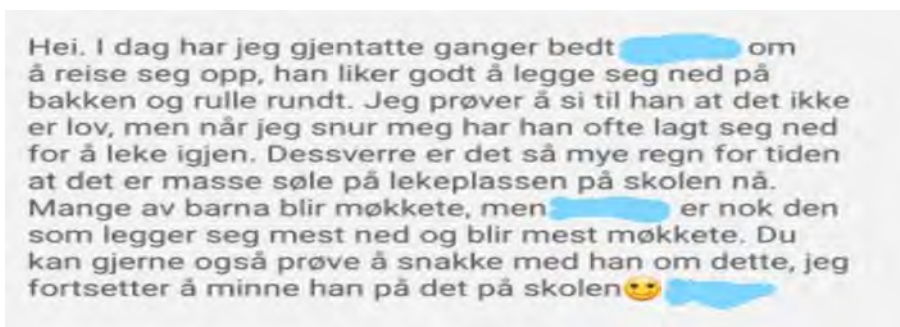


Fig. 3. D16, teacher, SMS sent at 18:54 p.m.

- 1: Hi. Today I have repeatedly asked (son) to
- 2: get up, he enjoys lying down on
- 3: the ground and roll around. I try to tell him that it is not
- 4: allowed, but when I turn away, he often lies down
- 5: again to play. Unfortunately, it is so rainy nowadays
- 6: that there is a lot of mud of the school playground.
- 7: Many of the children get dirty, but (son) is probably the one
- 8: who lies down the most and gets dirty the most. You
- 9: are welcome to try to talk to him about this, I
- 10: will continue to remind him at school 😊 (teacher’s first name)

The teacher follows standard punctuation and uses correct and quite formal language. She shows a certain reservation towards taking responsibility for the pupil’s behavior, thus offering some resistance to the mother. The message ends, however, with an invitation for a joint effort to remind the pupil not to roll in the mud. The final position is occupied by a smiling face emoji and the teacher’s name. This one emoji ends up playing a crucial role in downplaying the mother’s act of distinction, assuming a contextualizing function of signaling the teacher’s positive stance and overall desire to maintain a positive tone. This is substantiated by the mother’s interpretation: ‘Without it, I would think that it is very official, eh, that maybe she is annoyed, or, yeah, something negative’ (*Hvis det skulle være uten, da skulle jeg tenke at det er litt... litt sånn veldig offisielt eller litt sånn... som jeg skulle føle at hun er kanskje sur eller ja, tenker noe negativt.*)

In Daniele’s subsequent response, she joins the teacher in reframing the problem from being a lack of attention from the teachers at school to having hopes for a time when the son will care about his clothes and shoes:



Fig. 4. Daniele, SMS

- 1: Oh I am trying too ...
- 2: hope there will come a time soon when he
- 3: will mind clothes and shoes 😭😭😭

Daniele’s use of ellipses and the emojis in the final position in this message seem to support the shift from reproach to cooperation, as they are not directed towards the teacher but towards the situation. It is also an acknowledgement of their

joint effort to make the son stop rolling in the mud. In this case, both the ellipses and the emojis, allude to the challenges related to the situation and to the efforts of making the son understand the issue at hand.

Interestingly, in this episode's final response from the teacher, we see a shift towards happier emojis: a smiling face with smiling eyes and a beaming face with smiling eyes.



Fig. 5. D16, teacher, SMS.

- 1: Yes, let's keep our fingers crossed!
- 2: It will help if it were to snow
- 3: soon so that that there is not only
- 4: mud outdoors! 😊 Let us keep
- 5: reminding him and hope that he soon takes better care of the
- 6: clothes 😊

This change in frequency and characteristic of emojis happens in conjunction with shifts in personal pronouns from 'I' and 'you' in the previous messages to 'we' and the appearance of verbs such as 'hope' and 'find solution.'

In Daniele's final message, she extends a 'thanks' to the teacher and rests hopeful that they will find the 'right path' to a solution together—an explicit statement of alignment.

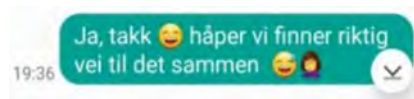


Fig. 6. Daniele, mother, SMS.

- 1: Yes, thanks 😊 hope we find the right
- 2: way to that together 😊👩👦

There is furthermore a multimodal alignment in these two final messages, where positive emojis occupy the period positions. Linguistic and multimodal resources are brought together to index a positive stance, as expressed by Daniele: 'They are not to believe that I am grumpy' (*de skal ikke tenke at jeg er sur*). Furthermore, the multimodal affordances may be particularly useful when writing in a second language, drawing on presupposed shared semiotic resources to achieve communicative goals.

The semiotic resources afforded by media choice, the asynchronous character of the interaction, and the multimodal practice enable the mother to exert power by contacting the teacher after hours as well as positioning herself as a competent and legitimate interactional partner. The teacher's deployment of linguistic resources indexing formality in her first response, emanating from her institutional affiliation but possibly also indexing superiority and power, could potentially confirm the act of distinction embedded in Daniele's first message. The emoji, however, downplays these potentially adversarial identity positions, such as '(resisting) powerful teacher' vs. 'demanding parent.' This semiotic act of distinction from Daniele's negative emojis entails a relational act of adequation, which reassures Daniele that she and the teacher are still on good terms. In this exchange, we thus see how differences that might damage efforts to processes of adequation, such as unequal access to prestigious semiotic resources, are downplayed as the interaction unfolds. Rather, similarities that are 'supportive of the immediate project of identity work' are foregrounded (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 599), such as friendliness and cooperation. We see that the differences in access to prestigious semiotic resources do not seem to acquire social meaning and exclusionary force in this interaction, and that media choice indexes a powerful parent. This way, Daniele excludes herself from a category of 'helpless migrant' (cf. section 5).

As a second example, we present interactional data from a hotel. This exchange resembles the former example in that it features a power difference and a complaint addressed to the formal authority, ending with an agreement about future action. There are neither emojis nor pictures, but we observe punctuation and text composition as interactional resources in addition

to linguistic signifiers. The interaction consists of six messages, sent during 42 min on an early afternoon. Three are sent by the Norwegian hotel manager, Mari, and three are sent by the Lithuanian migrant caretaker, Lukas.

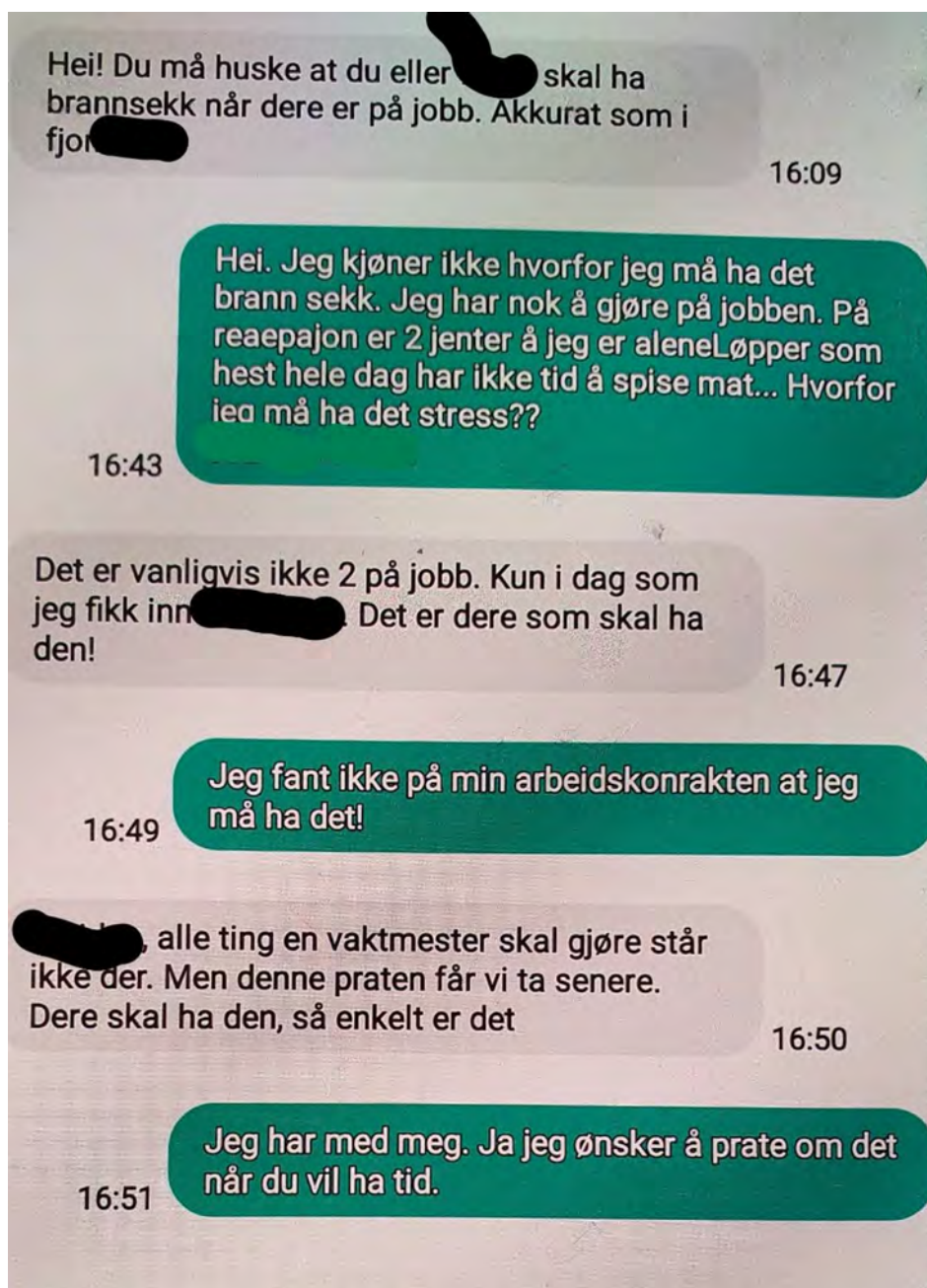


Fig. 7. Workplace SMS interaction. Caretaker (Lukas) and hotel manager (Mari).

- 1: Hi! You have to remember that you or NN must have
- 2: a fire bag while at work. Just like last
- 3: year. [Mari]
- 4: Hi. I don't understand why I must have the
- 5: fire bag. I have enough to do at work. In
- 6: the reception there are 2 girls and I am alone Running like
- 7: horse all day and have no time to eat ... Why
- 8: do I have to stress?? [Lukas + Last name]
- 9: There are usually not 2 working. Only today as

- 10: I got XX in. You are supposed to have
 11: it!
 12: I couldn't find in my work contract that I should have it!
 13: Lukas not all things a caretaker should do is
 14: written there. But this we must discuss later.
 15: You are supposed to have it, it is as simple as that
 16: I have it with me. Yes I want to talk about it
 17: when you will have time.

The exchange starts with a reminder from the manager (lines 1–3). She opens the message with a 'Hei!' followed by the reminder and ends with her first name, Mari. The layout of the message aligns with the content, which is a formal directive. Lukas follows the same model as he too opens with 'Hei.' and ends with his full name, thus aligning with Mari's set up of the text but disputing the content, i.e. the directive (lines 4–8). For the contestation, he relies on punctuation, adding ellipsis dots after stating that he is too busy to eat, indicating that there is more to be said (cf. Busch, 2021). On the one hand, the ellipsis may allude to further problems he has because of his workload and, on the other, they can signal a 'do you really think that is okay' question to the manager. The ellipsis can also strengthen the indexical meaning of the question, just like the repetition of the question mark does (cf. Busch, 2021, p. 6). In her response, Mari omits the opening greeting and instead answers directly, first explaining the situation that Lukas is disputing, then directing him. Lukas' question (with the two question marks) is answered with a directive 'that's just the way it is' statement, ending with an exclamation mark (lines 10–11). Lukas does not readily accept this and refers to his work contract, mirroring his superior's single exclamation mark and omission of opening and closing of the message, thus aligning with the punctuation and text composition in her message (line 12). In her answer following this, Mari uses the caretaker's name as she directly addresses the work contract (line 13). She then modifies her answer to a certain extent, opening for a dialogue about this at a later time and probably in a different mode (line 14). She then maintains the 'that's just the way it is' statement, but this time without the exclamation mark or any punctuation at all, and thus in a more attenuated form than in the preceding message (line 15). Lukas accepts the answer, confirming that he is following the manager's directive and answers positively to the director's invitation to a discussion, ending the message with a full stop (lines 16–17) as if to close the interactional episode for now, waiting for an opportunity to discuss the issue face-to-face.

We thus see that while Lukas contests Mari's directive, he aligns with her text composition. Mari is the boss and in power here. Lukas' adaptation to her text composition can thus be part of a strategy to make his voice heard and to align with linguistic norms to get a legitimate voice. In addition, he uses punctuation as an interactional resource to express opposition. Here, punctuation may be considered a translingual practice, since Norwegian language skills become less significant, as the ellipsis may have similar functions in Norwegian, Lithuanian, English, and other languages that both Mari and Lukas use. By disputing the directive from his superior, Lukas does not conform to the stereotype of the submissive Lithuanian worker referred to earlier and even more so by referencing the work contract: he is a worker who knows his rights. Lukas was also successful in this endeavor: interview data shows that he and Mari did indeed discuss the issue face-to-face, and Lukas said that he was happy about it.

Not only did Lukas dis-align with the obeying worker but Mari also distinguished herself in this exchange from the stereotype of an employer who hires migrant workers to exploit and oppress them, all the while maintaining her formal authority and power, including the power to close the argument. In this interaction, Lukas was able to reach his communicative goals in written Norwegian perfectly, even though his messages are characterized by second-language features. However, the social mobility that his higher education should have led to was limited by these features. Since he had been unable to pass the Norwegian language test necessary to start training for practicing as a physiotherapist, he continued to work as a caretaker and a part-time masseur in the evenings to preserve the embodied skills of his profession in addition to completing private lessons in Norwegian. He appeared as included in the interaction but was still excluded from exercising his profession due to the official language requirements.

In these two interactional exchanges, the Lithuanian participants positioned themselves as legitimate and resourceful interlocutors in relations where there are considerable potential power asymmetries. Through their access to Norwegian, although exposing second-language features, and in addition to other semiotic resources, such as choice of media, punctuation, and emojis for the mother and punctuation and text composition for the employee, the Lithuanian interlocutors negotiated power and influence related to their respective challenges.

7. Conclusion

Guided by the hypothesis that digital communication is a key channel in the relationship between migrants and Norwegians, and therefore in a longer perspective, for social inclusion and exclusion, we set out to investigate how identity categories are talked and written into being in parent–school collaboration and workplace interaction of Lithuanian migrants in Norway and how ideologies of inclusion and language affect this co-construction of identities. Our analysis shows that the participants' discourses of inclusion, more specifically of the included migrant persona, to a great degree submit to discourses on Norwegian language skills as the main way to inclusion in terms of good collaboration with the school and in terms of positions on the job market. Norwegian is also the sole language of interaction in the examples we have analyzed here in all collected home–school data and in most of the workplace data.

However, the relations that emerge and the identities that were co-constructed in the interactions reveal more fine-grained processes at work. Discourses and ideologies on the connection between language and inclusion, understood as a ‘correctness ideology,’ are discursively contested by the participants. A key insight afforded by the combination of Blommaert’s orders of indexicality (2007, 2010) and Bucholtz and Hall’s relational principle (2005) is to avoid taking for granted power structures based on macro ideologies and discourses, such as the importance of language skills for inclusion. Our analysis shows that both the Lithuanians and their Norwegian interlocutors perform agency and contestation in interaction.

While the Lithuanians’ written Norwegian exposed second language features, i.e. a lack of access to higher order semiotic resources (Blommaert, 2010), these features did not acquire exclusionary force on the direct indexical level (Bucholtz, 2009; Ochs, 1992) in the ongoing interaction. In combination with other semiotic resources, they downplayed differences that could harm the process of adequation, hence indexing an ‘included migrant’: One who has learnt the societal language and who is able to challenge and demand action from non-migrant interlocutors with higher formal statuses. In our examples, these include the choice of media and the use of emoji and punctuation. Discursively, Daniele and Lukas distance themselves from the social stereotypes of Lithuanian migrants. Through their semiotic practices, on the one hand, they index their own inclusion into Norwegian society in terms of the relationship with their interlocutor and, on the other, demonstrate that inclusion can be achieved through various ways of using Norwegian as a communicative resource.

The Norwegian interlocutors’ local contestation of monolingual discourses and associated personas equally emerge as salient to these processes. Their local, non-normative ideological orientations seem to prevail and allow for the migrants to perform roles as powerful, legitimate interlocutors and, through that, contribute to the co-construction of the included migrant. While access to Norwegian emerges as crucial both ideologically and interactionally, the acceptance of lack of compliance to the official written norm thus contests the ‘correctness’ ideology exemplified by the opinion piece quoted at the beginning of this paper. As it turns out, ‘correct’ language use is not necessary to construct identities of inclusion in interaction.

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2

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Teachers' construction of their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with multilingual parents - a case from Norway

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ABSTRACT

While Norwegian educational policy documents construct an overarching role for the teacher as the main party responsible for inclusion in the parent-school cooperation, there are conflicts in the associated discourses on language and inclusion. This can lead to uncertainties in terms of the teachers' responsibilities for inclusion in the parent-teacher interaction. This paper considers some of the constraints and ambivalences experienced by teachers in multilingual contexts, and more precisely investigates the subject positions made available through political and societal discourses and locally emerging teacher discourses. Examining parent-teacher interaction in both online and offline contexts, the study is guided by the following research question: How do Norwegian teachers construct their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language? The analysis shows that the teachers' values concerning inclusive practices open up for an asset-orientation towards multilingualism. However, the potentials of these discourses of ideals are curbed by monolingual ideologies due to the lack of awareness, and of material, institutional and relational support. These constraints seem to be more prominent in the digitally mediated interaction than in face-to-face meetings, which deserves our attention as we know that parent-school interaction increasingly takes place via digital channels.

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Introduction

In the current context of globalisation, technology saturation and migration, the sociolinguistic composition of European countries is becoming ever more complex (e.g. Blommaert 2010). These characteristics of contemporary society generate important complexities in the every-day work of teachers and the roles and responsibilities they are expected to fill (Dahl et al. 2016). In Norway, migration has led to increasing linguistic diversity in the

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pupil and parent groups and everyday parent-teacher interaction primarily takes place via digital channels.

The scholarship on parent-teacher relationships in bi- and multilingual contexts consistently shows that pupils' academic and social development benefit from parent-school relationships that are oriented towards empowerment and confirmation of the identities of the pupils and parents (e.g. Cummins 2014; Gonzalez et al. 2005). This research presents important accounts of teachers and schools that manage to establish equitable, resource-oriented relationships with parents in multilingual contexts, in which inclusive language practices constitute a key feature (Albrecht 2021; Blair and Haneda 2021; Mary and Young 2021; Velasco 2023). A central claim here is that teachers are responsible for 'how they negotiate identities with students and communities' (Cummins 2009, p. 262). However, there is a large body of work that highlights challenges to equitable parent-school relationships, and *inter alia* important discrepancies between migrant parents' and teachers' views of their relationships, where current language practices, including schools' and teachers' inconsistent translation strategies, constitute important barriers (e.g. Bendixsen and Danielsen 2020; Piller et al. 2023; Schneider and Arnot 2018). These language barriers are often associated with the majority population's and teachers' prevailing monolingual ideologies, leading to deficit perceptions of multilingual parents (Ishimaru and Takahashi 2017; Hélot 2021). Finally, teachers often work in coercive structures that impede their potential for inclusive practices (e.g. Young 2018, p. 23), where they experience workloads that exceed their capacities (Skaalvik and Skaalvik 2020) and where cooperation with multilingual parents is experienced as particularly challenging (Flatraaker 2016).

As teachers hold a key position for processes of inclusion and exclusion in the parent-school relationship, the present article zooms in on the teachers' construction of their roles and responsibilities in multilingual contexts in Norway and addresses some of the constraints and ambivalences they experience. The approach to teacher roles and identities is informed by work in sociolinguistics and discursive psychology (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Davies and Harré 1990), that supports investigation of how subject positions are shaped at the intersection of political expectations of teachers, competing discourses and constraining working conditions. The current study is guided by the following research question: How do Norwegian teachers construct their roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language? I explore this question by drawing primarily on interview data with seven teachers at four different schools in Norway. While research on (language) teacher identity in bilingual education settings exists, little is known about teacher identity negotiation in relation to migrant parents for processes of inclusion and exclusion. The present study is thus innovative in its focus on available teacher subject positions for these processes.

The paper begins with an outline of the Norwegian context for the study. In the conceptual framework, I present how I approach teacher identity through the notions of subject positions and language ideologies (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Davies and Harré 1990; Ruiz 1984). In the methodology section, nexus analysis, the data collection methods, the participants, and the analytical framework are introduced. The analysis first considers the discourses of ideals as enabling for inclusive practices. I then analyse the teachers' reported monolingual practices, the discourses of language-as-problem and the ideological assumptions upon which these discourses rest, before I analyse discursive and institutional constraints to the identity position as an 'inclusive teacher'. In the discussion and conclusion

section, I show how competing discourses lead to shifting subject positions that curb the potentials of the discourses of ideals for the teachers' inclusive language practices.

Background: language and inclusion in Norway

While Norway has been a multilingual country for centuries, a monolingual Norwegian ideology has been deeply rooted since the nation-building process during the 19th century, with the promotion of a 'one nation – one language' ideology (Gogolin 1997; Kulbrandstad 2018). Despite the abandonment of assimilationist policies in 1979 (Engen 2011), and the greater linguistic diversity due to the rise of modern labour immigration to Norway during the 1970s, the Norwegian immigration and school systems are still criticised for sustaining monolingual Norwegian ideologies (Kulbrandstad 2017). Of all children in basic education, 19 % come from families with an immigrant background. Approximately 8 % of these children are immigrants, and the rest are children born in Norway to immigrant parents (the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2022). More than 200 countries are represented in these numbers and the largest groups come from Poland, Lithuania, Sweden and Syria (Statistics Norway 2016, 2022).

In this context of migration and multilingualism, there are clear political expectations of the schools as arenas for social inclusion, and Norwegian education policy documents are characterised by a value-based description of 'the good society', which is 'founded on the ideals of inclusiveness and diversity'. Here, it is ordered that 'diversity must be acknowledged as a resource' (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research 2017). A recent White Paper on inclusive education also affirms that parents must receive the information they need in a language and format that they can understand (White Paper 6 (2019-2020)). Despite the overarching value-based focus on inclusion in the policy documents, the notion of inclusion is conceptually vague in society in general, as it pertains to externally observable aspects such as employment status and participation in education, on the one hand (Gullikstad et al. 2021), and emotional aspects, such as feelings of trust and belonging, on the other (e.g. Qvortrup and Qvortrup 2018). Furthermore, it has bearings on characteristics of the host community, i.e. whether inclusion is conceptualised as assimilation into a monolingual community, or as inclusion into a community in which diversity is truly valued (Otsuji and Pennycook 2011).

This conceptual vagueness is amplified by competing discourses on the role played by language for processes of inclusion. Parallel to the diversity discourses mentioned above, Norwegian language competence is deemed to be the single most important factor for successful integration¹ (Kulbrandstad 2017). Pupils with another first language than Norwegian are entitled to adapted language education, and, if necessary, mother tongue instruction and/or bilingual education. It is the responsibility of the municipality, represented by the schools, to determine the pupil's potential need for these measures. However, the aim of adapted language education for pupils from language minorities is to provide 'instruction in the Norwegian language until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school' (the Norwegian Education Act 2020, Section 2-8.). This can be understood as a weak bilingual education model and as a language-as-problem based aim (cf. Ruiz 1984, p. 21) that might be in conflict with the diversity discourses. Furthermore, there are prevailing monolingual ideologies and language-as-problem orientations among Norwegian teachers that contribute to processes of othering and deficit

orientations towards pupils with low-status multilingual backgrounds (Olaussen and Kjelaas 2021; Ringrose et al. 2023; Vikøy and Haukås 2021). With this emphasis on Norwegian language skills in order to qualify as ‘Norwegian’ (Røyneland 2018), monolingual ideologies and discourses tend to overshadow the value-based diversity discourses.

Finally, in terms of the distribution of responsibility for the processes of inclusion, the government’s integration strategy clearly states that ‘integration is a two-way process’, thereby indicating a mutual responsibility between host society and migrants (Ministry of Education and Research 2018). It also states, however, that inclusion first and foremost requires an effort from the individual immigrant, such as to learn Norwegian. This latter view is supported by the political discourse, exemplified by an opinion piece by a prominent Oslo-based politician, who foregrounds the migrants’ ‘personal responsibility for successful integration’ by learning Norwegian (Bøhler 2022, my translation). Also, a recent study of teachers’ narratives concerning the integration of newly-arrived adolescent students in Norway found that the responsibility for processes of inclusion was skewed towards the immigrants (Ringrose et al. 2023). These types of discourses contribute to passing on the communicative burden (Lippi-Green 1997) to the migrants and thereby perpetuating deficit orientations of migrants with ‘insufficient’ Norwegian skills as the main reason for failed inclusion.

While Norwegian educational policy documents, through their value-based descriptions, construct an overarching role for the teacher as the main party responsible for initiating and maintaining quality, and implicitly for inclusion, in the parent-school cooperation there are tensions in the associated discourses on language and inclusion. These ambiguities are likely to impinge upon teachers’ positioning and can lead to uncertainties in terms of their roles and responsibilities for inclusion in the parent-teacher interaction.

Conceptual framework: subject positions and language ideologies

There is now general agreement that teacher identity is multiple, in continuous change, and often contradictory and competing (Norton 2013; Varghese et al. 2015). This dynamic nature of identity pertains to its discursive, relational and temporal construction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Davies and Harré 1990). This means that identities are not stable and fixed entities, but are formed in and through discourse, in relation to real and imagined others, and change during the short time span of an interaction and also during longer time spans, such as a teacher’s career. In addition to teachers’ individual identities, contextual factors such as policies, institutional arrangements and ideologies have bearings on teachers’ claimed or assigned professional identities (De Costa and Norton 2017; Varghese et al. 2005).

Important aspects of teachers’ understanding of themselves are emotions and vulnerability when working under conditions that are in conflict with the tasks they are expected to fulfil (Kelchtermans 2009). For instance, teachers have been found to negotiate contradictions and conflicts between teacher identities based on a professional definition of good teaching versus a neoliberalist definition whereby teaching is reduced to a technical and standardised input-output enterprise. Facing these powerful discourses, one teacher reported feeling ‘disrespected, powerless, talentless, devalued’ (Masuda 2012, p. 237).

Conversely, while teachers are vulnerable and under pressure on one scale, they may be ‘marked by privilege’ (Appleby 2016, p. 756) on another, such as in their relationship with pupils and parents with migrant backgrounds. English (2009) demonstrated how conflicting discourses and ideological dilemmas were important resources in classroom teachers’

discourses on their responsibilities for English language learners, whereby two of the circulating discourses allowed for allocation of the sole responsibility for academic success to the pupils (English 2009, p. 502). Teachers' individual identity is important, too, and Blair and Haneda (2021) found that the most proactive English second language teachers in terms of partnerships with parents were bi/multilingual themselves, while the monolingual English second-language teachers did not consider the parent-school relationship to be their responsibility (Blair and Haneda 2021).

I will approach teacher identity by drawing on the notion of subject positions, allowing for a shift in focus from the more static connotations of identity and role (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Davies and Harré 1990), and opening up an analysis of how mediational means, relations, structures and ideological assumptions circulate through the teachers' discourses and make certain subject positions available and others not. Positioning is relational in character and when taking, or accepting, a specific subject position and related vantage point, and thereby positioning oneself, one also positions others. In doing so, the other is provided with a set of subject positions, through a range of historically and socially contingent presuppositions from that specific vantage point (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Davies and Harré 1990). This fluidity of subject positions does not entail that the teacher can freely enact any identity, as all interaction 'draws on a knowledge of social structures and the roles that are recognisably allocated to people within those structures' (Davies and Harré 1990, p. 52). In this way, previous experience of interaction, such as typical instances of parent-teacher interaction, contribute to shaping expectations and presuppositions. Positioning is often not intentional and explicit, but unintentional and implicit within the adopted discourse, and occurs when specific taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world pervade a discourse and no explicit reference to it is made (Davies and Harré 1990; Harré et al. 2003). Such implicit and unintentional positioning may complicate parent-teacher relationships in multilingual contexts (cf. Hult 2017).

By analysing discourses that circulate through the interviews, I approach discourse at the level of the 'big 'D' discourses' (Gee 1999, p. 13), whereby discourses, among other things, are 'sites of ideology' (Blommaert 2005, p. 158). Language ideologies can be broadly defined as ideas and sets of beliefs and practices which connect the social, economic and political status of groups with their language variety, and contribute to positioning speakers in hierarchies of social relations and power (Kroskrity 2004; Silverstein 1979). In this respect, Ruiz' three orientations towards language in language planning are useful as a backdrop for conceptualising language ideologies in the educational context (de Jong et al. 2016), as these orientations 'delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues' (Ruiz 1984, p. 16). The language-as-problem orientation explains how language diversity leads to academic failure and social exclusion that the minoritised language user has to overcome by learning the standard national language. Language-as-right is anchored in legal mechanisms to compensate for inequity based on language (Hult and Hornberger 2016, p. 35). The language-as-resource orientation concerns linguistic diversity as an asset for both the individual and society, and even though not exempt from problems (Ruiz 2010), can be seen as a viable path away from language hierarchies towards social inclusion. Language ideologies can be conscious or unconscious, and may be both explicitly and implicitly expressed in discourse, or embodied as practice (Kroskrity 2004). By way of example, Young (2014) has demonstrated how teachers' monolingual habitus, partly guided by the French republic's values, leads to deficit views of the multilingual pupil and their home languages, and

exclusionary language practices in schools (Young 2014). It is thus important to emphasise that individual teachers' language ideologies cannot be seen as an isolated entity, but as the result of wider ideological systems imbued with questions of power (Blommaert 2005).

Conflicting discourses, both at societal and local scales, can lead to ideological dilemmas, contributing to shifting and conflicting subject positions (Edley 2001). The language ideologies and ideas about the interconnections between language and inclusion held by teachers, and how they impinge upon the available teacher subject positions, are therefore of crucial importance for processes of inclusion and exclusion. The aim of the present article is, however, not to outline the individual teachers' constructed identities. On the contrary, the aim is to analyse the discourses that circulate through the teacher interviews, stemming from different scales and which contribute to teachers' positioning vis-à-vis their overarching political mandate of being inclusive teachers.

Methodology

The present article is part of a PhD project to investigate how language practices and digitally mediated interaction affect processes of inclusion and exclusion in parent-teacher interaction in multilingual contexts. The data primarily comes from semi-structured interviews with teachers, as this article zooms in on their contributions to processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Methods and participants

Seven teachers at four different schools participated in this project. Four were recruited through migrant parents already participating in the project, while three were recruited directly (see Table 1 for an overview of teachers and their backgrounds). Access to the teachers was granted through the principal. I met the teachers several times, for approximately one hour. Data was collected in 2020, 2021 and 2022. The interviews were held at the schools where the teachers worked or online (in accordance with Covid-19 regulations) within the teachers' working hours. Semi-structured interview guides supported the

Table 1. Participating teachers.

Pseudonyms	Gender	Data	Years teaching	Formal background
Anne	F	3 interviews, 34 school app messages (sent and received)	30 +	Pre-school teacher education Primary school teacher education, years 1-4 Special needs education. Multicultural education
Hege	F	3 interviews, 5 SMS messages, 1 school app message (sent and received)	20 +	Primary school teacher education Special needs education
Bente	F	4 interviews	20 +	Primary school teacher education
Lukas	M	2 interviews, 23 school app messages (sent and received)	5	Primary school teacher education, years 5-10 Master's degree
Liv	F	3 individual interviews, 1 paired interview with Ingrid	7	Primary school teacher education Master's degree
Ingrid	F	2 individual interviews, 1 paired interview with Liv	17	Primary school teacher education Special needs education Multicultural education
Focus group	2 M, 4 F	1 focus group interview	Not available	Not available

interviews, but with the flexibility to allow for unelicited accounts. The interviews covered a wide range of topics, including the teachers' formal background and language repertoires, their language practices with multilingual parents, how they understood the notion of inclusion, and how they saw their responsibilities for the inclusion of multilingual parents.

All of the teachers had experience with pupils and parents from linguistically diverse backgrounds. While the parents to whom the teachers referred in the interviews constituted a very heterogeneous group, as also acknowledged by the teachers, there were clear tendencies in the teacher interview material in terms of circulating discourses and emerging identity positions. The teachers belonged to the majority population and only one of them declared themselves to be bilingual (Norwegian and West-European language). One of the schools was located in a rural area, and the three others in two different urban areas.

As a [supplementary method](#) for exploring circulating language ideologies, ideas about the relation between language and inclusion, and the teachers' construction of their roles and responsibilities as socially shared knowledge (Marková et al. 2007, p. 49), one focus group interview was organised at the school of one of the participating teachers. Five teachers, in addition to the teacher already participating, took part in this interview. Complementing the semi-structured interview guide, excerpts from the Core Curriculum (Ministry of Education and Research 2017) and the Integration Strategy (Ministry of Education and Research 2018) were provided to prompt discussions. The interest of the focus group interview was not related to the individual teachers' contributions, but to the alignment or dis-alignment with the larger scale and local discourses and underlying ideologies as shared knowledge, and the discursive resources used by the teachers to manage this (Marková et al. 2007).

Informed consent forms were provided in line with the National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities, and the project is approved by the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research.

Analytical framework

The analytical framework draws on nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004) as a form of discourse analysis that focuses 'on the linkages between discourse and action and how these play out in complex social situations' (Scollon and de Saint-Georges 2012, p. 66). By taking social action at the micro-level as its focal point, nexus analysis maps the discourses that circulate through that moment of action (Scollon and Scollon 2004). In the PhD project, the social action is the parent-teacher interaction in multilingual contexts (Thyness and Lexander 2023). This social action is guided by three types of discourses: a) the historical body, i.e. the participants' professional and personal backgrounds, including their values and experiences; b) the interaction order, i.e. the relationships between the social actors, which also considers the more or less shared norms for the specific relations, such as the parent-teacher relation and how the teachers position themselves and the parents within the interaction order; and c) the discourses in place, e.g. discourses that circulate certain language ideologies and ideas about inclusion (cf. Hult 2017; Palviainen and Mård-Miettinen 2015).

Zooming in on teachers' roles and responsibilities for inclusive language practices in the present article, nexus analysis allows for an analysis of the discourses, ideologies, and physical and institutional arrangements that are foregrounded in the teachers' interviews (Scollon and Scollon 2004). In this way, nexus analysis facilitates analysing the complexities of teacher

identity by taking account of how teachers' identities are discursively constructed, but also of how the real social pressures are brought to bear on the teachers themselves (Varghese et al. 2005, p. 40).

The analysis of the individual and focus group interviews was conducted in a recursive process and the analysis started during the interviews. The transcripts were read iteratively and coded in two phases. In a first, data-driven coding phase, I drew on various first-cycle codes, such as 'in vivo' and 'affective' coding (Saldaña 2021). This first-cycle coding allowed for the teachers' emic perspectives to be foregrounded, bringing to the fore tensions, emotions and values in the teachers' accounts. The focus group interview was in addition analysed for participative or non-participative listeners in terms of the presence or absence of supportive comments, for showing agreement or disagreement, for consecutive adding of similar information, for overlapping speech and for single speaker turns, as this enabled me to 'capture the dynamics involved in the construction of the socially shared knowledge' (Marková et al. 2007, p. 104). As this [supplementary method](#) proved to substantiate, and not to contribute to radically different insights from the individual interview findings, the focus group interview is not singled out as a distinct unit in the findings-section for the purposes of the present article. It is worth noting, however, that the construction of the 'ideal migrant' and language-as-problem orientations circulated more explicitly through this focus group interview on this particular occasion, as compared to the individual interviews. This finding may indicate that such deficit views are part of the socially shared knowledge among teachers.

In a second-cycle coding, I searched for patterns both within and across the interviews, as 'shared ways of knowing, interpreting, acting in the world [...] implicit shared orientation that organize people's perceptions and actions' (Daiute 2014, p. 142). This second phase was also theory- and literature-driven, to identify larger scale ideologies and discourses on language and inclusion that circulated through the teacher interviews and contributed to shaping their positions, such as monolingual deficit discourses on the one hand, and language-as-resource oriented discourses on the other (Ruiz 1984).

Three local discourses emerged as salient during the analysis: the discourses of ideals, the discourses of language-as-problem, and the discourses of constraints. In turn, these discourses made available certain subject positions, such as 'the inclusive, caring teacher' and 'the overworked teacher'.

Ethical considerations

As referred to above, teachers are both vulnerable and in a privileged position (cf. Appleby 2016; Kelchtermans 2009). In the interviews, the teachers quite open-heartedly shared reflections and anecdotes that both reproduced and problematised monolingual hegemonic ideologies. This may be a result of my background as a teacher, to which I openly referred during both the recruitment process and the interviews. In this way, the teachers may have regarded the interview as talking to a colleague. While one of the aims of this article is to shed light on the teachers' voices, critical perspectives will also be applied. The critical enquiry is, however, not directed at the individual participating teacher, but rather at the discourses circulating through the interviews as an important contribution to our understanding of teachers' involvement in processes of inclusion and exclusion (cf. Appleby 2016).

It is also important to emphasise that the analysis of the data is the result of my interpretations of the interviews, a process which includes the wider societal and theoretical context of the analytical work (Appleby 2016; Hult 2015, p. 220). As a form of member checking, the article was shared with all the participating teachers, to allow for comments. No requests for substantial revisions were made by the teachers.

Findings

In this section, I present the larger-scale discourses circulating through the interviews and the local discourses that reproduce, resist or problematise them. The ways that they guided which subject positions became available to the teachers in the interviews reflect the dynamic and contextual nature of subject positions.

The discourses of ideals

A prominent set of discourses across the interviews are the discourses of ideals, the title being borrowed from Bente's 'ideal world' below. These discourses consist of the teachers' reported understanding of the notion of inclusion and their desire to act as inclusive teachers. An important discourse circulating clearly through both individual interviews and the focus group interview is the teachers' care for and empathy with the parents. The discourses of ideals align with public and political diversity discourses, with an asset orientation towards multilingualism and inclusion.

In the teachers' understanding, inclusion is about being an insider, and being a part of a community, such as Anne's explanation (emphasis added by Anne):

to feel included, one must be included, right? [...] One cannot feel at home if one is not welcomed

Skal man føle seg inkludert, så skal man bli inkludert, ikke sant? [...] Man kan ikke føle seg, at man hører hjemme et sted hvis man ikke blir tatt imot

Inclusion is also referred to as part of the teachers' core, inner values both as teachers and citizens, as Bente stated:

I have that from my heart. It is good manners and in an ideal world everybody should feel included, seen and heard

Det har jeg fra hjertet mitt. Det er vanlig folkeskikk og i en idealverden burde alle føle seg inkludert og sett og hørt

While Anne implicitly took the position as an inclusive teacher through talking about inclusion in more general terms, Bente, in contrast, explicitly and intentionally presented herself as a teacher with inclusive intentions (cf. Harré and Van Langenhove 1991, p. 400). Acknowledgement of the importance of identity confirmation can also be found, as Liv stated that

language is an important part of our identity

språk er viktig del av identitet

In these excerpts, by referring to sentiments, identity and the ‘heart’, Anne, Bente and Liv foregrounded the emotional aspects of inclusion and the importance of recognition (cf. Cummins 2009). Through the circulation of these values, including all the teachers’ general care for the parents, the teachers can position themselves as inclusive by assigning responsibility to the majority population that, due to language and network, is the more powerful. This aspect is explicitly substantiated by Liv:

the main responsibility lies with the ones who already have the network, who already have the confidence

hovedansvaret ligger hos de som allerede har det nettverket. De som allerede har tryggheten

Turning our gaze to the teachers’ reported practices and strategies for inclusion in written digitally mediated interaction, Hege and Anne stated that they endeavour to use a somewhat simplified language, exemplified by Anne as:

a language that everyone can understand

et språk alle kan forstå,

while not simplistic, she continued, as this would be to

underestimate people

undervurdere mennesker

Additionally, Anne’s repertoire included the specific strategy of avoiding abbreviations, which may be particularly difficult for users of Norwegian as an additional language. Some of the teachers pointed to the use of multimodal affordances, such as emojis, as important to create a positive atmosphere and in that way signal a willingness to cooperate. While this may be equally important for parents with Norwegian as their first language, emojis emerged as important for downplaying differences in access to prestigious linguistic resources, when the language practices of the parent have traces of Norwegian being an additional language. In interviews about this interactional data, teachers clearly contested a normative correctness ideology, foregrounding successful interaction as the goal (ThyNESS and Lexander 2023). Furthermore, the teachers resort to English when needed, despite their reported feelings of insecurity, as English is not their first language.

Through the discourses of ideals and the strategies for inclusive language practices, stemming from both wider societal and political discourses and local, heartfelt values, the subject position of the inclusive, caring teacher became available. This is in line with ‘the caring and kind teacher’ that Søreide found in her discourse and narrative analytical approach to teacher identity (Søreide 2006), and the importance of personal values for the construction of professional identity (cf. Foley et al. 2022, p. 119). In this way, the teachers expressed what I interpret as a genuine desire and intention to take on the role as an inclusive teacher, comprising consideration for the parents’ language skills and preferences. However, in contrast to Anne, Hege and Lukas, the other teachers interviewed did not report on specific linguistic or semiotic strategies for digital interaction. In the following section, I will show that the discourses of ideals do not necessarily reflect or impinge upon current practices, which is consistent with other studies (Chik and Melo-Pfeifer 2023; Mausethagen et al. 2022).

The discourses of language-as-problem

Circulating more or less explicitly through the interviews is a social construction of the ideal ‘included migrant’, who is actively interested in Norwegian language learning. While this construction emerged more clearly in some of the interviews than others, an underlying expectation of a rapid transition to Norwegian cut across the interviews (cf. Thyness and Lexander 2023), where time of residence equals language learning, as expressed in the focus group:

the Norwegian skills were not abundant, despite the fact that they had lived here for a long time

her var det ikke veldig mye norskkunnskaper, sjøl om de hadde bodd her veldig lenge.

The ideals of language learning were justified by linking language to the country (Mary and Young 2020), exemplified by this reflection from Hege:

I have sort of thought that when we are in Norway, we speak Norwegian

så har jeg liksom tenkt at nå er vi i Norge, så da prater vi norsk

While Hege also emphasised that this was only the case when the parents understood, this discourse, found across the dataset, makes it possible to retain Norwegian as the primary and largely unquestioned language of interaction both online and offline.

The parent-teacher interaction is thus primarily based on monolingual Norwegian language practices. During parents’ meetings, for instance, the focus group reported that some parents ask for written versions of the shared information, as the teachers tend to talk too fast and use a somewhat specialised vocabulary. This distribution of written material is regarded by the teachers as an important support to the parents. However, from a critical perspective, the shared, naturalised, monolingual ideology contributes to ignoring the power asymmetries and to passing on the communicative burden (Lippi-Green 1997) to the migrants, who are left to use Google translate or to ask other helpers for a translation.

Ingrid provided an explicit reflection on exclusionary language practices. On contrasting her non-digitally and digitally mediated interaction with parents who had Norwegian as an additional language, she drew attention to what seems to be a recurring challenge for the teachers. While parent-teacher interaction increasingly takes place in digital channels, the teachers reported more frequent, albeit inconsistent, use of interpreters in face-to-face meetings, as Ingrid stated:

I have for instance organised for an interpreter when we are to meet for a parent-teacher conference. But I haven’t thought about the fact that it is also relevant when they receive messages. Right, I do send a message in Norwegian. So, I’m lousy at including the parents

Jeg har for eksempel bestilt tolk til de når vi nå skal ha utviklingssamtale. Men jeg har ikke tenkt på at det gjelder jo og nå de får meldinger. Sant, jeg sender jo en melding på norsk. Så jeg er ræva på å inkludere foreldrene

In this way, the voices of the parents are to a great extent silenced in the teachers’ discourses and reported practices. The teachers thus bring an internalised monolingual practice into the relationship, whereby the monolingual ideologies are resemiotised in the teachers’ historical bodies and ‘submerged into practice’ (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 105). In

this respect, my findings echo research which finds that parent-school cooperation is geared towards the schools' needs, is conducted on the schools' terms, and does not take the perspectives, needs and wishes of the parents into account (e.g. Pillier et al. 2023; Schneider and Arnot 2018). Through this practice, the teachers unintentionally position the parents as marginalised and isolated (cf. Yoon 2008, p. 517).

However, there are discourses in the interview material that were not blind to monolingual and language-as-problem orientations, and that rather emphasised constraints in the teachers' everyday work, to which I turn in the following section.

The discourses of constraints

Recurrent discourses circulating through the interviews concern various constraints experienced by the teachers as a central aspect of their working conditions. These constraints relate primarily to high work pressure, minimal or no institutional support, and institutional silence with regard to interaction with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language. The discourses of constraints mostly make subject positions available that stymie the teachers' opportunities for inclusive language practices.

As an example of poor structures, the teachers reported that interaction with parents with Norwegian as an additional language is not a prioritised topic at either of the schools, and that informal conversations with colleagues about strategies for enhanced interaction with multilingual parents are also reported to be rare or not occurring at all. Furthermore, the teachers consistently described a lack of information about the parents' migratory trajectories, their familiarity with the Norwegian school system, and their language skills, including Norwegian skills (cf. Schneider and Arnot 2018). Currently, there are no routines in place in these schools to ensure that this information is collected. In practice, the teachers are left to discover these things almost accidentally through their interaction with the parents, as reported in the focus group

we do find out as we go along

finner jo ut av det etter hvert

Arguably, the teachers are in a position to obtain the relevant information, as substantiated by some of the teachers, but this nevertheless adds to what they already experience as heavy workloads. Furthermore, the teachers agree on the need for school-level routines for this collection of information. In this way, a subject position as 'constrained' is shaped.

One of the practical issues emerging in this respect is the assessment of the need for an interpreter², which can turn into a veritable dilemma for the teachers. When key information about the parents' language skills and preferences is lacking, several of the teachers expressed hesitation in asking parents about their Norwegian language skills due to fear of appearing offensive and thereby getting off on the wrong foot in their cooperation. A case in point is Bente's reflections on her doubts about the Norwegian skills of one mother:

what if she understands everything I say and I am sort of wrong, in that case I think it is offensive to offer it

tenk hvis hun forstår alt jeg sier og jeg tar feil, liksom og da tenker jeg at det er fornærmende å tilby det

This reflection by Bente highlights an important ideological dilemma whereby Bente, on the one hand, wanted to invite an interpreter because she believed that this would help both her and the mother, and on the other hand was aware of the risk of positioning herself as patronising by proposing this (cf. Harré and Van Langenhove 1991, p. 399).

In Bente's case, due to a series of misunderstandings between her and the mother, Bente informed the mother that she was entitled to an interpreter and that Bente would therefore like to invite an interpreter for the subsequent parent-teacher conference. Her previous risk assessment proved true in this case, as the mother did not agree to this measure. This example of specific constraints in the teachers' working conditions contributes to an emic perception of powerlessness, whereby the teacher feels inadequate and vulnerable, echoed by most of the teachers (cf. Kelchtermans 2009).

In addition, the teachers reported limited time and capacity to deal with the multitude of demands put upon them and a prominent subject position in the interview material is 'the overworked teacher'. The fact that teachers felt overwhelmed by competing priorities and, paradoxically, cooperation and interaction with individual parents, holding expectations that exceed the teachers' capacity, was thus reported to be among the tasks that contribute to "crowding" the teachers' working days (cf. Dahl et al. 2016). Ingrid stated that the attention to the interaction with parents who had Norwegian as an additional language

often comes to nothing [...] due to lack of time

koker fort bort [...] fordi du ikke har tid

Competing concerns, such as severe behavioural challenges in one of the classes, occupied most of the capacity of one of the teachers, driving away the opportunities to attend to inclusive interaction with the parents. The discourses of constraints thereby foreground the teachers' vulnerability when they face extensive work pressures and institutional and structural constraints.

Discussion and conclusion

In this article, I set out to explore how Norwegian teachers construct their roles and responsibilities for the inclusion of parents with Norwegian as an additional language. The analysis shows that the three conflicting discourses that emerged as salient create tensions and competing teacher self-positioning, as well as unintentional other-positioning of the parents.

The discourses of ideals opened up for a discursive language-as-resource orientation towards multilingualism and the position as the 'caring and inclusive teacher'. These discourses were explicitly oriented towards inner values and an ideal world. Here, explicit self-positioning was more common than within the two other discourses. Personal values of inclusion that align well with political diversity-oriented discourses are certainly important, as they can be analysed as something that is 'thinkable about language in society' (Ruiz 1984, p. 16). A society that truly values diversity through collaborative parent-teacher relationships in this way seems to be within reach (cf. Blair and Haneda 2021; Otsuji and Pennycook 2011). However, except for the reported use of English and the somewhat unsystematic use of interpreters in face-to-face meetings, these discourses were predominantly general in nature, i.e. they did not explicitly refer to real migrants or actual teacher practices, as has also been found for Spanish-English bilingual education support (Bernstein et al. 2023), and as such were not representative of all of the parent-teacher relationships referred to in the interviews.

Discourses oriented towards language-as-problem and monolingual ideologies that are embodied as practice (Kroskrity 2004) rather emerged as major obstacles to inclusive language practices. When the construct of the ‘ideal, included migrant’ circulated through an interview, this contributed to an ‘us-them’ division that is in conflict with the discourses of ideals. This social categorisation contributed to an implicit, indirect positioning of ‘the deficit other’, i.e. the migrants who do not comply with the language requirements of the ‘included migrant’ (cf. Røyneland 2018). Through these discourses and reported practices, the teachers, albeit unintentionally, offered a limited range of subject positions to migrant parents, often reduced to positions available within the understanding of inclusion as assimilation. Tacitly, then, through these discourses the teachers constructed an unintentional self-position of holding the moral high ground (Harré et al. 2003, p. 6), allowing for according the communicative burden to the migrant, who should learn Norwegian to be included (cf. Lippi-Green 1997; Ringrose et al. 2023).

Adding to these complexities, the discourses of constraints made the subject positions of the ‘overworked teacher’ and the ‘constrained teacher’ available. The constraints in terms of lack of institutional support and systems, and competing priorities during the teachers’ workdays, emerged as the most important impediments to inclusive practices at the local level. In the tensions between the discourses of ideals and the discourses of constraints during very busy days, the teachers seemed to fall back on the monolingual habitus and monolingual discourses circulating through the moment at which the hasty decision to use Norwegian as the language of interaction is made. In this way, the potentials of the discourses of ideals are stymied by monolingual ideologies, due to the lack of awareness and material, and institutional and relational support. These constraints seem to be more prominent in the digitally mediated interaction than in face-to-face meetings, which deserves our attention as we know that parent-school interaction increasingly takes place in digital channels.

The analysis of the various subject positions made available to the teachers through the different circulating discourses shows that there are important tensions between the identities the teachers would want to claim, the identities that are assigned to them, and the identities that are available due to the institutional and ideological constraints (cf. Varghese et al. 2005). While the ‘caring and inclusive’ teacher subject position could open up the path for equitable identity negotiations with parents (Cummins 2009), the other positions did not. Approaching teacher identities through the concept of subject positions has in this way demonstrated that they can be considered along a shifting continuum, according to the discourses circulating through the interviews (cf. Appleby 2016; Varghese et al. 2015), and contribute to our understanding of the complexities related to teachers’ inclusive language practices with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language.

Two critical implications can be drawn from this study. The first is to continue to find ways to raise teachers’ critical awareness of the prevailing larger scale and local monolingual ideologies that perpetuate asymmetrical power relations and processes of exclusion. The other concerns the need to fully acknowledge the very complex nature of teachers’ everyday practices. This insight needs to be taken into account when contending that the efforts of individual teachers are important (cf. Mary and Young 2021), as there are also important limits and risks in terms of the achievability and sustainability of individual teachers’ inclusive subject positions and practices, if not backed by whole-school attention and institutional support (cf. Blair and Haneda 2021).

Notes

1. In Norwegian policy documents, the terms ‘integration’ is used more frequently than ‘inclusion’. In this article I use ‘inclusion’ to avoid an unbalanced distribution of responsibility for processes of inclusion and exclusion towards the immigrant.
2. The recently adopted Interpreting Act (Norwegian Interpreting Act 2022), makes interpreting mandatory and the responsibility of the school. Although interpreters were available and recommended prior to the Interpreting act, there were no clear interpreting routines at the participating schools.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Ethical approval

The research project has been approved by previous Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS (NSD: <https://www.nsd.no>), now part of the Norwegian Agency for Shared services in Education and Research (<https://sikt.no/en/home>). Approval number: 970829.

Informed consent forms were provided in line with The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities.

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Exploring mediagrams as a visual tool to encourage teacher critical multilingual awareness through parent-school interaction in Norway

Abstract

Teachers hold a key position for processes of inclusion and exclusion in parent-teacher relationships. Through teachers' critical analysis of their own contributions in these processes, inclusion can be enhanced. This article explores how a visual representation of linguistic and media repertoires, a mediagram, can foster such teacher critical awareness. More specifically, it investigates the research question: How can the mediagram contribute to teachers' critical awareness related to existing language ideologies in parent-teacher interaction in multilingual settings? To answer this question, an innovative use of the mediagram, where pupils and parents created a shared mediagram, is presented and discussed. Qualitative in-depth interviews with three teachers and four parents who took part in the activity are analysed. Interview data from the teachers is studied in terms of different dimensions of language awareness before and after implementation of the mediagram activity, while interviews with parents are investigated to bring in their perspectives too. The study shows that the mediagram has promising potential to enhance teacher critical multilingual awareness in an extended understanding of the concept which also includes digital resources in interaction. However, it points to important discrepancies in the parents' and teachers' evaluations of the tool.

Key words: inclusion, teacher critical multilingual awareness, parent-teacher interaction, visual representations, mediagram

Introduction

Research has consistently shown that pupils' academic and social development in multilingual contexts benefit from parent-school relationships that are oriented towards empowerment and identity confirmation of both pupils and parents (e.g., Cummins, 2009; García, 2017). However, based on the majority population's and teachers' persistent monolingual practices, language frequently surfaces as a barrier to equitable relationships with multilingual, minoritised parents (e.g., Adebayo & Heinz, 2023; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Mary et al., 2021). Importantly, teachers are regularly unaware of the languages spoken by the parents (Guo, 2012; Schneider & Arnot, 2018).

In contemporary society characterised by mobility and mediatisation, parent-teacher interaction increasingly takes place in multilingual contexts and is digitally mediated. While digital communication holds the potential to improve parent-teacher relationships due to factors such as convenience, immediacy, information accumulation and teacher and parent availability (e.g., Bønnhoff, 2020; Thompson et al., 2015), particular challenges arise in multilingual settings. On the one hand, language barriers may be exacerbated in digitally mediated relationships (e.g., Bønnhoff, 2020) and on the other, parents with migrant and minoritized background are frequently positioned as 'digitally limited' (Pavlakis et al., 2023, p. 1016). Without a critical stance to their own practices and language ideologies, teachers run the risk of reproducing essentialist discourses of multilingual parents that perpetuate inequitable relations of power (Cummins, 2009; Kroskrity, 2004). Hence, it is important to engage them in a critical analysis of their position in and their contributions to processes of inclusion and exclusion (Cummins, 2009; García, 2017). Therefore, the notion of critical multilingual awareness has been advanced as a key component in teachers' enactment of social justice and inclusion in classrooms and communities (García, 2017).

The aim of this exploratory small-scale study is to address the above-mentioned challenges by investigating how a visualisation of parent's language and media repertoires, the mediagram (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021), can contribute to more equitable parent-teacher relationships. The mediagram is based on an understanding of digital interaction as an integral part of transnational and local relationships and offers an overview of a person's use of linguistic and media resources with different groups of interlocutors. This article presents an innovative use of the mediagram, by bringing this data collection and analysis

tool into the classroom and the parent-teacher relationship. For these purposes, the teachers introduced the tool to the pupils, who created their own versions in the classroom, under the teachers' supervision. Subsequently, the pupils brought it home to include the visualization of one of their parent's digitally mediated interaction, before returning this double mediagram to the teacher. Analysing primarily teachers' and secondly parents' reflections on this activity, this paper investigates how the mediagram can contribute to teachers' critical awareness related to existing language ideologies. For this, I focus on two sub-questions: How can the mediagram 1) serve as a mapping tool for teachers of parents' linguistic and media repertoires? and 2) encourage the teachers to critically engage with monolingual practices and stereotypical views of migrants? The parents' perspectives are included as it is important to look beyond the intention of the initiative itself and towards the relationships that it sets out to improve (cf. Ippolito, 2018, p. 69).

The article starts with a review of the relevant literature, followed by a brief overview of the Norwegian context for the study. I then discuss the notion of critical multilingual awareness and the use of visual tools to encourage this. In the methodology section, I present the mediagram, the participants, the data collection methods, the analytical framework, and ethical considerations. The teachers' and parents' perspectives on the mediagram are analysed respectively and the analysis shows that the mediagram contributed to enhancing teachers' critical multilingual awareness, still, with important discrepancies in the parents' and teachers' evaluations of the use of the tool.

Literature review

Scholarship on parent-teacher relationships in multilingual settings has identified success criteria for, as well as impediments to, inclusive and equitable relationships. The keys to success include identity-confirmation of the parents through the schools' validation of their perspectives and knowledge and through capitalising on their linguistic backgrounds (e.g., Blair & Haneda, 2021; Cummins, 2009). However, studies have repeatedly found that schools and teachers hold deficit views of parents with migrant or minority backgrounds (e.g., Adebayo & Heinz, 2023; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Guo, 2012). Moreover, there is a clear tendency that schools and teachers base their cooperation with the homes on their own needs and do not sufficiently take the parents' needs and perspectives into account (e.g., Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Crozier & Davies, 2007).

Importantly, inconsistent practices or absence of translation and interpretation make language an important barrier to interaction (e.g., Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Crozier & Davies, 2007; Schneider & Arnot, 2018). Often, such exclusionary practices stem from teachers' lack of insight into the languages spoken by the parents (Guo, 2012; Schneider & Arnot, 2018) and from the teachers' persistent monolingual ideologies (e.g., Adebayo & Heinz, 2023; Mary et al., 2021; Righard et al., 2023). Exclusionary language practices with parents are thus regularly mentioned in this scholarship, but rarely scrutinised in detail. We also know relatively little about digitally mediated interactions in these relationships.

The scholarship on digital communication in linguistically homogeneous contexts shows important opportunities for enhanced parent-teacher relationships through increased availability and flexibility in terms of information sharing (Palts & Kalmus, 2015; Thompson et al., 2015). The opportunities for parents to be involved in and informed about their children's lives are also reported on, both in linguistically homogeneous and heterogeneous contexts (e.g., Akselvoll, 2016; Bønnhoff, 2020). Interestingly, despite the opportunities for two-way communication inherent in digital communication, there is a tendency that digital channels are primarily used to distribute information (Lewin & Luckin, 2010; Pavlakis et al., 2023; Selwyn et al., 2011; Vigo-Arazola & Dieste-Gracia, 2019). Additionally, it has been found that schools do not take the families' preferences and needs sufficiently into account when choosing communication channels (Bønnhoff, 2020; Head, 2020). Moreover, parents' and teachers' channel preferences may diverge, which may in turn affect the quality of the digital communication (Heath et al., 2015, p. 387; Palts & Kalmus, 2015). Palts and Kalmus further found that teachers have presuppositions regarding parents' channel preferences and called for agreement between parents and teachers on communication conventions (Palts & Kalmus, 2015, p. 76).

Turning to the few existing studies at the intersection of language and digital communication, there seems to be missed opportunities for school websites to serve as an inexpensive and efficient way of making migrant parents feel valued and welcome (Gu, 2017; Piller et al., 2021). Piller et al. (2021) investigated the enrolment information on the websites of 30 linguistically diverse schools in Australia. They found that the web-pages were exclusively in English. The available translation options too were also indicated in English (Piller et al., 2021). Pavlakis et al. (2023) found similar practices in a study on relationships

between Latinx homes and schools in the USA. Here, only the monthly newsletters to parents were translated, while all other digital information from the school was in English. One of the rare Norwegian studies on digital cooperation between migrant parents and the school system reported on how 16 migrant mothers from less digitalised backgrounds carried out and experienced digitalised home-school cooperation (Bønnhoff, 2020). While Bønnhoff's study confirmed the opportunities mentioned above in terms of accessibility and insights into the children's lives, both language and digital skills constituted important barriers to successful cooperation. The reported language of communication with the school was Norwegian, even for the mothers who had recently arrived in Norway, and the teachers' presupposition of the parents having a sufficient level of ICT competence led to challenges in digitally mediated parent-teacher cooperation for the mothers with lower digital skills.

As demonstrated by this literature review, there is a need to continue to find ways to challenge schools' and teachers' monolingual ideologies, and importantly to enhance awareness of digital resources in parent-teacher interaction.

The Norwegian context

In primary education in Norway, 19 % of the children come from families with immigrant background (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2022). Responding to this increasing linguistic diversity in the population, Norwegian educational policies promote a language-as-resource orientation (Ruiz, 1984) to both individual and societal multilingualism (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Importantly, digital interaction has been proposed as a way to enhance the quality in the home-school cooperation as well as to break down language barriers between the home and the school (White Paper 22 (2010-2011), pp. 109-110). Additionally, recognising that language can be an important impediment to cooperation, the active use of interpreters and the translation of important information are emphasised as key strategies (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020, p. 3).

There are nevertheless competing political and societal discourses on the connections between language and inclusion in Norway (Brekke & Fladmoe, 2022). In the educational policy, there is for instance an instrumental approach to mother tongue instruction, whereby it primarily plays a role for Norwegian language learning (Bubikova-Moan, 2017; The Education Act, 1998). Research on parent-teacher relationships in Norway confirms

prevailing monolingual practices in both digitally and non-digitally mediated interaction, despite the resource perspective foregrounded in the official policy (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Bønnhoff, 2020).

Conceptual framework: Enhancing critical multilingual awareness through visual methods

In this study, I join recent efforts to address the power dimension of language awareness in multilingual societies by approaching critical multilingual awareness from a language ideologies perspective (Cots & Garrett, 2017; García, 2017; Prasad & Lory, 2020; Van Gorp et al., 2023). In this line of research, the main aim is to understand the power structures and the inclusive or exclusionary effects embedded in language practices. I thus align with the critical perspectives that extended the agenda of language awareness approaches that emerged in the UK in the 1980s (Bolitho & Tomlinson, 1980; Hawkins, 1984), by emphasizing aspects of ideology, power, and privilege (Clark et al., 1990; James & Garrett, 1992).

I draw specifically on two recent adaptations of the critical multilingual awareness approach initially proposed by García (García, 2017). Key features of García's approach include attention to the need for teachers to develop linguistic tolerance and asset-based approaches to multilingual pupils and families; the need to develop teachers' awareness of historically and socially contingent power relations; and finally, the approach emphasises that teachers need a critical understanding of how language use in society has been naturalised and to acknowledge that named languages are social constructions.

In the first adaptation, Prasad and Lory (2020) proposed a critical multilingual awareness framework where they combined García's critical multilingual awareness approach with James and Garrett's five domains of language awareness – i.e., the affective, social, performance, power, and cognitive domains. They placed the power domain as the pivot for discussions of multilingualism and language diversity. Extending this reconceptualization, Van Gorp et al. (2023) argued that a deeper understanding of the power domain can be achieved by building on the other four dimensions of language awareness and particularly the social and affective domains.

Focusing on the role of language and media practices for processes of inclusion and exclusion in this paper, it is these three domains (power, social, affective) that are of relevance for the analysis. First, I follow Prasad and Lory's (2020) definitions of the social and

affective domains respectively: The social domain concerns the ‘linguistic and cultural identity/ies, understanding linguistic diversity and intercultural aspects of language learning and relationships with language users’ (Prasad & Lory, 2020, p. 809). The affective domain concerns the ‘socio-emotional feelings associated with languages, language learning and language users’ (Prasad & Lory, 2020, p. 809).

Second, the power domain is approached through the lenses of language ideologies. Language ideologies have been conceptualised as complexes of ideas, beliefs and practices that connect language varieties to social identities (Kroskrity, 2000; Silverstein, 1979). Through the unequal distribution of power between groups in society, hierarchies of languages are produced, in which some language varieties are accorded higher value than others (Blommaert, 2005). A central concern in this respect, is to orient the gaze towards processes of misrecognition, through which the language ideology of the dominant population is naturalised and embodied in beliefs and practices (Bourdieu, 1991; Kroskrity, 2004). In this embodied form, language users have low awareness of the circulating language ideologies – which is precisely the main concern in critical approaches to language awareness.

A key feature of the critical multilingual awareness framework is that it includes recent reconceptualisations of the linguistic repertoire (Gumperz, 1964). I will point to three key developments in the literature. First, responding to the increased diversity in society due to migration, the notion of the linguistic repertoire has been oriented towards how individuals draw on all the linguistic resources that have become available to them through their biographical trajectories (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012). This view of language as an evolving set of resources challenges the conceptualisation of languages as bounded entities (García, 2017). Second, the understanding of the linguistic repertoire has been extended to include resources such as body language, accessories and multimodal aspects, e.g. pictures and sound, covered by the notion of “semiotic repertoires” (Kusters et al., 2017). And third, as a consequence of the proliferation of digital communication technologies, the linguistic and semiotic repertoires have been expanded to include the semiotic affordances of different digital platforms and channels and also to consider the media itself as part of the repertoires. To theorise this complexity of linguistic, multimodal and digital resources, Alexander and Androutsopoulos coined the notion of mediational

repertoires, defined as ‘a socially and individually structured configuration of semiotic and technological resources’ (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021, p. 2). In order to study the mediational repertoire, Lexander’s and Androutsopoulos’ (2021) focus was to develop a tool to visualise individuals’ mediational repertoire as a methodology for collaborative research on digitally mediated interaction in multilingual and transnational families. In a research context, the mediagram is used for presenting and eliciting information during data collection and serves as a point of reference during the interview. During data analysis, the mediagram allows for a comparison of mediational repertoires across participants. In contexts where digital language practices have become part and parcel of the linguistic and cultural identities, such as Norway, I therefore argue for the inclusion of digital resources as part of the object of study in critical multilingual awareness research (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2021).

Visual representations are useful for encouraging metalinguistic reflexivity because they can offer alternative ways for the expression of and access to information (e.g., Busch, 2012; Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019). In the field of education, visual representations of multilingualism have been used to raise awareness about individual’s multilingual repertoires, and multilingual speakers’ identities and lived experiences of language in language teaching and learning (e.g., Busch, 2010; Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2020; Prasad, 2020; Storto et al., 2023, pp. . See also Chik & Melo-Pfeifer, 2020, for meta-review). Not the least, bringing critical multilingual awareness and multimodal, visual methods together in teacher education, research has demonstrated that pre- and in-service teachers’ multimodal composition can offer powerful, alternative pathways to foster teachers’ critical multilingual awareness (Deroo & Ponzio, 2023; Fu et al., 2023). More specifically, Deroo and Ponzio emphasised the potential efficacy of using multimodal approaches for enhancing critical multilingual awareness because ‘multimodal compositions supported meaning-making beyond words’ (Deroo & Ponzio, 2023, p. 14). Further, they argued that the use of visualisation is an innovative way to challenge existing understandings of language, identity and power (Deroo & Ponzio, 2023, p. 14). Fu et al. (2023) reported from a reflexive study of the effects on two educators of colour participating in a multimodal youth participatory action research. They demonstrated how multimodal forms of expression among the youth opened pathways for critical multilingual awareness for the educators. Furthermore, they

called for further research on the use of multimodality for fostering critical multilingual awareness (Fu et al., 2023, p. 372).

The conceptual framework for this article thus builds on the insights discussed in this section to combine the critical multilingual framework with an innovative visualisation of mediational repertoires. Through these lenses, I explore teacher critical multilingual awareness in parent-teacher relationships in primary school by using the mediagram as a visual representation of parents' mediational repertoires (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021). This opportunity has also been suggested by Little & Cheng (2023).

Methodology

This article draws on data from a larger project investigating language and digital practices in processes of inclusion and exclusion in the interaction between Norwegian teachers and parents with Norwegian as an additional language. In the first phases of this project, the mediagram was used for data collection and analysis of digitally mediated parent-teacher interaction. The analytical framework is based on nexus analysis, as a form of 'discourse analysis to engage in social action' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 7). The main concern in nexus analysis is to map discourses that flow through the nexus of practice, which in the present project is the language and media practices in parent-teacher interaction. The nexus of practice represents the intersection of the personal and professional backgrounds of the participants that they bring into the relationship, the existing and continuously evolving power relationship between them, and the discourses that circulate through moments of social action. The ultimate aim for nexus analysis is to change the nexus (Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

During the previous phases of the project, three major findings surfaced, which confirm existing knowledge: 1. The teachers' reports about minimal access to background information about the parents' mediational repertoires; 2. The low critical language awareness among the teachers in terms of their powerful position as representatives of both the majority population and the school; and 3. The reported monolingual language practices with parents having Norwegian as an additional language. Inspired by the 'changing the nexus'-activity in nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), echoing the call for critical language awareness to turn into action (Janks & Ivanič, 1992, p. 305), I set up the mediagram as a tool to address the above-mentioned issues, from both teachers' and parents'

perspectives. To analyse how teachers' and parents' discourses and practices are informed and shaped by, or in opposition to, language ideologies and ideas about inclusion circulating from the political and societal levels, as well as the local school level, I draw on nexus analysis to unpack the discourses that circulate through the interviews (Hult, 2016; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

The mediagram: a visualisation of mediational repertoires

As mentioned above, the mediagram is a visual representation of a person's mediational repertoires (Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2021). As an example, in Figure 1, we see the mediagram of one of the participating mothers in the larger project (not interviewed for the purposes of the present article), following the model of Lexander and Androutsopoulos (2021). The mother is at the centre of the star pattern, surrounded by selected groups of interlocutors whereas the app icons indicate the media channels used with each group of interlocutors. The line style indicates modality, where continuous lines indicate written modality, dotted lines (none in this mediagram) indicate spoken modality, and mixed lines, which are the most frequent in the present mediagram, indicate both written and spoken. Finally, the colours of the lines indicate different languages (as specified in Figure 2). One advantage of the mediagram as used in this project is that it represents a person's transnational and local relationships and linguistic and media repertoires by groups of interlocutors. In this way, mediational repertoires can be compared, and potentially prompt teacher critical reflection related to the teacher's and the school's language practices and media choices as compared with other groups of interlocutors.

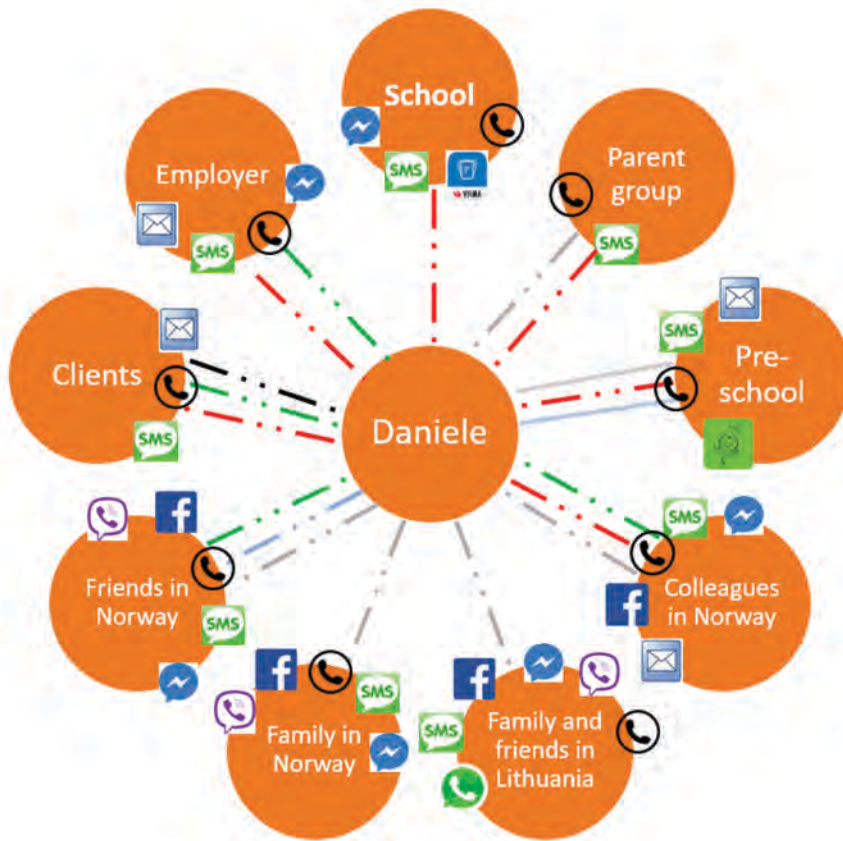


Figure 1: Mediagram, original layout

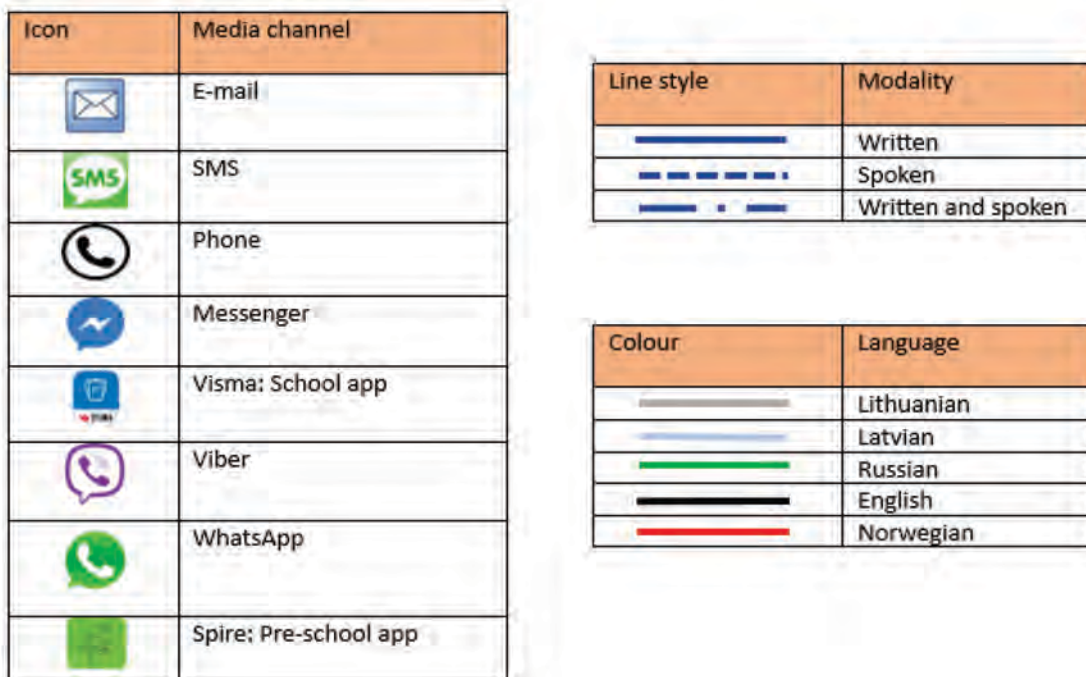


Figure 2: Legend mediagram, based on Lexander & Androutsopoulos, 2023, p. 81

For the purposes of the activity discussed in the present article, double mediagrams were created as a tool to stimulate reflection, featuring both the pupil’s and one of the parents’ mediational repertoires (see Figure 3). The teacher here appears as a shared interlocutor between the pupil and the parent.

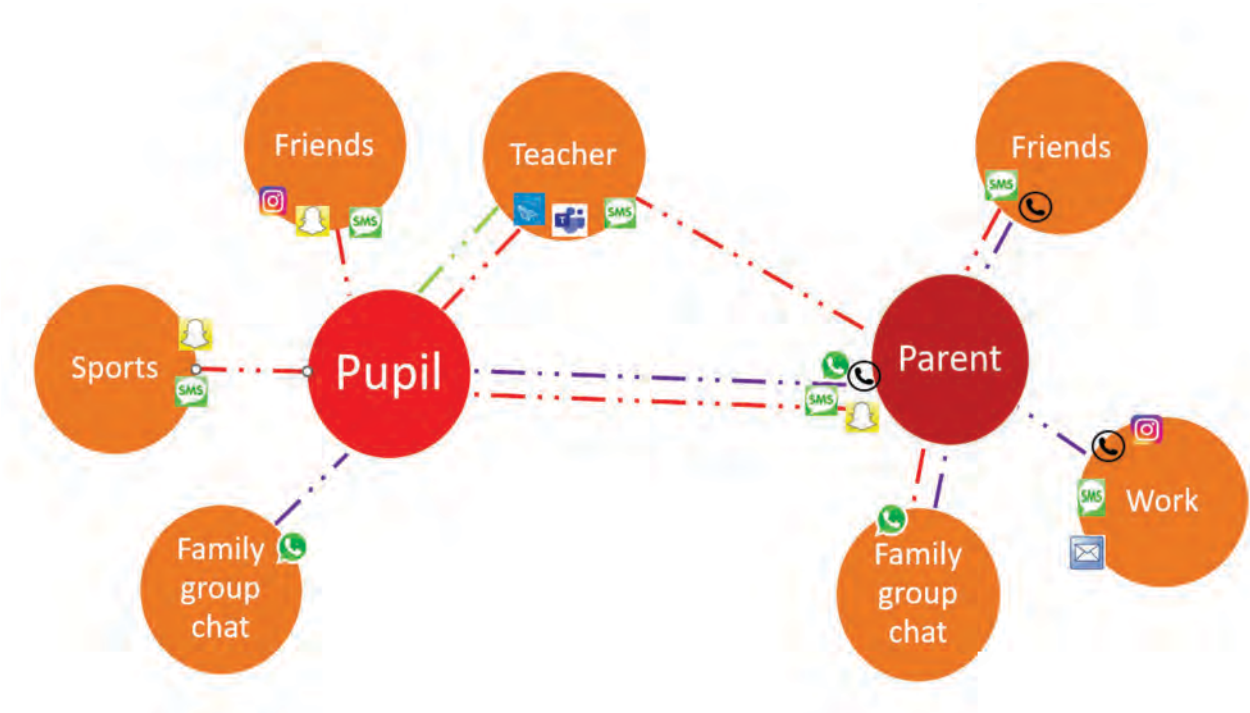


Figure 3: Double mediagram of participating parent and pupil

Colour	Language
— — — — —	Home language
— — — — —	Norwegian
— — — — —	French

Figure 4: Colours representing languages

The study was designed to explore if – and in which ways – the use of the mediagram could encourage teachers’ critical engagement with their current monolingual practices and ideologies. Therefore, an interview with the teachers was conducted prior to the implementation of the mediagram in the classroom, after the introduction of the mediagram to the class, and finally after the families’ return of the double mediagrams to the teachers,

as illustrated in figure 5.

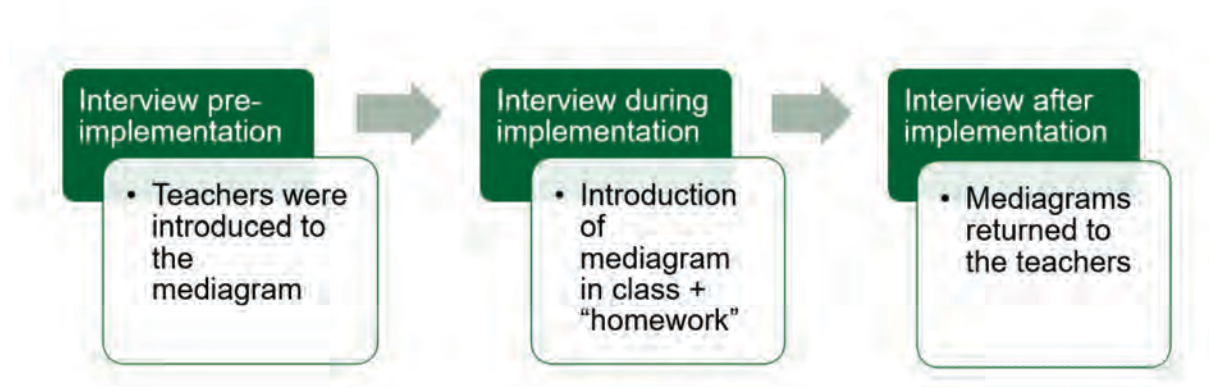


Figure 5: Mediagram implementation

The mediagram was introduced to the pupils in the participating teachers' classrooms and to all the parents in the class through the weekly information to the homes. The tool was primarily implemented by the teachers. In one of the classes, however, I introduced it to the pupils, upon the teacher's request. Except this one appearance, I did not take part in the teachers' work with the mediagram in the classrooms, which consisted of two steps. In the first step, the pupils made mediagrams of their own digitally mediated interactions, including groups of interlocutors of their own choice. One class created digital visualizations, while the other created paper drawings upon the teachers' decision. Then each pupil took their visualization home for the parents to add their mediagram to that of their child, as shown in Figure 3.

To delve into the participants' evaluation of the use of the mediagram and their displayed forms of language awareness, the analytical unit of this article is the interviews with the teachers and the participating parents, focusing on their experiences of the activity. The only mediagrams that have been actively used, are those of the participating parents as discussed in the interviews.

Data collection and participants

Data collection for this study took place during the fall 2021 and through 2022. Three teachers in mainstream classrooms were recruited directly: two co-teachers at a primary school (4th grade) and one class-teacher at a lower secondary school (9th grade). Both schools were located in urban, linguistically diverse areas. It must be noted that there was a

critical framing of the project during the recruitment phase in terms of highlighting challenges in parent-teacher interaction in multilingual settings as the primary background for the study. This may have influenced what teachers joined. As this is an exploratory study, the findings are still valid first insights into potential opportunities and constraints using the mediagram as a tool to enhance teachers’ critical multilingual awareness.

When the mediagram had been introduced to the classes (step 2 in Figure 5), the teachers were asked to identify migrant multilingual parents in their classes who would be interested in participating in the project. Four family members of three pupils accepted the invitation (see Table 1 for an overview). One of these family members was the adult daughter of one of the parents, who facilitated the interview as an informal interpreter and who joined during the interview as a participant as her views diverged from her parent’s. To ensure confidentiality, these four participants will be referred to as parents, they are not provided with pseudonyms, and precise language and geographical backgrounds are not disclosed. The family members are from different countries in Asia, the Middle East, and East Africa.

<i>School</i>	<i>Pseudonyms</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Data</i>
<i>School 1</i>	Bente	F	4 individual interviews
<i>School 2</i>	Liv	F	3 individual interviews + 1 paired interview with Ingrid
	Ingrid	F	2 individual interviews + 1 paired interview with Liv
	4 family members	1F 2F 1M	2 interviews 1 paired interview 1 interview

Table 1: Participating teachers and family members

Methodological and ethical considerations

The data collection and analysis are carried out from my position as a researcher interested in inclusion in multilingual contexts. Having Norwegian as my first language and a background as a teacher, my position is in many ways closer to the participating teachers than the parents, with whom I do not share first language, and cultural and professional background. However, the critical approach adopted in this article, brings me somewhat closer to the parents in terms of making their voices heard.

The project was approved by the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research and informed consent forms in Norwegian were provided to all participants in line with The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees, 2023). With two of the parents, I needed an interpreter to facilitate the communication of the consent form and to carry out the interview. Both parents were presented with a choice between a professional interpreter and a language broker of their choice, and both declined to use a professional interpreter. One of the parents chose the bilingual teacher, the other chose their grown-up daughter. While informal interpreting raises questions related to interpreter positionality and their role in the co-construction of knowledge (Chimento et al., 2018), I am confident that the interpreters assumed the task to the best of their abilities. For instance, they explicitly distinguished the interpreting from their own contributions and follow-up questions. The daughter in the function of interpreter took the full consequence of her deviating views by joining as a participant during the interview. Importantly, ethical and methodological challenges should not prevent researchers from giving voice to those who are perceived as the less powerful to take part in the creation of new knowledge (e.g., Copland, 2019, p. 192).

Data analysis

Parts of the interviews with the teachers who participated in this mediagram activity have been analysed elsewhere in terms of the teachers' construction of their subject positions (Davies & Harré, 1990) related to circulating discourses on language and inclusion (Thyness, 2023). Key findings from that study were that the participating teachers were oriented towards language-as-resource (Ruiz, 1984), and inclusion as a deep-seated value coming 'from the heart' (Thyness, 2023, p. 9). Still, their historical bodies seemed to have embodied

monolingual ideologies (cf. Kroskrity, 2004; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) that guided their predominantly Norwegian interaction with the parents and that constructed language-as-problem (Ruiz, 1984). Based on principles of nexus analysis, this analysis forms a backdrop for the analysis in the present article (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). For the purposes of the present analysis, the critical multilingual awareness framework has been added as a lens to analyse the teachers' and parents' reflections on the mediagram, focusing on the power, affective and social domains of language awareness (James & Garrett, 1992; Prasad & Lory, 2020; Van Gorp et al., 2023).

The analysis is based on an interpretive coding of the interview transcriptions. In a first phase, I used a data driven coding (Saldaña, 2016) to allow for the foregrounding of the participants' emic perspectives, evaluations, and reports. In a second phase, a theory driven analysis of the teacher interviews was carried out based on the above-mentioned domains. A critical theory driven coding was equally conducted of the parents' interviews.

Findings: Analysis of interview data

In this section, I report on the findings of the analysis of the interviews with the teachers before the implementation of the mediagram in the classroom and of the analysis of the interviews with the teachers and the parents after the return of the mediagram to the teachers.

Teachers' social, affective and critical language awareness before the implementation of the mediagram

The participating teachers displayed affective and social language awareness before the implementation of the mediagram. This awareness constituted an important motivation for the teachers to join this project, as they wanted to learn more about their pupils and their parents as part of their professional responsibility for inclusion. Bente articulated her motivation this way:

Bente: I want the children and parents to feel seen. That's it.

Researcher: Yes, and how do you see them with this?

Bente: Language is a huge part of our identity, and, that is, it gets very visible, with these colours and yes, to emphasise the things they know.

Bente: jeg vil at barna og foreldrene skal føle seg sett. Det er vel bare det det går på

Researcher: Ja, hvordan ser du dem med dette?

Bente: Det språklige er jo en stor del av identiteten vår, og ser mer hva de kan, asså det blir jo veldig synlig, med disse fargene og ja, løfte opp det de kan.

In her desire to showcase the pupils' and the parents' knowledge of different languages, there is a resource perspective on linguistic diversity that enables Bente to aim for identity confirmation of parents and pupils through the use of this visual tool. For Liv, an important incentive was to find ways to improve her interactional practices, as she stated that 'I know that I to a large degree fall short with minority parents' (*jeg vet at jeg kommer veldig til kort med minoritetsforeldre*). In this way, the teachers displayed affective and social awareness based on care and identity confirmation of all pupils and parents (cf., Cummins, 2009; Van Gorp et al., 2023).

Additionally, the three teachers articulated emotional reactions related to the lack of information about the parents and when talking about interactional experiences with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language. Liv, for instance, reported that she felt ashamed of not knowing the languages spoken by their pupils and parents as an important identity feature. Bente reported that 'I felt that in my stomach' (*den kjente jeg i magen*) when having sensed that she offended a mother by suggesting interpretation for an upcoming meeting, a measure not approved by the mother (Thyness, 2023, p. 12). All three teachers also reflected on how it must feel for the parents when they don't understand the teachers or when their children act as language brokers. Importantly, there seems to be a higher awareness of language choice in non-digital than in digital interaction. In this respect, Ingrid realised during one of the interviews that while she would often provide interpretation for face-to-face meetings, she would routinely distribute written digital information in Norwegian to all parents despite their diverse linguistic repertoires (Thyness, 2023). Her reaction to and evaluation of her own practices was that it 'almost is ugly, really' (*det er nesten litt stygt egentlig*).

The teachers' affective responses are thus oriented both towards the parents' emotions and towards their own feelings related to interactional challenges, whereby the teachers feel inadequate in terms of their articulated responsibility for inclusion. The affective reflections

are moreover intrinsically linked to the social domain in that the emotions spring from the teachers' awareness of how their current language and media practices may harm their relationships with the parents and entail the parents' feelings of exclusion.

Enhanced teachers' critical multilingual awareness after the mediagram activity

This section begins by addressing the first sub-question for this article: how can the mediagram serve as a mapping tool of parents' mediational repertoires? This question surfaced from previous interviews with the teachers, whereby the lack of insight into the parents' mediational repertoires was related to an absence of school level routines for collecting this information. At a basic level of awareness, in terms of knowing their students and their parents, the mediagrams provided the teachers with what they evaluated as important information about the families' mediational repertoires. In a focus on linguistic resources, Bente, for example, discovered languages in pupils' and parents' repertoires that she was previously unaware of. She also found that two of the parents used Norwegian with the school only, and other languages with all other groups visualized in their mediagrams. The strength of the mediagram as a colourful visualisation was noted by the teachers. This feature made it an easily accessible overview of both pupils' and parents' linguistic repertoires, that by far outstripped a written report. While this appears as quite unsurprising (cf. other work on visualisation of language repertoires, e.g. Busch, 2012), a major strength that emerged from the interviews with Liv was the discretion afforded by the mapping in the form of a figure:

It gives a simple overview without having to ask too much [...], I don't feel that I step into their private lives [...] because it allows for staying on the surface, but still, it tells quite a lot.

Det gir en sånn enkel oversikt uten å spørre om for mye, [...] føler jeg ikke at jeg går inn på privatlivet dems [...] fordi man får lov til å være litt på overflaten, men likevel så forteller det jo ganske mye.

This discretion was important to the teachers as they were reluctant to asking the parents directly about this background information due to the risk for appearing offensive. This primarily affective orientation (cf. James & Garrett, 1992) displays an awareness of the parents' feelings of being devalued or stigmatised based on stereotypical constructions of

“the deficit migrant”. Importantly, the mediagram provides insight into the parents’ media repertoires in addition to the linguistic repertoire. Bente reported about difficulties reaching one of the multilingual mothers via e-mail. The mediagram may offer an opportunity to compare parents’ media choices across interlocutors as a point of departure for critically examining the teachers’ own media choices and taking the parents’ needs into account (cf. Bønnhoff, 2020).

The mediagram can thus serve as an important mapping tool to provide the teachers with key information about the parents’ mediational repertoires in a discrete way. Additionally, the unease that the teachers experienced in relation to asking parents directly about linguistic repertoires and skills, may also pave the way for further reflection and reflexivity, enhanced by the work with the mediagram. An explicit example is provided in this statement by Ingrid regarding one of the effects of her reflections over the mediagram:

one becomes a lot more aware on how bad we are, really, in the care for the multilingual parents.

man blir fryktelig mye mer bevisst på hvor elendig vi egentlig er på ivaretakelsen av de fremmedspråklige¹.

The mediagram thus brought out critical awareness of the schools’ and teachers’ responsibility through taking into account the parents’ particular needs for care and inclusion as multilinguals in their encounter with the monolingual school system. This is substantiated by Liv who declared that the mediagram and the participation in this project contributed to keeping the issue of inclusive language practices top of mind.

This awareness of the asymmetrical power balance is substantiated by Ingrid when engaging in a reflection over the need for a school app that would help her translate information prior to the distribution to the parents (the underlining represents her emphasis):

it would have been so much more inclusive if they received a message from me.

så hadde det vært mye mere inkluderende hvis de fikk en melding av meg.

¹ A literal translation of *fremmedspråklig* gives ‘foreign language speaking. While this term has deficit connotations in the literature, it does not reflect Ingrid’s resource-orientation to multilingual parents.

The use of Norwegian in digital communication represents a form of symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1991) through passing the 'communicative burden' (Lippi-Green, 2012) to the parents. A message composed by the school in the language preferred by the parent would shift the communicative burden to the school. This would also be an act of identity confirmation and a step towards more equitable language practices (cf. Cummins, 2009).

Importantly, the mediagram served as a reminder for the teachers of stereotypical assumptions and pejorative views about language, immigration, and inclusion. Particularly for Liv, the discovery of the transnational character of the digitally mediated communication and the multilingual repertoires of some of the families, made her engage in a reflection about her own prejudices, as she called it, about the relations between parents' poor Norwegian skills and low cultural and social capital, often categorised as 'deprived parents' (*ressursvake foreldre*). In contrast, parents with strong Norwegian skills are more often depicted as 'advantaged' (*ressurssterk*). While Liv was aware of social categorisations before joining the project, she reported that the mediagram contributed to bringing this erroneous direct association between language skills and negative social features to the fore.

Shifting the gaze to the school level, the three teachers were highly critical towards what they perceived as the school leaders' lack of interest and engagement in parents who have Norwegian as an additional language and the ways in which the parent-teacher interaction seemed to be a privatised part of the teachers' work (cf. Bæck, 2015). All three teachers called for school leader-initiated meetings with parents who have Norwegian as an additional language, preferably early in the school year, to map the parents' needs in terms of language and media choices. Here, the teachers evaluated that the mediagram could serve both as a mapping tool and as a visual support during the meeting.

As demonstrated through these examples, the three teachers displayed emerging critical multilingual awareness based on affective and social concerns. Their overall evaluation of the mediagram was also positive. In the next section, I turn to the parents' evaluation of the use of this tool.

The parents' evaluation of the mediagram

In sum, the four parents' overall response to the mediagram was somewhat unenthusiastic. I will focus here on two aspects that emerged as salient in the analysis: critical perspectives on the use of mediagram and the parents' alignment with monolingual ideologies.

While the four parents did agree that the mediagram can be a useful mapping of the families' mediational repertoires for the teachers, two of them were explicitly critical to the ways in which it was used in this project. One of them, being highly skilled in Norwegian and digital devices and platforms, had a negative evaluation of the mediagram in a hypothetical perspective:

but if I came to Norway now, from my [home country], I would have found it stupid [...] So, to me, it means that the teacher is not interested in talking to me at all².

hvis jeg kommer til Norge, nå, fra [hjemlandet], så, jeg hadde syntes at det hadde vært teit [...] Hm så for meg, så betyr det at læreren er ikke interessert i å snakke med meg i det hele tatt.

The mediagram can in this way be experienced as a lack of involvement by the teachers in their cooperation with the parents by not showing interest in a face-to-face meeting. The parent supported this by commenting that digitalisation has come very far in Norway and, as a result, that communication is more personal in many other countries. From this perspective, sending the mediagram home without any plans for follow-up meetings, or even before a face-to-face meeting may amplify a sense of alienation. In this way, the use of the mediagram runs the risk of reproducing asymmetrical power structures through the request for information from the parents without giving anything back.

The other parent was critical towards the schools' current monolingual practices and oriented towards the potential outcomes of the mediagram, that was formulated in a rather critical question:

Ok, you give me this mediagram, then what are you willing to do, after I have responded to the mediagram, what is sort of the end result?

Ok, du gir meg dette mediagrammet, hva er du villig til å gjøre, da, etter at jeg har svart, liksom på det mediagrammet, hva er sluttresultatet, da?

Embedded in this excerpt is a demand for social action, or changes in the nexus, that is not guaranteed by the mediagram itself. This scepticism can be supported by the unison reports from the parents that the schools, to their knowledge, did not engage in any activities or

² The excerpts based on interpretation present the informal interpreter's Norwegian interpretation and my English translation.

programs to focus on the multilingual repertoires of their pupils and the multilingualism that exist in the local community.

However, the parents did to a large extent align with and articulate monolingual discourses, placing the primary responsibility and communicative burden (cf. Lippi-Green, 2012) on themselves, the migrant, as one parent stated: 'because we live here, we have to learn Norwegian' (*fordi vi bor her, vi må lære norsk*) as Norwegian is the 'key to talk' (*nøkkel til å snakke*). One of the other parents declared that 'if we misunderstand something, it is our fault as we do not quite understand Norwegian' (*hvis vi misforstår noe, så er det vår feil, fordi vi skjønner ikke helt norsk*). Also, across the interviews, the parents agreed on their own responsibility for notifying the schools if they needed help. This way, they complied with deficiency perspectives to migrants with poor Norwegian skills and dominant discourses that construct Norwegian as the only path to inclusion.

In terms of challenges of media choice, the parents mostly circumvented this by choosing a channel of their choice. For instance, one parent used SMS to respond to Visma messages as he felt insecure using the school app Visma. While this agentic action by this parent led to successful interaction in terms of media choice, research confirms that schools do not necessarily take parents' needs into account when choosing communication channel (Bønnhoff, 2020; Head, 2020). It is important to note that written digital communication was preferred by the parents with whom I needed an interpreter if they did not have access to a language broker. This substantiates findings from other parts of the study, where written digital interaction, media choice, emoji and punctuation emerged as crucial resources for migrants to negotiate an identity as included (cf. Thyness & Lexander, 2023).

Discussion and conclusion

In this article, the aim was to explore if the mediagram can serve as a mapping tool of parents' mediational repertoires and to encourage teachers to critically engage with their monolingual practices. The mediagram seems like a promising tool in several respects.

Firstly, from the teachers' perspective, the mediagram was evaluated as a useful mapping tool of parents' mediational repertoires. The lack of this crucial information represents an important institutional barrier, that on a practical level prevents the teachers from organising appropriate interpreting and translation of written information, and also from using appropriate digital channels in their interaction with the parents. For these purposes,

the mediagram can represent a tool to enhance the social domain of language awareness (cf. Van Gorp et al., 2023). By actively pursuing insight into the parents' transnational mediational repertoires and explicitly making them visible, the mediagram represents an opportunity for the teachers to translate their resource-orientation to linguistic diversity into practice. The one parent's scepticism related to potential outcomes of the use of the mediagram emphasizes the need for such initiatives. Importantly, as digital interaction is an integrated part of the management of parent-teacher relationships (Thyness & Lexander, 2023), the role of language and media practices in these channels are highlighted by contrasting parent-teacher digital interaction with the parents' linguistic and media repertoires in other domains. In this way, insight into the parents' mediational repertoires is an important prerequisite for such critical reflection as the teachers are provided with an eye-catching example of their own mediational practices (cf. Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2020; Mary & Young, 2018; Schneider & Arnot, 2018).

Secondly, the widely circulating deficit-oriented assumptions of the migrant, in which language skills, and potentially digital skills, are associated with social features, were challenged by the visual representation of the parents' transnational networks and language repertoires. This sign of critical engagement seems to be founded on the teachers' resource-orientation to language (cf. Ruiz, 1984), i.e., the social domain, and their deep-felt inclusive values and care for the parents, i.e., the affective domain (cf. Van Gorp et al., 2023). These two important orientations contributed to a desire to shift the communicative burden and responsibility for inclusion towards the teachers (cf. Lippi-Green, 2012). In this way the mediagram can provide opportunities for inclusion of the parents based on recognition and identity confirmation (e.g., Cummins, 2009). Additionally, the mediagram can be a useful tool to direct teachers' attention the parents' needs in terms of media choice and the use of other semiotic resources (Thyness & Lexander, 2023). As parent-teacher relationships increasingly are digitally mediated, the findings in this study sustain the need for expanding the notion of critical multilingual awareness with digital resources to enhance inclusive practices in this area.

However, no visualisation is a panacea to critical multilingual awareness (Frijns et al., 2018, p. 110; James & Garrett, 1992, p. 309). Firstly, there is a risk that by taking the mediagram at face value, one may miss important information about the parents. This is sustained by the

experiences with creating mediagrams as part of data collection. In this process, the visualization evolves and becomes more refined and detailed over the recurrent interviews. This insight indicates that there might be potential for using the mediagram as part of follow-up face-to-face meetings with the parents, in line with the evaluation made by one of the parents and the teachers. Secondly, as also noted by Deroo & Ponzio (2021), with any one-off activity like this, one runs the risk of not achieving sustainable effects. As has been shown in other studies, teacher critical multilingual awareness development is most successful when part of longer-term programs including several approaches to awareness (e.g., Mary & Young, 2018; Mary & Young, 2023; Prasad & Lory, 2020). Finally, recalling that the teachers in this project were critically inclined when joining the project, it becomes clear that a mapping of parents' mediational repertoires without a critical framing can potentially contribute to nurturing normalised assumptions about language and deficit categorisation of migrant parents with Norwegian as an additional language (Deroo & Ponzio, 2023; Hélot et al., 2018, p. 11).

This is supported by the more reserved and critical perspectives in the interviews with the parents. Without being accompanied by follow-up meetings and changed practices as a direct consequence of the mapping, the mediagram may actually perpetuate inequitable power relations between parents and teachers. Importantly, for one of the parents, there is an anticipation that the final and most important dimension of a critical multilingual awareness, i.e., social action, would fail to materialise. Furthermore, the parents' alignment with monolingual discourses indicates the widespread dominant ideologies that contribute to domination by consent (cf. Fairclough, 2015). Still, these findings substantiate the need for adding the mediagram to the toolbox for visual and multimodal approaches to inclusion in parent-teacher relationships by fostering both teachers' and parents' critical multilingual awareness.

Limitations of this study were the small number of participants, the focus on one activity only, the focus on linguistic resources as compared to a broader focus on other semiotic resources. Echoing calls for further empirical research on the opportunities of visual approaches to enhance critical multilingual awareness (Fu et al., 2023, p. 372), future research should be longitudinal, include more teachers, and preferably be part of a holistic,

whole-school approach to digitally and non-digitally mediated interaction in multilingual contexts.

Declaration of interest statement:

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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Appendices

The appendices 1-6 provide examples of interview guides and informed consent forms for different parts of the project.

Appendix 1 Interview guide Lithuanian parents

Appendix 2 Interview guide teachers, mediagram part of the project

Appendix 3 Interview guide focus group teachers and excerpts to stimulate focus group discussion

Appendix 4 Informed consent form Lithuanian parents, Norwegian version

Appendix 5 Informed consent form Lithuanian parents, Lithuanian version

Appendix 6 Informed consent form teachers, digital interaction part of the project

Appendix 7 Ethical clearance 2020 and 2023

Appendix 1 – Interview guide Lithuanian parents

Background

- Migratory trajectory
- School and upbringing in Lithuania

Mediagram

- Applications
- Groups
- Languages
- Written/spoken
- Do you have preferred media channels? Please explain.

Interactional data

- Context of the interaction: online-offline nexus
- To observe and discuss: orthography, punctuation, openings and closing, emojis, pictorial attachments, voice mails, etc.
- The parent's evaluation of the interaction, the language and semiotic practices, the context

Language learning and language practices

- Language learning strategies?
- Emotions linked to language: fear, confidence?
- Who decides which language to use – both teachers and parents?

Communication with teacher

- Frequency
- Topics
- Your language practices
- Language practices of the school
- What do you think about the language practice of the school?
- Do have any preferences with regards to digitally mediated communication versus non-digitally mediated communication?

Your role in relation to the school:

- The children's schooling?
- The parents' group?
- Are you involved the ways in which you would like to?
- Do you wish to be involved?
- Do you experience being heard?
- Do the school and teachers focus on multilingualism? What does this mean for how you experience inclusion/exclusion?

With other parents

- Frequency
- Topics
- Channels
- Are you involved the ways in which you would like to?
- Do have any preferences with regards to digitally mediated communication versus non-digitally mediated communication?
- Has digitally mediated communication affected contact with the other parents, both digitally and non-digitally? Please explain.

Other aspects of digital communication – if relevant

- Digital communication and language learning
- Digital communication and inclusion/exclusion
- Strategies in digital communication

On inclusion/exclusion

- What does "inclusion" mean to you?
- In your opinion and in your life, is the school an important arena for inclusion?
- How important is the school for you and your feeling of belonging and inclusion?
- Do you experience being included by the school? Please explain.
- Do you experience being included in the parents' group? Please explain.
- How do you feel in relation to other citizens in Norway?

- How important is language? How important is it to be close to native speaker fluency?

Appendix 2 – Interview guide teachers, mediagram part of the project

General

Background

- Teacher background: education, experience from different schools/different countries, various pupil groups?
- School profile: pupils' and teachers' linguistic repertoires

Inclusion/exclusion and multilingualism

- What does “inclusion” mean to you?
- How do you understand the policy documents in terms of your mandate as a teacher?
- Do you talk about inclusion in the professional community at your school?
- Is inclusion a focus area for the leaders and thus a topic during staff meetings?
- In your opinion, what is the role:
 - o of the school in terms of inclusion of migrants?
 - o of the parent group in terms of inclusion of migrants?
 - o of the school for facilitating well-functioning and inclusive parent groups?
- What is the role of language in terms of inclusion – in general and digitally mediated communication?
- Please describe your/your school's practices in terms of collecting relevant information about parents.

Communication with parents

- Please describe your practices in your interaction with parents in general, and with multilingual parents in particular (language choice, semiotic resources?)
- How do you talk about communication with parents within the teaching staff?
- Are you able to communicate/keep in touch with parents the way you wish? Please explain.
- Do the school leaders facilitate your communication with the parents?
- Please describe your language practices with multilingual parents

- What is the role of digital communication with the parents?
- What is the importance of language in the digital communication?
- What is your opinion on language use with parents?
- Do you use specific strategies to make parents feel good/included/to secure a positive relation to the parents?
 - a. At school
 - b. In the classroom
 - c. In digitally mediated interaction
- Do the parents use specific strategies to enhance inclusion or avoid exclusion? Which roles do language practices and digitally mediated communication play in this respect?

Mediagram

a. Before implementation:

- Why do you want to participate in this project?
- Why do you want to use the mediagram?
- How do you plan to inform the parents?
- Please describe your communicative practices with multilingual pupils and parents as of today.
- How do you wish to introduce the mediagram?
 - o Do you want us to develop an instruction together?
- How do you plan to use the mediagram after return from the parents?
- What is needed to ensure that possible results/effects of the mediagram last?

b. After implementation

- What experiences did you make?
- What experiences did you make in having all the families returning the mediagrams?
- Does it matter that the mediagram is a visualisation? Or could you have received this information in text?
- Do you wish to use the mediagram with other classes, as part of your practice?
Please explain.
- What can the mediagram be used for?

- Please indicate strengths and weaknesses in the mediagram design.
- Did the mediagram affect your awareness related to multilingualism in your class/at your school?
- Did the mediagram affect your awareness related to digitally mediated communication in general and with multilingual parents in particular?
- Did the mediagram affect how you view the parents?
- Will the mediagram affect your dialogue with parents?
- Do you believe the mediagram will affect the parents' view of the school?

Appendix 3 – Interview guide focus group teachers

- How do you understand the policy documents in terms of giving you a mandate?
- Do they give you a clear direction for your work?
- In your opinion:
 - o what should be the role of the teachers for the inclusion of migrant parents?
 - o what should be the role of the parent group for the inclusion of migrant parents?
 - o what should be the role of the school for facilitation of inclusion of migrant parents?
- Please explain what roles language and digital interaction play for processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Stimulus material focus group

Education Act, Section 1-1. The objectives of education and training (The Education Act, 1998):

Education and training in schools and training establishments must, in collaboration and agreement with the home, open doors to the world and give the pupils and apprentices insight into and a firm foundation in history and culture.

Education and training must be based on fundamental values in Christian and humanist heritage and traditions, such as respect for human dignity and nature, on intellectual freedom, charity, forgiveness, equality and solidarity, values that also appear in different religions and beliefs and are rooted in human rights.

Education and training must help increase the knowledge and understanding of the national cultural heritage and our common international cultural traditions.

Education and training must provide insight into cultural diversity and show respect for the individual's convictions. They are to promote democracy, equality and scientific thinking.

The pupils and apprentices must develop knowledge, skills and attitudes so that they can master their lives and can take part in working life and society. They must have the opportunity to be creative, committed and inquisitive.

The pupils and apprentices must learn to think critically and act ethically and with environmental awareness. They must have joint responsibility and the right to participate.

Schools and training establishments must meet the pupils and apprentices with trust, respect and demands, and give them challenges that promote formation and the desire to learn. All forms of discrimination must be combated.

Excerpt from the core curriculum, core values of the education and training (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017)

Section 1.2. Identity and cultural diversity

School shall give pupils historical and cultural insight that will give them a good foundation in their lives and help each pupil to preserve and develop her or his identity in an inclusive and diverse environment.

Insight into our history and culture is important for developing the identities of pupils and their belonging in society. The pupils shall learn about the values and traditions which contribute to uniting people in our country. Christian and humanist heritage and traditions are an important part of Norway's collective cultural heritage and have played a vital role in the development of our democracy. Sami cultural heritage is part of Norway's cultural heritage. Our shared cultural heritage has developed throughout history and must be carried forward by present and future generations.

Common reference frameworks are important for each person's sense of belonging in society. This creates solidarity and connects each individual's identity to the greater community and to a historical context. A common framework gives and shall give room for diversity, and the pupils must be given insight into how we live together with different perspectives, attitudes and views of life. The experiences the pupils gain in the encounter with different cultural expressions and traditions help them to form their identity. A good society is founded on the ideals of inclusiveness and diversity.

The teaching and training shall ensure that the pupils are confident in their language proficiency, that they develop their language identity and that they are able to use language to think, create meaning, communicate and connect with others. Language gives us a sense of belonging and cultural awareness. In Norway, Norwegian and the Sami languages, South Sami, Lule Sami and North Sami, have equal standing. The Norwegian language comprises two equal forms of Norwegian bokmål and nynorsk. Norwegian sign language is also recognised as language in its own right in Norway. Knowledge about the linguistic diversity in

society provides all pupils with valuable insight into different forms of expression, ideas and traditions. All pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large.

Throughout history the Norwegian society has been influenced by different trends and cultural traditions. In a time when the population is more diversified than ever before, and where the world is coming closer together, language skills and cultural understanding are growing in importance. School shall support the development of each person's identity, make the pupils confident in who they are, and also present common values that are needed to participate in this diverse society and to open doors to the world and the future.

Excerpts from the core curriculum's Principles for the school's practice:

The school shall treat pupils with trust and respect and also place demands on them and give them challenges that will promote their all-round development and desire to learn. To do this successfully, the school must create a good learning environment and differentiate the teaching and training in collaboration with the pupil and the home. This requires professionals who are involved in the development of school.

Section 3.1. An inclusive learning environment

A benevolent and supportive learning environment is the basis for a positive culture where the pupils are encouraged and stimulated to develop academically and socially. If pupils feel anxious and uncertain, learning may be undermined. Confidence-inspiring learning environments are developed and maintained by open, clear and caring adults who work in collaboration with the pupils. Together, the school staff, parents, guardians and pupils are responsible for promoting health, well-being and learning, and for preventing bullying and abuse. When developing an inclusive and inspiring learning environment, diversity must be acknowledged as a resource.

Section 3.3. Cooperation between home and school:

The teaching and training shall be given in cooperation and understanding with the home, and this cooperation shall contribute to strengthening the pupils' learning and development.

Good communication between the home and school contributes positively to the school's work with the learning environment and to the pupils' early-development environment. The parents and guardians have the main responsibility for a child's upbringing and

development. They are the most important caregivers for children and young people and have knowledge school can use to support the pupil's education and all-round development. School has the overriding responsibility for initiating and facilitating for cooperation. This means ensuring that parents and guardians receive necessary information, and that they are given the opportunity to have influence on their children's everyday school life.

The attitude to school that the home has is important for a pupil's engagement and efforts in school. In their interactions with the school, parents and guardians have different needs, expectations and opinions about the school's goals and practice. This may create tensions that the school may find demanding to work with. The school must state clearly what it is able to and must provide, and what is expected of the home. Good and trusting dialogue is a mutual responsibility. However, the school must consider that not all the pupils have equal opportunities to receive assistance and support in the home.

Excerpts from «Integration through knowledge», only available in Norwegian (Ministry of Education and Research, 2018):

Alle som bor i Norge må kunne snakke og forstå norsk. Språket er den viktigste nøkkelen inn i store og små fellesskap i det norske samfunnet. Uten å kunne norsk blir man stående utenfor, der man også er sårbar, utsatt og avhengig av andre. Det er vanskelig å komme i jobb, delta i samfunnet og å være en god støtte for sine barn, dersom man ikke kan norsk (s. 10)

Utdrag fra kapittelet om hverdagsintegrering:

Hverdagsintegrering krever først og fremst innsats fra den enkelte innvandrer, men også at innvandrere møtes med åpenhet og gis mulighet for deltakelse. Hverdagsintegrering handler derfor også om levekår, og om samfunnets vilje og evne til å inkludere innvandrere i formelle og uformelle fellesskap (s. 43).

Innvandrere møter det norske samfunnet på mange arenaer, også gjennom ulike offentlige tjenester. Barn deltar i barnehage og skole, og foreldre forventes å engasjere seg i samarbeidet med barnehage, skole og skolefritidsordning (SFO). Barnehagen og skolen er unike fordi barn går der uavhengig av bakgrunn. Barnehagen og skolen er også arenaer der vi som samfunn kan møte foreldre og bygge tillit og samhold. Gjennom ulike faser i livet er

også innvandrere i kontakt med andre offentlige tjenester som for eksempel helse- og omsorgstjeneste (s. 44).

Appendix 4 – Informed consent form Lithuanian parents, Norwegian version

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

”Digital kommunikasjon og språk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem, og i foreldregrupper. Litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere i Innlandet”?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å *undersøke hvordan litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere og norske lærere og foresatte kommuniserer med språk gjennom digitale verktøy i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem og i foreldregrupper*. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Målet med prosjektet er å undersøke hvordan digital kommunikasjon og språkbruk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem og i foreldregrupper fører til inkludering og/eller ekskludering. Jeg vil derfor intervjuer både litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere og utvalgte lærere for barna deres og samle inn eksempler på digital kommunikasjon dem imellom. Jeg vil også intervjuer representanter for skoleledelsen.

Jeg søker svar på følgende forskningsspørsmål:

- Hva slags språk, apper og typer kommunikasjon (tekstmeldinger, talemeldinger, videoanrop, bilder, osv.) brukes når litauere og norske lærere og foresatte kommuniserer i skolesammenheng?
- Hvordan påvirkes forholdet mellom litauere og nordmenn av denne kommunikasjonen, fører den til mer sosial likhet og inkludering, eller mer ulikhet og ekskludering?
- Hva slags kommunikasjon og språkbruk fører til inkludering og hva slags kommunikasjon og språkbruk fører til ekskludering?

Forskningsprosjektet varer i tre år. Jeg er leder for prosjektet og skal gjøre intervjuene. Jeg samarbeider også med min veileder Kristin Vold Lexander og professor og biveileder Lise I. Kulbrandstad. De innsamlede opplysningene skal brukes til å skrive forskningsartikler, til å undervise lærere, og det vil også bli holdt seminar der alle deltakerne (litauiske og norske) er invitert for å diskutere resultatene og snakke sammen om hva som kan gjøres for best mulig inkludering av litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem og i foreldregruppene i Innlandet.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Høgskolen Innlandet er ansvarlig for prosjektet og prosjektet er finansiert av Norges Forskningsråd gjennom Unge Forskertilenter-programmet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Jeg spør deg fordi noen som kjenner deg eller jobber sammen med deg har fortalt meg at du kunne være aktuell som deltaker. De har kontaktet deg på forhånd for å sjekke om du kunne være interessert. Til sammen vil jeg spørre 10-20 personer om å delta.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at vi møtes 3-4 ganger, og at jeg intervjuer deg, eventuelt sammen ditt barn, om hvilke språk du bruker i digital kommunikasjon, hvem du kommuniserer med digitalt, og hvilke apper du bruker for denne kommunikasjonen. Vi kommer til å bruke figurer og tegninger i intervjuene for å visualisere kommunikasjonen og jeg vil ta lydopptak av samtalen for å skrive den ned senere.

Jeg vil også be om å få se eksempler fra din digitale kommunikasjon med lærere/skolen /(andre) foresatte. Innsamling av din digitale kommunikasjon må godkjennes av den du kommuniserer med i den aktuelle samtalen. Du velger selv om du vil dele skjermdump/screenshot eller laste ned kommunikasjonen for å sende den til meg.

Jeg ønsker å snakke med læreren til barnet om språkbruk i den digitale kommunikasjonen mellom deg og læreren. Barn som er 16 år skal selv si seg enig i at dette er greit.

Dersom vi trenger tolk for å gjennomføre intervjuene, vil du få anledning til å godkjenne at vi bruker den aktuelle tolken før tolken får vite om deg. Tolken skal også signere en taushetserklæring.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger og opplysninger om barnet ditt

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrevet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. I tillegg til undertegnede vil nevnte Kristin Vold Lexander og Lise I. Kulbrandstad ha tilgang til opplysningene. Alle personopplysninger vil bli anonymisert ved at navn erstattes av en kode. Bilder vil bli sladdet. Materialet vil bli lagret på kryptert forskningsserver tilhørende Høgskolen Innlandet. Intervjuer vil kunne bli sitert i publikasjoner, og innsamlede digitale samtaler vil kunne bli brukt i publikasjoner i anonymisert form. Deltakerne skal ikke kunne gjenkjennes i publikasjoner, undervisningsformål eller i seminarer.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes, noe som etter planen er 31.07.2023. Lydopptak slettes, bare transkriberte intervjuer og digitale samtaler, anonymisert, lagres videre.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg, og
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra *Høgskolen Innlandet* har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- *Høgskolen Innlandet* ved Hilde Thyness, tlf. 93051359, epost: hilde.thyness@inn.no
- Vårt personvernombud: *Hans Petter Nyberg*, tlf. 62430023, epost: hans.nyberg@inn.no

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:

- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Hilde Thyness
(Doktorgradsstipendiat)

Samtykkeerklæring foresatt

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet ***”Digital kommunikasjon og språk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem, og i foreldregruppa. Litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere i Innlandet”***, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i *intervju*
- å delta i *innsamling av digitale samtaler* og slik gi tilgang til informasjon som kommer fram gjennom den digitale kommunikasjonen med skolen og andre foreldre inkludert informasjon om mitt/mine barn
- at *lærere snakker* om deres kommunikasjon.

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger og opplysninger om barnet mitt behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Samtykkeerklæring barn over 15 år

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet **”Digital kommunikasjon og språk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem, og i foreldregruppa. Litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere i Innlandet”**, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i *intervju*
- å delta i *innsamling av digitale samtaler* og slik gi tilgang til informasjon om deg selv, som kommer fram gjennom kommunikasjonen med skolen og andre foresatte
- at *lærere snakker* om kommunikasjonen med meg og mine foresatte.

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 5 – Informed consent form Lithuanian parents, Lithuanian version

Dėl dalyvavimo moksliniame projekte

„Skaitmeninė komunikacija ir kalbos panaudojimas, kai šeima bendrauja su mokykla ir kitų mokinių tėvais. Darbo imigrantai iš Lietuvos Innlandet apskrityje“

Norime pasiteirauti Jūsų, ar sutiktumėte dalyvauti moksliniame projekte, kurio tikslas yra *ištirti, kaip vyksta kalbinė komunikacija skaitmeninių priemonių pagalba, kai šeima bendrauja su mokykla ir kitų mokinių tėvais. Projektas nukreiptas į darbo imigrantus iš Lietuvos*. Šiame rašte norime pateikti informaciją apie projekto tikslą ir paaiškinti, kokią reikšmę dalyvavimas turėtų Jums.

Tikslas

Projekte bus tiriama, kaip skaitmeninė komunikacija ir kalba prisideda prie imigrantų įtraukties ir/arba atskirties, kai šeima bendrauja su mokykla ir kitų mokinių tėvais. Bus atliekamos darbo imigrantų iš Lietuvos ir jų vaikų mokytojų apklausos, surinkti jų tarpusavio skaitmeninės komunikacijos pavyzdžiai ir apklausti mokymo įstaigų vadovai.

Bus bandoma rasti atsakymus į šiuos klausimus:

1. Kuria kalba, kokiomis mobiliosiomis programėlėmis ar komunikacijos formomis (trumpesiomis žinutėmis, garso žinutėmis, vaizdo ryšiu, nuotraukomis ar kt.) naudojasi, kai lietuviai dėl mokyklos reikalų bendrauja su norvegais mokytojais ir kitų mokinių tėvais.
2. Kaip ši komunikacija įtakoja lietuvių ir norvegų tarpusavio ryšius, ar tai padeda pasiekti didesnę socialinę lygybę ir įtrauktį, ar sukelia daugiau nelygybės ir atskirties.
3. Kokia komunikacija ir kalba skatina įtrauktį, o kokia komunikacija ir kalba skatina atskirtį.

Šis mokslinis projektas truks 3 metus. Aš vadovausiu projektui, pati atliksiu apklausas ir bendradarbiausiu su savo mokslinio darbo vadove Kristin Vold Lexander ir antra vadove profesore Lise I. Kulbrandstad. Surinkti duomenys bus panaudoti moksliniuose straipsniuose ir mokytojų apmokymuose. Taip pat bus surengtas seminaras, į kurį kviesime visus dalyvius (ir lietuvius, ir norvegus). Seminaro metu bus bandoma bendrai aptarti, ką galima padaryti Innlandet apskrityje, stiprinant darbo imigrantų iš Lietuvos įtrauktį, kai šeima bendrauja su mokykla ir kitų mokinių tėvais.

Kas atsakingas už šį mokslinį projektą?

Už šį projektą yra atsakinga *Innlandet aukštoji mokykla (Høgskolen Innlandet)*, o jį finansuoja Norvegijos mokslo taryba (*Norges Forskningsråd*) pagal Jaunųjų mokslo talentų programą (*Unge Forskertilenter-programmet*).

Kodėl dėl dalyvavimo kreipiamės į Jus?

Kreipiamės į Jus, nes Jus pažįstantys arba kartu dirbantys asmenys nurodė, kad galėtumėte būti tinkamas kandidatas, ir jie jau teiravosi Jūsų, ar sutiktumėte dalyvauti. Iš viso dėl dalyvavimo ketinu kreiptis į 10-20 asmenų.

Kokią įtaką dalyvavimas padarytų Jums

Jei sutiktumėte dalyvauti projekte, mums reikės susitikti 3-4 kartus. Atliksiu Jūsų apklausas, galbūt kartu su Jūsų vaiku/vaikais, kur kalba eis apie tai, kokią kalbą vartojate, kai bendraujate skaitmeninių priemonių pagalba, su kuo bendraujate skaitmeninių priemonių pagalba ir kokiomis mobiliosiomis programėlėmis naudojate. Apklausų metu naudosis iliustracijomis ir paveikslėliais. Bus daromi pokalbių garso įrašai, kuriuos vėliau paversiu rašytiniu tekstu. Taip pat prašysiu, kad pateiktumėte pavyzdžius iš skaitmeninės komunikacijos su mokytojais/mokyklos atstovais/kitų mokinių tėvais. Tam, kad galėtume surinkti Jūsų skaitmeninės komunikacijos pavyzdžius, prašysiu to asmens, su kuriuo bendraujate pateiktuose pavyzdžiuose, sutikimo. Jūs patys galėsite pasirinkti, kokia forma pateiksite man komunikacijos pavyzdžius, ar persiųsti man gautas žinutes, ar atsiųsti ekrano nuotrauką.

Aš norėsiu pasikalbėti su vaiko mokytoju apie kalbos panaudojimą, kai Jūs ir mokytojai bendrauja skaitmeninių priemonių pagalba. Jei vaikui 16 metų arba daugiau, reikės jo asmeninio patvirtinimo, ar su tuo sutinka. Jei per apklausas reikėtų vertėjo pagalbos, Jūs patys pirmiausia galėsite patvirtinti, ar sutinkate, kad būtų kviečiamas būtent tas vertėjas, ir tik tada pranešime vertėjui apie Jus. Vertėjas turės pasirašyti konfidencialumo sutartį.

Dalyvavimas yra laisvanoriškas

Dalyvavimas projekte yra laisvanoriškas. Jei pasirenkate dalyvauti, bet kuriuo metu galima atšauti savo sutikimą, nenurodant to priežasties. Tokiu atveju visi Jūsų asmens duomenys projekte bus ištrinti. Jei nesutiktumėte dalyvauti arba vėliau atšauktumėte sutikimą, jokių neigiamų pasekmių neturėsite.

Asmens duomenų apsauga – kaip bus saugomi ir panaudojami Jūsų ir Jūsų vaikų asmens duomenys

Jūsų asmens duomenys bus panaudoti tik tais tikslais, kurie išdėstyti šiame rašte. Visa informacija bus saugoma laikantis konfidencialumo įpareigojimų ir asmens duomenų saugojimo taisyklių. Be manęs su duomenimis galės susipažinti jau minėtos Kristin Vold Lexander ir Lise I. Kulbrandstad. Asmeninė informacija bus saugoma anonimiškai, vietoj vardų ir pavardžių naudojami kodai. Nuotraukose veidai bus užtušuojami. Užkoduota medžiaga bus saugoma Innlandet aukštajai mokyklai priklausančiame tyrimų serveryje. Apklausų ištraukos gali būti cituojamos publikacijose, surinkta skaitmeninės komunikacijos medžiaga bus naudojama publikacijose anoniminiu pavidalu. Dalyviai publikacijose, mokymuose ir seminaruose bus pristatomi taip, kad jų tapatybės nebūtų įmanoma atpažinti.

Kas bus daroma su Jūsų duomenimis užbaigus šį mokslinį tyrimą

Užbaigus tyrimą, ką planuojame padaryti iki 2023 07 31, duomenys bus anonimizuoti. Garso įrašai bus sunaikinti, o apklausų tekstai ir skaitmeninės komunikacijos pavyzdžiai toliau saugomi anoniminiu pavidalu.

Jūsų teisės

Kol kompiuterinėje medžiagoje galima nustatyti Jūsų tapatybę, Jūs turite teisę:

- susipažinti su tuo, kokie Jūsų asmens duomenys yra užregistruoti, ir paprašyti duomenų kopijos,
- pataisyti savo asmens duomenis,
- pareikalauti, kad Jūsų asmens duomenys projekte būtų ištrinti,
- pateikti Valstybinei asmens duomenų apsaugos inspekcijai (*Datatilsynet*) skundą, jei netinkamai elgiamasi su Jūsų asmens duomenimis.

Teisė naudotis Jūsų asmens duomenimis

Jūsų asmens duomenimis naudosis remdamiesi Jūsų sutikimu.

Innlandet aukštosios mokyklos prašymu, Norvegijos mokslinių duomenų centras (NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS) įvertino ir padarė išvadą, kad asmens duomenų panaudojimas šiame tyrime atitinka asmens duomenų apsaugos taisykles.

Kas gali suteikti daugiau informacijos

Jei turite klausimų, susijusių su šiuo projektu, arba norite pasinaudoti savo teisėmis, prašome susisiekti su:

- Høgskolen Innlandet, Hilde Thyness, tel. 93051359, el. paštas: hilde.thyness@inn.no
- Mūsų asmens duomenų kontrolieriumi: Hans Petter Nyberg, tel. 62430023, el. paštas: hans.nyberg@inn.no

Jei turite klausimų, susijusių su tuo, kaip NSD įvertino projektą, prašome susisiekti su:

- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, el. paštas: personverntjenester@nsd.no arba tel. 55 58 21 17.

Pagarbiai

Hilde Thyness
(Doktorantė)

Tėvų sutikimas

Su informacija apie projektą „**Skaitmeninė komunikacija ir kalbos panaudojimas, kai šeima bendrauja su mokykla ir kitų mokinių tėvais. Darbo imigrantai iš Lietuvos Innlandet apskrityje**“ susipažinau ir ją supratau. Man buvo suteikta galimybė užduoti klausimus.

Sutinku:

- dalyvauti apklausoje
- dalyvauti renkant skaitmeninę komunikaciją, ir suteikti galimybę susipažinti su informacija, kuri yra matoma iš mano komunikacijos skaitmeninių priemonių pagalba su mokykla ir kitais tėvais, tame tarpe ir informacija apie mano vaiką/vaikus
- kad mokytojai aptartų mūsų komunikaciją.

Sutinku, kad mano duomenys ir mano vaiko duomenys būtų naudojami iki projekto pabaigos

(Projekto dalyvio parašas ir data)

Vyresnio nei 15 metų vaiko sutikimas

Su informacija apie projektą „**Skaitmeninė komunikacija ir kalbos panaudojimas, kai šeima bendrauja su mokykla ir kitų mokinių tėvais. Darbo imigrantai iš Lietuvos Innlandet apskrityje**“ susipažinau ir ją supratau. Man buvo suteikta galimybė užduoti klausimus.

Sutinku:

- dalyvauti *apklausoje*
- dalyvauti renkant *skaitmeninę komunikaciją*, ir suteikti galimybę susipažinti su informacija apie mane, kuri atsiskleidžia bendraujant su mokykla ir kitais tėvais
- kad *mokytojai aptartų* jų komunikaciją su manimi ir mano tėvais.

Sutinku, kad mano duomenys būtų naudojami iki projekto pabaigos

(Projekto dalyvio parašas ir data)

Appendix 6 – Informed consent form teachers, digital interaction part of the project

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

«Digital kommunikasjon og språk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt som ser på digital kommunikasjon i samarbeidet mellom hjem, primært litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere, og skole. I dette skrevet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Målet med prosjektet er å undersøke hvordan digital kommunikasjon og språkbruk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem og i foreldregrupper fører til inkludering og/eller ekskludering. Jeg vil derfor intervjuer både litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere og utvalgte lærere for barna deres og samle inn eksempler på digital kommunikasjon dem imellom.

Jeg søker svar på følgende forskningsspørsmål:

- Hva karakteriserer digital kommunikasjon mellom flerspråklige hjem og skole?
- Hvordan påvirkes forholdet mellom litauere og nordmenn av denne kommunikasjonen, fører den til mer sosial likhet og inkludering, eller mer ulikhet og ekskludering?
- Hva slags kommunikasjon og språkbruk fører til inkludering og hva slags kommunikasjon og språkbruk fører til ekskludering?

Forskningsprosjektet varer i tre år. Jeg er leder for prosjektet og skal gjøre intervjuene. Jeg samarbeider også med min veileder Kristin Vold Lexander og professor og biveileder Lise I. Kulbrandstad. De innsamlede opplysningene skal brukes til å skrive forskningsartikler, til å undervise lærere, og det vil også bli holdt seminar der alle deltakerne (litauiske og norske) er invitert for å diskutere resultatene og snakke sammen om hva som kan gjøres for best mulig inkludering av litauiske arbeidsinnvandrere i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem og i foreldregruppene.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Høgskolen Innlandet er ansvarlig for prosjektet og prosjektet er finansiert av Norges Forskningsråd gjennom Unge Forskertalenter-programmet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Jeg spør deg fordi en eller flere litauiske foresatte ved din skole har samtykket til å delta i mitt forskningsprosjekt og har deg som kontaktlærer/lærer. Den/de aktuelle foresatte er informert om at jeg kontakter deg direkte. Til sammen vil jeg spørre 10-20 personer om å delta.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at vi møtes 3-4 ganger, og at jeg intervjuer deg om hvilke språk du bruker i digital kommunikasjon med hjemmene, og hvilke apper du bruker for denne kommunikasjonen. Vi kommer til å bruke figurer og tegninger i intervjuene for å visualisere kommunikasjonen og jeg vil ta lydopptak av samtalen for å transkribere den senere. Jeg vil også be

om å få se eksempler fra din digitale kommunikasjon med foresatte. Innsamling av din digitale kommunikasjon må godkjennes av de(n) du kommuniserer med i den aktuelle samtalen. Du velger selv om du vil dele skjermdump/screenshot eller laste ned kommunikasjonen for å sende den til meg. Foresatte har gitt samtykke til å oppheve taushetsplikten når det gjelder digital kommunikasjon mellom skole og hjem.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrevet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. I tillegg til undertegnede vil nevnte Kristin Vold Lexander og Lise I. Kulbrandstad ha tilgang til opplysningene. Alle personopplysninger vil bli anonymisert ved at navn erstattes av en kode. Bilder vil bli sladdet. Materialet vil bli lagret på kryptert forskningsserver tilhørende Høgskolen Innlandet. Intervjuer vil kunne bli sitert i publikasjoner, og innsamlede digitale samtaler vil kunne bli brukt i publikasjoner i anonymisert form. Deltakerne skal ikke kunne gjenkjennes i publikasjoner, undervisningsformål eller i seminarer.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Opplysningene anonymiseres når prosjektet avsluttes, noe som etter planen er 31.07.2023. Lyddopptak slettes, bare transkriberte intervjuer og digitale samtaler, anonymisert, lagres videre.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg, og
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra *Høgskolen Innlandet* har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- *Høgskolen Innlandet* ved Hilde Thyness, tlf. 93051359, epost: hilde.thyiness@inn.no
- Vårt personvernombud: *Hans Petter Nyberg*, tlf. 62430023, epost: hans.nyberg@inn.no

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til NSD sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:

- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS på epost (personvertjenester@nsd.no) eller på telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Hilde Thyness
(Doktorgradsstipendiat)

Samtykkeerklæring kontaktlærer/lærer

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «**Digital kommunikasjon og språk i samarbeidet mellom skole og hjem**», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i *intervju*
- å delta i *innsamling av digitale samtaler*

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 7 – Ethical clearance

Assessment of processing of personal data

Reference number

970829

Assessment type

Standard

Date

19.08.2020

Title

Digimulti. Digital interaction and multilingualism in school: The case of Lithuanians in Eastern Norway

Institution responsible for the project

Høgskolen i Innlandet / Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk / Institutt for humanistiske fag

Project leader

Hilde Thyness

Project period

03.08.2020 - 31.07.2023

Categories of personal data

General

Legal basis

Consent (General Data Protection Regulation art. 6 nr. 1 a)

The processing of personal data is lawful, so long as it is carried out as stated in the notification form. The legal basis is valid until 31.07.2023.

[Notification Form](#) **Comment**

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen av personopplysninger i prosjektet vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet med vedlegg den 19.08.2020, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Behandlingen kan starte.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER

Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilke type endringer det er nødvendig å melde:

https://nsd.no/personvernombud/meld_prosjekt/meld_endringer.html

Du må vente på svar fra NSD før endringen gjennomføres.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger frem til 31.07.2023.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG – UTVALG 1

Utvalg 1 består av foreldre og deres barn (12-16 år) og prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Foreldre/foresatte vil samtykke til at personopplysninger om barna (12-15 år) behandles i prosjektet.

Ungdommer 16 år vil samtykke selv til behandlingen av egne personopplysninger. Ut fra en helhetsvurdering av opplysningenes art og omfang, vurderer vi det slik at ungdommer 16 år har forutsetninger for å forstå hva behandlingen innebærer og kan samtykke på selvstendig grunnlag.

Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av personopplysninger om foreldre og ungdom 16 år vil dermed være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av personopplysninger om barn (12-15 år) vil være foresattes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG – UTVALG 2 og 3

Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte i utvalg 2 og 3 (lærere og ledere ved skolen) til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake. Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG – TREDJEPERSONER

Tredjepersoner vil bestå av eventuelle digitale samtalepartnere som ikke deltar på intervju. Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra tredjepersoner til behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake. Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

ANDRE TREDJEPERSONER/TAUSHETSPLIKT

Prosjektet vil ikke innhente opplysninger om andre som ikke deltar/samtykker. Foreldre vil bli bedt om å ikke navngi andre lærere (som ikke deltar i prosjektet) når de diskuterer digital kommunikasjon med skolen under intervju. Lærere/ledere vil bli påminnet om sin taushetsplikt før intervjuene begrunner og om at de kun skal identifisere foreldre/barn som deltar i prosjektet (hvor foreldre har samtykket og opphevet taushetsplikten) når de forteller om digital kommunikasjon med foreldre under intervju.

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER

NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen om:

- lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: åpenhet (art. 12), informasjon (art. 13), innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), underretning (art. 19), dataportabilitet (art. 20).

NSD vurderer at informasjonen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert/foresatt tar kontakt om sine/barnets rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

En oversetter vil være databehandler i prosjektet. NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene til bruk av databehandler, jf. art 28 og 29.

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og eventuelt rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

NSD vil følge opp underveis (hvert annet år) og ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene pågår i tråd med den behandlingen som er dokumentert.

Lykke til med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Eva J. B. Payne
Tlf. Personverntjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)

[Notification form](#) / [Digimulti. Digital interaction and multilingualism in school: The c...](#) / Assessment

Assessment of processing of personal data

Reference number

970829

Assessment type

Standard

Date

04.08.2023

Title

Digimulti. Digital interaction and multilingualism in school: The case of Lithuanians in Eastern Norway

Institution responsible for the project

Høgskolen i Innlandet / Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk / Institutt for humanistiske fag

Project leader

Hilde Thyness

Project period

03.08.2020 - 31.12.2023

Categories of personal data

General

Legal basis

Consent (General Data Protection Regulation art. 6 nr. 1 a)

The processing of personal data is lawful, so long as it is carried out as stated in the notification form. The legal basis is valid until 31.12.2023.

[Notification Form](#) 

Comment

Personverntjenester har vurdert endringen registrert i meldeskjemaet.

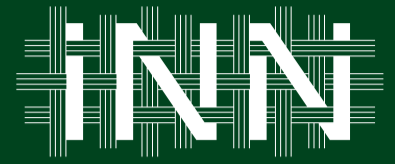
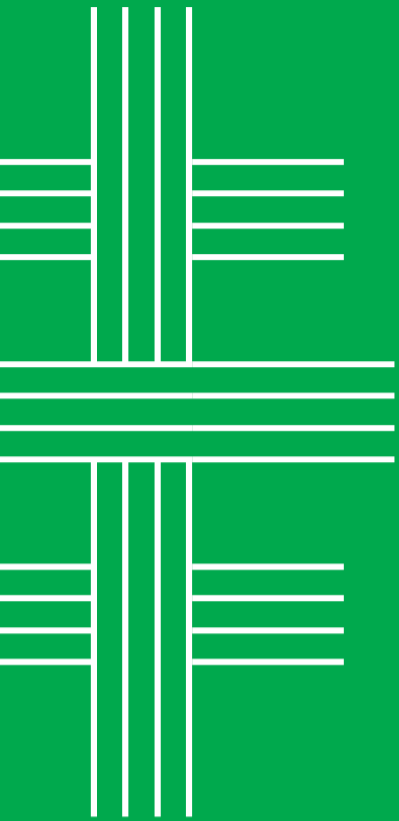
Vi har registrert ny dato for prosjektslutt, 31.12.2023. Ved fremtidige forlengelser av prosjektperioden, bør det vurderes om utvalget skal informeres.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

Vi vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet.

Kontaktperson: Lisa Lie Bjordal

Lykke til videre med prosjektet!



Inland Norway
University of
Applied Sciences

In Norway, parent-teacher interaction increasingly takes place in multilingual contexts and is digitally mediated. In the context of polarised debates concerning problems related to the inclusion of migrants, the schools are pinpointed as a crucial arena for the social inclusion of migrant parents. Importantly, digital interaction has been proposed as a way to break down language barriers between the home and the school. This article-based doctoral dissertation responds to a need to examine language and media practices for processes of inclusion and exclusion in relationships between majority language speaking teachers and parents who have Norwegian as an additional language as it has received little attention internationally as well as in Norway.

This is a sociolinguistically oriented qualitative study that applies nexus analysis to investigate the complexities in these parent-teacher relationships. The main conclusions are that there are wide-ranging opportunities for inclusion based on processes of alignment through the parents' and teachers' intentional deployment of semiotic resources across digital and non-digital settings. These intentional processes are furthermore linked to the core teacher identity feature of care and recognition of linguistic diversity, which involves a disposition towards thinking about what is best for all parents. However, important constraints remain in terms of a dominant monolingual ideology and the lack of institutional support to teachers, which emphasises the need for addressing other scales of the education system in order to achieve sustainable solutions for equity on the parent-teacher relationship level.