Critical Education

Neoliberal Discourse on the Webpages of English-Medium Vocational Education Schools and Coding Bootcamps in Sweden

Anna Metreveli

Citer cet article

Metreveli, A. (2025). Neoliberal Discourse on the Webpages of English-Medium Vocational Education Schools and Coding Bootcamps in Sweden. *Critical Education*, *16*(2), 49–67. https://doi.org/10.14288/ce.v16i2.186995

Résumé de l'article

Vocational education and training (VET) programs in Sweden blend classroom instruction and internships, while coding bootcamps offer accelerated adult education in computer science. These institutions increasingly teach in English, mirroring the shift towards English-medium Instruction (EMI) in higher education. Consequently, most EMI scholarship is focused on higher education. This paper investigates how ten Swedish EMI schools are discursively constructed on their webpages, employing reflective thematic analysis to uncover three primary themes: the schools' affinity with success, the uniqueness of their students, and the schools' teaching methods. The analysis reveals the schools' strong affinities with the neoliberal language and ideology, suggesting an alignment with the discourse of academic capitalism in higher and vocational EMI contexts. This paper discusses the similarities and differences in the dominance of neoliberal language and ideology in both educational settings, highlighting broader implications for critical education.

Critical Education

Neoliberal Discourse on the Webpages of English-Medium Vocational Education Schools and Coding Bootcamps in Sweden

Anna Metreveli

Stockholm University

Abstract

Vocational education and training (VET) programs in Sweden blend classroom instruction and internships, while coding bootcamps offer accelerated adult education in computer science. These institutions increasingly teach in English, mirroring the shift towards English-medium Instruction (EMI) in higher education. Consequently, most EMI scholarship is focused on higher education. This paper investigates how ten Swedish EMI schools are discursively constructed on their webpages, employing reflective thematic analysis to uncover three primary themes: the schools' affinity with success, the uniqueness of their students, and the schools' teaching methods. The analysis reveals the schools' strong affinities with the neoliberal language and ideology, suggesting an alignment with the discourse of academic capitalism in higher and vocational EMI contexts. This paper discusses the similarities and differences in the dominance of neoliberal language and ideology in both educational settings, highlighting broader implications for critical education.

Introduction

Vocational adult education and training programs combine classroom instruction with on-the-job training or internships. Sweden's Higher Vocational Education (HVE) was launched in 2002[1] to provide professional post-secondary qualifications (Kuczera & Jeon, 2019); the programs last one to three years, are predominantly taught in Swedish and should include a minimum of 25% workplace training. These programs are available on a post-secondary level for applicants aged 19 and above, are recognized with qualifications at the European Qualifications Framework level 6 (EQF 6) and can be organized by state higher education institutions, municipalities, and individuals or legal entities (Cedefop; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019). An increasing number of Swedish HVE schools, however, are offering programs and courses in English, specializing primarily in tech, business, or project management. The education in these schools is free for Nordic students, EU citizens, and Swedish residence permit holders. Among noteworthy incentives are the grant and loan from The Swedish Board of Student Finance (CSN) for this group of students.

Another popular form of education that attracts adult students in Sweden is coding bootcamps–intensive short-study programs in computer science. These schools offer accelerated programs that usually last between three to six months and teach programming and software development to beginners (Lyon & Green, 2018), with several providing English-medium teaching. Some schools are free[2]; others require their students to pay a fee. Within the scope of coding bootcamps, there is a further division into the so-called *pink coding* bootcamps. These coding bootcamps recruit women and non-binary students by promising a more welcoming, inclusive, and safer environment for studying computer science (Lyon & Green, 2020). The present study uses a more commonly used umbrella term, *vocational education and training* (VET) when referring to HVE and coding bootcamps in Sweden, as both have similar minimum entry requirements for applicants: the upper secondary leaving certificate, although in reality the educational progression routes to these forms of education are more nuanced and complicated, with some learners having higher education degrees. Moreover, a growing number of coding bootcamps can be supported through CSN. While it is not clear, whether European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training includes coding bootcamps into the category "Adult learning", I believe it should be categorized as a post-secondary level education (see Figure 1) because of the similarities between entry requirements for both HVE programs and coding bootcamps that might also include specific courses in upper secondary level, pre-courses, or work experience in a certain field (Cedefop; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019).

Despite the increase in the number of vocational schools offering English-medium Instruction (EMI), most publications about EMI in Sweden are focused on higher education and international or bilingual schools (e.g., Airey, 2018; Dafouz, 2017; Kuteeva, 2023; Macaro, 2020; Macaro et al., 2018; Mežek & Björkman, 2024; Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). Many researchers have been pointing to the links between the increased amount of EMI in higher education and its marketization (Fairclough, 1993), as well as neoliberalization (Block, 2018). Based on Block's description (2022, p. 83), alongside the marketization and metrification of all academic activity,

---

[1] The Swedish National Agency for Higher Vocational Education (Myndigheten för yrkeshögskolan) was established in 2009.

[2] It is debatable to what extent they are actually free, as will be discussed in the following sections.

the neoliberalization of higher education manifests in increased managerialism and the introduction of various auditing procedures. In addition, many EMI policies and practices are motivated by university ranking systems. Given that EMI vocational schools do not use ranking systems similar to higher education and focus on accelerated adult education, they form an intriguing angle for investigating whether the same processes of marketization and neoliberalization can be observed at that educational level. In order to examine the growing prevalence and implications of EMI in VET schools, this study introduces a new term: EMVET (English-medium Instruction in Vocational Education and Training) to represent an emerging area within educational research that focuses on programs blending vocational training with EMI to cater to an increasingly transnational and mobile workforce.
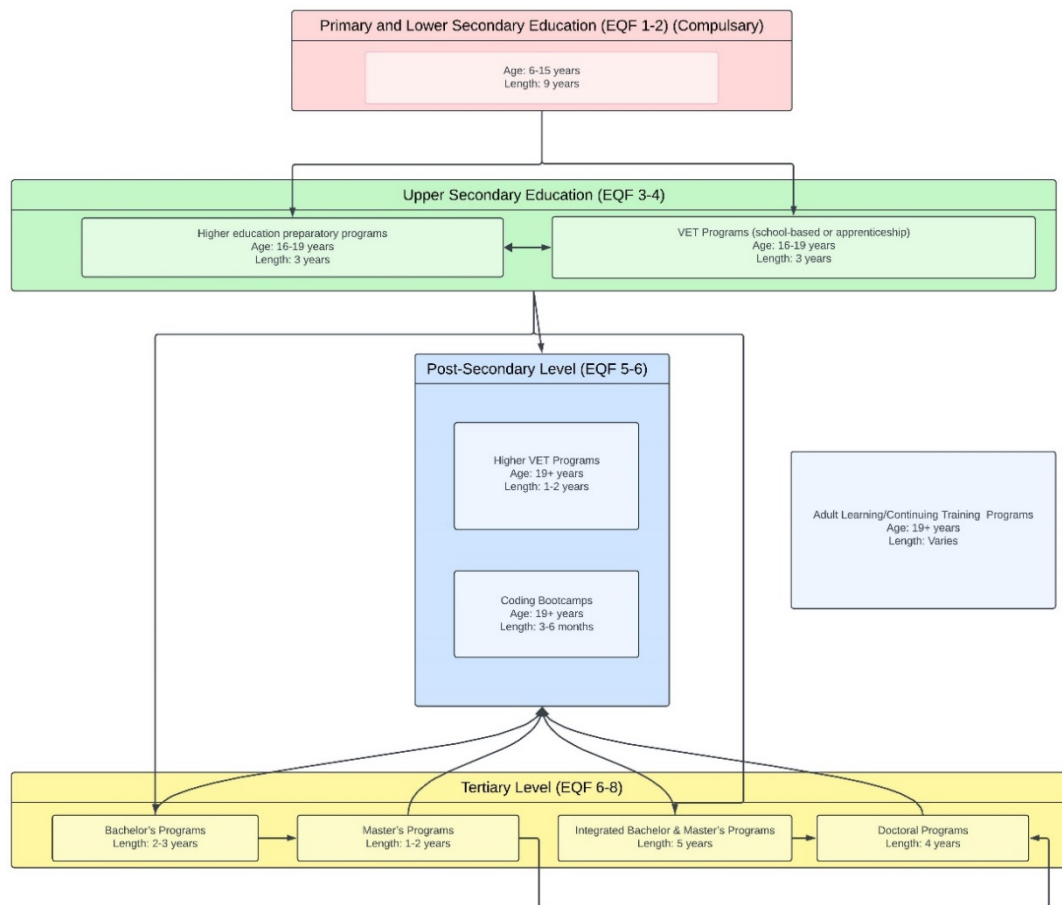
Figure 1. Swedish educational roadmap. Adapted from Cedefop (2019).

In response to the rise of EMVET in Sweden and other non-anglophone countries, the present study aims to investigate the identities of EMVET schools portrayed on their official webpages. Since potential EMVET applicants start their research journey into the schools from their official webpages, it makes sense to begin exploring Swedish EMVET in the same way. This research attempts to uncover the underlying ideologies shaping the public imagery of EMVET schools in Sweden by looking into how ten such schools are discursively constructed on their official webpages. Through a systematic reflective thematic analysis, the paper aims to identify the dominant ideologies and discuss their implications for potential applicants, students, education providers, and policymakers. This examination broadens the field of EMI, extending its reach

beyond traditional higher education settings to include vocational education—a previously overlooked educational setting in EMI research. The focus on web-based discursive constructions can provide insights into the positioning of these schools within the broader educational landscape, adding to a more nuanced understanding of how language and ideology shape diverse educational pathways. Ultimately, this study aspires to offer a foundation for further research on EMI implementation in vocational settings and to inform the development of more critical and reflective educational practices.

English, Neoliberalism, and Vocational Education in Sweden
English as a marketable skill in education

According to Seidlhofer (2020), knowing English in the 21st century can be compared to the importance of reading during industrialization. This significance is especially prominent in countries of the so-called expanding circle (Kachru, 1986) such as Sweden, ranked third in Europe for offering EMI programs in higher education (Dafouz, 2017, p. 172). Unsurprisingly, following the trend set by the universities, an increasing number of vocational schools in Sweden are offering their programs and upskilling courses in English.

EMI is typically used to refer to higher education in non-native English countries that use English as a language of instruction for subjects other than English. Many researchers believe that EMI has brought to higher education "a change of paradigm in how English is viewed, from regarding it originally as a foreign language to be learned in class and used abroad, to conceptualizing it as a lingua franca" (Dafouz, 2017, p. 175). According to Dafouz (2017, p. 170), EMI programs usually have two main objectives: recruiting international talent and increasing revenue from such enrollment and internalization. These objectives are usually achieved through increased attempts to recruit students with a more "cosmopolitan identity, a common supra-national sense of belonging and economic betterment" (Lorente, 2017, p. 487) or what David Block (2018) calls *neoliberal citizens*.

Recent literature has been enriched with studies on the links between EMI and neoliberalism, and the language of academic capitalism/neoliberalism on universities' official webpages (Bori & Block, 2023; Deng & Feng, 2022; Hua et al., 2017; Ren, 2023; Urciuoli, 2022). As a result, it is important to shift the vanguard discussions of neoliberalism from higher education to other EMI educational settings. The language of the new capitalism (J. P. Gee & Lankshear, 1995; Leary, 2019) is often understood through English and is closely intertwined with the so-called *Cult of Speed* (O. Barnawi, 2020) in the age of neoliberal mobility. Therefore, our attention should fall on the accelerated forms of education with fast program turnover (Köpsén, 2022a).

In the present study, language is treated as a marketable skill that "has social value as part of community building; and it neither requires nor constitutes labor, even if language can be considered a skill that can increase labor power" (Block, 2021, p. 202). While English is often linked with commodifiable language skills as the language of the world economy (Perrin, 2017), this paper aligns with critics of the *language commodification* terminology (Block, 2021; Yazan, 2021), who use Marx's perspective of value in understanding language. Moreover, according to Petrovic and Yazan (2021), language does not meet the criteria for a commodity, as commodities must be created for exchange, while the labor needed to create them becomes a value if it has a potential for exchange. Thus, they believe in need to speak about language as an instrument in the labor process, a resource, or a marketable skill, not a commodity (Petrovic & Yazan, 2021).

The language-as-resource description is closely connected with the theoretical lens initially developed by Phillipson (2006) and later applied to the Swedish context of upper-secondary EMI education by Hult (2017). According to this lens, English, depending on its functions, can be seen as a *lingua economica* (language of marketization), *lingua cultura* (language of values and norms), *lingua academica* (language of education and research), *lingua emotiva* (language linked with pop culture and entertainment), *lingua tyrannosaura* (language as a threat to other languages), and *lingua bellica* (language of military power) (Phillipson, 2006, p. 12). The findings from Hult's investigation into Swedish upper-secondary education English policies suggest that the syllabus for English is predominantly influenced by sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions, mentioning English in the context of VET as *lingua economica*–a language "indexed with neoliberal aspects of globalisation, corporate interests, and market competition" (2017, p. 268). Thus, language marketization has powerful links to English (Martín Rojo, 2018), reinforced by neoliberalism that simultaneously transforms multilingualism into a marketable skill serving global corporations (Flores, 2013). As a result, the rise of English as a marketable skill in education, especially in the context of Sweden's EMI programs, highlights the importance of broader discussions on how neoliberal ideologies influence educational policies and practices, and what forms of governmentality develop from it in education.

Neoliberal Governmentality in Education

The term *neoliberalism* has undergone semantic slippage (Petrovic & Yazan, 2021) after evolving from its original economic and political meaning rooted in free-market policies (Harvey, 2007) and low government intervention into a blanket term describing a range of social and political critiques. Therefore, this study regards neoliberalism as a "political rationality that informs the contemporary governance of populations, institutions, and practices, including language and subjects" (Rojo & Percio, 2019, p. 3) and uses neoliberal governmentality as a conceptual lens to address language policies and practices as an extension of neoliberal logic (Martín Rojo, 2018). Essentially, neoliberal rationality refers to the ideological underpinnings of neoliberalism, while neoliberal governmentality is responsible for their practical implementations. For example, in education, it can describe strategies used by education policymakers and other stakeholders to navigate the behavior of students and education providers in alignment with neoliberal ideals. Neoliberal governmentality becomes a driving force of self-governance on the individual level, characterized by a "corporatization of the individual subject" (Flores, 2013, p. 503), where education becomes the critical site for the production of homo economicus (Block, 2018)–an innovative, independent, and flexible individual under the turbulent changes of accelerated life (Flores, 2013). The expansion of neoliberal governmentality has been pushed through the discourses of personal enterprise and language as a profit, significantly impacting speakers' lived and learning experiences and trajectories while turning them into self-enterprises (Martín Rojo, 2018).

Some researchers even go further by arguing that "neoliberalism as a cognitive frame affects the enunciative field, it functions similarly to affect one's habitus, recreating human beings as entrepreneurial individuals, coercing that we take on marketable skills" (Petrovic & Yazan, 2021, p. 33). As a result, neoliberalism produces specific subjectivities–ways of understanding self or others resulting in the creation of the so-called *homo neoliberal* or *neoliberal subjects*– individuals formed by particular tendencies and motivations, bearing all the responsibilities of developing their skills and traits (Rojo & Percio, 2019, p. 16) as part of what Urciolli (2008) calls

"bundle of skills." Therefore, Rojo and Percio (2019, p. 11) also see lifelong learning, the accumulation of skills and languages (especially English), as outcomes of responsibilization that shift the responsibility to learn and find jobs on these individuals.

Thus, understanding the influence of neoliberal governmentality on individual subjectivities provides a necessary background to proceed with a specific context of EMVET in Sweden. The existing scholarship of marketization and neoliberal tendencies in education provides compelling evidence of the general effects of neoliberalism on education (Busch, 2023; Ingleby, 2021; Pérez-Milans, 2021) that manifest in a set of changes and challenges ranging from the issues with funding and resource allocation, audit culture, promotion of standardization and accountability checks, decentralization of education, to the local and global impacts on teachers, curriculum, and learners. Research shows that neoliberal interventions in secondary schools lead to negative consequences for tertiary education (Ingleby, 2021, p. 133). It is thus urgent to investigate the consequences of these interventions in education that directly lead to the labor market. Shifting from broader neoliberal educational policies to the specifics of Swedish EMVET can, therefore, clarify how global trends in education manifest in localized settings.

Vocational Education: The Swedish Context

Researchers studying changes within VET in Sweden have focused on many angles, ranging from the history of VET in Sweden (Broberg, 2014) to the development of market orientation in VET (Andersson & Muhrman, 2022). According to Köpsén (2022b), every VET is "rooted in a specific historical, social and economic context, and they are incorporated within different types of welfare regimes" (p. 168). As a result, the development of Swedish VET was initially influenced by the *Swedish model*–a socio-economic and political system that combines a mixed-market capitalist economy, a strong welfare state, and alignment with progressive social values and policies. The link with the Swedish model has slowly weakened due to the global neoliberal course. This weakening accelerated rapidly after 2006, when a Conservative-Liberal coalition government won the elections. The new ruling coalition commenced reforming initial and post-secondary VET and established a new form of HVE with a decentralized formation of its programs and curricula (Köpsén, 2022b). Hence, the HVE programs are now initiated by local employers and each program is tasked with educational content-making (Köpsén, 2022b). Interestingly, while the initial aim of pre-reform VET was to provide more students with access to higher education since its qualifications made students eligible for professional and academic higher education, the credits from modern HVE are no longer transferable to the system of professional and academic higher education (Köpsén, 2022b), and same applies to the coding bootcamps. As a result of these changes, "there is a clear-cut division of tracks into either VET or higher education preparatory programmes, with the former distinctively geared towards employability and market relevance" (Köpsén, 2022b, p. 171).

The study of EMVET in Sweden under the influence of neoliberal governmentality opens the door to a more detailed conversation about its primary mechanisms: the use of neoliberal language and words that permeate educational discourse. This discussion explores the boundary work (Berner, 2010a) in vocational education, where the blurred boundaries between different educational settings demonstrate the substantial impact of neoliberalism.

Neoliberal Keywords and Boundary Work in Education

Neoliberalism is not the only term that has undergone semantic slippage. It can be held directly responsible for the birth of many "textual ancillaries" (J. P. Gee & Lankshear, 1995, p. 5) or *keywords of capitalism* (Leary, 2019) that are strategically deployable shifters with denotational indeterminacy (Urciuoli, 2008). These neoliberal keywords (Williams, 2014) have undergone the process of gradual semantic slippage and are now used to normalize the objectives of neoliberalism: profitability, competitiveness, identity politics, individual libertarianism, multiculturalism, blatant consumerism, flexibility, mobility, self-entrepreneurship, and self-governance (Harvey, 2007; Rojo & Percio, 2019).

The prevalence of neoliberal keywords in English has also been noticed outside of linguistics. For example, de Graaf (2023) writes about the use of these terms in architecture and refers to them as *Profspeak*, warning the reader that when "words can carry any and all meaning, no credible disagreement can ever ensue as a result of their use" (2023, p. 136). Therefore, the data analysis was constantly followed by observations of whether these neoliberal keywords have "colonized" the webpages (Fairclough, 1993), and the potential effects of their presence on the themes' development.

In exploring the expanding presence of neoliberal keywords in educational discourse, it becomes increasingly evident how the neoliberal ideology has also infiltrated VET, primarily through the production of the *boundary work* (Berner, 2010b), which describes unique features of VET where boundaries between schooling and workplace training are often blurred, as everyday activities require a reconstruction of workplace learning and life. Berner (2010b, p. 28) reveals that VET consists of intense interactions between teachers and students, it is oriented towards a "clearly defined vocational labour market," and VET teachers have extensive workplace experience. While his description is aimed at Swedish-medium VET schools, some similarities can be seen in the case of EMVET schools. Except for coding bootcamps, it might be hard to see any clearly defined vocational labor market for many programs.

However, due to a "very clear mandate to train participants for work" (Ye et al., 2022, p. 5) imposed by the government, it becomes possible to investigate EMVET as part of the integrated view of learning (J. Gee, 2018), relevant for both school and workplace settings to elevate the students to join the so-called *New Work Order* (J. P. Gee & Lankshear, 1995). The New Work Order transforms citizens into neoliberal citizens, and students–into neoliberal student subjects "equipped through education and training with competencies and skills that make them adaptable to changing labour markets" (Köpsén, 2022b, p. 181).

The growing link between boundary work and the New Work Order under neoliberal governmentality in VET leads to a discussion on the rising prominence of EMVET in non-anglophone countries, where English as a marketable skill plays a pivotal role in preparing students for work in the transnational job market.

Materials and Methods

This study's main focus was to investigate how EMVET schools are discursively constructed in their webpages. The data comprised webpages from ten operational schools at the time of research. These schools were selected based on their use of EMI in at least one program, availability of webpages in English, and operational status. The schools included five HVE schools and five coding bootcamps, with two being pink coding bootcamps.

Data collection occurred between March and April 2023 and included the schools' main homepages, their "About Us", and "Student testimonials" sections, if available. This selection gave a comprehensive view of how the schools present themselves and interact with potential applicants and stakeholders. Notably, the collected data included textual and visual elements such as photos and images, reflecting the multimodal nature of web communication.

Drawing on Pauwels' (2011) treatment of webpages as disembodied environments that combine various visual features and types of verbal and nonverbal information, the first two stages of his six-phase model were employed. These stages focused on preserving first impressions and cataloging salient features and topics, including the analysis of images and photos (Pauwels, 2011, p. 577). During the second analysis stage, a specific focus was put on the presence of EMI educational policies and neoliberal keywords (Leary, 2019).

Reflective thematic analysis (RTA) of the webpages was chosen for its flexibility and emphasis on the researcher's active role in coding and theme development (Braun & Clarke, 2021b). In RTA, themes are produced by the researcher through systematic and reflective engagement with the data; they do not just appear from the data, as suggested by many pattern-based approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2021a). Additionally, the selection of RTA was motivated by my insights as a former student in one of the selected schools. This approach facilitates a more nuanced analysis while allowing a continuous reflection on personal experience as an insider researcher in my reflexive journal. Moreover, RTA can offer valuable insights into the key messages and priorities schools communicate through their online presence. This approach involved an iterative process of data familiarization, coding, initial theme generation, theme development and review, refining, defining, and naming themes, followed by a comprehensive write-up (Braun & Clarke, 2021b, p. 6). The coding and theme development stages were conducted using MAXQDA software (VERBI Software, 2021), which also aided in capturing and saving the content of webpages, including visual data.

The themes were developed and guided by my central research question: *How are EMVET schools discursively constructed in their webpages?* In addition, the following sub-questions were used to inform my analysis: 1) What key themes can be identified in the webpages of EMVET schools? 2) What language and terminology do the schools use to describe their education? 2) How do the schools engage in boundary work and communicate their association with industry?

Results

As a result of the first four stages of RTA, three themes emerged. *Affinity with success* proclaims affinity with every form of success and capital. *(Not)Everyone can do it* describes the uniqueness of their students and many pipelines for a career change. However, this theme also encapsulates a dichotomy often present in the data. While everyone can code, there are also numerous covert and overt affordances on the schools' webpages, both in text and imagery. Finally, *A School Like No Other* explores the core idea of the school's uniqueness that moves beyond traditional teaching associated with classrooms, textbooks, or teachers. An investigation into the schools' language policies revealed that, unlike universities, vocational schools omit any explicit language policy statements on their websites, casually mentioning that the programs are taught in English. Similar to marketization of public discourse in higher education (Fairclough, 1993), the institutional voice of EMVET schools appears to be highly personalized and agentive through the use of collective "we", a second person "you", and imperative verbs (e.g., *Transform your career or give it a fresh perspective… We're here to help you acquire new skills, boost your career, and*

connect with fellow professionals in your industry). Moreover, the webpages combine several elements of Fairclough's interdiscursivity: commodity, prestige, and traditional advertisings (1993, p. 147), adding the advertising of acceleration to the mix.

Theme 1 "Affinity with success"

Affinity with success is ubiquitously present in the dataset. It can be a success story of a former student, being part of the Cold Rush that describes the commodification of natural Arctic resources (Pietikäinen, 2018) (see Figure 2), awards, and other forms of capital. It is present in the logos of Big Tech companies labeled as "Our Partners" and in bold statements as *We collaborate with thought leaders and experts to anticipate industry needs in a world where innovation drives disruption*. This statement alone has four words from Leary's Keywords of Capitalism (2019). Words like *collaborate*, *thought leaders*, *innovation*, and *disruption* share an affinity for hierarchy and competition (Leary, 2019, p. 4) and are omnipresent in the marketization of public discourse within higher education (Fairclough, 1993). Unsurprisingly, out of the 47 keywords Leary (2019) identified, 40 were present in the analyzed webpages.
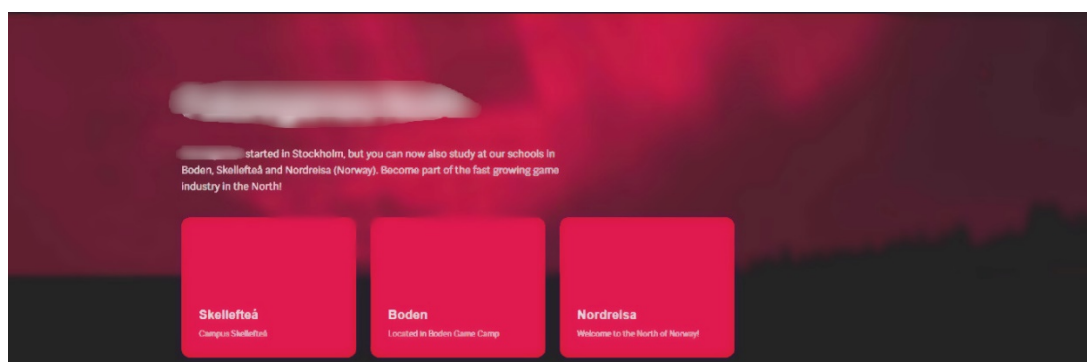

Figure 2. Screenshot with an ad for school campuses in the North and imagery of Northern lights. Downloaded in 16.10.2023

While universities attempt to highlight success by revealing rankings and other audit culture metrics on their webpages, EMVET schools' affinity with success is their students' employability after graduation.

Testimonials from students are mainly filled with success narratives and vocabularies of personal qualities and skills (Fairclough, 1993), where EMVET schools are often represented as co-creators if not agents of this success. If the student is not working for a Big Tech company, she is *championing freelance female developers*. Even unemployment can be rebranded as *the liberating feeling of active unemployment* and reconfigured into another success story. As a result, "unemployed subjects are interpellated as autonomous, self-responsible and entrepreneurial subjects, that can achieve freedom, independence and success if only they are willing to subject themselves to the live ethics imposed by neoliberalism" (Rojo & Percio, 2019, p. 19). In other words, while Fairclough (1993, p. 157) identifies the decline of stable institutional identities as a major shift in the discourse of a modern university, in case of EMVET–unstable is the new stable.

The role of neoliberal agency is salient in how students design their learning and linguistic trajectories, both temporally and spatially (Rojo & Percio, 2019). Aside from dream jobs, the analyzed webpages create affinity with the alums' dream locations. Not only are the former

students working in companies like Apple–they are doing it from Anglophone countries. As a result, English is conceptualized as a helpful tool in achieving these students' aspirations. While international students are lured by the imagery of Northern lights and other traditional Nordic concepts like *lagom*[3], which de Graaf (2023) includes in his dictionary of Profspeak (see Figure 3), domestic students are promised a sunny life on Australian beaches or pleasant strolls in London.

Another spatial affinity is created through the links with Swedish industrial history. The two oldest and most well-established HVE schools in the dataset use commodified nostalgia to describe former industrial factories they occupy. This spatial affinity is seen in the photos of lofty interiors and their descriptions: the places are no longer home to industrial workers. Instead, they are housing hundreds of lifelong learners and innovative thinkers. These photos become discursive events (Fairclough, 1993) instrumental in constructing a school's identity.

The right environment with the right people at the right time and place, it is the true lagom-core take that _____ has that makes it so unique.

Figure 3. Screenshot from a HVE school. Downloaded on 06.04.2023

Theme 2 "(Not)Everyone can do it"

The anecdotal evidence from my studies at one of the schools suggests that Swedish EMVET schools attract diverse students from different backgrounds. I also gathered the same impression after visiting other schools during their open house days. Moreover, this observation is supported by official statistics, where half of the HVE students admitted in 2022 were 40 years or older, with 75% being domestically born and 25%–foreign-born (National Agency for Higher Vocational Education, 2022). However, the imagery on the webpages did not seem to reflect the average age of the students. Most photos featured conventionally attractive young white students and *Diverse Good Students* (Urciuoli, 2022).

Pink coding bootcamps offered the most straightforward description of their average student. Based on the student testimonials, it is someone who wants to change careers, work as a freelancer, strengthen their coding skills, or because of the new job. Other popular pipelines were moving to a new career due to career uncertainty and turbulent times (especially after the COVID-19 pandemic), accelerated speed of education (in comparison to getting an undergraduate degree), upskilling from another tech job, becoming a hobby coder, switching career after having kids, or

---

[3] Not too much, not too little – in moderation

after having a degree in humanities. These findings seem to align with other research on coding bootcamps in the US (Lyon & Green, 2018, 2020; Miltner, 2022; Twine & Jha, n.d.).

From a homemaker to an *autonomous coder*, from a graduate student to another career, this theme highlights how students "are encouraged to imagine themselves as separable pieces, as sets of mainly soft skills, which they should strive to improve in order to achieve perfection, come what may" (Rojo & Percio, 2019, p. 18). As a result, in their testimonials, students are always described as "bundles of skills" (Urciuoli, 2010, p. 162), with English being its unmentionable part. The latter is implied, as the testimonials were written in English. Moreover, mentioning the students' previous jobs and degrees in the testimonials creates dual indexicality (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017): by disclosing the students' previous careers and education, they also indicate what education paths and careers are not *future-proof* and have no affinity with success.

Regarding English language policies, only three schools mentioned some English requirements (usually for students to have an equivalent of English 6[4]), with only one explicitly mentioning tests like TOEFL or IELTS. Most schools only named English as a working language, specifying that the test tasks and other application materials should be submitted in English. While such definitions of required language skills could mean a broader audience, it could be argued that the main entrance barriers for more diverse students are the application tasks and the prerequisite coding knowledge in some schools. While most coding bootcamps claim to be beginner-friendly, application tasks require at least some knowledge of coding or tools like Miro, Notion, etc. Moreover, some schools currently offer paid preparatory courses or require finishing a pre-training course. It is also taken for granted that the average student is someone who at least owns a laptop since most schools do not provide any equipment. Judging from the predominance of imagery of students with their Apple MacBooks, an average student is expected to have one. This observation aligns with the previous findings that such schools benefit the most students who are already socially embedded in computer science (Twine & Jha, n.d.) and are not struggling financially.

Theme 3 "A school like no other"

One of the themes that emerged on every webpage was a promise that by joining the school, the student would become part of a unique experience. These schools have *No teachers. Only professionals*. Instead of "teaching", they *design learning experience*. Students are not "paying" for an education–they *invest into future*. Moreover, students are not "studying"; they are *coding their brains out* or *developing a kick-ass portfolio*. It is not an ordinary brick-and-mortar school with printed textbooks, libraries, and teachers. Instead of teachers, the schools have *industry leaders*, *learning facilitators*, or *professional instructors*, signaling a closer affinity with the industry rather than education. This affinity with work and the schools' lexical choices to describe teachers and learners, who are also not articulated as learning subjects (Köpsén, 2022b), challenge the traditional didactic triangle of student-teacher-content, with the latter being more co-dependent from the employer initiating the VET program (Köpsén, 2022b).

According to recent findings, VET schools face significant pitfalls and risks, such as poor track record of students' success, insufficient curricula, and inadequately trained teaching staff (Miltner, 2022). It seems that the Swedish EMVET schools are not only aware of it but openly

---

[4] Most Swedish universities set their English requirements to English 5-7. English 6 corresponds to an IELTS score of 6.5 or a TOEFL iBT overall score of 90.

display it on their webpages by stating that their instructors have no professional pedagogical training or experience. Everyone can code, and everyone can teach. The professionalism of an instructor is apparently only attested through their affinity with the industry.

Another way of showing that the schools are "like no other" is to mention their unique teaching methods. Most teaching methods are described as *learning by doing*, *action-based learning,* or a *holistic approach to teaching*. One is left to wonder how these pedagogies are implemented if most schools have *no teachers.* However, since EMVET uses boundary work, it is no surprise that the main emphasis in descriptions of these teaching methods is either put on group work or self-directed and lifelong learning.

Discussion

All three themes that discursively construct EMVET schools on their webpages form an image of a unique modern vocational school. In it, English is just another element in a "bundle of skills" (Urciuoli, 2008) or *lingua economica* (Hult, 2017). All the schools promise to provide *real World-ready skills* and *future-proof education* to their students. This uniqueness, however, creates a tenacious feeling of déjà vu, as one is constantly followed by *real-life projects*, *disruptions*, *innovations*, *growth hacks*, various *mindsets*, *empowerments*, and other neoliberal keywords that add to the "empty rhetoric of corporate-speak" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 33). Since these keywords are usually skills-related terms that are semantically variable and tend to cluster (Urciuoli, 2008), many schools engage in using what I call a *Keyword Salad*–a combination of neoliberal keywords that do not add any value to the description, are characterized by denotational indeterminacy (Urciuoli, 2008), and, similar to Leary's keywords of capitalism (2019), are used by people when they are not calling things by their names. While the Keyword Salad consists of words with dictionary definitions on a surface level, they are actually "referring expressions whose semantic value seems obvious yet is hard to pin down" (Urciuoli, 2008, p. 214). These expressions lead to a manipulation of meaning for instrumental effects (Fairclough, 1993). As a result, while all the schools aim to establish their individuality, the predominance of neoliberal keywords and Keyword Salads become a barrier in this pursuit. Using Keyword Salads as strategically deployable shifters aligned with the New Work Order values leads to "a saturation that most users absorb without deliberate or conscious intent" (Urciuoli, 2010, p. 168).

Discourses of linguistic superdiversity are also signaled through the photos of the "Diverse Good Students" (Urciuoli, 2022). They are, in particular, linked to neoliberalism and population management within it, leading to the commodification of linguistic and cultural differences (Rosa & Trivedi, 2017, p. 336), where diversity operates as a deployable shifter, strategically aligning students with a market-oriented perspective (Urciuoli, 2010). The photos of non-white international and domestic students are usually accompanied by their testimonials in English. Thus, the neutrality of English "is based on the ideology that it represents the language of no one and simultaneously the language of everyone" (Kelly-Holmes, 2014, p. 143). While symbolic or instrumental concerns can drive the use of English in visual advertisements, the main message is the school's transnational nature and glocalization. These choices are often reflected in the decision to use English for the primary gateway homepages of EMVET schools.

The analysis of the webpages introduces many similarities between neoliberalization of higher education and EMVET. Both are preoccupied with making their students more saleable in the job market and use a substantial amount of neoliberal keywords on their webpages (Block, 2018); both are deeply involved with private patrons and have extended managerial capacity

(Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). In addition, both are using EMI as one of the gateways to the new economy and an opportunity to recruit more international personnel and students. Finally, both universities and EMVET schools are connected to the neoliberal state. While domestic or EU students do not pay fees in HVE schools and some coding bootcamps, they become part of the neoliberal state by taking state grants and loans, confirming their identity as customers alongside fee-paying students, as well as through the schools' connection with the Swedish employer who can "place an order by initiating an HVE programme, pay only a minor part of the cost by contributing to the education and training and receive the state-subsidised commodity when it graduates" (Köpsén, 2022b, p. 180). Several coding bootcamps do not grant access to grants and loans but claim to be free, however, they do not disclose any information about possible hidden costs or cancellation fees on their webpages. Moreover, they are accessible only to financially well-off students who can support their housing and living expenses during their studies. However, this is also where, I would argue, the similarities between higher education and EMVET end.

While universities have experienced a shift from a public good knowledge regime to an academic capitalist knowledge regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 8), the former hardly existed within EMVET, as they do not participate in international learned networks unless international competitions or hackathons count as ones. In addition, EMVET is not occupied in patent making like higher education, so unless counting design sprints that require signing an NDA, it could be argued that knowledge within EMVET is not treated as raw material (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Instead, the students are. Through advertisements of their students' labor for days-long excruciating design sprints or lengthy, often unpaid internships, EMVET schools treat their students as mere commodities, a product to market.

Moreover, unlike universities, EMVET schools have started with already reconfigured labor forces: *no teachers, only professionals* means that many EMVET schools (except a couple of coding bootcamps) hire only contingent teaching personnel, outsourcing teaching to the so-called industry leaders. The full-time worker is a managerial worker, with a more significant number of middle management–a similar characteristic of neoliberalism in universities. As a result, the bulk of learning responsibilities is now pushed down on a *community of lifelong learners*–their students, while the practice of lifelong learning and accumulating the "bundle of skills" (Urciuoli, 2008) can be treated as a result of "responsibilisation"–the students' own responsibility to succeed on the job market (Rojo & Percio, 2019, p. 11).

The prior existence of the public good knowledge regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) in higher education makes it alluring to contemplate possible alternatives and countermeasures to the rise of neoliberal ideology in education (O. Z. Barnawi, 2022; Bori & Block, 2023; Bori & Canale, 2022). Researchers are looking for alternatives in the socialist past and the recent fights against neoliberalism in the Global South. Interestingly, one does not have to cross borders to look for alternatives in EMVET: the history of Swedish VET has many examples of public good knowledge teaching in the policies of initial VET, where the formation of curricula and qualifications were negotiated by the stakeholders of the traditional Swedish model, including trade unions (Köpsén, 2022b). Thus, broadening the search for alternatives becomes essential. It is also important to remember that, based on the number of positive reviews online, some people have accepted the neoliberal Cult of Speed (O. Barnawi, 2020), have transformed into neoliberal citizens (Block, 2018)*,* and might not want any interventions.

Conclusion

The main goal of this paper was to investigate how EMVET schools are discursively constructed in their webpages, using RTA to uncover the core ideologies. In revealing these ideologies, I attempted to discover what language and terminology describe their education and how they engage in boundary work and communicate their association with industry. Addressing these questions helped to clarify processes affecting EMVET in Sweden.

In essence, this study has highlighted that the websites of all ten analyzed schools share three main themes or messages that belong to "neoliberal rationality" (Rojo & Percio, 2019, p. 18). Firstly, the schools showed an affinity with success through the use of students' stories and multiple links with tech and Nordic companies. The second and third themes described the uniqueness of the students and the schools. All three themes were entangled with the promotional discourse of the schools' webpages and imagery they used to recruit students with a more cosmopolitan and mobile identity, building solid affinities with the neoliberal language and ideology.

It could be concluded that the abovementioned themes are the main driving force behind the affinity with English as the primary language or neoliberal governmentality and as *lingua economica*. Other processes characterizing the neoliberalization of higher education and academic capitalism/neoliberalism (e.g., university rankings, "publish or perish" ideology, etc.) are irrelevant for EMVET.

While two main themes describing the uniqueness of students and schools are emphasized, the prevalence of neoliberal terminology and entrepreneurial language likely leads to a lack of individuality among most schools and a failure to represent their students as individuals or learning subjects (Köpsén, 2022b). Instead, the students' success stories form a unitary narrative of a neoliberal community of practice. Only a handful of schools appear to have established a more distinct identity, emphasized by their ability to provide practical information about their programs. The lack of practical information is often exacerbated by the schools' inability or unwillingness to provide reliable data about their acceptance, graduation, and industry placement rates.

These findings suggest that the processes of discursive construction of academic capitalism have many similarities in both higher (Bori & Block, 2023) and EMVET settings. However, it is essential to note that by writing about the marketization of higher education and the establishment of academic capitalism, there appears to be a presupposition that at some point in the past, universities were not marketized or affected by the processes of neoliberalization. In contrast, most EMVET schools were already born into these realities. This observation does not mean, however, that it is not possible to challenge the established dominance of neoliberal ideology in EMVET.

In light of these findings, it is possible to situate EMVET as part of the EMI scholarship; however, it is vital to continue investigating the distinctive world of EMVET in Sweden. While the analysis of webpages provides a glimpse of the schools' identities and the desired "Good Student" (Urciuoli, 2022), it cannot provide a complete picture. Future research should collect student and school perspectives on EMVET. These perspectives can potentially explore whether the theory of academic capitalism/neoliberalism (Bori & Block, 2023; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) can be remodeled to fully describe the entanglement of neoliberalism and vocational education, and provide more detailed descriptions of the schools' language policies and practices.

References

Airey, J. (2018). *EMI, CLIL, EAP:What's the difference?* Study Abroad, EMI, and Formal Instruction. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-373498

Andersson, P., & Muhrman, K. (2022). Swedish Vocational Adult Education in the Wake of Marketisation. *International Journal for Research in Vocational Education and Training*, *9*, 1–22. https://doi.org/10.13152/IJRVET.9.1.1

Barnawi, O. (2020). *TESOL and the Cult of Speed in the Age of Neoliberal Mobility*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429293429

Barnawi, O. Z. (2022). Resisting and creating alternatives to neoliberalism in ELT: A case study of three transnational language teachers in Saudi Arabia. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *19*(4), 377–399. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2022.2102015

Berner, B. (2010a). Crossing boundaries and maintaining differences between school and industry: Forms of boundary-work in Swedish vocational education. *Journal of Education and Work*, *23*(1), 27–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080903461865

Berner, B. (2010b). Crossing boundaries and maintaining differences between school and industry: Forms of boundary-work in Swedish vocational education. *Journal of Education and Work*, *23*(1), 27–42.

Block, D. (2018). Some thoughts on education and the discourse of global neoliberalism. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *18*, 576–584. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2018.1501851

Block, D. (2021). Coda: Issues arising around conceptual and empirical work on the commodification of language. In *The Commodification of Language*. Routledge.

Block, D. (2022). The dark side of EMI?: A telling case for questioning assumptions about EMI in HE. *Educational Linguistics*, *1*(1), 82–107. https://doi.org/10.1515/eduling-2021-0007

Bori, P., & Block, D. (2023). The discursive construction of academic capitalism in HE: The case of Catalan university websites. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2023.2187394

Bori, P., & Canale, G. (2022). Neoliberal foreign language education: The search for alternatives. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *19*(4), 307–316. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2022.2090362

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021a). Can I use TA? Should I use TA? Should I not use TA? Comparing reflexive thematic analysis and other pattern-based qualitative analytic approaches. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, *21*(1), 37–47. https://doi.org/10.1002/capr.12360

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021b). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. SAGE Publications.

Broberg, Å. (2014). *Utbildning på gränsen mellan skola och arbete: Pedagogisk förändring i svensk yrkesutbildning 1918-1971*. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-104330

Busch, L. (2023). *Knowledge for Sale: The Neoliberal Takeover of Higher Education*. MIT Press.

Cedefop; Swedish National Agency for Education. (2019, April 25). *VET in Europe database | Vocational education and training in Europe | Sweden*. CEDEFOP. https://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/tools/vet-in-europe/systems/sweden-2019

Dafouz, E. (2017). English-medium Instruction in Multilingual University Settings: An Opportunity for Developing Language Awareness. In *The Routledge Handbook of Language Awareness*. Routledge.

de Graaf, R. (2023). *architect, verb.: The New Language of Building*. Verso. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sub/detail.action?docID=7178738

Deng, Y., & Feng, D. (William). (2022). From researchers to academic entrepreneurs: A diachronic analysis of the visual representation of academics in university annual reports. *Visual Communication*, 14703572221102180. https://doi.org/10.1177/14703572221102180

Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities. *Discourse & Society*, *4*(2), 133–168. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002002

Flores, N. (2013). The Unexamined Relationship Between Neoliberalism and Plurilingualism: A Cautionary Tale. *TESOL Quarterly*, *47*(3), 500–520.

Gee, J. (2018). *The New Work Order*. Routledge.

Gee, J. P., & Lankshear, C. (1995). The New Work Order: Critical language awareness and 'fast capitalism' texts. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *16*(1), 5–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/0159630950160102

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sub/detail.action?docID=422896

Hua, Z., Handford, M., & Young, T. J. (2017). Framing interculturality: A corpus-based analysis of online promotional discourse of higher education intercultural communication courses. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *38*(3), 283–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1134555

Hult, F. M. (2017). More than a lingua franca: Functions of English in a globalised educational language policy. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *30*(3), 265–282. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2017.1321008

Ingleby, E. (2021). *Neoliberalism Across Education: Policy And Practice From Early Childhood Through Adult Learning*. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-73962-1

Kachru, B. B. (1986). *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions, and Models of Non-native Englishes*. University of Illinois Press.

Kelly-Holmes, H. (2014). Linguistic fetish: The sociolinguistics of visual multilingualism. *Visual Communication*, *4*, 135–151.

Kerfoot, C., & Hyltenstam, K. (Eds.). (2017). *Entangled Discourses: South-North Orders of Visibility* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315640006

Köpsén, J. (2022a). Being successful in the educational market: Employers in practice of Swedish higher VET provision. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-185217

Köpsén, J. (2022b). Employers placing orders and students as commodities: Swedish post-secondary vocational education and training policy. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, *74*(2), 167–186.

Kuczera, M., & Jeon, S. (2019). *Vocational Education and Training in Sweden*. https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9fac5-en

Kuteeva, M. (2023). *Tension-Filled English at the Multilingual University*. Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/KUTEEV6710

Leary, J. P. (2019). *Keywords: The New Language of Capitalism*. Haymarket Books.

Lorente, B. P. (2017). Language-in-education policies and mobile citizens. In *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language*. Routledge.

Lyon, L. A., & Green, E. (2018). Women's Attraction to Coding Boot Camps. *2018 Research on Equity and Sustained Participation in Engineering, Computing, and Technology (RESPECT)*, 1–2. https://doi.org/10.1109/RESPECT.2018.8491705

Lyon, L. A., & Green, E. (2020). Women in coding boot camps: An alternative pathway to computing jobs. *Computer Science Education*, *30*(1), 102–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/08993408.2019.1682379

Macaro, E. (2020). The increasing use of English medium instruction in higher education. In *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Macaro, E., Curle, S., Pun, J., An, J., & Dearden, J. (2018). A systematic review of English medium instruction in higher education. *Language Teaching*, *51*(1), 36–76. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444817000350

Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*. SAGE Publications, Limited. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sub/detail.action?docID=880803

Martín Rojo, L. (2018). Neoliberalism and Linguistic Governmentality. In J. W. Tollefson & M. Pérez-Milans (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190458898.013.28

Mežek, Š., & Björkman, B. (2024). English-medium instruction in higher education in Scandinavia. In *The Routledge Handbook of English-Medium Instruction in Higher Education*. Routledge.

Miltner, K. M. (2022). Everything Old Is New Again: A Comparison of Midcentury American EDP Schools and Contemporary Coding Bootcamps. *Information & Culture*, *57*(3), 255–282. https://doi.org/10.7560/IC57302

Pauwels, L. (2011). Researching Websites as Social and Cultural Expressions: Methodological Predicaments and a Multimodal Model for Analysis. In E. Margolis & L. Pauwels, *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods* (pp. 570–589). SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446268278.n29

Pérez-Milans, C. S., Miguel. (2021). Language, neoliberalism, and the commodification of pedagogy. In *Education and the Discourse of Global Neoliberalism*. Routledge.

Perrin, S. (2017). Language Policy and Transnational Education (TNE) Institutions: What Role for What English? In B. Fenton-Smith, P. Humphreys, & I. Walkinshaw (Eds.), *English Medium Instruction in Higher Education in Asia-Pacific: From Policy to Pedagogy* (pp. 153–172). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51976-0_9

Petrovic, J. E., & Yazan, B. (2021). Language as instrument, resource, and maybe capital, but not commodity. *The Commodification of Language: Conceptual Concerns and Empirical Manifestations*, 24–40.

Phillipson, R. (2006, January 1). Figuring out the Englishisation of Europe. *BRITISH STUDIES IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS*, *20*, 65–86.

Pietikäinen, S. (2018). Investing in indigenous multilingualism in the Arctic. *Language & Communication*, *62*, 184–195. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2018.05.001

Ren, S. (2023). Neoliberalization of higher education in China: A critical discourse analytical approach. *Language & Communication*, *90*, 41–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2023.02.003

Rojo, L. M., & Percio, A. D. (2019). Neoliberalism, language, and governmentality. In L. M. Rojo & A. D. Percio (Eds.), *Language and Neoliberal Governmentality* (1st ed., pp. 1–25). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429286711-1

Rosa, J., & Trivedi, S. (2017). Diaspora and language. In S. Canagarajah (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language* (1st ed., pp. 330–346). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315754512-19

Seidlhofer, B. (2020). English as a lingua franca in the European context. In *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education*. JHU Press.

Twine, F. W., & Jha, M. R. (n.d.). *Brokers, Boot Camps and Graduate Degrees:*

Urciuoli, B. (2008). Skills and selves in the new workplace. *American Ethnologist*, *35*(2), 211–228. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00031.x

Urciuoli, B. (2010). Neoliberal Education: Preparing the Student for the New Workplace. In C. J. Greenhouse (Ed.), *Ethnographies of Neoliberalism* (pp. 162–176). University of Pennsylvania Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fhwpd.13

Urciuoli, B. (2022). Neoliberalizing Diversity in Liberal Arts College Life. In *Neoliberalizing Diversity in Liberal Arts College Life*. Berghahn Books. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781800731776

Williams, R. (2014). *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sub/detail.action?docID=4702950

Yazan, J. E. P., Bedrettin. (2021). Language as instrument, resource, and maybe capital, but not commodity: A Marxian clarification. In *The Commodification of Language*. Routledge.

Ye, R., Chudnovskaya, M., & Nylander, E. (2022). Right Competence at the Right Time - but for Whom? Social Recruitment of Participants in an Expanding Higher Vocational Education Segment in Sweden (2005-2019). *Adult Education Quarterly*, *72*(4), 380–400.

Yoxsimer Paulsrud, B. (2014). *English-Medium Instruction in Sweden: Perspectives and practices in two upper secondary schools*. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-103120

Author

Anna Metreveli is a doctoral student from the Department of English at Stockholm University. Her research explores the intersection of language policy, adult vocational education, and neoliberal ideologies in English-medium instruction (EMI) settings in Sweden. Anna received her MA degree in Language Science with a Specialization in Bilingualism from Stockholm University in 2022, with a degree project on family language policies in transnational families with bilingual autistic children.