Lived transitions: experiences of learning and inclusion among newly arrived students

Jenny Nilsson Folke

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Till min älskade mamma

Författarens tack

Detta tackord har i tanken författats under de många, långa cykelturerna till universitet. Dessa stunder har fungerat lite som en sporre då jag har tillåtit mig att tänka – att ja, det kommer faktiskt bli klart – och känt glädje över hur många som jag har att tacka för det. Först och främst vill jag rikta ett stort tack till de elever som så generöst delat med sig av sin skolvardag, sina tankar och drömmar. Det är ni som bär avhandlingen. Era målande, ofta känslosamma berättelser om var ni befinner er har berört mig på djupet och bidragit till att göra arbetet meningsfullt. Jag vill också tacka de lärare, rektorer och den skolpersonal som välkomnat oss in i skolorna och visat så stort intresse för vår forskning och försäkrat att den behövs. Sedan går mitt tack till den person som initierade forskningsprojektet och uppmuntrade mig att söka en doktorandtjänst: min huvudhandledare Nihad Bunar. Du har trott på min förmåga som doktorand och vi har delat ett engagemang för förändring och förbättring. Du har också uppmuntrat mig att söka mig till sammanhang som har berikat min forskning. Jag vill också tacka min första handledare, Hillevi Lenz Taguchi som handfast guidade mig bland olika typer av feminismer (och feminister) och fick mig att få upp ögonen för Sara Ahmed. Sedan till min andra handledare Karin Aronsson, som följt mig under resans sista år, jag kan inte nog säga vad ditt engagemang har betytt under denna tid. Tack för din noggranna och teoretiskt skarpa läsning av mina texter. Sedan finns det en till person som varit central under min doktorandtid och det är Monica Axelsson från Institutionen för språkdidaktik. Med dig har jag delat en fantastisk tid i fält, analysdagar på Yasuragi, intressanta konferensresor och de med- och motgångar som följt med doktorandtiden. I allt har du varit stöttande, uppmuntrande och generöst bidragit med din tid. Du är inte bara en kollega utan en vän. Jag vill också tacka de läsare som bidragit med kommentarer under seminarier på institutionen. Ett särskilt tack till Rickard Jonsson som var läsare på mitt halvtidsseminarium och till Kristina Gustafsson från Linnéuniversitet och Mats Trondman, gästprofessor vid institutionen, som var mina granskare på slutseminariet. Ni gjorde ett fantastiskt jobb och era synpunkter har bidragit till att lyfta texten avsevärt.

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List of papers

This dissertation is based on the following papers referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

I.   Nilsson, J. & Bunar, N. (2016). Educational responses to newly arrived students in Sweden: Understanding the structure and influence of post-migration ecology. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, *60*(4), 399–416.

II.   Nilsson, J. & Axelsson, M. (2013). "Welcome to Sweden": Newly arrived students' experiences of pedagogical and social provision in introductory and regular classes. *International Electronic Journal of Elementary Education, 6(1),* 137-164.

III.   Nilsson Folke, J. (2016). 'Sitting on embers': a phenomenological exploration of the embodied experiences of inclusion of newly arrived students in Sweden. *Gender and Education, 28*(7), 823-838.

IV.   Nilsson Folke, J. (submitted). Moving on or moving back? : The temporalities of migrant students' lived versus imagined school careers.

Contents

1. Introduction

"What does 'expert' mean?" one of the students asks the teacher. "When you are good at something" the teacher Anna replies and adds "different people are good at different things". "What are you an expert in?" Anna asks the students. Ahmad's reply comes quickly – "I'm an expert at talking". Anna says with a smile "yes I know *that*". Jocke laughingly says that he's an expert at "sleeping" which gives rise to giggles among the other students and the teacher. "To play football" the next student Mohammed replies. Samira says "nothing" and smiles shyly, whereby Anna says "you are an expert at doing your homework". Sami says that he is an expert at laughing. Daw who arrived from Thailand just a week ago gets the question translated by her Thai classmate Jocke. Daw says she's an expert at listening to music, and Anna adds: "Daw is an expert at pronunciation in Swedish, she's so good at saying 'r'".

It is a Thursday in November, and the first Swedish as a second language lesson of the day for the six newly arrived students in the introductory class at the M-school. After having been handed out a notice about the approaching study day, the students now read a newspaper article about the weather in silence or rather with a subdued murmuring. The teacher Anna then goes through the words that the students have underlined by unpacking them and explaining each part of the word: *o – vanlig* (unusual), *konst – gjord* (artificial), *bar – mark* (bare ground), *skid – orter* (skiing resorts); *snö – kanoner* (snow canons). The explanation of canons seems to stir up some emotions among the students. The students vividly help each other to explain and understand the words through body language and by translation to each other and with the aid of a subject support teacher. Even I am drawn into the lesson by being asked to check the translation of SMHI on my computer. The word expert is finally explained in the manner described above.

This thesis is about these newly arrived "experts" and their encounter with the Swedish school system. How do they experience their first period in a Swedish school introductory class in terms of conditions for learning and social inclusion? What happens later when they gradually move into the mainstream system? To what degree is their sense of expertise and resources, so thoughtfully recognised by the teacher in the above example, taken into account? Will they be able to develop as the heterogeneous individuals they are, or does the social categorisation and label 'newly arrived' that is attached to them stand in the way of recognition for their individual strengths and ambitions? What happens to the emotions, hopes and desires that are infused in the transitions entailed

in the newly arrived students' educational trajectories? This thesis attempts to theorise their *situated experiences* within the Swedish school system and in doing so also makes the structural conditions of the system itself visible.

The fieldnote illustration provides a glimpse into the students' point of departure in the post-migratory Swedish school context. The setting of the introductory class is not only the students' but also the thesis' point of departure, from which it sets out to investigate the transitions that lie ahead, as lived, experiential realities. The fieldnote example also frames the central issues that will be dealt with in this thesis – both relational aspects of inclusion and conditions for learning that involve the students' use of their mother tongue and the teacher's approach to teaching (in) the second language. However, this snapshot of an introductory class also contains other, less-investigated dimensions – that is, emotional expressions and dimensions of embodiment that have become central to the thesis' theorisation of learning and inclusion. Finally, the fieldnotes also position me as the researcher in the classroom.

Educational provision for newly arrived students is an issue of current importance. During the course of writing this thesis, the number of migrant children and youth arriving in Sweden has risen dramatically. During the year of 2015, Sweden received 40 000 newly arrived children[1] between the ages of 13-18, which consists of five and eight percent of the total population of children aged 13-15 and 16-18, respectively.[2] Schools, which bear the primary responsibility for the reception and introduction of newly arrived school-aged children, are faced with a situation that they often consider themselves ill-equipped for.[3] When the research project on newly arrived students' learning conditions in Swedish schools, of which this thesis is a part, began in 2011, the number of newly arrived students was much lower. Nevertheless, the questions are recurrent and tenacious. The issue of how to organise tuition for students with no previous knowledge of Swedish, with disparate school backgrounds and wide-ranging needs, is a conundrum to which schools find they

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[1] This number does not include undocumented migrants and refugees resettled through the quota programme. There are hence no comprehensive statistics on the total number of newly arrived students. The National Board of Education uses the term "newly immigrated students" (*nyinvandrade elever*) since it is not possible to identify persons as newly arrived before they have been registered in Sweden and given a Swedish identification number (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2016).

[2] The figure for students who have immigrated to Sweden after the start of school, that is to say during or after year one, has increased from five to nine percent. Of students who finished year nine in the Swedish school system the proportion of newly arrived students was four percent in year 2015, which corresponds to approximately 4000 students (Skolverket, 2015a).

[3] The Swedish Schools Inspectorate (Skolinspektionen, 2009) criticized the lack of a comprehensive strategy to build competence among staff who are to educate newly arrived students. Often the responsibility for the introduction and education of newly arrived students rests on individual teachers.

have few answers. Is tuition best organised in separation from the mainstream system, through which it can be better tailored to the assumed common needs of newly arrived students? Or is this arrangement in fact the start of a long-term segregation that deprives students of the valuable opportunity to learn the language through social interaction, implying that students ought to be placed in the mainstream system as soon as possible? Or is a combination of the two models the ideal? Indeed, as will be seen in the review of prior research, the education of newly arrived students is characterised by the dilemma between separation and integration: a dilemma that transgresses both geographical borders and disciplinary fields.

Schools have turned to research in order to get advice regarding the choices of organisational models and pedagogical practices. However, many questions have passed unanswered, since the education of newly arrived students has been a relatively under-researched area internationally, as well as in Sweden (Bunar, 2010; Devine, 2009; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Pinson, Arnot, & Candappa, 2010; Rutter, 2006). Despite its relatively long tradition of immigration, it is only after the turn of the millennium that issues coupled to schooling and migration have received attention in Sweden (Andersson, Lyrenäs, & Sidenhag, 2015). Zetterqvist Nelson and Hagström's (2016) review documents an emerging body of research that attends to issues concerning newly arrived students. The general criticism raised by researchers in Sweden corresponds to the challenges faced by other countries, such as a lack of guidelines that results in varying quality and a vulnerable system, a lack of cooperation and communication among the actors involved in the reception and difficulties in bringing the students into the mainstream system (Bunar, 2010; Zetterqvist Nelson & Hagström, 2016). A common denominator in schools described in research as having the 'best practice' is their taking a holistic approach that recognises individual students' diverse needs and abilities (Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Taylor, 2008; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Furthermore, the need to include the voices of newly arrived students presents a void in research[4] (Bunar, 2010; Devine, 2009; Hek, 2005), which this thesis partly attempts to fill.

What researchers across geographical contexts agree on is the important role that the school plays in the lives of newly migrated students. Against the background of a migratory experience – which is often characterised by transitions and withheld opportunities for schooling, both in the home-country and en route – schools in the receiving community appear to provide the students highly valued opportunities for inclusion into the wider community, continued learning, future educational careers and social relationships (Hek, 2005; Ljung

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[4] However, there are a few studies primarily in relation to refugee children that attempt to include their voices (see e.g. Candappa, 2000; Hek, 2005; Rutter, 2006; Uptin, Wright, & Harwood, 2013), discussed further in the chapter on previous research.

Egeland, 2015; Matthews, 2008; Sigona & Hughes, 2012; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013).

> It is not an exaggeration to say that refugee children's well-being depends to a major degree on their school experiences, successes and failures. /…/ Educational progress and emotional well-being are mutually dependent (Richman, 1998, p. 65).

The quality of the early experiences in school is indeed an important factor that determines the whole settlement process (Hek, 2005). Furthermore, Candappa (2000, 2016) documents the importance of school as a second security base outside the home. Data from her studies indicates that for many refugee children school is one of the few statutory agencies from which they can derive support for settling into their new lives. In a post-migration situation, which can be characterised by the insecurity of seeking asylum and settling in a new country, going to school maintains a sense of stability and continuity (Sigona & Hughes, 2012). For children, school is the main place for social interaction and meeting friends. All the more disconcerting is the common finding that many newly arrived students describe feeling friendless and isolated in their new schools (Candappa, 2000, 2016; Hek, 2005; Rutter, 2006).

Despite general agreement on the school's fundamental role, there are different approaches to and views on the encounter between the newly arrived student and the school, depending on the theoretical framework and research interest. A review of research on newly arrived students[5] published in English – mainly from the US, the UK, Australia and the Nordic countries – reveals three dominant strands in research spanning from policy level down to the individual students' experiences and life trajectories. One strand focuses on the structural conditions for inclusion provided by the policy landscape, primarily with regard to migration and education. In focus is the children's right to education, as formulated in international and national policy documents, and the degree to which these rights are being met in practice. According to this perspective, the reception and introduction of newly arrived migrant students accentuate issues that go beyond the individual student and highlight conditions for social and pedagogical inclusion. Pinson and Arnot (2007) indeed characterise the education of newly arrived students as a "litmus test" for the school's ethos: to what degree these students' needs are fulfilled indicates the school's commitment to social justice. A second strand that has been central to the research on education for newly arrived students has focused on the "language issue", which refers to both the conditions for and consequences of first- and second language tuition. The students' needs as second language learners are in primary focus and assume a reciprocal relationship between

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[5] Or equivalent categories, see section "About the social category 'newly arrived'".

inclusion and second language learning. A third perspective takes the individual student's lived experience and life-stories as the primary analytical focus and determinant of inclusion.

This thesis moves across and addresses all three perspectives in different ways and to varying degrees. In line with an ecological perspective that conceptualises the individual's experiences as conditioned by structural components in the post-migration landscape, the thesis attempts to map the legal, organisational and pedagogical responses to newly arrived students in Sweden. Furthermore, a sociocultural perspective on the needs of newly arrived students as multilingual learners is used to compare the students' experiences of social and pedagogical resources in introductory and regular classes. The thesis hence responds to structural concerns in both policy and practice in relation to the education of newly arrived students, viewing these as essential to the understanding of the individual students' experiences.

However, the thesis also moves into a third strand of research that has hitherto been less developed theoretically, looking closer at the students' own experiences, and more specifically on the *lived experience* of inclusion in the different transitions entailed in newly arrived students' educational trajectories. Here the central question becomes how different school settings and the transitions between them are experienced *in and through the body*. What do these experiences tell us about the conditions for inclusion for newly arrived students in Sweden? Using the framework of critical phenomenology in two of the four studies, the thesis thereby adds a new theoretical framework to the field of education of newly arrived students. This illuminates different relational aspects of inclusion, situated in time and place, in relation to what becomes visible through a policy-based perspective. A phenomenological analysis of the spatial conditions for *being in line* (Ahmed, 2006) in school is expanded through a temporal analysis of the relation between imagined and lived school careers in the transition to upper secondary school and the language introduction programme. A spatial and temporal analysis[6] of the lived experience of newly arrived students' transitions through the Swedish school system can complicate assumptions about inclusion and illuminate blockages and loops created by the educational system.

Besides its theoretical contribution, the thesis also expands the empirical base of the literature, which has hitherto mainly rested on professionals' views (teachers, headmasters, social workers) in this field, to include the students' own experiences of their situation in school. Before preceding to present the aims and research questions of the thesis, the main components and key actors

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[6] Although space and time are *methodological* imperatives in general ethnographic research, the call is for an explicit *theorisation* of the temporality and spatiality of lived experience.

of the educational structure that cater to newly arrived students in Sweden will be presented. How are newly arrived students defined and how is their education regulated in the Swedish educational system? A brief summary of the main changes introduced during the course of the study is also provided.

Post-migration ecology in Sweden

The basis for the educational system in Sweden is that newly arrived students, regardless of legal status, have the same rights as all other students. They have the right to schooling[7], in which *democracy*, the *best interest of the child* and an *equitable education* are fundamental principles (Andersson et al., 2015). They also have the right *not to be discriminated against* (SFS 2008:567, 2008). Furthermore, one of the founding paragraphs of the law of education (SFS 2010:800, 2010) (1st chapter, 4§, second section) is that children and students are to be given support and stimulation so that they can develop as far as possible, and the intention should be to consider differences in children's and students' possibilities to enjoy education – what is called the *compensatory* mission of the educational system (Andersson et al., 2015). With regard to newly arrived students, the compensatory mission becomes a challenge that brings to light both the heterogeneity of needs and backgrounds among the students and the deliberations and limitations tied to the schools' own organisational, pedagogical and social landscapes.

Schools in Sweden have – given the absence of specific rules and regulations regarding the education of newly arrived students up until 2016[8] – responded to this challenge in various ways. A common practice among schools with a

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[7] When a child arrives in the municipality, the obligation is for the municipality to provide schooling as soon as possible with regard to the child's personal circumstances. The municipalities should, according to the legislation, provide schooling within a month, if there are no exceptional circumstances (such as the municipality receiving a high number of newly arrived students in a short period of time). Newly arrived students who are to stay in Sweden for more than a year should be registered and then have the obligation to attend school. The compulsory school attendance comes into force from the autumn term the year the child turns seven and concerns the elementary school level. Every child who applies for asylum in Sweden has the right to attend school from the term he/she turns six years, a right that concerns pre-school, elementary school and out-of-school provision. In order to have the right to education on the upper secondary school level, the studies need to begin before the student turns 18 years. If the asylum-seeker has turned 18 years he/she has the right to finish his/her education. Undocumented children have the same right to education on the elementary and upper secondary level as children with residence permit. However, they do not have the right to pre-school, out-of-school provision or adult education.

[8] Up until 2016 there were only recommendations for best practice issued by the National Board of Education (Skolverket, 2008).

certain number of newly arrived students is to place them in so-called introductory classes [*förberedelseklasser*][9] in which they receive tuition in the Swedish language and, to a greater or lesser extent, other subjects. In addition, they can receive tuition in and through their mother tongue. Introductory classes have been legitimised as a way of coordinating resources and providing tuition tailored towards the needs of students as second language learners (Bunar, 2015). The introductory classes often span different ages, languages and school backgrounds. The students are to move over to regular classes [*reguljära eller ordinarie klasser*][10] after their introductory period, a transition that is often achieved gradually. However, the time in introductory class has up until 2016 been unregulated on the national level and also often on the municipal level. Indeed, the *transition* between introductory and regular classes often proves to be difficult and criticism has been raised from national authorities as well as researchers regarding the organisational form's segregatory effects[11] (Fridlund, 2011; Skolinspektionen, 2009; Skowronski, 2013; cf. Leung, 2002).

The other main organisational model employed in response to newly arrived students is one in which the student is placed directly in regular classes (so called *direct immersion*) with or without access to support measures, such as subject support in the mother tongue.[12] This practice is more common when students are younger and fewer in numbers. There are also variations of the organisational separation from the mainstream system in the form of a so-called 'landing place' [*landning*], through which the students gain a brief introduction to the school system and the Swedish language and have their previous knowledge mapped before moving on to a regular or introductory class. Lastly, there are examples of separate schools for newcomers, what Short (2002) would call *a separate-site model*. The pros and cons of the different models have been subject to discussion among both practitioners and researchers in the area; however, the lack of research has made it difficult to draw any definite conclusions regarding the social and pedagogical consequences of different organisational models (Bunar, 2010, 2015). The decision of which

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[9] Other synonymous terms are transitional, reception, international or preparatory classes. Due to the difficulty of finding a corresponding term in English, both terms 'introductory' (Studies II, III, IV) and 'transitional' classes (Study I) have been used in the individual studies to refer to *förberedelseklass.*

[10] Also, when it comes to *ordinarie/reguljära klasser*, the translation into a corresponding English term is not straightforward. The term 'regular' is used in Studies II and IV, since that is closer to the emic term used by the students (Sw: *riktig, vanlig*), but in Studies I and III the term mainstream classes is employed, since that appears to be the term used in international literature.

[11] The Swedish Schools Inspectorate establishes that on an overarching level it appears that schools in many cases, contrary to their mission, constitute the start and confirmation of separation and segregation (Skolinspektionen, 2009, p. 6).

[12] Also called bilingual scaffolding (Study I) and study guidance (Study II).

model to employ is often a matter of numbers rather than the regulatory ideal: a carefully thought-through pedagogical decision, adapted to the students' individual needs (Bunar, 2015; Nilsson & Bunar, 2016; Skolinspektionen, 2009).

However, against the background of inquiries and government proposals, and corresponding to the criticism raised, the Swedish parliament decided to introduce new rules and regulations regarding newly arrived students that came into effect on the 1st of January 2016 (Proposition 2014/15:45, 2014). A newly arrived student is here defined as "a person who has been resident abroad, who now lives in Sweden and has begun her education after the start of the autumn term the year he or she turns seven years" (Skolverket, 2016, p. 8, my translation). This moves away from the previous definition in which the main defining factor was that the student lacked proficiency in Swedish. In contrast to the previous situation in which there was no common time-frame, a time-limit of four years has been introduced for how long a student is to be regarded as newly arrived. Moreover, the rules now stipulate that a newly arrived student's previous knowledge is to be assessed, the results of which are to form the basis of the decision of school and group placement as well as plans for the student's education.

Within two months of reception in the school system, the student is to be placed in a teaching group and in a specific school grade that is suitable given the student's age, previous knowledge and personal circumstances. Furthermore, the time spent in introductory class is now regulated. A newly arrived student who lacks sufficient knowledge in the Swedish language can partly be taught in the introductory class for a maximum of two years. In response to the long-standing criticism of isolation, it is no longer allowed for students to solely have their teaching in the introductory class, without any contact with the regular classes. The tuition of a subject in the introductory class is to end as soon as the student is able to follow tuition in the regular class. The individual students' needs and experiences form the basis for how many and which subjects he/she is to study in the regular class.

About the social category 'newly arrived'

The definitions of newly arrived students have until 2016 been as varied as the systems themselves, and the terms used in this thesis are the ones employed by the schools or specific researchers. Otherwise, the term newly arrived student will be used to describe school-age children who have migrated to Sweden and who are new to the Swedish language and school system. Needless to say, this broad definition encompasses – and risks hiding – an

extraordinary heterogeneity in terms of needs, origin and reasons for migration. Rutter (2006, p. 33) expresses this regarding the term refugee: "being a refugee is a bureaucratic identity" rather than an experiential one. The children and youth encompassed under this category are in Sweden under very different conditions and circumstances. They can be asylum seekers, undocumented children, children of labour migrants or children in family reunification. Some children have arrived on their own (unaccompanied minors), whereas others have arrived with their families. Newly arrived students can also be Swedish citizens who have lived abroad and never attended a Swedish school (Skolverket, 2016a). In common for all the students is that they do not yet master the Swedish language. In contrast to concepts such as 'immigrant student' or 'student with an immigrant background', the term 'newly arrived student' signals a temporal aspect, highlighting that arrival is something new or recent. However, as stated above, up until the introduction of the four-year rule in 2016, how long a student could be regarded as newly arrived was not regulated. In line with the tendency to not single out newly arrived students, and given the lack of a unitary definition, there have been no specific statistics on the national level regarding the number of newly arrived students.

In the Swedish research and policy context, the category 'newly arrived' encompasses other categories that in the international literature are distinguished as separate categories – such as *refugee students* (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Block, Cross, Riggs, & Gibbs, 2014; Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Hek, 2005; Matthews, 2008; Oikonomidoy, 2010; Rutter, 2006; Taylor, 2008), *asylum-seeking and refugee students* (Candappa, 2000, 2016; Christie & Sidhu, 2006; Hughes & Beirens, 2007; Pinson & Arnot, 2007, 2010), *new arrival students* (Due & Riggs, 2009; Riggs & Due, 2010) *undocumented* or *irregular migrants* (Bloch, Sigona, & Zetter, 2011; Lundberg & Dahlquist, 2012; Sigona, 2012; Sigona & Hughes, 2012) or the broader categories of *migrant students* (Devine, 2009, 2013; McGovern & Devine, 2016) or (*new or recently arrived) immigrant students* (Allen, 2006; Castro Feinberg, 2000; Gunderson, 2002; Leung, 2002; Short, 2002; Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009) .

Although there are differences between the categories, and several researchers point out the risks of hiding these differences through a broader categorisation (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007; Sigona, 2012; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013), I have consciously chosen to use the broader category of newly arrived student as employed in the Swedish context. As with the issue of organisational models, the question of employing the category of newly arrived students has to balance between multiplicity, singularity and heterogeneity, on the one hand, and common needs and collective solutions on the other. While recognising the risk that the label newly arrived students is treated as a single unitary category, thus hiding the students' individual needs, it is also necessary to categorise in order to recognise common interests. This is indeed the argument behind the

criticism from researchers in the United Kingdom about the "statistical invisibility" of refugee and asylum-seeking students (Candappa, 2016; Hek, 2005; Pinson & Arnot, 2010).

Nevertheless, social categories are never value-neutral, and during the course of conducting fieldwork and writing this thesis, I have often reflected upon the use of social categories such as 'newly arrived' and the terms 'introductory' and 'regular classes' and what normative associations that they – and I – invoke. In the presentation of data, I have thus made a point of using the emic categories as far as possible, since the normative connotations concerning the use of a term such as 'regular class' (the students used the Swedish terms: *vanlig* [ordinary], *ordinarie* [regular], *riktig* [proper]) are interesting in themselves. If regular class signals the proper, ordinary and regular place to be – what does that make introductory class? Furthermore, bringing to light the value-laden nature of different categories, what would be the consequences if the term 'newly arrived' student was substituted with the term 'international students' – would different associations arise? The term 'newly arrived' derives from the political landscape and more specifically the Alien law (Utlänningslagen 2005: 716) and thus invokes its regulatory ideals and mechanism of control. As Armstrong and Richards (2016) point out, labels are used as a shorthand that lump groups of children together on the basis of a defining characteristic as perceived by powerful others. Similarly, a substantial amount of previous research points to the deficiency orientation surrounding the term newly arrived or migrant students (Devine, 2013; Keddie, 2012a; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Rutter, 2006).

The students in this study indeed made evident that the terms introductory class or newly arrived were associated with difference or even deviance and linked to more politically charged categories such as 'immigrants' – a position that the students often struggled to resist or challenge the meaning of. I tried to refrain from using the term 'ordinary' [*vanlig*] class in interviews, due to its normative associations, but I am fully aware that the categories that I ended up using (transitionary/introductory class and mainstream/regular class) were far from neutral and that they risk invoking positions that the research participants might not identify with or even oppose (Cameron, 2001; cf. Wernesjö, 2014). Through generalising findings regarding newly arrived students, I to some extent can be seen as contributing to the creation of the very categories that the students, in many ways, want to escape. However, given that research encounters are asymmetrical, there are limitations to the students' possibilities of resistance and self-identification. I have thus struggled in the analytical and textual process to balance between available categories that convey a shared organisational context while not homogenising the students' experiences or reducing them to the label 'newly arrived students'.

Aim and research questions

This thesis explores how newly arrived students experience conditions for social inclusion and learning in their lived transitions within the Swedish school system.

The following research questions have guided the study:

- How does the Swedish school system respond to newly arrived students? What are the resulting structures of opportunity for the individual student? (Study I)
- How do newly arrived students experience the time in and transition between introductory and regular class, with regard to conditions for social inclusion and learning? (Studies II, III)
- What do the spatial and embodied experiences of newly arrived students convey regarding their conditions for social inclusion? (Study III)
- What does a temporal analysis of the lived transitions in newly arrived students' education convey regarding their conditions for social inclusion and learning? (Study IV)

The four studies concern specific questions that, from different theoretical and analytical angles, answer the overarching research questions. The first study is a policy-based analysis that works to situate the other three studies – and the students' experiences – in a societal context, discussing what the legal, organisational and pedagogical responses are to the educational needs of newly arrived students in Sweden. The second study involves a comparative analysis of newly arrived students' experiences of the social and pedagogical provision in introductory and regular classes in three municipalities, using sociocultural theories regarding the education of multilingual students (Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002) and the notions of challenge and support (Gibbons, 2009; Mariani, 1997).

The last two studies correspond to phenomena that primarily became apparent during the course of fieldwork, illustrating the thesis' abductive analytical approach. Unforeseen at the outset of the fieldwork, embodied and emotional dimensions of experience came to the fore in the empirical data and called for theoretical concepts that could make sense of these dimensions. The third study explores in depth the social situation for newly arrived students in a rural, monolingual setting, by examining the spatial aspects of inclusion. It involves a phenomenological reading of the embodied experiences of being in line or being out of line (Ahmed, 2006) in school. The fourth study focuses on the experience of time in the context of the transition from lower secondary school to upper secondary school, through a phenomenological analysis of the lived school careers versus the imagined school careers of a number of newly

arrived students. Hence, while Study I is first and foremost based on a policy-analysis of the educational landscapes that the students find themselves in, the other three studies depart from the students' experiences of their school situation.

Delimitations

The main focus of the thesis is on the transitions that the newly arrived students experience *post-migration,* that is when they have migrated to Sweden, primarily the transition from introductory to regular classes in lower secondary school and the transition to upper secondary school. Although the interviews contain information regarding the situation pre- and trans-migration, this primarily figures as background knowledge in the analysis. Furthermore, while recognising the importance of factors in the wider surrounding community for the students' sense of inclusion, the main focus in the thesis is on components for social inclusion and learning *in school*.

Disposition of the thesis

The thesis is structured in the following way. Following this first introductory chapter, there is a review of research on the education of newly arrived students that teases out three strands that have been influential in the conceptualisation of newly arrived students and their educational needs. The thesis' third chapter presents the theoretical frameworks employed in the individual studies that make up the thesis, critically discussing key analytical concepts and their internal compatibility and potential contradictions. The methods used to generate the data on which the thesis is based are described and critically discussed in chapter four. Chapter five provides concise summaries of the individual studies, after which a concluding discussion follows about the main contributions of the thesis.

2. Research on the education of newly arrived students

In this chapter, I will critically analyse previous research on the education of newly arrived students, while also beginning to discuss some of the theoretical models and theoretical aspects involved. The research on newly arrived students is a relatively new and growing field, and it is characterised by a plethora of more or less explicit theoretical frameworks. In my reading, there are three prominent strands in current research that focus on (i) rights and policies, (ii) second language learning, and (iii) life-stories and lived experience. The perspective chosen has consequences for the construction of the newly arrived student and the kind of knowledge produced. I have thus structured this chapter according to these three perspectives and in a manner that corresponds to the thesis' overall aims and analytical framework.

The research review is restricted to research published in English, mainly treating Anglo-American as well as Nordic contexts. The primary selection criteria for delimiting the review is the target group itself; that is, the review primarily discusses research on newly arrived students[13] (or equivalent categories of students as discussed in the introduction), rather than for instance selection according to theoretical perspective or methodology. Firstly, studies that attempt to map the educational landscape and its policy-based responses to newly arrived students are discussed, teasing out the theoretical assumptions and main findings. Here newly arrived students are primarily seen as bearers of rights and subjects of education policies, and the studies are geared towards discovering how the policies play out in practice. Secondly, research from the field of second language learning is discussed, which analyses the needs of newly arrived students as multilingual learners. Thirdly, a body of research that attempts to capture the life-stories and narratives of newly arrived students is analysed. Finally, the chapter ends by discussing what is missing in current research and what theoretical frameworks might be applied in order to fill those gaps.

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[13] Primarily in the ages corresponding to lower and upper secondary school.

Newly arrived students as policy subjects and bearers of rights

The first perspective departs from a broad view on the needs and rights of newly arrived students, as conditioned by social structures. Mainly drawing on sociological theories, much of the research within this strand has developed since the early 1990s, primarily by researchers in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Australia. The research has been directed towards policy-based analyses of the educational responses to newly arrived students and the resulting opportunities for inclusion and rights fulfilment. A shared assumption, regardless of theoretical framework, is that the conditions created in the structural framework effect the individual student and influence broader issues of social justice and the ethics of education.

As Pinson and Arnot (2007) state in a much-quoted analogy:

> The task of exploring educational responses to refugee and asylum-seeking children could tell us something about our educational system, its inclusivity and cohesion and about how we understand the effects of globalisation on education and social change. In a way refugee and asylum-seeking children and their integration represent a *litmus test* in terms of social inclusion (Pinson & Arnot, 2007, p. 405, my italics)

A general image portrayed in much of the literature is that the education for asylum-seeking and refugee children is, on different levels, characterised by a tension between inclusion and exclusion (Pinson et al., 2010) as well as a related tension between targeted policies and mainstreaming (Candappa, 2016). Several authors point to the risk that concerns within immigration and educational policies take precedence over the best interests of the individual child, leaving the diverse educational needs of newly arrived students unmet or even unnoticed.

An ecology of needs

One of the pivotal researchers in the field is Jill Rutter (1994, 2006), who has analysed the policies towards refugee children in the United Kingdom and their relation to educational experiences and progress. Establishing that there is a lack of research in the field (see also Hamilton & Moore, 2004), Rutter (2006) argues for an ecological perspective, following Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1992), to illuminate that there are a multitude of factors that influence refugee students in their different phases of migration (pre-migration, migration and post-migration) and their subsequent educational experiences. Rutter (2006) argues that much of the practice literature that has dominated the field has constructed the educational success or failure of refugee students as a matter

regarding the individual school, whereas the issue is actually more complex and involves a multitude of factors on several levels. She also states that the predominance of trauma discourses in the field risks homogenising refugees (see also Matthews, 2008).

After having conducted a review of policies directed at refugees during the 20th century in the UK, Rutter (2006) concludes that the present education policy dominated by a focus on school effectiveness overlooks other social factors that influence children's progress. Rutter (2006) also highlights the effects of an increasingly strict asylum legislation and immigration policy, as well as social deprivation, on the perception of individual refugee children. Drawing on ethnographic research in four schools, Rutter (2006) shows evidence of isolation among refugees and a lack of support for these students within the mainstream (besides English as a second language support). Rutter (2006) also points to the occurrences of racism, but treats racism more as a matter of individual incidents rather than a structural problem. Furthermore, as a critique of the homogenisation of refugees on the policy- and research level, Rutter (2006) argues for the importance to look at the particularities of different national groups in terms of educational and cultural background as well as their conditions post-migration. Although providing an important step toward recognising plurality in refugee experiences, her own categorisation of national groups runs the risk of homogenising and overlooking the diversity among individuals within that group.

Like Rutter, the New Zealand based researchers Hamilton and Moore (2004) depart from an ecological model, in which the refugee child's development is separated into migratory phases (pre-, trans- and post-phases) that are transposed onto the layers in Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-systems). In line with Rutter (2006) and the underlying psychological theories of child development upon which the model rests, these authors emphasise the individual child's resilience within the migratory process as a dynamic interaction between individual and environmental factors. Indeed, Anderson (2004) highlights that schools can be a source of resilience if they encourage refugee children's development. The authors point to several factors that are important in this regard, such as active leadership, a clearly formulated educational policy, teacher competence, parental and community development and a safe and secure learning environment. In similarity to Rutter (2006), Hamilton and Moore (2004) highlight the problems with racism and bullying in school and suggest that the encouragement of social interaction, in structured forms, when new refugee students arrive is one way of counteracting these problems. They also encourage immersion in mainstream classrooms and a tight match between English as a second language teaching and other subject teaching. Like much of the research in the field, Hamilton

and Moore's (2004) contribution is oriented towards 'best-practice' rather than theoretical advancement.

A logic of rights

Several researchers have pointed to the risk of stigmatisation entailed in the individualisation of difficulties that migrant students face (Devine, 2013; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007; Stretmo, 2014). They instead argue for the need to focus on the receiving community and its (hindering and enabling) structures. To a greater extent than the multi-factorial analyses described above, a logic of rights is invoked in which newly arrived students are conceptualised as bearers of universal rights, and the focus is hence shifted to an analysis of the degree to which these rights are fulfilled in school or society at large. Candappa (2000) uses the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as a yard-stick in analysing how the UK caters for the rights of refugee children inside and outside of school. Through interviews with refugee children, Candappa (2000) concludes that there is a disparity between the convention and national legislation that makes children vulnerable and without adequate pastoral support. Moreover, attention is paid to how different regimes, such as immigration versus education policies or citizenship versus personhood rights, potentially conflict and what the consequences are for the individual child (see also Pinson et al., 2010).

Conflicting policy frameworks

Pinson and Arnot (2010) have explored how local schools negotiate the tension between immigration policy, the media discourses and the entitlement of the children – what is sometimes portrayed as the tension between "care and control" (Eastmond, 2011; Pinson & Arnot, 2007). The immigration control enforced by the nation state makes refugees into "non-citizens", which conflicts with the intention of the school system to prepare young people for membership in society. Pinson, Arnot and Candappa (2010) also point to discursive regimes (that make distinctions between deserving and undeserving refugees) that keep refugees out and legitimise control. However, at the local level, they find that exclusion and subtle racism co-exist alongside compassion. Indeed, at the local level, school staff tend not to make any differences between the students – they are first and foremost seen as learners and children with needs and worthy of compassion. The authors bring forward *compassion*, as a normative moral concept, to counteract the divisive categorisations found in the

policy-frameworks. Compassion is also a trait in the holistic models that Pinson and Arnot (2010) describe as best-practice[14], in which the diverse needs of asylum-seeking and refugee children are met by a multi-agency approach, not dissimilar to the multi-factorial approach suggested by Rutter (2006) and Hamilton and Moore (2004) (see also Block et al., 2014; Keddie, 2012b; Matthews, 2008; Taylor, 2008).

In a similar way, Christie and Sidhu (2006) document and critically discuss the regimes that govern refugee and asylum-seekers in Australia and their consequences for educational provision. Again, they conclude that there are tensions between children as bearers of human rights and an increasingly strict immigration policy that is characterised by exclusion and division, including the mandatory detention of everyone who arrives by boat (including children). The negative experiences that asylum-seeking children undergo in these centres will, according to the authors, inevitably affect them in future learning situations. Through the use of a Foucauldian framework of governmentality, Christie and Sidhu (2006) relate these negative experiences to the inbuilt paradoxes of liberal democracy and discuss the rationalities that work to legitimise these exclusions and injustices. In similarity to Pinson, Arnot and Candappa (2010), Christie and Sidhu (2006) call for an ethics of engagement in education, using Foucault's notion of *fearless speech* (*parrhesia*). Keddie (2012b) also emphasises an ethical perspective in her investigation of how teachers in a specialised secondary school for immigrant and refugee students in Queensland, Australia, view justice issues of representation, redistribution, and recognition. She highlights schools' efforts to support greater equity for these students through educator advocacy, critically reflective practice and a focus on students' perspectives.

Statistical invisibility

Sidhu and Taylor (2007) employ a governmentality framework in their policy-based analysis of educational provision for refugees in Australia. They conclude that refugee education continues to be subsumed within broader education policies and programmes that mainly target refugee students as part of the larger English as a second language group, which means that the diverse learning needs and specific sociocultural adjustments faced by refugee students are ignored (see also Keddie, 2012b; Taylor, 2008). Furthermore, their needs are not being recognised in the mainstream system (Keddie, 2012b). Sidhu and Taylor (2007) have noticed a trend of increased utilisation of community partnerships that devolves responsibility from the state to individual communities,

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[14] Indeed, Pinson and Arnot (2010) focus on studying schools that make up 'good examples', which risks making the contrast between the local ('good') and national ('bad') level somewhat crude.

schools or individual refugees. In the absence of targeted policies and resources, refugee youth are thus "left to chance" (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, p. 297). The authors identify the needs of refugee students as being threefold: learning, emotional and social. However, they found that schools concentrated on issues of language learning, together with emotional problems, at the expense of other learning needs and access to the mainstream curriculum (see also Taylor, 2008).

Moreover, it is also the lack of a specific policy that recognises the diverse needs of refugee students that Pinson and Arnot (2010) point out as the underlying problem with regard to educational provision. The dispersal programme in the UK, in which refugees are mandatorily placed in certain Local Education Authorities, means that there is considerable diversity in how needs are being met. According to Pinson and Arnot (2010), the area seems to be dominated by the idea of "doing good by doing little". They claim that this is related to the fact that the group is *statistically invisible*, and that there is no special funding attached to the reception of refugee and asylum-seeking students (see also Hek, 2005). At the same time, given the common occurrence of racism toward newly arrived students, it is argued that they have common concerns with other minority groups. Pinson and Arnot (2010) express surprise that the anti-racist and race equality policies that were developed in the UK in the 1970s and 80s are rarely applied to asylum-seeking and refugee students (cf. Rutter, 2006). "The political tensions which surround the education of these children cannot be disassociated from the political tensions around issues of 'race' and the education of black pupils and other minority ethnic pupils" (Pinson & Arnot, 2010, p. 17).

Refugee first, child second

One conclusion drawn from the policy-analyses on educational provision for newly arrived students is that the responses not only overlook the diverse needs of the students, subsuming them within a wider category, they also risk creating divisions and exclusions among students who share similar concerns and/or circumstances (see e.g. Matthews, 2008). Studies in which irregular migrant youth are interviewed show the effect that the legal category of 'illegal' has on social relationships (Sigona, 2012) and their view on school (Sigona & Hughes, 2012) and how this is negotiated by the youth themselves (Bloch et al., 2011). In relation to policies directed at unaccompanied refugee children in Belgium, Derluyn and Broekaert (2008) also point to the contrast between a legal perspective and a psychological perspective that recognises the children's multiple needs. The authors conclude that the ruling principle for the reception of unaccompanied minors is first and foremost their migrant status, rather than their universal status as children. In the UK, Pinson and Arnot (2010) note that immigration controls continue to take precedence over

the 'best interests' of the child, despite the political proclamation to the contrary. This is also the conclusion reached in a study among asylum-seeking children in Sweden (Svensson & Eastmond, 2013). Drawing on interviews and participant observation with asylum-seeking children, the authors emphasise the importance of school as a source of structure, a sense of belonging and a learning environment. Like the international studies referenced above, Svensson and Eastmond (2013) point to the paradoxes between an educational system that rests upon the idea of all children being equal and the structural realities faced by asylum-seeking children. Hence the divisions and exclusions can be formal in terms of legal entitlements (Christie, 2003; Christie & Sidhu, 2006; Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2010) or become an issue despite equal access to education (Hek, 2005; Sigona & Hughes, 2012; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013; Zetterqvist Nelson & Hagström, 2016).

Marketisation of education and deficit framing

Indeed, several authors conclude that the influence of neoliberal global policy on the educational field, and the shift away from equity and social justice that this entails, is of particular disadvantage to refugee and asylum-seeking and migrant students (Devine, 2013; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Taylor, 2008). The increased focus on quantitative measures of success, in terms of school grades and the publication of league tables, risks making these students less attractive (Devine, 2013; Rutter, 2006; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007) or at risk of losing out in terms of resources (Taylor, 2008). Taylor (2008) points out that English as a second language teachers have to bear the brunt of insufficient funding, and for the students the understaffing means that they do not develop their knowledge of other subjects and that their emotional needs are overlooked. Taylor (2008) highlights the conflict in which multicultural schools tend to have better conditions for integration of asylum-seeker and refugee students but face the risk of a bad reputation through low grades demonstrated in league tables. This tendency of strategically avoiding newly arrived students has also been recognised in studies of the Swedish school market (Ambrose, 2017; Bunar, 2008).

Several researchers, from different geographical contexts, conclude that newly arrived migrant students are positioned in deficit terms (Devine, 2013; Keddie, 2012b; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2010). Devine (2013), who has studied how the larger group of migrant children become positioned through both global and national policy platforms, indeed links the deficit orientation to the contraction of the welfare state and influence of neo-liberal forces, specifically the marketisation and pressure on performance in the

school market.[15] Tension and dilemmas arise between this discourse of conditional future value through performance and another global discourse, exemplified by the UNCRC that takes a holistic view of children's rights. Dilemmas about being valued differently are played out in the relations that migrant children form with peers as well as with the teachers in schools:

> For schools, pedagogic tensions arise between catering to the needs of children of immigrant background in a holistic, authentic manner within a wider cultural, social and economic frame where reputation, risk and added value (through higher school scores) have to be managed within an increasingly market driven environment (Devine, 2013, p. 289).

Devine also recognises that identifying the additional needs of migrant children can lead to positive visibility in the classroom, "provided it moves beyond a classificatory 'label' and becomes a mechanism for realising each child's rights to both quality and equality in their learning experiences" (Devine, 2013, p. 292).

Call for an inclusive approach

There appears to be consensus among the researchers who have reviewed educational policies and school practices from a rights-based perspective that the best way to educate newly arrived students is through a holistic and inclusive approach, although this is not always clearly defined. Rutter (2006) has identified the importance of a welcoming environment, free of racism, and the need to meet psycho-social and learning needs from a holistic perspective. Taylor (2008) who examined a number of examples of successful school reception among secondary schools in Brisbane emphasises the importance of integrating the students into mainstream classes as soon as possible. Candappa (2016), who favours an inclusive school model, also points out that withdrawal from the mainstream might be stigmatising and deprives students of the social contexts important for learning. However, she acknowledges that an inclusive school ethos can coexist with exclusionary practices among friendship groups toward newcomers.

In Pinson and Arnot's (2010) description of holistic schools, they are characterised by a recognition of the student's multiplicity of needs and a corresponding support system to meet them. Taylor and Sidhu (2012) add that inclusive education means striking a balance between providing support for the special needs of refugee students without 'othering' them. Moreover, several authors point out that the diverse needs of refugee students require school staff

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[15] Devine (2013) points to the fact that declining PISA scores are often blamed on migrant children (so too in the Swedish context – for a discussion see Bunar, 2015; Skolverket, 2016b).

to build contacts inside and outside of schools – in support teams with different professionals (Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Taylor, 2008), and with parents and the wider community (Block et al., 2014; Candappa, 2016; Hek, 2005; Pinson & Arnot, 2010). Previous experience with culturally diverse students, and conscious efforts to promote positive images of asylum-seeker and refugee students, are also taken as characteristics of holistic schools (Pinson & Arnot, 2010). As seen above, several of the researchers draw on a language of morality to describe the characteristics of schools taken to be positive examples of refugee reception by emphasising the importance of an "ethos of inclusion", a "celebration of diversity", "a caring ethos and the giving of hope" and even "compassion" (Candappa, 2016; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Pinson et al., 2010) and a "commitment to social justice" (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). In sum, this perspective focuses on the structural preconditions for meeting the needs and realising the rights of newly arrived migrant students. While also addressing the sociocultural context, the perspective towards which we now turn singles out language learning as the primary concern regarding the education of newly arrived students.

Newly arrived students as second language learners

The importance for newly arrived students of learning the language of the new country of residence is an undisputed truth among both researchers and policymakers. Indeed, in Sweden, the very definition of a newly arrived student has rested[16] upon them being learners of the Swedish language. Moreover, teachers and students themselves emphasise how crucial it is to be able to communicate in the new language in order to build social relationships and continue learning in academic subjects. Hence, it is no surprise that research departing from a language perspective has been prominent in the field of research on newly arrived students, from the 1960s and onwards. This research has comprised mother tongue tuition, learning a second language, and the issue of whether or not the mother tongue should be used in instruction (Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Cummins, 1996; Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2004). With regard to research on second language learning and use, Hyltenstam and Lindberg (2004) outline three strands: the relationship between the individual learner and the new language, the socio-political dimension of language, and research on how tuition can support language learning. The last strand also includes the relationships between tuition, language development, identity development and knowledge development among multilingual students in general. I will focus on the latter strand of research in the brief overview provided below. The research in question seldom treats newly arrived students as a separate category but as a subgroup with needs common to multilingual students

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[16] Up until January 2016.

in general. Thus, although the employed definitional terms differ, these research findings are relevant to newly arrived students (among others).

Second language learning as a socioculturally situated practice

Research into second language learning in Sweden began in the early 1970s in close contact with international research in the area and in response to needs in tuition within the educational sector (Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2004). Much of the early research departed from a psycho-linguistic or cognitive view on second language learning, casting it as an individual mental process isolated from its social context (Corder, 1967; Selinker, 1972). However, in the 1990s, this view was criticised for the lack of explanatory power regarding the role of social interaction in language learning (Firth & Wagner, 2007; van Lier, 1996; Norton, 1997). With inspiration from the sociocultural theory of Vygotskij (1978), the active role of the second language learner and the importance of collaboration and interaction in language learning has been emphasised. A fundamental assumption is that language is developed in social contact and in response to social and communicative needs. This means that *language use* is also an important aspect of the language learning field. The distance between what the individual can perform on their own and what they can perform in collaboration with others is what is called the *zone of proximal development* (Vygotskij, 1978). Lantolf (2000) discusses the inseparability of individual and social processes, language learning and language use, since individuals constantly learn and develop in interaction with the sociocultural environment.

A growing body of research in the field of applied linguistics presents language learning in a yet wider perspective: as a complex social practice that is structured by power relations between majority and minority groups and tied up with the construction and reproduction of social relations and identities (Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2004, p. 21). Departing from a poststructuralist view on identity, Norton (1997) proposes the concept of *investment* to show how structure and agency operate across time and space offering learners different positions from which to speak (cf. Darvin & Norton, 2015). Concepts related to language ideology have been used to bring to light the ideological mechanism whereby language becomes tied to national identity and ethnicity (Hyltenstam & Milani, 2012). Blommaert, Creve and Willaert (2006) show how newcomers' linguistic and literacy resources are disqualified through a monolingual language ideology that only recognises certain normative writing practices as indexical of identity, social status, and relations between people:

> Unless one speaks standard Dutch, or unless one possesses the specific literacy skills associated with Dutch orthography, one is language-less and illiterate,

even if one is a proficient multilingual individual, and even if one is a sophisticated literate in a writing system different to that of Dutch (Blommaert et al., 2006, p. 53)

In the Swedish context, Jonsson and Milani (2009) show how recognition of linguistic diversity occurs within the framework of a monolingual norm that essentialises the connection between ethnic/geographical origin, mother tongue and language use (see also Rosén & Bagga-Gupta, 2015). Furthermore, the dominating ideology of equality means that discourses around the linguistic practices of persons who are perceived as non-Swedish are used to draw boundaries between *us* and *them*.

Moreover, there is research within the field of applied linguistics that brings interactional theories and poststructuralist theories of language ideologies into dialogue with phenomenology. By drawing on Merleau-Ponty in her discussion of the concept of *Spracherleben*, the lived experience of language, Busch (2015) foregrounds the intersubjective dimension of language and the often-neglected bodily and emotional dimensions of perception and speech. Asking what happens when speakers make a transition from an educational space where they are familiar with the social rules and the language practices, to one in which that is not the case, Busch (2015) attends to the feelings of, for instance, desire and shame related to the lived experience of language.

Pre- and post-migration factors affecting second language learning

Several researchers, also within this research field, point to the prevalence of a deficiency perspective with regard to multilingual students in general and newly arrived students in particular, especially in relation to issues of school success and academic achievement. Low relative achievement has been explained by reference to a *lack* of knowledge of the second language, thereby disregarding other factors that are influential for school success. In her review of international studies, Axelsson (2004) found that factors tied to the student's background, and those in the new country, influence school success, such as the family's socio-economic conditions, gender, reason for migration, the attributed value of education, the reception in the new country, the status of the group in the new country, resources in school and the cultural distance between the home and the school (see also Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012).

Loewen (2004) uses an ecological perspective to examine pre-, trans- and post-migration factors influencing second language learning, specifically among refugee children who are characterised as suffering from traumatic and disruptive migration experiences. Among post-migration factors, Loewen (2004) outlines the effects of first language linguistic and literacy skills, age, social identity and gender. Interestingly, Loewen (2004) relates research on

second language learning to different instructional and organisational models. While concluding that placement of second language learners in regular classrooms is the best practice for both social and pedagogical reasons, Loewen (2004) draws on Cummins to point to the necessity of well-planned inclusive programmes that also promote first language literacy and modified second language input. Additional or supplementary programmes, such as introductory reception classes or pull-out classes, are considered beneficial when they are tailored to students' specific needs and linked to content courses and mainstream work. If pull-out classes are not made relevant to the students, there is a risk that the students feel that they lose valuable time, feel isolated and lack contact with native speakers.[17] Gunderson (2000) points to a class-dimension in the students' views on pull-out classes. Students in lower socio-economic schools in Canada were generally more enthusiastic about English as a second language classes, viewing them as friendly and more welcoming than mainstream classes, while students from high socio-economic schools were generally more negative, viewing the pull-out classes as interfering with their academic learning.

Essential components for learning

International studies have attempted to pinpoint factors on various levels that are essential to the academic and language development of second language learners. One important and consistent conclusion is the benefit of bilingual education and the importance of utilising the student's first language as a cognitive and academic resource in the teaching of the second language (Cummins, 1996, 2014, 2015, Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002). The centrality of the first language for second language development, and knowledge development in general, is indeed also the conclusion of research reviews in the Swedish context (Axelsson, 2004; Axelsson, Lennartson-Hokkanen, & Sellgren, 2002; Axelsson & Magnusson, 2012; Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2004). Jim Cummins (1996) points to the time it takes – five years or more – for school-age second language learners to acquire the academic language needed in order to grasp the content in academic subjects. This places high demands on the teacher who has to support content-based learning through varied and planned strategies that depart from the individual student's needs.

Through a review on research regarding effective instruction for students at risk of underachievement, one of them being English learners, Cummins (2014) points to the necessity of teaching academic language explicitly across the curriculum by integrating language and content. He also emphasises other

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[17] For further discussion of these aspects, see the section entitled "life stories and lived experiences".

important dimensions such as access to print and active engagement with literacy, effective scaffolding of students' language comprehension and production, as well as instruction and curriculum that connect to students' lives and background knowledge, thereby functioning as a form of identity affirmation and empowerment. Hence, it is not a matter of a simple one-way transmission of academic language but a conscious integration of language and content, whereby explicit language objectives are incorporated into the instruction of subject matter in a way that invites students as co-constructors of knowledge (Cummins, 2014). When students can relate new knowledge to their own conceptual frameworks and understand the context in which knowledge is presented, the pupils' own sense of self and self-esteem as well as learning is enhanced (Cummins, 1996).

Macro-level studies in the same field reach similar conclusions; the time it takes for a second language learner to acquire academic language begs the necessity of utilising the student's first language in second language acquisition. Based on their much-cited reviews of the long-term academic achievement of language minority students in the US[18], Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002) conclude that second language learners face a dual task – they have to simultaneously catch up and keep up the pace with their peers who are learning in their first language. They are, so to speak, running towards a moving target. Their quantitative and qualitative analysis of US school programmes for linguistically and culturally diverse students has come to the conclusion that students who had participated in enriching bilingual instruction programmes, and had the chance to develop cognitive skills and learning in both their languages, had equal or even better results than the average monolingual student after four to seven years. A precondition is that tuition is conducted by experienced bilingual teachers in the school subjects at the adequate age-level and in their first language. The more the student develops thinking and learning in the first language, the greater the success will be in the second language. Thomas and Collier (2002) conclude than the strongest predictor of second language learners' achievement is the amount of formal schooling in the first language.

Furthermore, Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002) conclude that it is not sufficient to only concentrate on second language learning as a separate academic subject; the students have to be able to access all academic subjects through their second language and through content tuition adapted to second language learners' needs. What is more, tuition needs to take place in a socioculturally supportive environment that recognises and builds on the students' existing

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[18] The analyses comprised 50 000 students from kindergarten to year 12 in 15 states and 23 districts in the first phase 1982-1999, and 210 054 students from five urban and rural research sites in the second phase 1996-2001.

resources and experiences. Thomas and Collier (2002) also endorse a social interactional view on second language learning, emphasising the positive effects of collaboration between students and the need for teachers to carefully plan for student and teacher collaboration. Pulling out the second language students from the mainstream for a long time might involve a risk that they form low expectations of themselves. Thomas and Collier (2002) in fact conclude that what they call short-term (one to three years) remedial programmes for students with no proficiency in English should be avoided since they cannot close the large achievement gap.

Scaffolding as a balance between challenge and support

In line with the sociocultural perspective on language learning, as based on interaction between the learner and their environment, *scaffolding* has been launched as a theoretical and practical concept that points to the type of situated help that newly arrived – and other multilingual – students need for their language and academic development. The notion of scaffolding draws on Vygotskij's view on learning as a collaborative enterprise and the need for assisted performance as a component of his notion of the zone of proximal development. Hammond and Gibbons (2001) discuss scaffolding in the following way:

> The metaphor of scaffolding has been widely used in recent years to argue that, in the same way that builders provide essential but temporary support, teachers need to provide temporary supporting structures that will assist learners to develop new understandings, new concepts, and new abilities. As the learner develops control of these, so teachers need to withdraw that support, only to provide further support for extended or new tasks, understandings and concepts (Hammond & Gibbons, 2001, pp. 13–14)

In Mariani's (1997) development of the notion of scaffolding in teaching contexts, he sees it as composed of the components of challenge and support. Mariani (1997) describes four kinds of classroom environments from a challenge and support perspective, the ideal situation being the learning/engagement zone signified by high challenge, high support tasks. This combination will enable students to stretch their learning and successfully accomplish their tasks, while other environments will cause anything from comfort (but no development) to frustration or boredom. Thus, the teacher's professional task is to continuously assess the individual learner's needs and model tasks according to high challenge (tasks the learner cannot do on their own) and high support (the scaffolding needed to complete the task successfully). In sum, what we find through this strand of research is the importance of social inclusion in terms of interaction with peers and competent teaching resources, as ways to enhance learning. The last strand, to which we now turn, moves away from

explanatory frameworks of learning to life-stories and lived experiences, as told by migrant students themselves.

Newly arrived students as the tellers of life-stories and lived experiences

A third perspective discernible in previous research on the education of newly arrived students is one that is oriented towards capturing and understanding the individual students' experiences. Although there is no clear-cut boundary between this perspective and the other two, which in many cases also include the students' voices, there are differences regarding the analytical focus and scope. In a rights-based perspective, the analytical focus is generally on the macro-level to which individual experiences are sometimes related, whereas researchers in the field of language learning span both micro- and macro-analytical levels but focus on a single aspect of the newly arrived student's situation. The third perspective takes the individual student's lived experiences as the primary analytical point of departure, aiming for a holistic view encompassing the totality of the individual's life-world. Depending on the ambition and theoretical perspective, as will be demonstrated, researchers in the field sometimes make an additional analytical step in which the experiences are related to a structural level. The ambition, as formulated by Oikonomidoy (2010) is, for a "micro-educational" approach, a mid-way between macro-level sociological analyses and micro-level analyses of language learning. Central to understanding experiences within this loosely bounded perspective are concepts of identity and belonging, sometimes played out in relation to space, place and temporality (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Conlon, 2011; Cwerner, 2001; Griffiths, 2014; Zembylas, 2011, 2012). The theoretical perspectives involved range from social interactional and narrative theories to Bourdieu's theories of capital and theories on emotional geographies.

Students' own voices

A primary point of departure for studies in this domain is the essential value – in itself – of including newly arrived students' own voices about their situation. A guiding assumption is that the students' experiences have important messages to convey about the school system's conditions for their inclusion and learning (see e.g. Allen, 2006). In this regard, the researchers respond to an established void in research on newly arrived students' education. For example, after an extensive overview of the published literature in relation to the experiences and needs of refugee children and young people in the UK between 1995-2005, Hek (2005) concludes that it is only in the latter part of the period that the voices of young refugees have begun to be presented in the

literature (see also Devine, 2009). Also, within the Swedish research field, it has been claimed by both Bunar (2010) and Cederberg (2006) that there is a lack of studies that depart from the students' own perspectives on migration, schooling in the new country and what is experienced as important for their development, although the situation has improved somewhat since 2010 (Zetterqvist Nelson & Hagström, 2016). Taking the students' own voices into account is sometimes also considered to carry potential for political change: "one way to begin the process of changing school policies and practices is to listen to students' views about them" (Nieto, 1994, p. 358). Furthermore, in valuing the children's own perspective, several studies also bring light to their resilience and agency in the everyday negotiations of social relations at school (Devine, 2013; Dewilde & Skrefsrud, 2016; McGovern & Devine, 2016). Dewilde and Skrefsrud (2016), for example, show how safe moments in school, such as in the transition class, can create opportunities for newly arrived students to create alternative stories and enact cultural and linguistic resistance, drawing on their multiple identities.

School as social spaces for the negotiation of sameness and difference

An underlying assumption in much of the research centred on life-stories and lived experiences is that the act of listening to the voices of the students makes other aspects come to the fore, compared to what is immediately apparent (Oikonomidoy, 2010). In many cases, it is the social aspects of schooling – the everyday negotiations of belonging and inclusion into friendship groups at school – that become central in the students' narratives (Devine, 2009; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Hek, 2005; Oikonomidoy, 2010; Riggs & Due, 2010; Sigona & Hughes, 2012; Wernesjö, 2014). The close attention to social interaction can also complicate dominant ideas about inclusion. In Due and Riggs' (2009) study, ethnographic observation of newcomer children at play in the school yard makes the authors question the simplistic view that English (the dominant language of the receiving community) is the only key needed to "fit in" (see also Warriner, 2007). Indeed, it is argued that attention to the lived experiences of the students can bring out the underlying terms of inclusion, directing focus to the social structures, norms and power relations of the receiving community. Much of the research that includes student voices testifies to the prevalence of patterns of exclusion such as racism, discrimination or bullying, all of which work to marginalise newly arrived students, especially as they enter the mainstream (Candappa, 2000, 2016; Hek, 2005; Rutter, 2006; Skowronski, 2013; Whiteman, 2005). However, Romme Larsen (2013) reaches a different conclusion in her study of newly arrived students in a rural context in Denmark, in which the students primarily experienced themselves as socially included in the new school context. Several of the studies bring to light how

the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion are intertwined with concepts of normality and otherness that also structure social interaction within the society at large (Devine & Kelly, 2006).

One of the few researchers who has discussed how the intersections between gender, ethnic status and social class influence migrant children's positioning in school is Dympna Devine (Devine, 2009; Devine & Kelly, 2006). On the basis of qualitative fieldwork in primary schools in Ireland, in both urban and rural settings and comprising interviews with 23 boys and 18 girls and a previous year-long case-study (Devine & Kelly, 2006), Devine (2009) has documented the perspectives of migrant children. In line with some previous research already discussed, Devine (2009) shows that the friendships that children cultivated in school were important in providing feelings of inclusion and belonging and provided the children with a sense of 'getting on' in their everyday lives. However, as 'newcomer children' they walk a delicate line between recognition and rejection, depending on the degree to which they accommodated the dominant ways of 'being'. Indeed, as Devine (2009) and Devine and Kelly (2006) show, the experience of inclusion and exclusion in peer relations is underpinned by concepts of sameness and difference that draw upon wider social discourses of ethnic and gender identity. Skin-colour, language and cultural 'difference' were used to draw boundaries between majority and minority children. For boys it meant being good at sports, whereas girls had to align to other gendered expectations that varied across ethnic groups.

Devine (2009) employs Bourdieu's theoretical framework to show how migrant children are active generators of capital in negotiating the spaces of the home and school. The degree to which the children could insist on engaging in capital-promoting extra-curricular activities depended on the parent's social class and access to time and money. Having a different ethnic identity or knowing a different language had little exchange value and did not convert into social capital. Instead, migrant children were seen to minimise embodied aspects of cultural difference relating to accent, dress and diet. Ethnic identity or 'culture' occupied an ambivalent position for the students, when reduced to an 'extra' for celebration and display. Children were also involved in building their own cultural capital through learning in school – of which acquiring fluency in English was considered central. Furthermore, Devine (2009) points out that the separate work of the language support teacher, could lead to a situation where mainstream classroom teachers did not have to focus on the interests of migrant children – a conclusion which echoes much of the Swedish research, as will be seen below.

In Oikonomidoy's (2010) study of the schooling narratives of seven female high-school students from Somalia, who had been in the US for four to seven

years, there was also student disapproval of being spotlighted in the classroom. Experiences of religious discrimination and the prevalence of a monolingual norm in the classroom meant that the students felt that their religious, racial, linguistic and cultural identities were challenged in school and positioned them as outsiders. However, as in many other studies, the students testify to the teacher's important role in making the students develop a sense of self in school. Also, in Uptin, Wright and Harwood's (2013) retrospective study of how twelve former refugees aged 16-19 experienced high school in Australia, it was the social aspects of school that came to the fore. The former refugees testified to feeling different, due to a different skin-colour or having a different accent, which according to the terms set by the dominant groups prevented them from forming friendships. However, the young former refugees blamed themselves for their exclusion and internalised the discourse of language deficiencies. As Devine and Kelly (2006) also found, Uptin, Wright and Harwood (2013) conclude that the spaces for inclusion were sports for boys and music for girls. However, Uptin, Wright and Harwood (2013), point to the limited scope for young people in their study to develop non-racially stereotyped youth identities within the school setting. In accordance with several of the researchers within the rights-based perspective (see e.g. Pinson & Arnot, 2007), they conclude that the reception that refugees experience in school reflects the view on refugees in society at large.

Experienced conditions for inclusion in school

The degree to which the structures of the school system create possibilities for inclusion, as seen from the students' own perspectives, has been in focus in a number of Swedish studies. Jepson Wigg (2011) uses a sociological framework to discuss how young people narrate their experiences of having to start all over in a new country during their school years. The life stories of Jepson Wigg's (2011) informants – eight young persons, between ages 19-26, who came to Sweden as refugees – narrate their experience of being in introductory classes as a kind of *waiting room*. The common wish to come into contact with students in regular classes and to be accepted by them is reoccurring and appears to be a condition for participation and belonging. One explicit barrier to inclusion into the regular system, as viewed by the students, is language, but there are also more implicit conditions in the informants' narratives such as adaptation to "appropriate customs".[19] The evaluation of the degree to which the conditions for inclusion have been fulfilled is seen to be in the hands of the teachers.

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[19] In her analysis of the pedagogical motivations behind separate tuition in introductory classes, Fridlund (2011) also finds reasons besides language proficiency, such as a presumed need for socialisation into "Swedishness".

Indeed, the metaphor of the waiting room reoccurs in several of the Swedish studies on newly arrived students' experiences of introductory class. In Skowronski's (2013) social interactionist study of newly arrived students in the last four years of compulsory school and upper secondary school, she shows how the introductory class is perceived to be a threshold to overcome in order to become "like everybody else". Despite the students' positive views on the social relations fostered in the introductory class, tied to everybody being in a similar situation, the introductory class is seen to carry a lower status than the regular classes. The status differentials also become noticeable as the students reach the regular classes, where they find that the other students tend to keep a distance. Drawing on Goffman's notion of stigma, Skowronski (2013) argues that the lower status of newly arrived students is linked to the denigration of 'immigrants' as a social category and a stigmatisation of language use that deviates from the standard norm in society at large (see also Parszyk, 1999). Acts of distancing, ignoring and even harassing newly arrived students in the regular classes are internalised by the newly arrived students (who tend to silence themselves in the regular class), and according to Skowronski (2013) this constitutes a form of symbolic violence. As a novel contribution, given that her study spans the transition to upper secondary school, Skowronski (2013) notes that the students tend to be in introductory class for extended periods of time, although divided between different school forms. Being in what she calls a state of "permanent temporariness" (Skowronski, 2013, p. 237 my translation) risks resulting in a lack of motivation among the students.

The metaphor of the waiting room takes on additional meanings in Svensson and Eastmond's (2013) study of the role of school and education for fourteen asylum-seeking children (see also the "life on hold" described by Gustafsson, Fioretos, & Norström, 2012; and "life in limbo" described by Thommessen, Corcoran, & Todd, 2015). The experience of being in introductory class – which echoes previous depictions of alienation and exclusion from the mainstream system – was in this study complicated by the insecurity tied to the asylum process. Encompassing both examples of placement in introductory class and direct immersion, although in few numbers, Svensson and Eastmond (2013) note that students placed in regular classes interacted more frequently and at an earlier stage with Swedish-speaking peers, but were also faced with prevailing notions about 'immigrants'. Regular teachers were also less aware of refugee experiences than were introductory class teachers. Importantly, both students and teachers within and outside of the introductory class described introductory class as a form of exclusion or alienation from the school community, sometimes manifested by the physical placement at the margins of the regular school and limited curriculum. Hence, despite the strong social relations in the introductory class, the students testified to wanting to escape the social marginalisation of an "introductory class (IC) pupil". Being in a regular class represented "having Swedish peers, feelings of competence and

expectations of belonging to normality" (Svensson & Eastmond, 2013, p. 166).

Negotiating belonging in relation to space and place

An emergent strand in studies of the experiences of migrant students pays specific attention to how the negotiation of belonging plays out in relation to *space* and *place*. Bash and Zezlina-Phillips (2006) have inquired into what they call the internal dynamics of identity in relation to refugee children's perception of education through the concepts of space, place, time and boundary. One of their two case-studies, involving observation, interviews and analysis of drawings, shows how a refugee child relates to the various spaces in the school, in which spaces outside the classroom are experienced as insecure (cf. the microgeography of the lunch break as described by Valentine, 2000). Moreover, the authors show how the same child is engaged in boundary-blurring strategies by camouflaging that he does not follow tuition and mimics his classroom peers in order to catch up.

Also, Due and Riggs (2009) pay attention to the use of space in their studies on refugee and migrant students' possibilities for inclusion in two primary schools in South Australia with a "New Arrivals Programme" (Due & Riggs, 2009; Riggs & Due, 2010). Departing from a view in which use of space and claims to place are never neutral but regulated by social norms, they found that there is little interaction between newly arrived refugees and children who have been in Australia for longer periods of time. Contrary to what the teachers in questionnaires claim, the ethnographic observations of the use of school yards during playtime, show that the two groups are largely segregated in the playground. The one area in which power relations were to some extent realigned was that of sport; however, that was primarily an activity that attracted newly arrived male students (see also Devine & Kelly, 2006; Uptin et al., 2013). Responding to the simplistic view that English is the key needed to "fit in", the authors conclude that the students will be differentially invested in learning English according to the degree of exclusion they experience in the school environment. They do not argue against the importance of learning the language in order to facilitate interaction, but point out that a view in which inclusion only rests on language learning inadvertently places the onus on the newly arrived students to facilitate their own inclusion. When there is no recognition of mutuality, the power relations that exist in the broader community are reinforced within the school environment: "Regardless of the practical utility of being able to speak up for oneself in a situation where one is in a marginal position, the ability to do so will always be moderated by the willingness of other people to listen" (Due & Riggs, 2009, p. 60).

Valentine, Sporton and Nielsen (2009) also show how identities and identification processes are never disassociated from their context and its spatial norms and expectations. With reference to empirical research with young Somali refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK and Denmark (aged 11-18), they show how a given identity can define individuals as *in place* or *out of place*, depending on the dominant contextual norms. Comparing how people experience and negotiate their identities in two different national contexts, Valentine et al. (2009) illuminate the unintended effects that integration policy can have on refugees' and asylum-seekers' feelings of national belonging and identities. Whereas the Somali youth in the UK developed their identity in relation to a strong Somali community framed by a looser national multicultural policy, there were less developed Somali networks in Denmark and a stronger policy towards assimilation. The Somalis living in Denmark more readily identified as Danish (among other things) but also felt the pressure to conform to secular Danish culture, that made them feel isolated in predominantly white schools. Although the youth living in Denmark could enact a Danish identity, they did not feel at 'home' or secure due to a narrow definition of 'Danishness' as predicated on secularism and whiteness. The youth living in Britain, on the other hand, enacted Somali identities through embodied performances (dress, bodily comportment and language) and disavowed the 'British' identity, but nevertheless described feeling safe and at home in the UK or more specifically in their place-based community. Hence, as the authors argue, belonging and inclusion are not just about fitting in, but also about emotional attachment and a sense of security.

In the Swedish context, the few studies of how migrant students negotiate a space-based belonging have focused on the specific conditions given in a rural setting. Through interviews, walk-alongs and observation, Wernesjö (2014, 2015) examined how unaccompanied young refugees living in a rural village in Sweden make sense of home and belonging, as understood from a post-structuralist framework. Although the village is stereotypically associated with the presence of close social ties and physical proximity, Wernesjö (2014, 2015) found that the nine participants (aged 16-19), who were all relatively newly arrived, experienced more or less subtle forms of exclusion. The young participants longed to belong and to get to know 'Swedish' youth but due to the segregation built into both informal activities and the educational structure itself (with separate introductory classes), together with the presence of racialised discourses of 'immigrants' and 'Swedishness', this was hard to realise. Belonging is made conditional by others, in this case the 'Swedish' youth, who occupy a more stable position in society (Wernesjö, 2015).

Belonging in a rural setting is also the focus for Ljung Egeland's (2015) dissertation. Although the focus is on younger children (aged 9-13) that have a migration background (not necessarily recently migrated), Ljung Egeland's

(2015) findings have relevance for a broader context. Using the framework of narrative theory and life-stories, and a view of belonging as dynamic and socially constructed, Ljung Egeland (2015) shows how belonging is conditioned by migration and the rural setting for the thirteen children in her study. Attending specifically to the emotions in the children's narratives, Ljung Egeland (2015) documents how the rural setting represents safety as well as boredom and limited future opportunities for the children. In line with several of the studies already accounted for, different dimensions of sameness and difference – both internal and external – appear to be important for the friendship group (dress, using a veil or not, skin colour). The children also described how they have to handle racialisation and othering in their everyday negotiations at school. Hence belonging is not only about claiming place, but also about being granted or recognised as having a legitimate place. Importantly, Ljung Egeland (2015) emphasises that emotions of belonging have effects on possibilities for learning and development in school.

In contrast to the image of the rural setting as characterised by exclusionary processes, Romme Larsen's (2013) ethnographic study of four newly arrived families in two rural municipalities in Denmark gives a more positive image. Her study of the children's negotiations of inclusion, exclusion and belonging, shows that the school can contribute to the *daily project of inclusion*. The children in the study (seven children in the school years 3-9) generally felt included in their classes and easily found new friends. The teachers, who quickly became important to the children, demonstrated a holistic approach, addressing needs that went beyond their strict responsibility as teachers. Nevertheless, in accordance with conclusions in previous studies, Romme Larsen (2013) shows that inclusion is predicated on notions of sameness – the children have to act in accordance with the norms and expectations of the local environments. These norms encompass a view in which the children need to be encouraged to liberate themselves from the (non-Danish) home and family, which are seen to stand in the way of the culturally specific goal of being a self-sufficient autonomous individual.

Emotions and embodiment

The field of migration research has witnessed a growing interest in *emotion*, although the focus has primarily been on adult migrants and the trans-migratory processes and re-negotiations of the concepts of home and identity involved (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Christou, 2011; Kokanović & Božić-Vrbančić, 2015; Liu, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2015; Raffaetà, 2015). However, the affective dimensions of belonging in the school environment of newly arrived students have largely been underresearched. Recently, McGovern and Devine (2016) explored the role of affective bonds and the significance of children's

care worlds in managing the transition of the migrant family, especially between home and school. Drawing on an ethnographic study of ten diverse migrant families involving both observations, interviews and children as co-researchers through photovoice methodology, the authors investigated the intersection between the affective domains of migrant children's lives and how their care worlds are involved in structuring identities in migration. Children's inter-generational practices of love, care and solidarity – are central to the settlement in the new country – as are secondary care relations to teachers and friends and the school ethos. However, as the authors point out, the 'love labour' is connected to access to economic, social and cultural resources.

With regard to growing interest in the spatiality of emotions and the emotional aspects of belonging in the field of migration, the notion of *emotional geographies* has been a guiding principle for a number of studies (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Bondi, Davidson, & Smith, 2005; Christou, 2011; Zembylas, 2011). Researchers in the field of emotional geographies attempt to understand emotions in the context of particular places/spaces, embedded in culture, ideology, gender, space and power relations (Bondi et al., 2005). Emotions are also tied to *embodiment*, in that it is in and through bodies that place is lived. Several researchers draw on Ahmed's feminist phenomenology in which emotions are seen to move bodies and objects away or towards each other, shaping the place in the process (Ahmed, 2004a). Against this theoretical backdrop, Zembylas (2011) investigated how school practices are entangled with emotions and discourses in relation to perceptions of race and ethnicity in a multicultural primary school in the Republic of Cyprus. Zembylas (2011) shows that race and ethnicity are materialised through emotions of disgust and practices of distancing toward Turk-Cypriot children (minority) on behalf of the Greek-Cypriot students and teachers (majority). The Turkish-speaking children interviewed in the study testified to feelings of sadness and fear towards the fact that no one wanted to sit with them in the regular classroom. In the pull-out contexts with other Turkish-speaking students, they felt happier (and in a sense 'more included'). Hence emotions work to create an emotional geography that legitimates certain practices of inclusion/exclusion in school, which mirror the long-standing political and ethnic conflicts.

Concluding remarks

The review of research on the education of newly arrived students (including broad categories such as migrant or minority students and specific categories such as refugee and asylum-seeking students), has outlined three perspectives that dominate the field – based on primary concerns of rights, language or life-stories and lived experience, respectively – that to some degree all become materialised in the four studies that make up this thesis. However, as stated

earlier, the three perspectives are far from clear-cut or mutually exclusive and several researchers can be seen to bridge several strands of research. For instance, the second language perspective, although singling out the aspect of language learning among the diverse concerns regarding multilingual students' education, also addresses the wider sociocultural context and lived experience (see e.g. Busch, 2015). Similarly, some of the research that takes the students' own experiences and life-stories as their point of departure, relate these to the structural conditions in school and society at large, and vice versa (see e.g. Candappa, 2016; Devine, 2009, 2013).

Although this review has attempted a theoretically informed overview of the field, it ought to be said that research in the area of the education of newly arrived students is not only relatively scarce and loosely bounded but also undertheorised (Bunar, 2010; Rutter, 2006). Pinson and Arnot (2007) even describe the research on refugee education as a "wasteland". Indeed, many of the studies in the area are mainly descriptive and oriented towards a best-practice type of evaluative studies (see e.g. Hughes & Beirens, 2007). Thus, a general remark is that the field as a whole is in need of further theoretical development, which encompasses both a macro- and micro-level of analysis, and that takes the students' own experiences as a point of departure. Attention to how the intersection of structures of social class, gender, ethnicity and ability permeate the situation inside and outside of school are few and scarce in the literature (but, see Cederberg, 2006; Devine, 2009; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Qin, 2006).

Here the growing interests in emotionality, embodiment and place-making, provide interesting avenues for future research. Furthermore, a phenomenological perspective, with its emphasis on a first-hand perspective regarding lived experience, can together with critical theories that recognise how these experiences are always structured by their social context, be fruitful in the theorisation of newly arrived students' experiences. The framework of emotional geographies can be one way of exploring the spatiality and relationality of emotions that stays faithful to the students' lived experience, bringing to light the processes that shape social relations and possibilities of inclusion in a specific locale (Bondi et al., 2005; Christou, 2011; Zembylas, 2011). However, the feelings of being in place or out of place are not only played out in relation to place, but also time. The temporal dimensions of belonging have received little attention in the research on newly arrived students, despite their existence being characterised by temporal and spatial transitions (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006). As Pinson and Arnot (2007) state, the presence of migrant children in the school system challenge the concepts of temporality and permanence on which the system is based – how this is played out in practice requires further exploration.

3. Theoretical framework

This thesis explores newly arrived students' experienced conditions for learning and social inclusion in their lived transitions within the Swedish school system. The thesis rests on the sociocultural presumption that factors in the surrounding community on different levels, spanning from the macro-level of migration and education policies to the micro-level of embodied interaction in the classroom, condition and shape the students' experiences. In being centred on the investigation of *experience,* the thesis shares an epistemological foundation with a phenomenological theoretical framework. However, rather than reading experiences in isolation from the social context or as a purely discursive phenomenon, the thesis draws on insights from a phenomenological approach in which experiences are seen as lived in and through the body and as situated in space and time. In applying such a perspective, the thesis sets out to expand the narrow and undertheorised knowledge base regarding education for newly arrived students, specifically through drawing on the students' own experiences of their school situation. This chapter sketches the main features of the theoretical perspectives guiding the thesis and explicates the theoretical concepts that have worked as analytical tools in the individual studies that make up the thesis. The commonalities as well as contradictions between the theoretical frameworks applied in the respective studies are critically discussed in the final part of the chapter.

A child-centred perspective at the intersection between migration and education

In taking newly arrived students' own experiences as its primary analytical point of departure, the thesis places itself at the intersection between childhood studies and migration research. The fundamental insights drawn in childhood studies regarding children's *agency* and their ontological status as *being, not becoming* (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998) have yet had limited impact on the field of migration studies (Bak, 2013; Gardner, 2012; Laoire, Carpena-Mendez, Tyrrell, & White, 2010). Research conducted on migrant children has focused on their future possibilities for integration or assimilation (see e.g. Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), rather than on their everyday experiences here and

now (Bak, 2013). Likewise, work on children with migration experiences and their own reflections on the processes of migration has been a neglected field of research within the parameters of new childhood research (Bak, 2013). Laoire et al. (2010) argue that studies on migrant children can enhance our understandings of the ways in which children form belongings and attachments, calling into question ideals of childhood based on notions of residential fixity. It is only in the first decade of the 21st century that there has been a growing interest in research on migrant children as actors in their own right, what Bak (2013) terms an emerging *childhood turn* in migration studies.

In contrast to the emerging body of research in migration studies that focuses on children's pre- and trans-migration relations, this thesis focuses on the *post-migration phase* as experienced by the migrated children. Notwithstanding the importance of pre- and trans-migration factors, a Swedish study on the welfare of asylum-seeking children (Andersson, Björnberg, & Eastmond, 2010) emphasises that the conditions in the receiving country indeed have a greater impact on the children's (and the adults') physical and psychic health than the conditions before flight (cf. Thommessen et al., 2015). Furthermore, school and education is considered to be one of the most important factors for settlement in the new country (Candappa, 2000, 2016; Hek, 2005; Sigona & Hughes, 2012; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013). The field of education is one of the more researched fields in the intersection between migration and childhood (Bak & Brömssen, 2010), although there have been relatively few studies that depart from the children's own perspectives on their school situation (Bunar, 2010; Devine, 2013; Hek, 2005). Operating in the research field concerned with school and education in the post-migration phase, this thesis thus aligns itself with the ambitions in childhood research to centre on children's own perspectives, and it includes their voices in research as expert commentators of their social worlds (Prout & James, 1997). The thesis' fundamental epistemological assumption is that the students' lived experiences have important messages to convey about the school system's conditions for inclusion and learning. How learning and inclusion are construed theoretically is explicated below.

A sociocultural perspective on learning

In its focus on the encounter between the newly arrived student and the social and pedagogical structures of the Swedish school and the experienced conditions for learning created in this encounter, the thesis is grounded in a sociocultural perspective. A sociocultural perspective in this context is a collective term for theories that are founded on Vygotskij's (1978) theories of learning. Following Wertsch's (1991) interpretation of Vygotskij, human beings are viewed as coming into contact with and creating their social world as well as

themselves through the actions in which they engage, which requires an inter-disciplinary analytical venture. Learning and development is understood as the acquisition of cultural tools through communication and interaction, and always situated in a sociocultural and historical context. As Vygotskij (1978) points out in relation to learning, individuals can neither be separated from the contexts in which their practices take place nor from the cultural tools used. Learning occurs in the interaction between these layers. Furthermore, through a sociocultural perspective, *experiences* are generated in the interweaving of social structures and individual factors, situated in a specific setting. In the context of this thesis, a sociocultural perspective on the experiences of newly arrived students hence necessitates the description and critical analysis of the social context in which these experiences are generated.

One way of approaching the interaction between different factors in the individual's social context is through a so-called ecological perspective. Stemming from the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1992), ecological perspectives have been developed by migration theorists (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Rutter, 2006) to show how a range of contextual factors on the micro-, meso- or macro-level are seen to influence refugee children's development. This then adds the temporal phases incorporated in the trajectory of migration. *Pre-migration factors* include characteristics and experiences that occurred prior to leaving the country of origin. *Trans-migration factors* include experiences that occur on arrival in the new country. *Post-migration factors* comprise experiences that occur on arrival in the new country (Anderson et al., 2004, p. 8). Drawing on a view of the individual as an active, growing human being in a reciprocal relationship with the environment, these theorists have attempted to counteract a one-sided and homogenising focus on any singular factor, such as trauma, to explain migrant children's adaptation in the new country (Rutter, 2006). Instead, through this analytical grid, different contextual factors can be systematically categorised in time (migration phases) and space (micro-, meso- and macro-levels), analysing how the different factors interact and influence the individual migrant student's opportunities for development.

The sociocultural perspective and the writings of Vygoskij have also had an impact on the field of second language learning; a field of relevance concerning the education of newly arrived students (see e.g. Lantolf, 2000). Reacting to a view of learning as an abstract, internalised process, a sociocultural perspective in the field of second language learning has construed learning as a complex socially situated practice in which the second language learner and the interaction in which he/she takes part plays an active role. The thesis' point of departure is in line with such a perspective, recognising that a newly arrived student will use the language and learn through participation in the social world comprised of school, community and society (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Furthermore, as is evident in the work of Cummins (1996, 2014, 2015) and Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002), language learning is always connected to and influenced by wider societal questions of belonging and inclusion. As Lave and Wenger express it: "the social structure of this practice, its power relations and its conditions for legitimacy define possibilities for learning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98).

Based on a sociocultural perspective on learning, researchers within the field of second language learning have formulated models for theorising the basic needs of second language learners. Drawing on their research of the long-term academic achievement of language minority students in the US, Thomas and Collier (1997) have proposed a prism model comprising four necessary interacting components for the education of language minority students*: socioculturally supportive environment, language, academic, and cognitive development*. In parallel with the ecological perspective, the components of the model are seen as strongly interacting and dependent on each other. A socioculturally supportive environment involves social, cultural and political factors, such as the student's family relations and self-image, the degree to which the school facilitates contacts with other students, as well as a lack of discrimination and negative attitudes toward minority groups in society at large. The three other components, language, academic and cognitive development, involve development in both the first and second language. Thomas and Collier (1997) conclude that each component needs to be addressed equally through both the first and the second language to assure academic success in the second language.

Hence models developed in the field of second language learning can be used as analytical grids, through which the students' experiences of conditions for learning and inclusion are related to the proposed needs of multilingual learners. Moreover, the fundamental assumption that newly arrived students' conditions for learning cannot be examined as an isolated, neutral or individual process, begs the necessity for a critical examination of the socio-political factors surrounding their education. A sociocultural view on learning thus, to some extent, presupposes social inclusion in the classroom community as well as in society at large. This perspective indeed ties together the dual focus of the thesis on the students' experiences of conditions for both social inclusion and learning. Having discussed learning from a sociocultural framework, the concepts of *experience* and *inclusion* require further elaboration that will take the thesis in a slightly different theoretical direction.

A phenomenological understanding of experience

Although the sociocultural perspective to some extent affords the possibility to theorise the situatedness of experience, the ambition in the thesis to come

close to the students' *lived experiences* requires other theoretical frameworks. A phenomenological framework is a productive complement that manages to illuminate other dimensions of the students' experiences. Phenomenology is far from a unidimensional tradition, but in its most classical and general sense it refers to the descriptive analysis of human beings' lived experiences[20] and understandings of reality (Fisher, 2000). The concept of lived experience can be described as "a distinctive and characteristic mode in which reality is there-for-me" (Dilthey, 1985, p. 223), located in time, space and created through interaction. Phenomenology's aim is often summarised by a famous claim made by Husserl, who took as his task to formulate a basic phenomenological framework: to go back to the "things themselves". According to this understanding, objects appear to us as objects given to consciousness, but consciousness is also shaped by that towards which it is turned. This idea of *intentionality* together with the aim to describe not the world as such, but *the experience of the world* from the *first-person perspective*, is what constitutes the defining features of phenomenological accounts (Luft & Overgaard, 2014). The point of departure is hence the *situated* position of the very individual that experiences the world (Frykman & Gilje, 2003). Although the early phenomenologists recognised the corporeal nature of subjective experience (Alcoff, 2000), it is primarily in the work of the French philosopher Merleau-Ponty that *the body* has come to the fore in the theorisation of experience, which is also the strand of phenomenology that this thesis draws on.

The embodied nature of experience

For Merleau-Ponty (2002), subjectivity is not detached or outside the world but rather open to the world and inseparable from lived and embodied experience. The body is the subject of experience, a manner of relating to the world (Heinämaa, 2003): "It is through my body that I understand [comprends] other people, just as it is through my body that I perceive 'things'" (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p. 216). Through our bodies, we perceive others and the world around us, and the world around us and others affect the way we perceive our bodies. This way of conceptualising perception means that it does not exist *a priori*, and it is not possible to separate it from interpretation. In Boddy's words, it involves knowledge that one *is* rather than one *has* (Boddy, 1998, p. 105).

> For Merleau-Ponty, phenomenology is the description of lived human existence, which is located at the between point of world and consciousness. In this space what exists is a developing synthesis which is forever unfinished precisely because it is instantiated in our concrete, fleshy embodiment, rather than an abstraction of transcendental perspective (Alcoff, 2000, p. 48).

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[20] Experience is construed as a complex phenomenon which involves both sensory perceptions, cognitive and interpretative faculties (Alcoff, 2000).

Although reacting against the early phenomenologists' strive to reveal universal structures of consciousness, feminist theorists have found a meeting point with phenomenology in the emphasis on embodied experience and the theorisation of the body as open to the world.[21] The worldly nature of embodiment is best summarised by Merleau-Ponty's (2002) notion of *intercorporeality*: "to describe embodiment as inter-corporeality is to emphasise that the experience of being embodied is never a private affair, but is always already mediated by our continual interactions with other human and non-human bodies" (Weiss, 1999, p. 5). Bodies are also in connection with others in sensual ways – bodies can be touched as well as seen. "In this sense, 'my body' does not 'belong to me': embodiment is what opens out the intimacy of 'myself' with others" (Ahmed & Stacey, 2001, p. 5). In this regard, there is no binary opposition between mind and body and between the body-as-lived-from-within and the body-as-object (Alcoff, 2000; Zeiler & Wickström, 2009). The world is engrained in our bodies and the bodies engrained in the world. Nevertheless, the relative anonymity and undifferentiated approach to the body in the work of Merleau-Ponty (2002) has been criticised by feminist phenomenologists such as Ahmed (2002), Alcoff (2000), Butler (1989), Grosz (1995) and Young (2005), who instead focus on how the body is subject to forms of social differentiation (Ahmed & Stacey, 2001). It is to this critical phenomenological framework, in which the socially structured nature of experience is theorised, that we now turn.

Orientation and lines

In the body's responsivity towards the world and the capacity to be affected, it is *oriented*. The phenomenological concept of orientation is of central importance in the work of Sara Ahmed (2006). To be oriented is to know where we are when we turn in different directions, meaning that we are near and turned towards certain objects and subjects and away and at a distance from others (Ahmed, 2006). Orientation hence matters for how we perceive the world; certain things become apparent while others are hidden in view depending on our orientation. It is the body that is the locus of orientation – bodies are shaped by being directed towards reachable objects within its bodily horizon and space in turn acquires a direction by the way bodies inhabit it. The orientation towards other bodies and objects creates *lines*. To be *in line* allows bodies to extend into places that were already created by them:

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[21] Simone de Beauvoir (1997)[1945] may be one of the first theorists that combined feminism and phenomenology in her treatise of women's lived experience and situation. However, her phenomenological perspective and debt to the theories of Merleau-Ponty have often been overlooked (Heinämaa, 2003).

> We are 'in line' when we face the direction that is already faced by others. Being 'in line' allows bodies to extend into spaces that, as it were, have already taken shape. Such extensions could be redescribed as an extension of the body's reach /. . ./ the body gets directed in some ways more than others (Ahmed, 2006, p. 15).

Lines are performative; they are dependent on the repetition of norms and conventions but are also created as an effect of this repetition (Ahmed, 2006). Following a line and inhabiting the familiar, means that the line and the sphere of the familiar disappear to us into the background. Being in line – whereby space is oriented and extended around your body – means feeling at home and at ease. Being out of line on the other hand, creates discomfort and attention by others.

> To be oriented, or to be at home in the world, is also to feel a certain comfort: we might only notice comfort as an affect when we lose it – when we become uncomfortable. The word "comfort" suggests well-being and satisfaction, but it also suggests an ease and easiness. /…/ One fits, and in the act of fitting, the surface of bodies disappear from view (Ahmed, 2006, p. 134).

When we are at ease in our bodies and in the world, our bodies typically disappear from our attention. However, when the body does not function as expected or is stopped or hindered, it becomes noticed. Zeiler and Wickström (2009) use the binary of the disappearing and the dys-appearing body to refer to the case when the body is taken for granted, versus when the self-body-world unity is broken and the body appears as alien. In the same way, we notice those who fall outside the lines, who orientate toward other lines.

The experience of being out of line

Being out of line means being recognised as a *body out of place* (Ahmed, 2000). Through her examination of the apparently open, neutral and unmarked term *stranger*, Ahmed (2000) challenges the common view of the stranger as someone who is unknown. Instead, the concept of the stranger builds on recognition. Some bodies are more than others recognised as strangers, as bodies out of place that are stopped or hindered from passing through. Furthermore, the stranger is constantly considered as newly arrived and not really belonging. Drawing on postcolonial theory, Ahmed (2000) shows how the stranger and the body out of place remind us of a history that has disappeared out of our consciousness: the history of racialisation that is hidden by the strangers' alleged anonymity.

If the world inherited after colonialism is white, Ahmed (2000, 2006) says, then bodies that inhabit whiteness[22] will feel at home and move with greater ease: "white bodies are comfortable as they inhabit spaces that extend their shape" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 134). Whiteness blends into the background; it is invisible to those who inhabit it or to those who are so used to whiteness that they learn not to see it. Non-white bodies, on the other hand, create disorientation; they are noticed as out of place (Ahmed, 2006). Ahmed refers to Fanon's (1986) phenomenology of the black body, which describes the bodily and social experience of restriction, insecurity and blockage. The racialisation of bodies cannot in Ahmed's (2002, 2006, 2007) view be separated from the gendering or sexualising of bodies. Ahmed (2002, 2006) acknowledges that lines cross and intersect in the body – how we inhabit one category depends on how we inhabit others. Gender, race and sexual identity hence work as bodily and social *orientation device*s that can be used for sorting who can be mobile and who cannot. Importantly, Ahmed (2002) points out that the every-day encounters are not determined by the categories in place – categories are never fully fixed but constantly negotiated. There is always a gap between how the body is constructed and how it is lived (Ahmed, 2002).

Bodies are constituted in *affective encounters* (Ahmed, 2004b, 2006). It is *emotions* that give a direction in space and work to create and maintain relation of proximity and distance.[23] Ahmed's (2004a, 2004b) view on emotions and affect is that they are not inherent in objects or subjects but are circulating in economic terms. Objects become sticky and collect affective value and bind objects and subjects together, which then creates the effect of boundaries and bodily surface. The circulation of emotions has consequences: it creates a difference between "us" and "them". Ahmed indeed suggests that "feelings might be how structures get under our skin" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 216). It is due to the fact that emotions are not inherent that they can actually become binding (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b). In relation to fear, Ahmed shows that it is the absence of a locus that enables fear to pass over symbols and between bodies, aligning bodily and social space in the process (Ahmed, 2000, p. 70). The *politics of fear* thus legitimises the restriction of certain bodies, through other bodies' movement and expansion. Ahmed (2000, 2006) takes the example of the non-white figure of the asylum-seeker and the migrant as an example of an unsettling arrival that creates disorientation and becomes subject to restrictions.

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[22] Ahmed (2007) clarifies that whiteness cannot be reduced to white skin, skin with other colours can also pass through whiteness.

[23] Ahmed (2004a, 2004b) is less interested in the distinction between emotion and affect or what emotions "really are" than in the work that emotion does. In contrast to a dominant view on emotion as being a sense that we experience when bodily sensations are joined with what we see or imagine, Ahmed (2004b) denies the possibility of separating perception from the body. Furthermore, she questions the distinction between inner "true" emotion and outer socially expected emotions that much of the sociological work on emotions rests.

Moreover, a migrant orientation involves the lived experience of being directed in at least two directions – towards the lost home and the place which is not yet home (Ahmed, 2006, p. 9). Indeed, Ahmed (2000, 2006) thus positions emotions and embodiment as crucial in an investigation of migration.

The *place* of emotions in migration research

Nevertheless, turning to the field of migration research, emotions and the emotional dynamics of proximity and distance bound up in the processes of migration have largely passed unnoticed (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Christou, 2011; Zembylas, 2012), especially in research on migrant children (Gardner, 2012) and education (Zembylas, 2012). Several researchers, for whom Ahmed's (2004b) work on the economic model of emotion has been influential, call for a recognition of how emotions are central to the migratory process and migrant life experiences (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Christou, 2011; Zembylas, 2011, 2012). Furthermore, as Ahmed (2000) acknowledges, issues of migration are also associated with a politics of fear and a public imagination infused with emotions. Emotions in the field of migration are, in Boccagni and Baldassar's (2015, p. 75), words both corporeally embodied and societally embedded. The characteristically emotional issues of identity and belonging – forming attachment to a place that has been left and the negotiation of belonging in a new place – is central to migration (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Zembylas, 2012). Several researchers have turned to Probyn's (1996) literal and symbolic connection between belonging and emotions as containing an affective dimension, not in the least the longing of 'be-longing' (see e.g. Christou, 2011; Mas Giralt, 2015; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Hence in order to fully appreciate belonging in all its complexity, it is necessary to recognise the intersection between personal senses of belonging and the social dimension and power structures that constrain or facilitate an individual's possibilities to belong (Antonsich, 2010; Mas Giralt, 2015). Belonging thus intertwines the personal emotions of feeling in place and the social aspect of being recognised as being in place or not (Mas Giralt, 2015).

Migration and its inherent processes of mobility hence make apparent how emotions are played out in relation to *space* and *place*. Theoretically, Ahmed's (2004b, 2006) writings show how emotions work to orientate the body and space, creating relations of proximity and distance between subjects and objects. Also, the increased focus on emotions in geography has contributed to insights as to how the human and social world is lived through emotions (Mas Giralt, 2015), recognising that migration is an important research field on the spatiality and temporality of emotions (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015). According to Bondi et al. an emotional geography seeks to understand emotion – experientially and conceptually – "in terms of its socio-*spatial* mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental states"

(Bondi et al., 2005, p. 3). Emotions are understood as being produced in relations between and among people and environments. Calls have been made to specifically research how emotions matter in the spatialities of children's lives (Blazek & Windram-Geddes, 2013) and in the space and place of education (Kenway & Youdell, 2011; Valentine, 2000; Zembylas, 2011). Indeed, educational research on space and place has largely ignored emotionality (Kenway & Youdell, 2011).

However, Zembylas (2011, 2012) has analysed how the emotional dynamics of proximity and distance play out in education settings. By drawing on Ahmed's (2004b) model of the sociality of emotions and the notion of emotional geographies, he gives an account of how emotions are constituted through school practices and discourses in relation to perceptions of 'race' and 'ethnicity' (Zembylas, 2011). Furthermore, Valentine (2000) discusses how the "microgeographies" of the lunch break create space for processes of inclusion and exclusion in peer groups, in highly embodied ways that draw upon adult notions of heterosexualised gender identities.

The *time* of emotions in migration research

The emotional dynamics of mobility and migration also have temporal counterparts. Emotions not only matter in the experience of place but also in the experience of *time*: "They [emotions] affect the way we sense the substance of our past, present and future" (Bondi, Davidson, & Smith, 2005, p. 1). Furthermore, temporality is also an aspect of Ahmed's concept of orientation: "even when orientations seem to be about which way we are facing in the present, they also point us toward the future" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 21). Our orientations and the lines that we inhabit are dependent on past histories and shape what bodies do in the present. Bodies and place are hence constituted in relation to time and time is central to the framing of social life (Griffiths, 2014). However, as is the case with emotion, the relation between time and migration is underdeveloped (Brekke, 2010; Cwerner, 2001) and undertheorised (Griffiths, 2014). According to Cwerner (2001), the sociology of time has largely ignored migration, whereas migration studies have to some extent – but not sufficiently – touched on temporality as an analytical dimension.

Griffiths (2014) approaches time as a *social phenomenon* relating to questions of when, but always conceptualised in relation to space. According to Griffiths (2014), it is primarily aspects of stasis and immobility that have escaped analysis, whereas much has been written about the acceleration of modern life. In her work on asylum-seekers, time is a metaphor by which the migrants experience and describe the instability and powerlessness of the immigration system, and the temporal uncertainty and discord mark points of tension in the system. The disjuncture between their own temporal stasis and the seemingly

progressive time of others – the sense of *temporal difference* – contributes to an experiential distance to others. Furthermore, the experience of *waiting* engrained into the migration process has been theorised by both Conlon (2011) and Brekke (2010), as to its impact on the experience of time. The young asylum-seekers in Sweden interviewed by Brekke (2010) describe an experience of *directionless time*, tied to the insecurity of the asylum process and a "life on hold" (see also Gustafsson et al., 2012). Conlon, who combines feminist geography with migration research, has shown that waiting can be an active embodied experience and a "lived facet of social structures" (Conlon, 2011, p. 355).

The spatio-temporality of the experiences of newly arrived students

In line with Griffiths' (2014) view of time as a social phenomenon, this thesis rests on the assumption that paying attention to the newly arrived students' experiences of time – how it is understood, lived and negotiated in practice – can provide insights into their conditions in the Swedish school system. Dimensions of space and time come together in the concept of lived experience (Dilthey, 1985) and in several of the analytical concepts relevant to the thesis. A concept such as *liminality* (Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1995), central to several studies in the field of migration (see e.g. Griffiths, 2014; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013) which also figures in the studies of this thesis as a way to describe the lived transitions of newly arrived students, is thus to be understood as a spatio-temporal concept (Conroy & de Ruyter, 2009).[24] Following Griffiths (2014), an experience of temporal suspension can hence also be considered as a constitution of liminal space.

Furthermore, *transition*, which constitutes a central feature of the migration process (Andersson et al., 2010; Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Norton, 1997) as well as an important part of the education system, is to be understood as a spatio-temporal concept. The transitions that a newly arrived student goes through upon arrival in Sweden, that is, the transition to a new school system (involving a transition to and from the introductory class and later also the transition from lower to upper secondary school), not only involves relocations in physical and social space. The emotions entailed in the transitions also have temporal dimensions – the transitions do something to the conceptualisation of time. Moreover, the conceptualisation of time in relation to the lived

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[24] As Conroy and De Ruyter (2009) point out, the traditional understanding of liminality as a doorway or entrance in a narrow sense (Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1995), can make the limen reduced to a fixed point or entry and/or exit. Instead the authors construe liminality as a spatio-temporal conception in which a lack of fixity or permanence, always relative to the centre, is a central feature.

experience of transition illuminates the structural conditions provided for newly arrived students.

Toward a critical phenomenological understanding of inclusion

What becomes visible through a phenomenological framework becomes apparent in relation to the concept of *inclusion*, which will now be elaborated upon. Issues of inclusion and exclusion are, as has become evident in the review of previous research, central to the research on newly arrived students' education (Allen, 2006; Candappa, 2016; Castro Feinberg, 2000; Fridlund, 2011; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Zufiaurre, 2006). Inclusion is indeed a complex concept, derived from the area of special education, where it developed as a critique of the separation of students according to beliefs about ability but has expanded to encompass all types of diversity. According to this line of thinking, pull-out or withdrawal practices are to be countered due to their socially stigmatising and academically disadvantageous effects (Putnam, 1995). As Armstrong expresses it: "inclusive education rests on the belief that all members of the community have the right to participate in, and have access to, education on an equal basis" (Armstrong, 2016, p. 7).[25]

However, reviews of the concept of inclusive education point to a lack of clarity and conceptual difficulties regarding the definition of inclusion (Armstrong, 2016; Göransson & Nilholm, 2014; Thomas, 2013). Armstrong, Armstrong and Spandagou (2011) conclude that inclusion may end up meaning everything and nothing at the same time. Researchers within the field of education have criticised the tendency for inclusion to mean an assimilation of students into pre-existing systems (O'Donnell, 2015a), through distinguishing between different types of inclusion. Göransson and Nilholm (2014, p. 268) propose four different degrees and definitions of inclusion, which are also helpful in relation to the field of newly arrived students[26]: (i) inclusion as the placement of students with disabilities into mainstream classrooms; (ii) inclusion as meeting the social/academic needs of students with disabilities; (iii)

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[25] Inclusion became officially instantiated through the Salamanca declaration that stated that inclusion concerns all students from the beginning of their education, rather than an integration of students that have previously been excluded.

[26] Researchers looking specifically at the education of migrant students, primarily in the field of education and pedagogics (see e.g. Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Zufiaurre, 2006), use the concept of inclusion practically, without extensive theoretical definition, to criticise the withdrawal of newly arrived students from the mainstream and call for a whole-school approach to their education.

inclusion as meeting the social/academic needs of all students and (iv) inclusion as creation of communities. Furthermore, as O'Donnell (2015b) points out in her book "The inclusion delusion?", formal rather than substantive participation may work to exclude rather than include. When inclusion is conceptualised through the language of 'same' and 'other', and by presupposing an invisible norm, inclusion fails to become 'authentic inclusion' (O'Donnell, 2015a, p. 4).[27]

These points of criticism from researchers in the field of education beg the question how 'authentic inclusion' is to be determined. If formally inclusive structures end up having exclusionary effects, then what are truly inclusive practices? As O'Donnell (2015b) argues, the first step is to listen to the voices of those who feel presently excluded. However, this step 'merely' addresses issues of research design and methodology; the next question to ask is thus how these voices are to be theorised. One way of approaching the issue of inclusion is to attend to the embodied experiences of being in line or out of line, as theorised in a critical phenomenological vein. As Ahmed (2012) shows in her phenomenological investigation into diversity work, a practical phenomenology can reveal the underlying conditions of inclusion as they are lived in and through the body. The embodied metaphor and practical experience of "banging one's head against a brick wall" can illuminate how an institution that is overtly committed to diversity can conceal, sustain and reproduce a politics of exclusion (Ahmed, 2012, p. 26). Attention to the lived experiences of inclusion can thus show how inclusion can work in exclusionary ways: "being included can be a lesson in "being not" as much as "being in", in that it is established on certain conditions and through the concealment of power relations" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 163). Furthermore, instead of the pre-formulated category of difference engrained in some sociological and educational usages of the term inclusion, phenomenology shows how difference is always relationally constituted and lived in and through the body.

Hence attention not only to the 'voices' but to the embodied and emotional dimensions of belonging and inclusion may bring out other aspects that can complicate policies and practices of inclusion. Such an analysis can also show how emotions can work to create boundaries that have material effects. Research on emotion and embodiment is able to bring to light the complexity of migrants' experiences instead of creating an over-simplified binary between,

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[27] In the Swedish context, Fridlund (2011) contrasts the introductory class with the discourses within special education, both in terms of the view on the students and the educational mission. Fridlund (2011) draws the conclusion that the discourse about introductory class (and the subject Swedish as a second language) is characterised by a discourse of separation while special education is characterised by a discourse of inclusion. Both discourses co-exist in the Swedish school system.

for instance, assimilation and integration (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015). A focus on the lived experience and spatiality and temporality of emotions can deepen the understanding of the individual's life-world and ways of belonging, which works against the overly structural or homogenising accounts of migration.

Compatibilities and contradictions

Given that this thesis encompasses studies that depart from different theoretical frameworks and analytical concepts, it is necessary to address their ontological and epistemological differences and points of commonality. The sociocultural perspective, as formulated by Vygotskij (1978) and Wertsch (1991), and applications in theories of second language learning and ecological theories of migration, rests on the view of the individual as a social and meaning-making agent who develops in close interaction with the social world.[28] Models formulated within this paradigm can illuminate both pedagogical and social components that need to be present in order to enhance possibilities for learning, against which empirical investigations can be conducted. There are commonalities with a phenomenological view of the self as meaning-making and intersubjective, which generates experiences of the world and ourselves through social interaction. However, although there is also an ecological awareness within phenomenological theories, the emphasis is rather on the *subjective* and *embodied* nature of lived experience (Frykman & Gilje, 2003). The epistemological aim is to offer insight as to how individuals in a specific context *understand* and *create meaning* from a specific phenomenon.

However, feminist phenomenologists have added a critical dimension to the understanding of experiences by always situating these experiences (and the knowledge thereof) in relation to social structures and different types of power-relations. In a critical feminist phenomenological tradition, the body is not seen as neutral or essential but as created by and through structuring structures (Alcoff, 2000). Lived experience is always related to and constitutive of spatial and temporal relations. The subject is not given and the feelings, experiences and interaction are not conceived of as independent from the social-ideological worlds by which the subject is formed (Busch, 2015, p. 10).[29] Hence, through such a critical phenomenological perspective (as applied in

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[28] However, as Busch (2015) notes, Vygotskij also recognises the intersubjective or social nature of lived experience in his notion of emotional experience, which he regards as the prism through which environmental factors are refracted.

[29] To put it in a different way, the analyses of students' experiences encompass both aspects of structure and agency – as Devine expresses it, the questions of 'who am I?' and 'who do I want to be?' are framed by questions of 'how am I defined and understood?' (Devine, 2009, p. 523).

Studies III and IV), an increased attention to the emotional and embodied experiences of newly arrived students in Sweden may provide insights into how the structures of the Swedish school come to be lived and materialised. The phenomenology of movement/extension and stopping in space and time says something about the social position of newly arrived students in the wider school collective, and maybe even in society at large.

Aside from the differences in the view of the self and analytical foci, there are epistemological and methodological tensions between the theoretical frameworks in their respective leanings towards nomothetic and ideographic research traditions. Phenomenology is not seeking nomothetic knowledge but seeks to describe the specific that is deeply experienced and is therefore also communal in the singular (Frykman & Gilje, 2003). Although very simplified and generalised, a phenomenological, ideographic tradition explores the particularity of a subject's experience, letting the themes emerge from the data, whereas certain research perspectives within a sociocultural framework for learning lean more towards formulating universal structures that can be put to work empirically. In the studies (I, II) that have departed from a sociocultural view on learning, pre-existing models have been the departure-point for sorting the empirical data. Although these ontological, epistemological and methodological tensions exist within the framework of the thesis, it is a conscious decision to employ different theoretical perspectives. For the same reasons as Busch (2015) combines interactional, poststructuralist and phenomenological approaches in her analysis of the lived experience of language, the perspectives are not regarded as mutually exclusive but complementary in understanding multi-layered and complex realities. Exposing the data to different analytical frameworks has worked to bring out different dimensions of the newly arrived students' experiences. How these frameworks have been put in practice will now be explicated in the method chapter.

4. Data and method

The aim of the thesis is explorative – to document and analyse how newly arrived students experience conditions for social inclusion and learning within the Swedish school system – and such an explorative aim requires qualitative methods that may capture the everyday interactions at school and provide room for the students' own narratives. To this end, an ethnographic approach was chosen that combines interviews with participant observation. During three cycles of fieldwork spread out during the course of 15 months, I interviewed the students and conducted participant observation in both introductory and regular classrooms. Given the varied conditions for reception of newly arrived students, the study was conducted in three municipalities of different sizes and demographics: one metropolitan municipality, one mid-size municipality (more than 100 000 inhabitants) and one small municipality (less than 30 000 inhabitants). This chapter describes and critically discusses my methodological approach and how it was put into practice in the fieldwork setting. Ethical considerations are intertwined throughout the chapter but are discussed in depth in the final section.

An ethnographic approach to the investigation of experience

The oscillation between closeness and distance

A fundamental assumption in the choice of an ethnographic approach is that sharing and taking part in the newly arrived students' school context during an extended period of time is necessary in order to gain a sufficiently rich and deep understanding of their lived experiences. The study hence builds on the classical epistemological claims that make up the foundations of ethnography (Agar, 2008; Geertz, 1973). The aim is not to document 'objective' factual data about a group, but to holistically *understand* the ecology of the social world as the members themselves understand it (Agar, 2008, 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It is indeed my overall aim to analyse the students' experiences, situated in time and space, that lies behind both the methodological choice of ethnography and a phenomenological theoretical approach. As

Frykman and Gilje (2003) establish in their discussion of how the phenomenological orientation converts into practical analysis, phenomenology shares a common ground with ethnographic epistemology in that it takes its point of departure in the *situated* position of the experiencing individual in the everyday. When it comes to the everyday of relationship work in school, it has moreover been argued that the ethnographic method is especially useful (Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011; Wrethander Bliding, 2004). Hence through observing and participating in the students' web of relations, I hoped to gain insights into their relations with their peers, teachers, and the wider school collective, as well as to their imagined school careers and school backgrounds. The relation-building process and reflections about my role in the research practice will be described and problematised in this chapter.

Engrained in the epistemological claims of ethnography is the assumption that not only proximity but also distance is necessary in order to be able to describe the social worlds under study. Agar (2008) describes it as the paradox of professional distance and personal involvement in ethnography. Being not only a participant but also an observer enables the researcher to fulfil the double-vision evident in the etymological roots of ethnography (*ethnos* meaning people in Greek and *graphos* to write): to take part in the social world of people and to write about it. The oscillation between proximity and distance is visible in the four studies that make up this thesis, in that they are located on different analytical levels with varying degrees of proximity to the students' experiences. In the negotiation of the dialectic between proximity and distance lies not only practical decisions during fieldwork but also claims of epistemic privilege.

The oscillation between strangeness and familiarity

At the core of ethnography lies a seductive truth claim: that 'reality' is out there to be captured or that the experience of 'being there' can convey the truth about 'them' (Ahmed, 2000; cf. Frykman & Gilje, 2003). As has been much recognised since the crisis of representation in the social sciences and the broad questioning of objectivity, the researcher is not a neutral or impartial observer, but a part of the world that is being studied (Abu-Lughod, 1993; Agar, 2008; Clifford & Marcus, 1986). Philosophical hermeneutics has also influenced anthropology in pointing out that understandings inevitably reflect the socio-historical position and background assumptions of the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) – the "positionality of the researcher" (Madison, 2005, p. 7). What is observed is always affected by the observer – what Duranti calls "the participant-observer paradox" (Duranti, 1997, p. 118). What I studied during my fieldwork was thereby what Jonsson (2007) describes in his research as the everyday life of a school with a visiting researcher ("en skolvardag som har en forskare på besök" (Jonsson, 2007, p. 56)). The many

choices that the researcher is involved in (scientific, pragmatic, ethical, social and personal), which are elaborated upon in this chapter, inevitably affect the research process and the final textual representation (Geertz, 1973). In the process, there is a risk that the dynamic and socially constructed nature of categorisation, identities and structures is lost.

In particular, invoking the category of *experience* risks concealing the fact that narratives are constrained and partial. Drawing on the insights by Ahmed (2000), the claim to study the experiences of newly arrived students not only risks hiding my own position of power and privilege of representational authority, but also constitutes 'the other' as a stranger that can be known. In my aim to study and describe the experiences of newly arrived students lies an anthropological demand (what is it like for them?) and a claim to knowledge – assuming that 'I' can know what 'they' are and how 'they think about the world' (Ahmed, 2000). The dialectic of strangeness and familiarity – between 'the self' and 'others', in which the role of ethnography has been the translation between the two poles – is visible in pivotal texts on ethnography (see e.g. Agar, 2008, 2011; Clifford & Marcus, 1986). Ahmed (2000) argues that in Agar's (2008) methodological trope of the *professional stranger,* ethnography defines "itself as the professionalisation of strangerness: the transformation of the stranger from an ontological lack to an epistemic privilege" (Ahmed, 2000, p. 60). The idea of translation is based on a presupposition that it is possible to overcome the relations of force and authorisation that are already implicated in the ethnographic desire to document the lives of strangers:

> Strangeness could only be thought in terms of the primitive: translation is a translation of the primitive which is itself a residual trace of that which was prior to 'our own'. The exchange hence is spatial and temporal: from one culture to another, and from (our) past to the present (Ahmed, 2000, p. 58).

Hence proximity – getting adequately close so that you can get to know 'them' always involves a recognition of distance whereby 'they' are constituted as the 'other' who can become known.

> The learning from them, in that sense, creates the illusion that they have authorised 'our' knowledge. Giving 'them' the status of 'authors' authorises the document itself, by concealing both its origins and destination in the professional 'we' of ethnography (Ahmed, 2000, p. 71).

Nevertheless, I believe that there is an inherent value in an ethnographic approach whereby I as the researcher share aspects of the social context that I have taken as my task to portray. The ethnographic approach enables me to build relationships with the students through which I can ask questions – and better understand their answers – about their lived experiences in school, and thus add valuable knowledge to the field. However, while emphasising the

importance of the first-hand perspective, it has to be recognised that it is always circumscribed and that research encounters are always on unequal terms, even more so when children and adolescents are concerned (Johansson, 2003) and when the encounters take place in a school context (David, Edwards, & Alldred, 2001). It is thus important to emphasise that my intention is not to uncover what the students *actually* think about their school situation, since their accounts are always determined by the interaction in our research encounters, of which meaning is mutually constructed in sometimes conflicting ways (Briggs, 1986). One way of challenging the authority of ethnographic texts is by making the research process and the researcher's own role in interaction transparent (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; Davies, 2008). I have tried to refrain from omitting traces of myself by, for instance, including my own questions in interview extracts (Abu-Lughod, 1993). Recognising the impossibility of capturing and representing social *reality* in any straightforward or undistorted way, my ambition is hence to portray, through ethnographic documentation, the told experiences of a number of newly arrived students and my own observations of their school situation.

Research setting

Until recently, much research relating to newly arrived students, such as in the field of intercultural education and multiculturalism, has been focused on urban areas (as pointed out by e.g. Bunar, 2010; Ljung Egeland, 2015; Romme Larsen, 2013). However, many newly arrived students settle in smaller, rural municipalities, with other types of conditions for their reception and education.[30] In order to do research about the highly varied conditions for newly arrived students in Sweden, a three year research project funded by the Swedish Research Council was started in 2011, of which this thesis was an integral part.[31] The research team, comprised of researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds, selected three schools in municipalities of different sizes and with contrasting demographics to be included in the study. The three schools in the small, mid-size and metropolitan municipalities will hereafter be referred to as the schools of *S(mall)- M(edium) and L(arge)* municipalities. In common for all three schools is that they employ the organisational model of introductory classes and are run by the municipality and encompass years 6-9

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[30] The National Board of Education concludes that the distribution of newly arrived students is uneven across the country. The metropolitan municipalities have a relatively small proportion of newly arrived students, while smaller municipalities have relatively more students (Skolverket, 2015b).

[31] The research project running from 2011-2014 was entitled "Newly arrived children and learning - a cross-disciplinary study on the learning conditions for newly arrived children in Swedish schools" and received financial support by the Swedish Research Council [grant number 2010 5377].

in the Swedish school system. The demographic and organisational differences of the three municipalities will be described below.

The small municipality has less than 30 000 inhabitants (2011), the majority of which reside in the main town. The municipality's model for introducing newly arrived students can be described as an *in-school programme* (Short, 2002) set in one of the two town schools. In the autumn term of 2011, the entire school had almost 500 students enrolled from grade 4-9 of which ten students were categorised by the school as newly arrived, seven of which had the main part of their tuition in the introductory class.[32] The school in question mainly consists of students who are L1[33] Swedish-speakers, while the proportion of multilingual students with Swedish as their second language (SSL) make up approximately three percent of the total school population.[34]

The mid-size municipality is dominated by a large city of approximately 140 000 inhabitants (2011). The city has a central unit responsible for organising introductory classes for newly arrived students, which are located at two schools in the city – so-called "host schools". These schools serve the surrounding home schools, which are the schools that are in closest proximity to the students' homes to which the newly arrived students move after their time in introductory class. The model can best be described as an example of what Short (2002) calls *a separate-site model* for introduction. The introductory classes share the host school's site and facilities but are located in a separate building, with few opportunities for teachers and students to meet across the organisational units. The study was both conducted in the introductory classes of one of the host schools, and in the regular classes of one of the corresponding home schools. In the introductory classes at the host school there were 52 students enrolled in the autumn of 2011, split into four classes, which administratively belonged to two schools. The home school in question had about 600 students, 30 percent of whom were multilingual and spoke Swedish as a second language.

The large municipality is categorised as a metropolitan municipality. The school in question (L-school) was located in a suburb. It had almost 600 students in grades K-6, 7-9, of which the headmaster estimated that around 100 percent were multilingual SSL students. The school had extensive experiences of receiving newly arrived students, which at the time of the study made up two introductory classes of 22 students in total in the grades 7-9 as part of an

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[32] The facts and figures regarding the three schools are based on information provided by the respective schools, in interviews with headmasters and teachers.
[33] L1 meaning first language.
[34] The proportion of multilingual students in grade 1-9 on the national level was according to the National Board of Education, approximately 20 percent in the school year of 2011/2012 (Skolverket, 2012).

in-school programme (Short, 2002). The school is characterised by high mobility both in terms of student in- and outflow and in terms of change in personnel resources, and it has been struggling with a diminishing student body due to a highly competitive school market.

Access to the schools

A crucial aspect of ethnographic fieldwork is to gain access to the field in question. This is often done through negotiations with gatekeepers, who have formal or informal control of the field, but importantly also with the people being studied (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Fieldwork indeed involves more than gaining formal entry; it is also about gaining trust and therefore requires a continuous process of relationship building (Agar, 2008). For gaining access to the respective schools, the headmasters and introductory class teachers proved to be important gate-openers.[35] At the start of the project, the research group made contact via phone or email with the educational board and/or headmasters in the prospective municipalities. The research group then met with the headmaster and the teaching staff at the three schools to inform them about the project and ensure their informed consent to the study taking place at their schools.

The students

The focus of the present study is on newly arrived students arriving in the final two years of lower secondary school, grade 8 and 9 in the Swedish school system, since this age-group is considered to face particular challenges in the transition to upper secondary school and further education (OECD, 2013).[36] Up until 2016, it was far from clear-cut whom is to be considered as newly arrived and for how long (as discussed in the introduction to this thesis). In order to manage the definitional problems, the research team decided to adhere to the schools' respective delimitation of 'newly arrived', which ranged from two years (in the L-school) to the time spent in introductory class (S- and M-schools). The students were selected according to criteria intended to reflect the heterogeneity of newly arrived students in general, in terms of gender, school background and country of origin. The selection of students was done during the first period of fieldwork in each school, after discussion with the introductory class teachers and the research colleague in the field. The students who fitted the selection criteria were approached and asked if they wanted to take part in the study and if their parents agreed to let them do so.

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[35] There were also previous research-based contacts with the three municipalities in question, which facilitated access.

[36] The age group in focus for this study makes up the largest group of the total number of newly arrived students in Sweden (Skolverket, 2015b).

A small number declined and matching individuals were found to replace them (see section under ethical considerations for a more detailed description).

In total, 22 students who fitted the selection criteria, 12 female adolescents and 10 male adolescents, agreed to take part in the study. The students were between 14-16 years of age when the study began and they had migrated from Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Gambia, Iraq, Peru, Russia, Somalia, Thailand, Uganda and Vietnam. There is a wide span in the students' school background, from students with an incomplete school background or no experience of formal schooling (9 students) to students who had a complete school background (13 students) prior to their arrival in Sweden. The students had all arrived between two years and one week prior to the onset of the study. Most of them came to Sweden with at least one adult family member, but there are four students who arrived in Sweden as unaccompanied minors. The students are either asylum-seekers or have residence permit on the grounds of refugee status or family reunification.[37]

Given the semi-longitudinal design of the study, it was possible to capture the students' pathways through the educational system over the course of a year. All 22 students had begun their schooling in Sweden in introductory classes.[38] The time spent in introductory class ranged from one to six school terms, the average time being three terms.[39] Out of the 22 students, 13 were placed in grade 9 and thus made a transition to upper secondary school during the fieldwork. All the 13 students began the introductory programme at the Swedish upper secondary school. Out of these 13 students, 8 students moved directly from introductory class in lower secondary school to introductory class in upper secondary school, while 5 students first passed through the mainstream system (meaning that they made a complete transition to a regular class but then continued in an introductory class at the upper secondary school level).

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[37] See appendices for an overview of the students and their pathways through the educational system.

[38] Four of the students had just left introductory class for the regular class when the study began, while the remaining 18 students had had the majority of their lessons in the introductory classes at the onset of the study. During the following year, 12 of these 18 students made some contact with regular classes, often by taking part in practical-aesthetic subjects. Six students made a complete transition to regular class during the year, meaning that together with the four students who had just moved over to regular class when the study started, 10 students were fully enrolled in regular classes by the end of the fieldwork period. 12 students remained in the introductory class, of which six had no contact with the regular classes (see appendices).

[39] However, the students may have remained in introductory class after the fieldwork ended, making up a longer stay than what is accounted for here.

Procedure

The three cycles of fieldwork were laid out as three to four weeks in each setting at the beginning, mid-point and end of the fieldwork, which added up to 82 days of fieldwork spread out over a period of 15 months[40] (on average, three days a week were spent at the schools).[41] The design allowed for a follow-up of the same students at three different time periods during their introductory period and in the transition to regular classes and/or upper secondary school. Additionally, the design also created time for reflection in between the different cycles. Participant observation was carried out in the following classes: in the S-school, one introductory class, four regular classes and two introductory classes at the upper secondary school; in the M-school, three introductory classes, three regular classes and one introductory class at the upper-secondary school; in the L-school, two introductory classes, three regular classes and six introductory classes at the upper secondary level. The table below provides an overview of the data:

Table 1. Overview of data

	Number of students	Number of interviews	Number of interview hours	Days of participant observation	Number of field-note pages
S-school	5	14	10,42 h	24	59
M-school	9	25	12,88 h	27	76
L-school	8	22	15,38 h	31	99
Total	22	61	38,68 h	82	234

Fieldwork practices

The fieldwork combined the methods of interviews and participant observation that will be reflexively described below, together with the documentation techniques of fieldnotes, audio-recordings, transcription and translations of interview extracts. Moreover, a document-based policy-analysis was conducted in relation to Study I, in order to provide a map of the societal framework that could contextualise the data presented in the other studies.

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[40] The fieldwork stretches over 15 months if all three schools and periods are included. However, given the cyclical layout of the fieldwork, the time period covered in each school is 12 months.

[41] See appendices for an overview of the time-frame of the fieldwork.

Turning an analytical approach into a combination of methods

The common analytical point of departure in both phenomenology and ethnography is the focus on the situated position of the experiencing individual in everyday life (Frykman & Gilje, 2003). In ethnography, this analytical perspective has primarily been translated into the method of participant observation, referring to the two-fold process whereby the researcher takes part (to different degrees) in the context that is being studied and observes, reflects and documents what is occurring (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Jorgensen, 1989). However, there is a growing trend in ethnographic studies, perhaps linked to the method's dispersal to subject fields outside of anthropology, to combine classic ethnographic studies that primarily rest on participant observation with interviews (Sernhede, 2011).[42] Agar (2008) positions informal interviews as the core of ethnographic fieldwork, in that they provide room for the informants' sense of meanings, but emphasises the need to combine interviews with participant observation. Furthermore, phenomenological analyses focus even more directly on the experiencing individual, through an investigation of life-stories and other narratives of life as lived. The primacy given to interviews reflects the analytical approach in this thesis.

Indeed, the data generated through interviews constitute the main source in three of the four studies, in that interviews afforded space for the *students' own narratives* about their lived experiences in school (for related approaches see Moskal, 2015; Valentine, 2000). The data from participant observation provided a setting or interpretative framework to situate the interviews, essential to the analytical process. Furthermore, participant observation was important as a way of building relationships and trust, which is essential to the interview situation and the fieldwork as a whole. Regardless of the relative status of the methods, the combination of the two is key. The aim has been to study both what the students *say* about their school situation and how it *appears* to me as the observer. Not in order to contrast what students *do* with what they *say* – in order to establish a 'truth' – but rather to gain a deeper and situated understanding of the phenomena that the students describe in the interviews (Agar, 2008).

There proved to be several benefits with the combination of the two methods. The participant observation provided opportunities for informal conversations that offered unique insights and opened up for analytical avenues other than formal interviews (as seen in Study III). Moreover, it soon became evident

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[42] Cameron (2001) points out that what is called ethnographic research does not necessarily meet the standards set by 'classical' anthropology, which is also the case for the study in question. A more appropriate term for the study is therefore "ethnographically inspired" or a study with an "ethnographic approach".

that some students were more comfortable in informal contexts, such as in the corridor, while waiting for a lesson, in the lunchroom or when whispering during the lesson. Others were withdrawn and quiet in group- or classroom contexts but opened up in interviews. These individual differences and differences in what can be captured by the respective methods, make the combination of the two especially valuable (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), in particular when it comes to research on children (Morrow & Richards, 1996). Interviews were consciously conducted towards the end of the fieldwork cycles, in order to use the contextual understanding gained through participant observation to better tailor the interviews towards analytically interesting aspects. In the interview extracts, the dialogue is always between me, the interviewer, and a student. In the fieldnotes, however, additional voices are heard from, for instance, teachers, headmasters, school staff, other students as well as the researcher.

The practice of interviews

The interviews were designed as semi-structured interviews to more directly allow the students the opportunity to talk about their school lives and express their thoughts on their school situation (also described as ethnographic interviews by Davies, 2008). The aim was to interview the students in every fieldwork cycle, meaning that each student would be interviewed three times over a period of 12 months.[43] The interviews ranged between approximately 30 to 90 minutes. The interviews were usually conducted in an empty classroom or a small adjacent room. On one occasion, an interview was conducted in a café, at the student's own request. All interviews except for one were audio-recorded.[44] During the interviews, I took continuous notes on my laptop computer, in verbatim, of the interview answers which meant that I had an almost word-by-word extract by the end of the interview, which allowed me to transcribe selectively (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

The interviews were experience-based and covered conditions for learning as well as social inclusion. Although there was leeway for adaptation according to the particular student's situation, I had formulated three overall themes in each fieldwork cycle in order to cover the research questions from different angles. While the first interview had a mapping focus including questions of *school background and current school situation*, the second interview moved

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[43] The set interview aims were achieved with 19 of the 22 students, making up a total of 61 interviews. Two of the students moved from the municipality and the school during the fieldwork and one voluntarily decided to end his participation in the study, which meant that two students were only interviewed once and one student twice.

[44] However, the interviews that involved a phone interpreter were for natural reasons only partly taken up by the audio-recorder.

on to focus more on the *transition from introductory to regular class* and the experiences of each school context. The third and final interview had a two-fold orientation toward *future plans and retrospective reflections* on the experiences of the past year. During each interview, the student was encouraged to complement the questions by telling me if there was something important that had not been covered by my questions. On each occasion, I also emphasised that answering the interview questions was completely voluntary.

When the interaction in the interview situation was characterised by the desired sense of comfort and ease, on both parts, the students generally offered extensive responses to my questions. On some occasions, especially as our relationships grew, the students would also ask me questions about the research or about matters to do with their personal life or future education. There were at times comments about my role and positive verdicts about the interviews providing them a space to get "things off their chest". One student said: "we help each other, you help me and I help you. While we talk it feels a little easier". Particular questions appeared to work well in certain situations – a student who had given short answers to my other interview questions suddenly opened up when asked about schooling in his country of origin, about which he had strong opinions. In general, I noticed that it was particularly the advice-oriented questions: *"what advice would you give an imagined newly arrived student in your situation?"* and *"if you were to decide, if you were the headmaster of the school – what would you change?"* that had the potential of rendering explicit and extensive answers. The last-mentioned question often gave rise to an initial giggle, after which the students frequently came with imaginative and forceful suggestions for change. However, in some situations, the interview situation was clearly uncomfortable for the students. One student displayed his discomfort in all three interviews, both with or without the presence of an interpreter, by sighing, looking at the door, asking if we were going to finish and only provided very brief answers to the questions. I found these situations challenging and they made me question what right I had to put the student in a situation in which he was clearly uncomfortable. On these occasions, participant observation provided better opportunities for interaction and understanding of the student's situation.

Since the students were newly arrived and therefore new to the Swedish language, and since I did not master their respective mother tongues, the students were given the option of using an interpreter during the interviews. Their individual wishes have been entirely decisive in this regard. Out of the 61 interviews, 14 (mainly concentrated to the first fieldwork cycle) were conducted with an interpreter (most of these with a co-present interpreter, but in three cases through phone interpretation). The students with a command of English could also choose that as the language of communication and two students in fact chose to conduct their interviews partly in English. In the third fieldwork

cycle, all students claimed to be comfortable without an interpreter – possibly both due to development in Swedish but also as a result of growing confidence in our relationship. When it comes to the usage of an interpreter, it is well-known and documented through research that information is lost or misinterpreted when it passes through an additional person (Keselman, Cederborg, Lamb, & Dahlström, 2010), which was also noticeable in some of the interviews conducted.[45] Interpretation via the phone proved to be especially challenging in this regard.

Regardless of whether an interpreter was used or if the interview language was Swedish or English, the risk for language confusion was imminent. However, this was often managed by the students using dictionaries, which were often easily available on their phones. The students occasionally corrected both my and the interpreters' rendering of their answers. During one especially challenging situation in which a phone interpreter was used, the interpreter misguidedly (probably due to difficulties in hearing over the phone and differences in dialect) interpreted the female student as saying that she was very religious when in fact she was saying that her religious dress made her subject to harassment. This was clarified by the student after the interpreted interview had ended. Nevertheless, due to the power asymmetries inherent in the interview situation and differing comfort in using Swedish or having an interpreter present, there is a risk that the students experienced difficulties expressing their thoughts and feelings and therefore refrained from extended reasoning; these are issues that have an effect on the data and its interpretation. I found that it was more difficult to elicit answers to the more open questions, which sometimes made me qualify the question in a manner that produced more closed and leading questions than I had initially wished. Nonetheless, I wanted to respect the students' own wishes regarding interpretation, since insisting on the usage of interpreter might have been perceived as a disqualification of the student's knowledge of Swedish. Furthermore, the worry about posing leading

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[45] As a one-off spot check, I had the opportunity to let a native speaker listen to one of the interviews where an interpreter was used. She noticed some differences between the original sentences and the translation by the interpreter. One example being when I asked one of the students if he does his homework himself or if he can get help with the "schoolwork at home, from siblings or his mum", the interpreter translates the request in this manner: "when you do your school tasks at home, is there anyone else who can help you, your mum can probably not help you but your siblings or if there is anybody else?". The interpreter clearly adds to and changes the question posed, presuming that the research participant's mum cannot help him with the homework. Another example from the same interview is the translation of the following question: "if you were to decide, if you were the headmaster of this school and could decide how things were for the students, what would you want to change then?" The interpreter translates the question in the following manner: "if you were the headmaster, what would you change in order to make it more fun, would you say that everybody should start at 2.30 pm?" A translation which clearly deviates from the original question and makes presumptions about the student's intentions and wishes.

questions can be seen as a somewhat illusory dilemma since all interview questions and situations are specifically constructed occasions (Agar, 2008; Jonsson, 2007).

Audio-recordings

To allow for a re-visitation of the interviews, I chose to record the interviews using a digital Dictaphone. The students and teachers were informed about the use of the Dictaphone at the start of the fieldwork or in contact with a new class and the Dictaphone was always made fully visible.

Transcription

The general challenge of capturing the complexity of social interaction also applies to the translation of interview talk into text using transcription (Cameron, 2001; Finnegan, 1992). As Ochs (1979) points out, transcription is 'theory' in that it shapes what is available for analysis and which conclusions that can be drawn. Transcripts are always partial and selective, balancing between readability and attention to the important minutiae of the data (Bucholtz, 2007). Following Finnegan's (1992, p. 162) discussion on transcription, the purpose of the study and the selected quotes have guided the level of detail of the transcriptions. Given this analytical direction, the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed selectively (see section on analysis) on a level of detail that stays close to the spoken word (including interruptions, repetition, and learner language) but without timing pauses.

Transcription notations

… indicates pause
/…/ indicates lines omitted
Bold letters indicate words expressed with emotional emphasis

Translation

Like transcription, translation also involves choices and selection processes (Smith, 1996). The thesis' data involves several translation cycles that need to be taken into consideration with regard to their effect on the validity and reliability of the study. Firstly, some of the interviews were translated using an interpreter, with all the difficulties and dangers of loss of meaning entailed in the process (Keselman et al., 2010; Norström, Fioretos, & Gustafsson, 2012). Although necessary in order to facilitate communication, translation through an interpreter nevertheless risks negatively affecting the validity by channelling interview answers through a third party with limited involvement in the

research agenda and aims.[46] Furthermore, there are restricted opportunities to cross-check the translation of the interview questions and answers.[47] Moreover, in the respective studies, the original transcripts in Swedish have been translated into English as sensitively as possible. It has nonetheless been a challenge to translate the colloquial expressions into a similar register in English and to refrain from 'correcting' or polishing the students' talk, thereby losing the subtleties of meaning, while also retaining readability. Being sensitive to the original linguistic style (such as spoken language, written language; formal or informal talk) is part of the analytical work of inscribing interaction into text with regard to both translation and transcription (Bucholtz, 2007). However, in this case there are opportunities to cross-check the translation, in that the original extracts are retained and understandable for the researcher – indeed the process of cross-checking the translation may work to further the consistency and reliability of the study.

The practice of participant observation

Turning to the second fieldwork method – participant observation – it was mainly conducted in the setting of the classroom. I followed the selected students throughout their school days and in their scheduled lessons, in both introductory and regular classes. The aim was to divide the fieldwork days equally between the students. To a lesser degree, participant observation was also conducted outside of the classroom – in school corridors, the lunchroom and in the schoolyard. I also spent breaks in the teachers' staff room, talking to teachers and other members of the school staff and my research colleague.

As described initially in the chapter, an ethnographic approach involves both distance and proximity. The decisions as to where to place oneself on the spectrum between participation and observation, and how to build relations of trust, are not settled once and for all at the beginning of the study but get tried and tested throughout the ethnographic fieldwork. During the fieldwork, I have alternated between different degrees of proximity and distance, both over time and in relation to different settings and students. I decided early on, as part of the ethical reflections about my role as a researcher, to respect the students' own spaces outside of the classroom and lesson time. Outside of the classroom, I thus chose a more observational role. I reasoned that the students had not chosen to have me as part of their school day, even though they had formally agreed to take part in the study. As a way to legitimate my presence

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[46] For practical reasons, it was not possible to use the same interpreters throughout the fieldwork, instead interpreters were hired from an interpreters' pool procured by the University.
[47] However, see footnote 45.

and build confidence and respect, I tried to make sure that they had their private space, during breaks and before and after the school day. However, if a student sought my company or if I experienced that an adequately confident relationship had been built, I participated in the contexts that I was invited into – it could be to accompany a student on a walk or chat in the corridor about happenings on Facebook. This occurred more often with some participants than others and increasingly more often over time.

In the classroom situation, the participative aspect of the participant observation was accentuated, since both teacher and students, especially in the introductory classes, sometimes turned to me with a question or a comment. I also alternated between my usual position at the edges of the classroom (in the back or on the side of the classroom) and walking around in the classroom, attending to what the students were doing. Overall, my approach can be summarised as an ambition to not disrupt the classroom interaction and tuition, but with a recognition that my appearance nevertheless did affect the social life of the classroom.

The students and teachers occasionally asked what I documented. I always answered such questions as truthfully as possible, explaining how the data would be used and that no individuals would be identifiable. My experience is that it was primarily the teachers who were at times uncomfortable with us observing and documenting their teaching. This was most apparent in one school and one of the regular teachers at that school even decided not to let us into her classroom. This experience, which took place in the first and second fieldwork cycle, made us initiate an information session for the teachers, in order for them to become confident about how and why we were attending their lessons.

Fieldnotes

Fieldwork can be documented in various ways, but it always involves a temporal and textual transformation process. "The ethnographer 'inscribes' social discourse; he writes it down. In so doing, he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be reconsulted" (Geertz, 1973, p. 19). The description of lived events hence always involves a selection process. Given the thesis' aim to explore experiences of learning and inclusion, I tailored the fieldnotes towards the learning situation, such as the instance reported in the fieldnotes in the introduction to this thesis, focusing on the strategies used by the students themselves and their opportunities for interaction with other students and teachers. Furthermore, with regard to inclusion, the focus was on the degree of social interaction with students in both the introductory and regular classes. Given the analytical interest in the transition to the mainstream

system, I paid particular attention to how the newly arrived students were treated in the regular classroom – how they were seated, greeted, introduced and in what ways their participation in the classroom was facilitated, if at all. Since the participant observation primarily functioned as a way of situating the interviews, analytically interesting themes from the interviews, for instance, the students' sense of place and their degree of bodily comfort and discomfort, became increasingly interesting to document through the fieldnotes.

With regard to form, my fieldnotes encompass inscriptive, transcriptive and descriptive elements (Clifford, 1990). While in the field, I made "jottings" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) on the laptop computer if seated in the classroom, or in a notebook if on the move. I was open about the fact that I took fieldnotes, and I explained in my initial presentation that the students would recurrently see me in the classroom typing on my computer. Sometimes a separate incident that I paid particular attention to was described in detail (see for instance, the fieldnote example provided in the introduction), including dialogues and surroundings, while other observations were more fragmented and general. I took as a routine to expand my jottings into lengthier fieldnotes at the end of the day. During these daily sessions, the text was enriched with details of events and conversations that I had witnessed during the day. I also took as a routine to write *in-process memos* (Emerson et al., 2011), a kin to Clifford's (1990) descriptive fieldnotes, in a separate section of my fieldnote document. Here, notes were made about what I ought to direct attention to during the coming days or what to ask the students about in interviews. I also wrote down my own thoughts and feelings about what was going on in the field and in the relationships with the students and teachers – making sure to separate between etic and emic categorisations (Silverman, 1993). The act of writing fieldnotes thus provided a mnemonic device for remembering "key events and incidents" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 27) and provided an opportunity for on-going analytic work (see Agar, 2008 for a discussion on the limitations of fieldnotes).

Policy-analysis

The first study of this thesis offers a policy-analysis, based on a review of academic literature and relevant policy documents. This study forms an important framework for the structural conditions that are relevant for situating the students' experiences. The review of Swedish and international academic literature was delimited to the categories of newly arrived students; migrant students; refugee and asylum-seeking students and second-language learners. The review of policy documents concerned the Swedish context of migration and educational legislation regarding newly arrived students, evaluations from

the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, and reports from local and regional governments on the reception of newly arrived students. Although these documents have a different status and agenda, they were assessed with regard to their authenticity, credibility and representativeness (Davies, 2008) and deemed relevant in order to get a comprehensive view of the varied legal, organisational, and pedagogical responses as well as the challenges to implementing the assigned policies.

Exit strategies

Fieldwork not only involves gaining access to a field, but also requires the important work of negotiating an exit from the field (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This process is not always straightforward or easy due to the relationship-building nature of ethnographic work. Loyalties and mutual interest in each other's lives are created. The time-frame for my exit from the field was established from the start and also communicated continuously to the students, teachers and school staff. At the third and final fieldwork cycle, I asked the students in interviews if I could contact them via email or by phone to ask how they were doing in school. I also encouraged them to get in touch if they wanted to tell me something about their situation. Moreover, I informed the teachers in the introductory classes that I would be in touch to let them know how the work was proceeding and in order to inquire about developments in the field. I took as a routine to contact the teachers and a number of students with whom I had an established channel of communication, through Facebook or email or occasionally phone, towards the end of every term during the duration of the research project (2011-2014). Not only did I see this as an important moral duty to the teachers that had eased my access to the research field and to the students who had shared their thoughts so generously, but it also enabled me to gain valuable information about the students' pathways through the educational system and developments at the schools.

The fieldwork thus ended up extending over the initial time-period of 15 months. However, the follow-up details did not cover all participants and only included a brief summary of their school situation and place in the educational system (see appendices). The follow-up initiatives have been appreciated by both students and teachers and have hopefully countered the common view that was communicated to us from the start – that (research) projects disappear into thin air without any feedback to the field. The emails to the teachers have included publications from the research project. With regard to the students, I have promised to send them 'the book' – that is, the dissertation when it will be completed. A few of the students have at their own initiative stayed in touch after the end of the fieldwork to share their thoughts and feelings about their situation.

Analysis

Characteristic for analysis of ethnographic data is that it is a continuous process that occurs parallel to the fieldwork and starts as early as when the research questions are formulated. Indeed, all the different steps in the research process are impregnated with analytical considerations. Already in the decision to focus the study on the investigation of *experience* lies a theoretical claim, from which certain analytical readings follow. The theoretical point of departure, guiding the analytical process as well as the study as a whole, is the assumption that an individual's experience is shaped by and inseparable from its social context. A sociocultural framework on learning as created in and through social interaction and thereby intimately tied to issues of inclusion, was a founding theoretical principle for the overall thesis. However, the investigation of experience *as such* and its embodied and emotional dimensions, required specific theoretical tools provided by a phenomenological framework. Given this theoretical foundation, the analytical process has entailed a move back and forth between theoretical ideas and fieldwork and close readings of data – in line with what Lundström (2007) following Alvesson and Skölberg (1994, pp. 29–51) call "theoretically charged empirics" and "empirically charged theory". Hence through what can be classified as an *abductive* analytical approach, which Agar (2008, p. 35) considers characteristic of ethnography, the data has been analysed from a theoretical framework that was further developed during the course of the analysis. The separate studies have allowed for the data to be exposed to different theoretical concepts that nonetheless have commonalities as well as contradictions, which are discussed in the theory chapter.

Before explicating the analytical process for each study, the preceding steps involved in the general analytical process are described. The actual layout of the fieldwork encouraged a dialectical interaction between data collection and analysis essential for the analytical process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). During the fieldwork and in the pauses in between the cycles, the analytical work of writing interview notes as well as daily recordings and the expansion of fieldnotes began. When the fieldwork was finished, repeated listening to the interviews and reading of the data in its entirety ensued. A systematic approach was necessary in order to grasp the large and varied data and to find relationships across the corpus. While listening to and reading the data, I attempted to extract themes and sub-themes that corresponded to my overall analytical focus (Emerson et al., 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The thematic analysis was both vertical and horizontal – focusing on one participant at the time and themes across participants. An analytical index consisting of key words selected from the interview extracts and fieldnotes that were divided in terms of student and fieldwork cycle was constructed as an aid in gaining an overview of the data. These key words were close to the spoken

and written data – such as "embarrassing with introductory class" or "miss friends".[48]

The key words were then re-examined in order to extract more overarching horizontal themes on the school rather than student level. The analytical work entailed both searching for links and reoccurring patterns as well as contradictions and differences between the schools and organisational settings. The keywords were clustered around specific settings, phases or activities – such as introductory class, transitional phase, regular class, and study guidance in the mother tongue – that were of particular analytical interest. These were turned into themes that encompassed several key words associated with the students' accounts of introductory class, regular class and the transition between the two and my observations thereof (distinguishing if keywords came from interview extracts or fieldnotes).

The initial analytical process directed focus onto the areas that would be interesting to explore in further detail in the separate studies, thus shaping and sharpening the analytical focus and theoretical concepts in the process (cf. the funnel model described by Agar, 2008; or Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007 "sensitizing concepts"). Although *Study I* is primarily based on a policy-analysis, the insights gained through fieldwork were used as an underlying analytical compass, which together with the concept of post-migration ecology through which the documents were analysed, could help to map the educational policy landscape. *Study II* draws on the empirical data, primarily from interviews and secondly from participant observation in the three schools, in the first and second cycle of fieldwork. Given the study's focus on a comparative analysis of the students' experiences of the social and pedagogical provision in introductory and regular classes, the analytical focus was on the students' descriptions of these two contexts in the interviews and my own descriptions in fieldnotes. Interviews and fieldnotes were analysed thoroughly, and parts of the interviews that explicitly described differences and similarities between the two contexts were transcribed.

Building on the analytical work and conclusions in the second study, *Study III* delimits the focus to the social situation for newly arrived students in the S-school and attempts to make sense of the embodied nature of experience that so vividly came to the fore in the interviews. Drawing on a critical phenomenological perspective, the data was analysed with a particular focus on bodily orientations in space and through the analytical concepts of *being in line* and *out of line* (Ahmed, 2006). Of interest was not only the students' experiences

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[48] I did not use a computer-based programme in this process but instead highlighted sections from interviews and fieldnotes and wrote comments in the margins of the page.

as conveyed in interviews but also my own observations of the students' orientation and display of bodily comfort in the introductory and regular classroom.

In the analytical process, it became apparent that several themes and sub-themes conglomerated around the experiences of the transition to upper secondary school and the language introduction programme. There were furthermore interesting links to themes that corresponded to earlier experiences of introductory and regular classes. *Study IV* thus attends to the temporal dimensions of the students' experiences of transition from lower to upper secondary school. Through the frameworks of critical phenomenology and narrative theory as well as migration research on time, the analytical focus was directed to the temporal framings of the students' lived versus imagined school careers. Guiding analytical questions were as follows: how is the language introduction programme understood vis-à-vis the students' previous experiences of introductory and regular classes? How is the transition to the language introduction programme framed temporally and emotionally? What does the lived transition to the language introduction programme do to the student's imagined school career?

Knowledge claims and relevance

The degree to which the issue of validity is relevant to qualitative researchers is a matter of debate and depends on the ontological view taken on the relationship between knowledge and reality, but issues concerning relevance and selection criteria nevertheless have to be discussed in qualitative research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In line with Hammersley's (1990, 1992) 'subtle form of realism', concerns of validity are relevant in that validity is identified with *confidence* but not certainty in our knowledge (cf. Davies, 2008). Reality is thus not assumed to be independent of the claims that researchers make about it. Important ways to ensure confidence in knowledge are through transparent and detailed accounts of the methods and concerns entailed in fieldwork as well as continuous reflective work through peer reviews and forums for collegial assessments. Indeed, seminars in which data and drafts for the studies were discussed functioned as a way to validate my analysis. Moreover, the continuous analytical work that characterises ethnographic research and that the layout of the fieldwork encourages, contributes to an inherent validity, since concepts are adjusted in contact with the field. Furthermore, the process of re-examination that necessarily takes place in relation to each of the four studies secures the analysis as sensitive to the original data.

With regard to the issue of generalisability, the prioritisation of the unique and first-hand experiences engrained in the theoretical foundations of the study

and the methodological choice of an ethnographic approach, emphasises specificity, variation and complexity. However, within the aim to document the social conditions and position of a selected group of newly arrived students, lies an assumption of a certain degree of relevance for related areas and applicability of the findings for school practitioners in the field (Madison, 2005). In this regard, generalisability is tied to a context-sensitive and detailed description of the school settings and individual students and is furthered through the development of analytical and theoretical concepts in the individual studies (Davies, 2008).

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations form a crucial part of the research process, especially when the study encompasses children and youth under the age of 18. The Swedish Research Council's rules and guidelines about research practice (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011, 2011) and the law regarding ethics in research on human beings (SFS 2003:460, 2003) have guided the ethical considerations made in the current study. The overarching ethical demand, the demand for the protection of the individual, which establishes that the individual subject shall not be negatively affected by the research, has been operationalised in four general ethical demands regarding information, consent, confidentiality and usage (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). However, as many authors point out regarding ethics, it is necessary to complicate the picture regarding 'standardised' ethics – ethics cannot and should not be reduced to a question of participation in the study but should be characterised by continuous reflections regarding the relations and dependencies that are created in the field (Christensen & Prout, 2002; McNamee & Bridges, 2002; Morrow & Richards, 1996). In the social studies of childhood, a view of children as social actors creates new ethical dilemmas and responsibilities for researchers. These concern, for example, the potential for conflicts of interest, often previously unrecognised, between children and other actors and the recognition of the social and cultural positioning of children in certain contexts (Christensen & Prout, 2002; see also Johansson, 2003; Morrow & Richards, 1996; Wyness, 2012). Before turning to the standardised ethical requirements, ethical considerations regarding the researcher's role and being two researchers in the field are discussed.

Ethical reflections on the researcher's role in ethnographic fieldwork

As already established, ethnographic fieldwork involves social relations and is even defined by the making of relationships. Complications arise from the inbuilt inequalities, whereby the researcher is in a position of power in relation to the research participants, in several respects. Interaction between adults and children/youth is structured by inequalities to do with age (Wyness, 2012). In

this study, this is aggravated by the fact that I am in school from my own choice and can come and go as I like, which is not the case for the students. Furthermore, my professional role as a researcher entails a position of power in that I have defined the terms for the students' participation. I pose the questions, interpret their replies and turn their accounts into written material. As Madison expresses it: "you have the power to tell their story and to have the last word on how they will be represented" (Madison, 2005, p. 33). Moreover, my position as a white, middle-class person, indicated by my appearance and job, gives me access to privileges in relation to the research participants who have recently arrived from other countries to Sweden and often find themselves in a marginalised situation compared to the majority population. The researcher cannot control his self-representation and during the fieldwork I noticed that I often became a representative of the majority society, evident in formulations such as "you Swedes" and in the frequent tendency for the students to seek knowledge about different aspects of society during interviews.

There were indeed occasions when the students needed support that went beyond the interview situation itself. Although such situations breed confidence and can be indicative of a trustful relationship, they can also be problematic in that they risk blurring the roles of researcher and friend and create a dependency that cannot be borne out in the long-run. There were occasions when I felt that the students' expectations conflicted with my role as a researcher – such as when a student once asked to borrow money or when another student asked me to tell the teacher to give him a good grade. Another instance was when a teacher asked me and my research colleague to take responsibility for the class during a lesson when the ordinary teacher was ill. On these occasions, I handled the situation by clarifying that the requests went beyond my role as a researcher but there were other instances when I decided to be of assistance, even if it was outside my direct role as a researcher.

One such instance was when a newly arrived student stood outside the classroom door at the L-school, on his first day, with no one to greet him, as the teacher was ill on that particular day. I then took as my responsibility to sit with the student on his first school-day and tried to give him a brief introduction to the school with the elicited help of his new classmates. Furthermore, as discussed, I decided to help the students if they asked for help with their schoolwork. Increasingly, as I got to know the students, I have at times even offered to help during the lessons. I have also tried to offer advice if the students have asked me about different aspects of society – education, the labour market, housing – seeing it as a reciprocity to share such information. After the termination of the fieldwork, some students have made contact with me and asked for advice regarding a difficult social situation or an approaching test at school. I have decided to respond to these requests, even if they go

beyond the immediate research situation. Although there is a danger in diffusing the researcher's role, personal engagement and research do not need to be mutually exclusive or necessarily contradictory. It may be more ethically problematic if the relationship is one-sided and the participants are cut off when I as the researcher has acquired the information that was needed. While reflecting actively upon potential ethical dilemmas, and where my responsibility starts and ends, I have thus decided to nurture relationships with the students.

Another ethical challenge has been to describe the teachers and students in a way that is not interpreted as evaluative. Given that the situation conveyed by the newly arrived students and observed by me is one in which they encounter a number of difficulties, especially in the regular classes, there is a risk that I am interpreted as taking their 'side' and thus pointing to culprits (Silverman, 1993). This is an aspect that I have reflected upon and tried to balance in an ethically sound way in my selection of data. Nonetheless, the overarching obligation is to do justice to the students' depiction of their realities in school and not to gold-plate the school contexts they encounter in order to avoid criticism. I have attempted to balance this ethical dilemma by de-identifying the schools and the names of teachers and students.

Ethical reflections on being two researchers in the field

My own research has been part of a larger interdisciplinary research project, built on a joint aim – to illuminate the learning conditions for newly arrived students. I have thereby had the opportunity to partly conduct participant observation together with a fellow research colleague with a different disciplinary belonging and analytical focus. Although the ethnographic tradition is founded on the fieldworker being alone in the field for an extended period of time, the opportunity to draw on another researcher's viewpoint can provide valuable input for a more holistic understanding (Gemzöe, 2004). Having a (more experienced) research colleague in the field, during two of the three fieldwork cycles, meant that I could discuss and analyse what was going on in the field. On the other hand, the fact that we were two fieldworkers possibly made our presence somewhat more obtrusive. Some teachers probably felt even more scrutinised with two researchers in the classroom, including my colleague who was explicitly documenting their teaching. Furthermore, the company of my colleague might have made it harder for the students to approach me. However, the interviews with the students were always conducted in a one-to-one setting, where I was alone with the student (except for when an interpreter was present). Also, the third and final fieldwork cycle when I was alone in the field, provided an opportunity to temper the potentially negative aspects of being two persons in the field and provided a chance to deepen my individual relationships with the students.

Information and consent

The demand for information means that the researcher shall inform those the research involves about its purpose. The demand implies that the researcher shall inform all participants about their tasks in the project and the conditions involved. The demand for consent refers to the fact that all participants in a research study have the right to decide over their participation, and when the participants are below 15 years of age their parents/legal guardian also have to give their written permission. Nevertheless, it is important to ensure that the children themselves are informed about the purpose of the study and what their participation entails. The process through which I ensured informed consent from the students and their parents is described below.

After access to the schools had been ensured and information provided to the headmasters and teachers, I and my research colleague verbally informed the introductory class students about the research project at the beginning of the first fieldwork cycle. The plan was for the mother tongue teachers to be present, and in some cases, but not every case, there were teachers there who could translate to the students' respective languages. The students were encouraged to ask questions on this or later occasions.[49] Information about the research was repeated during the coming periods, since new students and sometimes new teachers came to the classes. The quality of this first information session seemed to vary with the respective teachers' approaches to the study – a teacher who was engaged and interested in the research project, who encouraged questions and explained terms, meant that I felt more confident that the students had really grasped why we were there, compared to a situation in which our information was more of a one-way communication.

All parents/legal guardians to students in year 8 and 9 who fitted our selection criteria, received an information letter that explained the purpose and details of the research study.[50] The letter also states that participation is voluntary and that the information collected about the students would only be used for the stated purpose. This letter was given to the respective class teachers for distribution to the parents, in some cases the letter was given directly to the students in order for them to pass on to their parents. Also in this phase, the mother tongue teachers were at times involved as translators.[51] With reference to the

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[49] Some students seized this opportunity and asked us everything from what the end result would be (a book we replied) and why we had chosen that particular school (we explained our selection criteria) and how old we were (also to this question we replied truthfully).

[50] Including the names of the project manager and team members, contact details, departmental belonging and the funder of the project.

[51] The mother tongue teachers were asked to either translate the letter verbally to the students in order for them to be able to explain the contents to their parents, alternatively the letter was translated in writing and was distributed in that form to the parents.

demand for informed consent, the information letter ended with a question of whether or not the child was allowed to take part in the study.[52]

Furthermore, informed consent also means that the participants have the right to independently decide if, how long and on which conditions they are to participate. The fact that they are able to voluntarily terminate their participation, which one student also did, without any negative consequences at any time during the study, was also conveyed in the information letter as well as verbally to the students. However, as Wyness (2012) emphasises, the context within which decisions are made complicate ethical demands such as informed consent. It has to be taken into account that research participants can feel obliged, especially in the school context where most activities are compulsory, to say yes to participation (Morrow & Richards, 1996). As David et al. (2001) point out, school-based research on children is inscribed with differential power relations and draws on education discourses and practices that make informed consent into a form of *educated consent*.

Information was also provided to the regular classes that the newly arrived students gradually or completely became a part of. Although the lessons observed included students who had not received written information about the research project, we always introduced the study and gave an opportunity to ask questions. We also asked if there was anyone who objected to the lessons being audio-recorded. Although these students were part of the observations, the main focus was on the newly arrived students who had formally agreed to take part in the study. We were aware of the risks of spotlighting the newly arrived students, and when we felt that a certain student risked being exposed, we limited our information about the study, saying it was concerned with conditions for learning. Nevertheless, despite these precautions, we noticed that our study was sometimes perceived as being about certain students. One of the students explained that her peers in the regular class saw our presence as being concerned with her lack of inclusion in the class.

Information about the purpose of the research project, the voluntary nature of the students' participation and their anonymity was also repeated as a routine at every interview. As the interviewer, I emphasised that the students did not need to answer all the questions and encouraged them to ask questions and signal if there was something that they did not understand. If an interpreter was present, he/she usually (but not always) informed the student about the obligations of an interpreter and their code of ethics.

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[52] In the S-school, no one declined participation. In the M- and L-school there were a few students who declined to participate.

Confidentiality and use

Another demand, the demand for confidentiality means that the details about the participants in a study should be given the greatest possible confidentiality, and the personal details are to be kept in such a way as to prevent unauthorised access. All details about identifiable persons should be noted, kept and reported in such a manner that individuals cannot be identified. In order to protect the identity of the participants in the study, I have used pseudonyms selected by the students themselves.[53] I have decided to report the students' countries of origin and school background, since I believe that this information is important in order to show the heterogeneity among newly arrived students and the factors that influence their school situation in Sweden. Nevertheless, the students should not be taken to be representatives of their respective countries but rather be treated as individuals. In order to handle the risk that it is possible to still identify the individuals, particularly in the smallest municipality, we in the research group decided to anonymise the schools and municipalities. Hence, any references to the actual school or class names have been removed and replaced by a general description of the type of class/school within square brackets. Furthermore, the recorded data and details about the participants are treated confidentially and kept in a locked cupboard. The demand for appropriate use is adhered to, since the data is only used for the stated purpose and only shared among the project members.

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[53] In some cases the students did not want to choose their own name and asked me to suggest a name for them.

5. Summary of studies

This thesis is based on four individual studies, that draw on the data described in the method chapter. Study I is a policy-analysis of the educational responses to newly arrived students in Sweden, and it serves to situate the other studies in a societal context. Study II-IV draw on the empirical data collected through interviews with newly arrived students and participant observation in introductory and regular classes. All four studies focus on the formal and lived conditions for social inclusion and learning for newly arrived students in the Swedish school system. A summary of each study is provided below.

Study I. Educational responses to newly arrived students in Sweden: understanding the structure and influence of post-migration ecology

School plays a fundamental role for migrant children settling into a new country. However, despite the increasing number of newly arrived students in Sweden, often with a documented eagerness to learn and resume their educational careers, research describes an educational system that is unable to cater to their needs. A lack of policy, guidelines and resources, resulting in varied standards of reception, seem to be an endemic problem that transcends national borders. The aim of the study is to describe and deepen the understanding of the educational responses to newly arrived students in compulsory elementary schools (age 7-16) in Sweden. The concept of *post-migration ecology* (Anderson et al., 2004; Rutter, 2006) is employed as a mapping device in the study's review of academic literature and policy documents in order to allude to the intertwined sets of legal, organisational and pedagogical responses making up the educational landscape in which the individual student finds herself. Based on this description, the study critically enquires into the underlying conceptualisation of the newly arrived student and the resulting structures of opportunity.

With regard to legal responses, the study finds that despite the overarching category of 'newly arrived student' that entitles the students the right to education, legal categorisations based on residence status still come to matter in

relation to the education system. Children of undocumented migrants and asylum-seekers for whom education is not mandatory have a weaker standing and lower enrolment in education; their possibility to enrol in education is in the hands of their parents and local officials and dependent on the local economy and effective cooperation and communication. Furthermore, children of immigrant workers are largely invisible in research and in the reception system and have no possibilities for economic subsidies in support of their education.

The study also outlines the organisational responses to newly arrived students, which in Sweden and beyond revolve around the issues of inclusion and exclusion, integration and segregation. In the absence of regulations regarding newly arrived students' education, the main organisational responses to newly arrived students are transitional classes and direct immersion in the mainstream system, with the sub-variation of 'landing' and separate schools for newcomers. Regardless of model, the study points to the danger of basing organisational decisions on a general and category-based praxis rather than on a careful examination of individual needs that are met by appropriate pedagogical responses. However, pedagogical responses also follow the pattern of separation from the mainstream system and collective, standardised solutions, that are geared by a one-sided focus on what the students lack, that is, knowledge in Swedish. The study points to the under-utilisation of formal pedagogical resources that depart from a view of the student as a bearer of previous knowledge, such as measures to map previous knowledge and bilingual scaffolding of learning. In conclusion, the map of the educational responses to newly arrived students in Sweden points to the risk of an emerging parallel system, which departs from a deficit view of the student. When the heterogeneous needs and resources of newly arrived students go unnoticed and unmet, there is a danger that the failings of the educational system will be read as the failings of the individual students.

Study II. "Welcome to Sweden…": Newly arrived students' experiences of pedagogical and social provision in introductory and regular classes

The study focuses on the organisational contexts of the introductory and regular classes in school, comparing them with regard to the challenges and opportunities in accessing pedagogical and social resources experienced by newly arrived students in grades 8 and 9. The comparative analysis departs from the theoretical framework developed by Thomas and Collier on the needs of multilingual students, which is comprised of interacting components of a socioculturally supportive environment, language development, academic development and cognitive development (Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002), as

well as the components of challenge and support in scaffolding as formulated by Gibbons (2009) and Mariani (1997). Apart from providing a general description of the differences between introductory and regular class in terms of size, composition, time-frame and use of the mother tongue in tuition, the study attempts to fill a void in research by exploring the students' own perspectives on the organisational contexts encountered by primarily drawing on data collected from interviews with students and to a lesser degree, participant observation in the three municipalities in which the overall study was conducted.

The findings of the study are that introductory class generally offers an environment with high support, both pedagogically (through qualified Swedish as second language teachers and access to subject support in the mother tongue) and socially (positive relations to peers and teachers). However, over time it ceases to challenge the students. The opposite appears to be the case in the regular classes, which constitute a highly challenging environment that provides access to all subjects and the possibility to gain grades, but without adequate support for the learning needs of second language students. The students ask for explicit tuition of the *language* in the subjects and subject support in their mother tongue in order to be able to catch up and keep pace with their peers in the regular class. Furthermore, the access to social resources, in terms of gaining Swedish-speaking friends, becomes more difficult than expected once the students have reached the regular classes. This is, paradoxically, more of an issue in the monolingual Swedish school context.

The status differentials tied to introductory class and being newly arrived that the students hope to overcome by moving to the regular classes seem to be transferred with them when they reach the mainstream system. The study concludes that in order for the students to fulfil their goal of 'becoming like everybody else', prove their ability to learn and resume their educational career, structures for pedagogical and social provision need to be created in the *mainstream system*. In line with the sociocultural theoretical framework upon which the study rests, pedagogical and social resources are interdependent – failure to address one aspect thus affects the other and creates leeway for a deficit-paradigm that leaves school success up to the individual student.

Study III. 'Sitting on embers': a phenomenological exploration of the embodied experiences of inclusion of newly arrived students in Sweden

This study asks what can be learned from the *body* in research on inclusion, which lies at the intersection between migration and education. It is argued that attention to embodied experiences that have hitherto been neglected in the study of newly arrived students' education can complicate simplistic ideas of inclusion. Drawing on Ahmed's (2006, 2012) critical phenomenology and the theoretical concepts of *orientation* and *being in line* and *being out of line*, the study aims at a phenomenological analysis of the process by which newly arrived students in grades 8 and 9 become included in certain contexts in a rural monolingual school in Sweden. The data in the study is composed of the embodied experiences conveyed by the students in interviews, and the researcher's own observations of the students' bodily orientation and experience of space in introductory and regular classes.

Describing the introduction and education of newly arrived students as characterised by a paradigm of separation, the study documents how the newly arrived students are oriented towards the physical and social margins of the regular classroom. The study also explores the sense of difference that becomes embodied in a gendered and racialised way, in the insecure spaces of the corridor and lunchroom outside of the teachers' surveillance. The lived experience of discomfort and insecurity in the regular classroom, distilled in the embodied metaphor of 'sitting on embers', can be contrasted with the separate and temporary space of the introductory class in which the students experience what it means to be in line. Furthermore, the risk of 'excludability' entailed in being a newly arrived student in the mainstream system has to be managed by downplaying aspects of an alleged difference, illustrating Ahmed's (2012) point about making those who are to be included into 'the problem'.

The study concludes that in contrast to a view on inclusion based on pre-formulated categories of difference, a phenomenological analysis shows how difference is relationally constituted and lived in and through the body. An analysis of the embodied experience of inclusion of newly arrived students in a rural monolingual setting makes apparent the need to listen to the students' own experiences and critically question the lines of the institution in order for inclusion to become a lived, embodied experience of feeling at home.

Study IV: Moving on or moving back? : The temporalities of migrant students' lived versus imagined school careers

The experience of *time* is an undertheorised dimension in relation to migration and mobility (Cwerner, 2001; Griffiths, 2014). Furthermore, few studies investigate the many transitions entailed in newly arrived students' educational pathways from a temporal perspective. This study specifically investigates how a number of newly arrived students experience the transition to the language introduction programme in upper secondary school in relation to past, present and imagined school careers. Drawing on a critical phenomenological understanding of *being in line* (Ahmed, 2006) and narrative theory on the temporal organisation of narratives (Brockmeier, 1995; Ezzy, 2000) – as well as migration research on time (Griffiths, 2014) – the lived transition to the language introduction programme is seen to create a disjunction between imagined and lived school careers. Interviews with 13 students who have made the transition to upper secondary school provide the primary empirical data for the study, while participant observation in nine different language introduction classes at five schools comprise an auxiliary empirical source.

The transition to the language introduction programme was characterised by experiences of various temporal desynchronies. Given the students' previous experience of introductory school forms, the language introduction programmes become experienced as 'the same thing over again' and come to signify an experience of repetition and a constantly suspended entry to the mainstream system. The students find that, in contrast to what they had imagined, the transition entails an experience of being hindered or blocked from reaching the desired Swedish-coded contexts and thus creating distance to students who are 'more' newly arrived. The prospect of protracted stays in the language introduction programme also causes feelings of temporal uncertainty, stress and disappointment at the lack of progression, which has consequences for the students' self-image. Furthermore, in line with Ahmed's (2006) point about the migrant orientation involving dual reference points, the students' school careers are evaluated in relation to the progression of peers in the new country and the country that has been left. Through a phenomenology of blockage, the study shows that the transition to the language introduction programme involves an experience of being temporally out of line: being stuck in a parallel temporal trajectory that has lost contact with the progressive temporality of the surrounding context. Hence, the study argues that attention to experiential temporalities – how time is lived, imagined and understood – provides insights into the phenomenological brick walls of the Swedish school system.

6. Concluding discussion

This thesis has explored how newly arrived students experience conditions for social inclusion and learning in their lived transitions within the Swedish school system. To this end, four studies have been conducted that analyse conditions for inclusion and learning from different theoretical angles and on different analytical levels, ranging from the policy level framework for school transitions to situated analyses on the organisational level and on the level of lived experience. This final chapter asks what can be learnt about the lived transitions of newly arrived students, when reading the four studies horizontally. What are the formal conditions for lived transitions, laid out in policy principles and practices? What are the conditions for lived transitions at the school and classroom level? Finally, what are lived transitions in terms of embodied and emotional experiences, situated in time and space? In this final chapter, I argue that the lived transitions of newly arrived students, on all these levels, can be theorised in terms of three temporalities, *present, past* and *future*, that come to be lived through the patterns of *parallelity*, *discontinuity* and *postponement*. Given that the focus of the thesis is on the lived experiences of present school lives, it is this timeframe that will be treated in greatest depth. However, the analyses show that lived transitions in the present also encompass and have ramifications for the experience of the past and the future.

Lived transitions and parallel school lives

Taken together, the studies in this thesis show that the lived transitions of newly arrived students can be characterised by a parallelity in relation to the mainstream system. The review of the legal responses to newly arrived students in Study I shows that, although the educational system builds on the principle of equal rights to education, there is still leeway for making a difference between categories of newly arrived students. For instance, undocumented migrants and asylum-seekers for whom education is not mandatory have a lower enrolment in education and a weaker standing in relation to the education system. What this means in practice is the risk that students are *valued differently* in the education system due to different resident statuses (cf.

Devine, 2013). Furthermore, there is also a risk that schools, acting on an increasingly competitive school market, see newly arrived students as costly or undesirable, given their legitimate right to and need for support.

In terms of organisational principles, the educational responses to newly arrived students in Sweden are geared towards *separation* from the mainstream. The introductory class is one way of instantiating the principle of separation found on both lower and upper secondary school level, arguably in order to better tailor tuition towards the assumed common needs of newly arrived students. There are also other organisational solutions (such as landing and whole school models) that more or less build on the idea of separation as preparation for transition to the mainstream system. Learning Swedish is the formal requirement that the students are presented with for transition into the mainstream and also what the students themselves see as the key for social inclusion in an informal sense. However, what this thesis shows by examining the students' lived experiences of transition into the mainstream system is that this transition is less straightforward than what the students had wished for.

Indeed, Studies II and III show that the pattern of parallel school lives also risks being transferred to the level of the regular classroom. The students' experiences of conditions for learning in Study II, analysed in relation to the postulated needs of multilingual students, show that the teaching in the regular classroom is characterised by *high challenge* and *low support*, while the opposite appears to be true of the introductory classes. The students call for an adaptation of the teaching in the regular class to better suit their different points of departures, as one student (Ali in Study II) illustrated by comparing his lived school experiences and those of "regular" students to cars driving at different speeds. One way of adapting the teaching is to explain the "language in the subjects", the subject-specific terms used to teach the curriculum content. Furthermore, the students' mother tongue appears to be an underutilised resource for learning in the regular classroom. Aside from economic reasons and practical difficulties in finding suitable subject support teachers, the studies also point to the presence of a *monolingual norm* in the regular classroom, most clearly observable in one of the schools in the study. Students in a predominantly monolingual school experienced that the mother tongue carried a negative status and some of the teachers also explicitly endorsed a 'Swedish-only' approach. Other research shows that the predominance of a monolingual norm not only neglects a potential resource for learning, but also indicates coercive relations of power (Blommaert et al., 2006; Cummins, 2014; Rosén & Bagga-Gupta, 2015).

On the level of *emotional* and *embodied* experiences, the students tell about the feelings generated when they do not understand what is being said in the regular classroom, when teachers and students are "talking and talking" (as

expressed by Anna in Study II) above their heads and the immense tiredness that this causes. As Gibbons (2009) recognises, such instances reflect missed opportunities for learning. Furthermore, the students' experiences convey their feelings of shame regarding their need of extra support, which often results in their silencing themselves in the regular classroom. As Busch (2015, p. 14) points out, saying the 'wrong' word or speaking with a 'wrong', "out-of place-accent" is experienced bodily in all its intensity. Here, conditions of learning touch upon larger issues of social inclusion. Indeed, what becomes apparent through an investigation of the embodied and emotional aspects of the lived transition to the mainstream system in Study III is that it is not only learning Swedish that constitutes the key to "fit in" (to paraphrase Due & Riggs, 2009) but that other requirements for inclusion come into play after their transition to the mainstream system.

It is perhaps in the exploration of what the *terms of inclusion* really are, as seen from the students' perspectives, where the thesis makes its most unique contribution. A critical phenomenological description of the process of being included (Ahmed, 2006, 2012) into the mainstream system – and the embodied experiences that this entails – makes it apparent that there are other, more subtle terms that the students need to negotiate. The students' embodied experiences show that a monolingual setting, in which the potential for getting to know Swedish-speaking friends is presumably high, can nevertheless be lived as a context of exclusion and difference. Through the concepts of *orientation* and *lines* (Ahmed, 2006), it becomes apparent that the students orientate themselves – and are orientated by others – in relation to a 'Swedish' norm that characterises the mainstream system from which they are seen to deviate in gendered and racialised ways.

The lived experience of being *out of line* plays out in relation to *space*. It is primarily in the unsafe spaces of the corridor and lunchroom, as well as during instances in the regular classroom, where one student's embodied metaphor of "sitting on embers" expresses the students' experience of feeling out of line. The parallel space of the introductory classroom, on the other hand, is where the students experience what it means to be in line. However, this experience is, in the students' narratives, always structured by a feeling of the introductory class being out of line in relation to the school as a whole (it is not the 'proper', regular school); this is a division that the students have a strong wish to overcome. The principle of parallel school lives can be played out differently in different settings. In the school in the small municipality, it was individual students and an individual teacher that experienced themselves isolated in the mainstream system, whereas in the mid-size municipality, separation took place on an organisational/group level. In the large urban municipality, newly arrived students quickly blended into the school but experienced themselves as outside the Swedish-coded context of the city.

The experience of parallelity and separation not only plays out in relation to space but also *time*. Study IV documents how being in introductory class is associated with a partly parallel, but disrupted, temporal trajectory that has lost contact with the progressive linear time of the mainstream system. In previous research, the introductory class has been described as a *waiting room* (Jepson Wigg, 2011; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013) and as a state of *permanent temporariness* (Skowronski, 2013). For the most part, however, temporal aspects of post-migration school landscapes have not been foregrounded in work on migrant students. Study IV shows that the students who made the transition to upper secondary school and ended up in yet another introductory class (the language introduction programme), described the experience as being in a temporality of repetition, of slow time and suspended time. As will be discussed further below, the students risk being caught in a disrupted temporal trajectory, where they are repeatedly positioned as 'newly arrived'.

Hence, the thesis shows that the structural conditions and organisational principles for the education of newly arrived students, which are characterised by collective, standardised solutions in separation from the mainstream, find their correspondence at the level of lived experience. Importantly, by attending to the lived experiences of the students, the thesis shows that the pattern of parallel school lives also persists *after* the formal organisational separation has been overcome. Upon transition to the mainstream system, the students are formally included but can still experience social and pedagogical exclusion, often instantiated in emotional and embodied experiences in the students' narratives. Furthermore, the thesis makes visible a paradox in which the introductory classes, albeit physically, organisationally and pedagogically separated from the mainstream system, provide a sense of inclusion, although from a temporary perspective, whereas the opposite appears to be true of regular classes (Study III). Hence, the thesis shows that the structural conditions, organisational principles as well as practices at the classroom level, risk ushering newly arrived students into a parallel school life, divorced from the mainstream.

Lived transitions and a discontinuous past

Lived transitions can also be read as a discontinued past. There is an inbuilt break with the past entailed in being a newly arrived student, which means that the student has left a familiar educational system only to meet a new, unfamiliar system, with different conditions for learning and inclusion. What this thesis shows is the difficulty for the educational system to bridge the gap between the past and the present. On the level of organisational and pedagog-

ical responses to newly arrived students, documented in Study I and in previous research, it is apparent that they are primarily geared toward what the students *lack* – that is knowledge in Swedish – rather than what the students already have (previous knowledge, including other languages). The lack of assessment of previous knowledge and the underutilisation of subject support in the mother tongue, called for in policy but often lacking in practice, are two examples of the tendency toward regarding the students as clean slates. Implicit in such a 'Swedish-only' approach is also what in previous research is called a 'deficiency perspective' (Devine, 2013; Keddie, 2012a; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Rutter, 2006). Such a perspective inadvertently places the onus of inclusion on the individual student to facilitate their own inclusion by, for instance, learning the language. The failures of the educational system to build on the resources that the students bring become read as the failures of the individual student. Furthermore, in such a post-migratory educational landscape, the individual students' capacities to meet the school's standards become decisive (school background, parents' abilities to help with school work, the degree of awareness regarding legitimate rights in education), which leaves students with no or a limited school background at particular risk.

There is also a very practical aspect to the need to bridge the gap between the past and the present by using the students' previous knowledge, and that relates to the aspect of time. Extensive research in the field of second language learning shows that it takes five years or more for a second language learner to acquire the academic language (see Cummins, 1996). It is clear that teaching in various subjects cannot be postponed until the student has full command of Swedish, especially when the students arrived in Sweden in the later school years (which is the case not only for the students in this thesis but for a growing number of newly arrived students). Research shows that the older a child is when starting school, the more challenging it is to reach the educational goals and to qualify for a regular programme at upper secondary school. In order for the students to have a chance to catch up and keep pace with their peers, the students' resources as multilingual learners need to be harnessed. Cummins (2014, p. 151), for example, documents the positive effects on learning and identity affirmation when students are encouraged to use their mother tongue writing abilities as a stepping stone or scaffold towards writing in their second language.

Analyses at the level of lived experiences, viewed through a phenomenological and narrative perspective, also unravel an existential and emotional dimension of a discontinued past. Study IV shows that the experience tied to protracted stays in introductory class, of being caught in a parallel temporal and spatial trajectory, out of line with the progressive trajectories of the mainstream, means that students have to face the reality of not being *the student*

they used to be. Several of the students' narratives illuminate the stress and frustration tied to the experience of a growing gap between the students' lived school careers and their imagined school careers (where the past and the present are not discontinued). The past of continuous upward, onward movement, becomes ruptured in the lived transition of moving to a new country. However, the past and the present school careers of peers in the country of origin remain a reference point from which one's own temporal trajectory is judged.

There are also examples in some of the students' narratives of repeated experiences of discontinuities in the form of multiple transitions in both the country of origin and the new country. As Lilian (Study III) notably said, when having to move class yet again due to the exclusionary social environment in her regular class: "they will even move my grave when I'm dead". Hence, when considering the conditions for inclusion in relation to a discontinued past, it is important to make note of Ahmed's (2000) point that it is the 'stranger' who is positioned as being out of line and subject to disruptive transitions. However, the multiple lived transitions also highlight the resilience and agency demonstrated by the students in negotiating these transitions.

Lived transitions and a postponed future

The lived transitions, analysed in this thesis, are also about postponed futures. Contained in the students' narratives are not only experiences of who they are in the present, and who they used to be in the past, but also talk about *the students they want to become*. The students in the thesis testify to their desire to escape the marked category of being newly arrived and blend into the mainstream system – "becoming like everybody else". In the students' interpretation (as well as in the formal interpretations of the schools), it means achieving the transition from the introductory class to the regular class. Not because the students were dissatisfied with the tuition in introductory class, quite the contrary, but because of a yearning to continue learning and to resume their educational careers and because of a strong wish for social inclusion into the mainstream system. However, the transition to the mainstream is more difficult than the students expected. The sense of liminality that the students associate with being in introductory class, viewed in contrast to the 'proper', regular system, appears to be transferred with them in the transition to the mainstream system, due to their outlined lack of access to both social and pedagogical resources.

Moreover, it is only through an analysis that stretches over time and attends to the temporal aspects of experience that a loop in their education becomes apparent whereby they are 'sent back' to introductory school forms. Indeed,

the analysis of the newly arrived students' transition from lower to upper secondary school in Study IV shows that they fail to qualify for the highly raised entry requirements for regular programmes at upper secondary school, and therefore end up in a language introduction programme (experienced as the 'same thing over again'). Returning to Ahmed's (2012) phenomenological framework, the students' lived transition becomes an experience of *blockage* in time and space. When David (Study IV) despondently says that he will be 25 years old when he finishes upper secondary school, he thereby invokes both the structural restrictions and the temporal insecurity he experiences of whether or not he will ever be able to realise his goals. The shared experience of the language introduction programme not being the 'proper', regular *gymnasium* in fact mirrors the structural conditions, where students in the language introduction programme have access to fewer subjects and study at a different pace compared to students in the regular programmes.

The experience of being stuck in introductory programmes for extended periods of time, of having to repeat and redo, means that the distance between their lived school careers, on the one hand, and imagined school careers on the other, grows together with the experiential distance from people around them. Analysing the students' thoughts about the future and the experienced gap between life as lived and life as imagined thus means attending to the experience of what does *not* occur, of *postponed* futures and what the *emotional consequences* are in terms of self-image, motivation and feelings of belonging.

Lived transitions synchronised in time and space

This thesis has investigated the *lived transitions* of newly arrived students as a critical spatial and temporal vantage-point, through which the students' experienced conditions for learning and inclusion can be analysed. Transitions are infused with emotions – hopes for social inclusion, desire for learning opportunities, a new identity, or a chance to become in line with the surroundings or with imagined school careers. They are also inscribed in bodily experiences, which is why a phenomenological conceptual framework has proved fruitful. The students' experiences can be described as encompassing three temporalities – the present, the past and the future. What this thesis shows is that the conditions for learning and inclusion provided in the Swedish school system, mapped on the policy level and experienced by the students, mean that the lived temporalities of the students are recurrently marked by discontinuity, disruption and postponement. Importantly, not all students experience school temporalities in these ways; rather, the descriptions are to be seen as patterns that constitute a risk. In similarity to the concept of *excludability* pro-

posed in Study III to describe the vulnerability and risk characterising the position of newly arrived students, these structural patterns do not predetermine lived experience (Ahmed, 2006). There is always scope for variation and negotiation.

How can lived transitions become an experience of being and becoming in line with one's ideal spatial and temporal trajectories? How can life as lived become synchronised with life as imagined? The patterns described above can also be read as implicit recommendations regarding how to create favourable conditions for inclusion and learning, which have a foundation in the students' own experiences. First of all, the thesis calls for a strengthening of the critical transition between the introductory and regular class in order to ensure that the students do not become what Putnam (1995) calls "islands in the mainstream". Bridging the gap between the past and the present by using the students' previous knowledge is essential and begs the use of the students' mother tongue as a resource for learning. Furthermore, a conscious approach to teaching the subject-specific language, akin to what was seen in the snapshot of the introductory class in opening of this thesis, is another way to ensure that learning Swedish occurs side-by-side with the learning of other subjects. According to the sociocultural perspective, influential in theorising the needs of multilingual learners, learning to some extent presupposes inclusion in that learning is seen to take place in social interaction. To some degree, the students also show that inclusion similarly presupposes learning. For instance, the experience of being in line with their imagined school careers or their past as successful students gives rise to feelings of inclusion. At the same time, discontinuities, missed opportunities for learning in the present, and postponed hopes for the future, create a feeling of being out of line.

By attending to the *relational* dimensions and the *situated* conditions for inclusion in space and time, through a critical phenomenological perspective, the thesis also makes important points regarding the concept of inclusion. Instead of a view on inclusion that is based on pre-formulated categories of difference, the students' lived experiences show how difference is relationally constituted and lived in and through the body. The experience of being included, yet feeling out of place, shows that inclusion and exclusion are not mutually exclusive categories: inclusion can in fact carry lines of exclusion. Furthermore, as pointed out by Ahmed (2012), inclusion can work in exclusionary ways by making the individual who is to be included into the 'problem'. Indeed, the present studies, together with previous research in the field, point to a tendency to place the onus of inclusion outside of the mainstream school system and onto the individual students (who are responsible for downplaying their alleged difference), individual teachers (the introductory class teacher assuming responsibility for newly arrived students even after transition to the mainstream system) and individual schools (schools such as the L-

school that receives a disproportionate number of newly arrived students). Creating a façade of inclusion whereby the failures in catering to the students in the mainstream pass unnoticed not only risks preserving the status quo but also paves the way for an individualising of deficit discourse. The critical phenomenological view on inclusion applied in this thesis hence requires a questioning of the lines that work to position bodies as out of place in certain contexts.

In sum, the thesis adds to our knowledge about newly arrived students and their situated experiences of the Swedish school system and its underlying conditions for inclusion and learning. Viewed from the vantage-point of lived transitions, the thesis makes two main methodological and theoretical contributions to the conceptualisation of inclusion. Firstly, the thesis shows the need to analyse inclusion by empirically investigating the experiences of those who are to be included. Secondly, the thesis also makes a theoretical contribution by applying a critical phenomenological perspective on the investigation of newly arrived students' experiences. Viewing experience as embodied and emotionally constituted, in relation to both time and space, opens up for hitherto underexplored dimensions of inclusion. Applying Ahmed's (2006) concept of being in line to analyse the temporal and spatial dimensions of the lived experiences of newly arrived students expands her theories into a new research field, where the experience of being out of line becomes especially disquieting given that it concerns youth in the transition into adulthood. Spatial and temporal analyses of lived transitions make visible the organisational hinges and blockages that need to be addressed in order for schools to seize the potential that lies in the students' yearning for learning and inclusion.

Sammanfattning

Denna avhandling handlar om nyanlända elevers möte med den svenska skolan. Avhandlingen består av en inledande kappa och fyra delstudier som ur olika perspektiv undersöker nyanlända elevers villkor för lärande och inkludering i olika övergångar inom det svenska skolsystemet.

Introduktion

Antalet nyanlända elever[54] ökar i den svenska skolan och eleverna kommer till Sverige i allt högre åldrar. Det finns dock förhållandevis lite forskning som undersöker nyanlända elevers utbildningsvillkor och erfarenheter (vilket konstateras av bland andra Bunar, 2010, 2015; Devine, 2009; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Pinson et al., 2010), särskilt utanför urbana skolmiljöer (men se Ljung Egeland, 2015; Romme Larsen, 2013; Wernesjö, 2015). Elevernas egna röster om sin skolsituation saknas i mångt och mycket, vilket utgör en brist i forskningen som denna avhandling vill bidra till att avhjälpa.

Den nationella och internationella forskning som finns kring nyanlända och/eller migrerade elevers utbildning domineras av tre delvis överlappande perspektiv som utgår från fokus på *rättigheter*, *språk* samt *levda erfarenheter och livsberättelser*. Det förstnämnda perspektivet tar ett brett grepp om nyanlända elevers rättigheter och analyserar hur de konstrueras i policytexter samt efterlevs i praktiken. Dessa studier, som ofta utgår från sociologiska teorier och synen på barnet som rättighetsbärare, visar på konflikter mellan olika politikområden, där migrationspolitiska överväganden riskerar att inskränka barnets rättigheter inom utbildningssystemet (Candappa, 2000; Christie & Sidhu, 2006; Pinson et al., 2010). Tendensen att se nyanlända elever ur ett bristperspektiv, där utgångspunkten för policy och praktik blir vad eleven saknar, påpekas också i ett flertal studier (Devine, 2013; Keddie, 2012a; Matthews,

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[54] Nyanlända är en social kategori för att hänvisa till elever som nyligen har migrerat till Sverige och som är nybörjare i det svenska språket och i den svenska skolan. När studien inleddes fanns ingen enhetlig definition för hur länge en elev är nyanländ men år 2016 antog riksdagen en proposition som fastställer tiden som nyanländ till fyra år (Proposition 2014/15:45, 2014).

2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Rutter, 2006). Spänningar inom forskningsområdet handlar om inkludering kontra exkludering; frågan om huruvida nyanlända elevers behov bäst adresseras inom ordinarie strukturer eller om separata lösningar krävs för att möta deras specifika behov (se t.ex. Candappa, 2016 för ett inlägg i denna diskussion). De flesta forskare på området förordar ett "inkluderande förhållningssätt" som utgår från elevens individuella behov och där vikten av att skapa ett välkomnande klimat och jämlika strukturer i det mottagande samhället understryks (Candappa, 2016; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Pinson et al., 2010; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012).

Språkperspektivet utgår förvisso från en specifik aspekt av nyanlända elevers utbildning, andraspråksinlärning, men adresserar även den bredare sociokulturella kontexten (Axelsson, 2004; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2004; Norton, 1997). Ur detta perspektiv betonas vikten av social interaktion för lärande och betydelsen av stöttande strukturer på både samhälls- och klassrumsnivå (Cummins, 2015; Gibbons, 2009; Thomas & Collier, 2002). En genomgående slutsats handlar om den tid det tar för en andraspråksinlärare att lära sig det skolspråk som behövs för att följa undervisningen på sitt andraspråk. Detta visar därmed på behovet – och vinsten – av att också ge utrymme för elevernas förstaspråk som resurs för lärande (Cummins, 1996, 2014, 2015, Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002).

Ett tredje perspektiv utgår från elevernas *levda erfarenheter och livsberättelser*, där deras erfarenheter tillmäts ett egenvärde. Forskare inom denna tradition, som till viss del agerar som elevernas språkrör, visar att elevernas levda erfarenheter kan belysa aspekter som inte annars blir synliga (Due & Riggs, 2009; Oikonomidoy, 2010). Elevernas berättelser ses ofta kretsa kring de sociala aspekterna av deras skoltillvaro samt förhandlingen kring likhet och skillnad som den innebär (Devine, 2009; Devine & Kelly, 2006; Oikonomidoy, 2010; Riggs & Due, 2010; Sigona & Hughes, 2012; Wernesjö, 2014). Flera forskare i Sverige, som undersöker elevernas syn på sin skolsituation, diskuterar den sociala inverkan av olika organisationsmodeller och påvisar paradoxen att elever kan uppleva sig inkluderade i förberedelseklassen[55] men ändå exkluderade från skolan i stort (Skowronski, 2013; Svensson & East-

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[55] I förberedelseklass ska undervisningen anpassas efter nyanlända elevers behov och förbereda dem för övergång till det ordinarie systemet. Betoningen ligger på undervisning i svenska som andraspråk men även andra ämnen kan ingå i undervisningen. År 2016 introducerades en gräns på två år för undervisning i förberedelseklass men med påpekandet att eleven inte endast ska ha undervisning i förberedelseklass utan även kontakt med ordinarie klasser. Undervisningen i förberedelseklassen i ett ämne ska upphöra så snart eleven bedöms kunna följa undervisningen i det ämnet i den ordinarie undervisningsgruppen, vilket innebär att undervisningen i olika ämnen successivt flyttas över till den ordinarie undervisningsgruppen (Proposition 2014/15:45, 2014).

mond, 2013). Elevernas egna berättelser visar också på deras egen agens i förhandlingen kring tillhörighet och inkludering i skolan (Devine, 2013; Dewilde & Skrefsrud, 2016; McGovern & Devine, 2016). Till sist dokumenterar forskningsgenomgången ett ökande intresse inom detta tredje perspektiv, för migrerade barn och ungas platsskapande samt känslomässiga och förkroppsligade erfarenheter av inkludering (Bondi et al., 2005; Christou, 2011; Zembylas, 2011).

Avhandlingen adresserar i viss mån alla tre nämnda perspektiv i de olika delstudierna och bidrar även till en utveckling av förståelsen av inkludering som tar hänsyn till emotioner och förkroppsligade erfarenheter situerade i tid och rum. Avhandlingens övergripande syfte är att utforska hur nyanlända elever upplever villkor för social inkludering och lärande i sina levda erfarenheter av övergångar inom det svenska skolsystemet. Följande forskningsfrågor har väglett studierna:

- Hur svarar det svenska skolsystemet mot nyanlända elevers utbildningsbehov? Vilka möjlighetsstrukturer skapas för den enskilda eleven? (Studie I)
- Hur upplever nyanlända elever tiden i, och övergången mellan, förberedelseklass och ordinarie klass, med hänsyn till villkor för social inkludering och lärande? (Studie II och III)
- Vad förmedlar nyanlända elevers rumsliga och förkroppsligade erfarenheter om deras villkor för social inkludering? (Studie III)
- Vad förmedlar en temporal analys av nyanlända elevers erfarenheter av skolövergångar om deras villkor för social inkludering och lärande? (Studie IV)

Metod och data

Strävan efter att närma sig elevernas *egna erfarenheter*, situerade i tid och rum, ligger bakom både det metodologiska valet av en etnografisk ansats och ett fenomenologiskt teoretiskt perspektiv i denna avhandling. Båda perspektiven (se Frykman & Gilje, 2003) delar ett intresse för den situerade positionen hos individen som erfar världen. För att försöka fånga dessa erfarenheter i den miljö där de skapas, genomfördes ett fältarbete med en etnografisk ansats, där semi-strukturerade intervjuer med elever kombinerades med deltagande observation i klassrumsmiljö, i både förberedelseklasser och ordinarie klasser.

För att försöka fånga kommuners skilda förutsättningar för mottagande av ny-anlända elever, valdes tre olika stora kommuner. Fältarbetet i de tre kommunerna delades upp på tre tidscykler under 15 månaders tid. Sammanlagt följdes 22 elever, 12 flickor och 10 pojkar, i åldrarna 14-16 år. Eleverna kom från en rad olika länder, Afghanistan, Algeriet, Egypten, Gambia, Irak, Peru, Ryssland, Somalia, Thailand, Uganda och Vietnam, och var också heterogena i termer av skolbakgrund (9 elever hade ingen eller ofullständig skolbakgrund medan 13 elever hade en fullständig skolbakgrund när de anlände till Sverige). Eleverna hade anlänt till kommunerna mellan två år och en vecka före fältarbetets början. De flesta kom till Sverige med en vuxen familjemedlem men fyra elever var ensamkommande. Eleverna var antingen asylsökande eller hade fått uppehållstillstånd som anhöriga eller flyktingar. Vetenskapsrådets forskningsetiska principer (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) har väglett studien, alla deltagare gav informerat samtycke till att delta i studien och deras namn har anonymiserats i presentationen av data.

Avhandlingens data har analyserats ur olika teoretiska perspektiv och på varierande analytiska nivåer. *Studie I* är en policyanalys som syftar till att ge en samhällelig kontextualisering av avhandlingen genom att kritiskt diskutera hur det svenska utbildningssystemet på legal, organisatorisk och pedagogisk nivå svarar mot nyanlända elevers utbildningsbehov. Ett sociokulturellt, ekologiskt perspektiv, så som det utvecklats av migrationsforskare, och specifikt begreppet post-migrationsekologi (Anderson et al., 2004; Rutter, 2006), används som ramverk. Analysen innefattar internationella och svenska vetenskapliga studier samt policydokument och rapporter på nationell, regional och lokal nivå. *Studie II* fokuserar på skolans organisatoriska nivå och den klassrumsmiljö som nyanlända elever befinner sig i. Studien utgår från ett sociokulturellt perspektiv på lärande (Vygotskij, 1978), och undersöker hur eleverna upplever tiden i och övergången mellan förberedelseklass och ordinarie klass utifrån deras situation som nyanlända elever/andraspråksinlärare (Gibbons, 2009; Mariani, 1997; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002).

Medan de två första studierna utgår från ett sociokulturellt perspektiv försöker *Studie III* och *Studie IV* komma närmare elevernas upplevelser genom ett kritiskt fenomenologiskt perspektiv. Studie III analyserar elevernas förkroppsligade och emotionella erfarenheter av att inkluderas i ett ordinarie klassrum i en i stort sett enspråkig skolmiljö. Fokus är på de spatiala aspekterna av inkludering som förstås utifrån begrepp som orientering (*orientation*) och linjer (*being in line*; *being out of line)* (Ahmed, 2006). Studie IV använder ett kritiskt fenomenologiskt perspektiv på temporalitet tillsammans med narrativa ansatser på berättelser och berättelsefragment (Brekke, 2010; Brockmeier, 1995; Ezzy, 2000; Griffiths, 2014), för att fokusera på de temporala aspekterna av elevernas erfarenheter. Studien undersöker vad de levda erfarenheterna av

övergången till gymnasiet och språkintroduktionsprogrammet gör med upplevelsen av tid och relationen mellan levd och önskad skolkarriär.

Fynd och sammanfattande diskussion

Analyserna i avhandlingen visar att elevernas levda erfarenheter av skolövergångar kan förstås utifrån tre temporala och spatiala mönster: parallella skolliv, en avbruten dåtid och en uppskjuten framtid.

Policyanalysen i Studie I och genomgången av tidigare forskning visar att de strukturella villkoren och organisatoriska principerna för nyanlända elevers utbildning karaktäriseras av kollektiva lösningar i avskildhet från det ordinarie systemet, vilket skapar utrymme för att göra en värdemässig skillnad mellan olika kategorier av elever (se också Devine, 2013). Det finns även en risk att skolor, som agerar på en konkurrensinriktad skolmarknad, ser nyanlända elever som kostsamma och oönskade, givet deras legitima rätt till, och behov av, stöd (Bunar, 2008; Devine, 2013; Rutter, 2006; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). Förberedelseklassen och dess varianter på både grundskole- och gymnasienivå (språkintroduktion) bygger på idén om att skapa ett tillfälligt parallellt spår, där undervisningen kan anpassas efter nyanlända elevers behov. Vad analyserna i denna avhandling visar är att den organisatoriska principen om åtskillnad, reflekteras på nivån av levd erfarenhet och kvarstår till viss del även efter övergång till det ordinarie systemet (Studie II och III).

Studie II visar att undervisningen i de ordinarie klasserna präglas av hög utmaning och lite stöd, medan snarast det omvända gäller i förberedelseklasserna (sett över tid och då särskilt vad gäller skolerfarna elever). Eleverna efterfrågar en anpassning av undervisningen i de ordinarie klasserna, utifrån deras skilda utgångspunkter och genom att lärarna förklarar det ämnesspecifika språket som används i undervisningen. Det visar sig också att elevernas modersmål är en underutnyttjad resurs i det ordinarie klassrummet. Eleverna påpekar att studiehandledning på modersmålet är särskilt viktigt efter övergången till den ordinarie klassen. Vid sidan av praktiska och ekonomiska skäl till att studiehandledning underutnyttjas, visar även Studie II and III att det finns en monolingvistisk norm i det ordinarie skolsystemet. Detta var främst synligt i den lilla kommunen, där flertalet av skolans elever var enspråkiga på svenska. De nyanlända eleverna i denna skola upplevde att modersmålet hade en negativ status och vissa lärare hade också ett uttalat förhållningssätt om att "här är det svenska som gäller" (se också Blommaert et al., 2006; Cummins, 2014; Rosén & Bagga-Gupta, 2015). Eleverna berättar också om den kroppsliga känslan av att inte förstå det som sägs och skammen över att behöva extra stöd, vilket ofta gör att de tystnar i det ordinarie klassrummet.

Kunskap i svenska är det officiella villkoret för övergång från förberedelseklass till den ordinarie klassen, och också det som eleverna ser som den informella nyckeln för att kunna uppnå social inkludering, men vad avhandlingen visar genom ett kritiskt fenomenologiskt perspektiv är att det finns andra mer subtila inkluderingsvillkor. Studie III visar att en språkligt homogen skola där potentialen för att lära känna svensktalande vänner kan antas vara hög, kan upplevas som en exkluderande miljö. Genom Ahmeds (2006) begrepp orientering och linjer, blir det tydligt att eleverna orienterar sig själva och positioneras av andra i relation till en "svensk" norm som karaktäriserar den ordinarie klassen och från vilken de ses avvika. Den levda erfarenheten av att hamna utanför utspelar sig i relation till plats och ger kroppsliga förnimmelser (som "att sitta på glöd" som en elev beskrev det). Förberedelseklassen upplevdes däremot som en inkluderande plats, men som präglas av exkludering i relation till skolan i stort (det är inte den "riktiga" eller den "vanliga" klassen).

Förberedelseklassens parallellitet utspelar sig inte bara i relation till *plats* utan även i relation till *tid*. Studie IV visar hur förberedelseklassverksamheten präglas av en delvis parallell temporal linje, som har förlorat kontakten med den upplevda progressiva, linjära tiden som präglar det ordinarie systemet. Diskrepansen mellan upplevd egen tid och upplevelsen av de andra ("reguljära") elevernas linjära progression kan här ses utifrån tidigare forskning där förberedelseklassen beskrivs som ett väntrum (Jepson Wigg, 2011; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013) och tillstånd av permanent tillfällighet (Skowronski, 2013). Studie IV visar också att de elever som genomgått övergången till gymnasiet men som hamnat i ännu en förberedande verksamhet (språkintroduktion) beskriver att de upplever en temporalitet som är associerad med upprepning, långsam tid och fördröjning. De strukturella villkoren, organisatoriska principerna och de sociala och pedagogiska praktikerna på klassrumsnivå, som även reflekteras på nivån av levd erfarenhet, riskerar därmed att slussa in eleverna i ett *parallellt skolliv*.

Nyanlända elevers skolövergångar kan också förstås som en *avbruten dåtid*. Inte bara i termer av att nyanlända elever har lämnat ett skolsystem bakom sig, med andra villkor för lärande och inkludering, utan också på grund av svårigheten för det svenska utbildningssystemet att överbrygga gapet mellan nutid och dåtid genom att inte ta vara på elevernas tidigare kunskaper.[56] Studie I och tidigare forskning visar att utbildningssystemet ofta är inriktat på vad eleverna saknar – det vill säga kunskap i svenska – snarare än på de kunskaper eleverna redan faktiskt besitter (språkliga och ämnesmässiga). Bristfällig kartläggning

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[56] När studien inleddes var kartläggning av tidigare kunskap endast en rekommendation, sedan början av år 2016 har detta dock blivit ett lagstadgat krav.

av tidigare kunskap och brist på studiehandledning på modersmålet, vilket efterfrågas i policytexter men ofta saknas i praktiken, är exempel på detta. Implicit bygger detta synsätt på ett bristperspektiv (eller enspråkighetsdogm) som omedvetet placerar ansvaret för inkludering på den enskilda eleven (Devine, 2013; Keddie, 2012a; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Rutter, 2006). Den tid som andraspråksforskningen visar att det i många fall tar att lära sig skolspråket (fem år eller mer, se Cummins, 1996), visar också på nödvändigheten av att både utnyttja elevens modersmål och bedriva en språkmedveten ämnesundervisning.

Analyser av elevernas levda erfarenheter utifrån ett fenomenologiskt och narrativt perspektiv, visar även på existentiella och emotionella dimensioner av en avbruten dåtid. Studie IV visar att erfarenheten av utdragna vistelser i förberedande skolformer innebär att eleverna tvingas hantera upplevelsen av att inte längre vara den (goda) elev de en gång var. Samtidigt som klasskamraterna i det tidigare landet avancerar i "vanlig" takt, upplever de sig stå stilla eller avancera mycket långsamt. Elevernas berättelser visar den stress och frustration de erfar när gapet mellan deras levda och önskade *(imagined)* skolkarriär successivt ökar. Dåtidens progressiva bana bryts i samband med övergången till ett nytt skolsystem men kvarstår som en referenspunkt för deras levda skolkarriärer.

Levda erfarenheter av skolövergångar handlar också om en *uppskjuten framtid*. Eleverna berättar inte bara om vem de är just nu och vem de har varit utan förmedlar också tankar om vem de vill bli. I berättelserna framträder en stark önskan om "att bli som en av alla andra". Förväntningen att detta ska uppnås genom att gå över från förberedelseklassen till den ordinarie klassen, möter dock hinder av anledningar som redovisas ovan. En uppskjuten framtid handlar också om att övergången till gymnasiet inte blir vad eleverna hade hoppats på. En analys som sträcker sig över tid och tar hänsyn till temporala aspekter av elevernas erfarenheter, synliggör något av en kräftgång i elevernas utbildningsbana, då de i samband med övergången till gymnasiet återigen placeras i en förberedande skolform. Ingen av de elever som gick över till gymnasiet under fältarbetets gång lyckades nå de höjda intagningskraven till nationella program på gymnasiet, utan fick börja i språkintroduktionsklass, oavsett om de redan hade gått över till en ordinarie klass eller ej under tiden i årskurs nio. Studie IV visar att språkintroduktion på gymnasiet upplevs som "samma sak igen" och kan utgöra en upplevelse av blockering i tid och rum (Ahmed, 2012). När David i Studie IV uppgivet säger att han kommer vara 25 år när han slutar gymnasiet, berör han både de strukturella villkoren (där elever på språkintroduktion har tillgång till färre ämnen och studerar i ett annat tempo) och den temporala osäkerheten om huruvida han någonsin kommer att nå sina mål. Upplevelsen av att behöva repetera och göra om, skapar ett ökande avstånd inte bara mellan drömmar och levd verklighet utan också mellan ens

egen tid och andras tid. En förståelse av elevernas levda erfarenhet av skolövergångar som en uppskjuten framtid handlar således också om det som *inte* händer, vad de emotionella konsekvenserna blir för ens självbild, motivation och känslor av tillhörighet.

Sammanfattningsvis bidrar avhandlingen med kunskap om nyanlända elever och deras situerade erfarenheter av det svenska skolsystemet. Skolövergångar används som en kritisk utsiktspunkt, genom vilken elevernas upplevelser av villkor för lärande och inkludering analyseras. Övergångar är emotionellt laddade med hopp om social inkludering, önskan om möjligheter för lärande och en chans att komma i linje med omgivningen och den egna önskade skolkarriären. Avhandlingen visar att för att detta ska bli möjligt krävs satsningar på att stärka övergången till det ordinarie systemet. Elevens tidigare kunskaper och modersmål behöver tas tillvara och användas som en resurs för lärande. För att eleverna ska kunna lära sig svenska, jämsides med andra ämnen, behöver ämneslärare också kunna förklara de ämnesspecifika termerna och (språkliga) textstrukturerna. För att eleverna inte ska bli vad Putnam (1995) kallar *islands in the mainstream* krävs också ett medvetet förhållningssätt till social inkludering.

Genom att anlägga ett kritiskt fenomenologiskt perspektiv, bidrar avhandlingen till en utveckling av förståelsen av inkludering. Istället för att utgå från på förhand definierade skillnader, ses skillnad som något som är *relationellt* skapat och som levs i och genom kroppen. Upplevelsen av att vara inkluderad men ändå känna sig som *out of place* (Ahmed, 2006), visar att inkludering och exkludering inte är ömsesidigt uteslutande utan att *inkludering kan fungera exkluderande*. Som Ahmed (2012) påpekar, kan inkluderingsdiskursen göra individen som ska inkluderas till själva problemet. Avhandlingen visar på en tendens att förlägga ansvaret för inkludering på individen (som är ansvarig för att tona ned sin påstådda skillnad), på enskilda lärare (förberedelseklassläraren som tar ansvar även efter övergång till det ordinarie) och på enskilda skolor (som tar emot ett oproportionerligt stort antal nyanlända elever). Risken finns då att brister i det ordinarie systemet osynliggörs under en fasad av inkludering. Avhandlingen visar på vikten av att avgöra vad som är inkludering genom att lyssna till erfarenheterna hos dem som ska bli inkluderade. Vidare ger avhandlingen ett teoretiskt bidrag genom att se erfarenhet som förkroppsligad och emotionellt skapad, i relation till både tid och rum, vilket öppnar upp för tidigare outforskade dimensioner av inkludering.

Appendices

In what follows, a number of tables will provide an overview of the students' background and progression over the fieldwork period. Tables 2, 4 and 6 provide a description of the students at the three schools in terms of gender, country of origin, mother tongue (L1), migration status, school background, arrival in Sweden, enrolment at school, year of birth and grade placement. The difference referred to in parenthesis in the last column concerns the difference between actual grade placement and age group. Tables 3, 5 and 7 sketch the development over time for the students at the three schools in terms of number of terms spent in introductory class (IC), gradual or complete transition to regular class (RC), access to Swedish as a second language (SSL) support in regular class, access to subject support in the mother tongue in introductory or regular class, number of grades, plan for autumn 2012 and finally the status, in terms of school placement/programme enrolment, for autumn 2012 and autumn 2013.

Table 2. Overview of the students in the S-school

Student	Gender	Country of origin	L1	Migration status	School background	Arrival in Swe	Enrolment in S-school	Yr of birth	Grade placement autumn 2011(diff)
Angelina	F	Iraq	Arab.	Refugee	Complete	Oct 09	Oct 09	1997	8 (0)
Lilian	F	Iraq	Arab.	Refugee	Complete but irregul.	Oct 09	Oct 09	1996	8 (-1)
Anna	F	Thailand	Thai	Family	Complete	April 10	April 10	1995	9 (-1)
Amina	F	Afghanistan	Dari	Refugee	0 years	Nov 10	Nov 10	1996	7 (-2)
Kim	M	Vietnam	Viet.	Family	Complete	Mars 09	Mars 09	1995	9 (-1)

Table 3. Progression over time for the students in the S-school

Student	Nr of terms in IC by 06-2012	Complete transition to RC by 06-2012	Gradual transition, which subjects?	Access to SSL support in RC	Access to L1 subject support (IC and/or RC)	Nr of grades by 06-2012	Plan for autumn 2012	Status autumn 2012	Status autumn 2013
Angelina	3	Yes, from Aug 2011	Yes, PE, music +soc. sci	Yes, ind support IC teacher	No, not in RC	16	Grade 9	Grade 9	IB prog
Lilian	5	No	Yes, PE, cooking + arts, bio ++ soc. sci, nat. sci	N/A	No	6	Redo grade 8	Grade 8 + IC	Grade 9
Anna	4	No	Yes, PE, arts and crafts	N/A	No	3	Language intro	Language intro	Language intro
Amina	3	No	Yes, crafts and PE	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	IC + gradual transition grade 8	Moved municipality	No info
Kim	2	Yes, from autumn 2011	Yes, PE and arts	Yes, ind support IC+SSL teacher	Yes, in IC and RC	13[57]	Language intro	Ind. Alternative (maths, Eng., Swe)[58]	Carpenter's prog

[57] Missing grades in Swedish, English and Religion.

[58] In practice treated as an extension of the language introduction programme but with the added possibility to gain grades (which at this particular school was not possible within the language introduction programme).

Table 4. Overview of the students in the M-school

Student	Gender	Country of origin	L1	Migration status	School background	Arrival in Swe	Enrolment in M-school	Yr of birth	Grade placement autumn 2011(diff)
Shakar	M	Iraq	Sorani	Family	Complete	July 11	Aug 11	1997	8 (0)[59]
Sami	M	Iraq	Arab.	Refugee	Incomplete (2,5 yrs, illiterate)	Oct 09	Nov 09	1997	8 (0)
Jocke	M	Thailand	Thai	Family	Incomplete (5 yrs, illiterate)	July 10	Aug 10	1997	8 (0)
Yasmin	F	Iraq	Arab.	Refugee	Incomplete (3 yrs, illiterate)	April 09	May 09	1996	9 (0)
Leyla	F	Somalia	Som.	Refugee (unaccom.)	Incomplete (home-schooling)	July 09	Dec 09[60]	1996	9 (0)
Ahmad	M	Afghan.	Dari	Refugee (unaccom.)	Incomplete (0 yrs, illiterate)	June 10	Feb 11[61]	1996	9 (0)
Farideh	F	Somalia	Som.	Refugee	Incomplete (3 yrs Koraan school)	March 08[62]	Sep 10	1996 or 97?	7 (-2)
Carolina	F	Peru	Span.	Family	Complete	Nov 10	Jan 11	1996	9 (0)
Mike	M	Russia	Russia/Aram	Family	Complete	Sep 10	Nov 10	1996	8 (-1)

[59] After protests from Shakar. The original plan was to place Shakar in grade 7 after transition to the regular class, resulting in -1 year.

[60] Leyla moved municipalities after arrival to Sweden and hence attended another school before coming to the M-school in Dec 09.

[61] Ahmad moved municipalities after arrival to Sweden and hence attended other schools before coming to the M-school in Feb 11.

[62] Farideh moved municipalities and hence attended another school before coming to the M-school in Sep 10.

Table 5. Progression over time for the students in the M-school

Student	Nr of terms in IC by 06-2012	Complete transition to RC by 06-2012	Gradual transition, which subjects?	Access to SSL support in RC	Access to L1 subject support (IC and/or RC)	Nr of grades by 06-2012	Plan for autumn 2012	Status autumn 2012	Status autumn 2013
Shakar	1,5	Yes, from Jan 2012	No. Direct transition	No	Yes, in IC and RC[63]	9[64]	Grade 9	Grade 9	Nat.Sci programme
Sami	6	No	No	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	IC level 2	IC level 2	Language intro
Jocke	5	No	No	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	IC level 2	IC level 2	Language intro
Yasmin	6	No	No	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	Language intro	Language intro	Moved municipality
Leyla	4,5[65]	No	Yes, English and crafts	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	Language intro	Moved municipality	No info
Ahmad	2	No	No	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	Language intro	Language intro but change of schools	Language intro at new school
Farideh	2,5[66]	Yes, from Jan 2012	No. Direct transition	No	Yes, in IC. After 1 term also in RC	0	Grade 8	Grade 8	Grade 9
Carolina	3	No	No	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	Language intro	Language intro	Language intro?
Mike	2,5	Yes, from Jan 2012	No. Direct transition	No	Yes, in IC, not in RC	5	Grade 9	Grade 9	Language intro

[63] The M-school had decided to double the amount of hours for subject support in the mother tongue allocated to Shakar, i.e. 2 hours/week due to his level of ambition in school and potential to follow the tuition in RC (according to conversation with special education teacher).
[64] Shakar achieved grades in 9 subjects after 1 term enrolment in RC at M-school, missing only grades in English and Swedish as a second language.
[65] Leyla disappeared from the school and the municipality in the early spring term of 2012.
[66] Farideh had spent an additional year in introductory class in another municipality.

Table 6. Overview of the students in the L-school

Student	Gender	Country of origin	L1	Migration status	School background	Arrival in Swe	Enrolment in L-school	Yr of birth	Grade placement autumn 2011(diff)
Nora	F	Egypt	Arab.	Family?	Complete (Eng school)	Sep 11	Oct 11	1996	9 (0)
Aram	M	Iraq	Sorani	Family	Complete but irreg.	Jul 10	Aug 10	1996	9 (0)
David	M	Uganda	Lu-anda/Eng	Family	Complete	Sep 10	Dec 10	1995	9 (-1)
Yussuf	M	Sweden/Algeria[67]	Arab.	Family	Complete	July 11	Aug 11	1996	8 (-1)
Ali	M	Somalia	Som.	Refugee (unaccom)	Incomplete (2 yrs in Koraan school)	Oct 09	Oct 09	1996	9 (0)
Lara	F	Somalia	Som.	Refugee (unaccom)	Incomplete (2 yrs in Koraan school)	Oct 09	Jan 10	1996	9 (0)
Maria	F	Egypt	Arab.	Asylum seeker	Complete	Sep 11	Oct 11	1996	9 (0)
Gaza	F	Gambia	Mandinka/Eng	Family	Complete	Jan 11	April 11	1996	9 (0)

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[67] Yussuf was born in Sweden, grew up in Algeria and then returned to Sweden.

Table 7. Progression over time for the students in the L-school

Student	Nr of terms in IC by 06-2012	Complete transition to RC by 06-2012	Gradual transition, which subjects?	Access to SSL support in RC	Access to L1 subject support (IC and/or RC)	Nr of grades by 06-2012	Plan for autumn 2012	Status autumn 2012	Status autumn 2013
Nora	1,5	No	Yes, math	N/A	Yes in IC	5	Language intro	Language intro	Language intro, new school[68]
Aram	2,5	Yes, from Nov 2011	No. Direct transition	Yes, in small group[69]	Yes, in IC and RC	3	Language intro	Language intro	Language intro
David	1,5	Yes, from Nov 2011	Yes, PE	Yes, in small group[70]	Yes, in IC and RC	9	Language intro	Language intro	Carpenters' prog
Yussuf	1	Yes, from Nov 2011	No. Direct transition	No	Yes, in IC and RC	0	Grade 9	Grade 9	No info
Ali	2	Yes, since Aug 2010[71]	No. Direct transition	Yes, in small group	Yes, in IC, not in RC	8	Language intro	Language intro	Preparand, new school[72]
Lara	3	Yes, since Aug 2011	No. Direct transition	Yes, in small group	Yes, in IC, not in RC	5	Language intro	Language intro	Language intro
Maria	1,5	No	No	N/A	Yes in IC	4	Language intro	Language intro	Language intro, new school
Gaza	2,5	No	Yes, English	N/A	Yes, in IC	0	Language intro	Language intro	No info

[68] Only missing grade in Swedish as a second language.

[69] A decision was made by the headmaster that David and Aram should not study the natural sciences after transition to the regular class (so called "adapted rate of study" [*anpassad studiegång*]. Aram and David got SSL support in a small group, arranged specifically for students in transition from IC to RC.

[70] See previous footnote.

[71] Ali and Lara were already in RC when the fieldwork began. Information about their time in IC are based on retrospective information in interviews with the students and their teachers.

[72] Only missing grade in Swedish as a second language.

Finally, table 8 provides an overview of the layout and time-frame of the field-work in the three schools:

Table 8. Overview of the time-frame of the fieldwork

Time	Task
April-Aug 2011	Preparation of fieldwork: selection and access
Sep-Oct 2011	Fieldwork S-school, cycle 1
Oct-Nov 2011	Fieldwork L-school, cycle 1
Nov-Dec 2011	Fieldwork M-school, cycle 1
Dec-Jan 2012	Processing of collected data
Feb 2012	Fieldwork S-school, cycle 2
March 2012	Fieldwork L-school, cycle 2
April 2012	Fieldwork M-school, cycle 2
May-Sep 2012	Processing of collected data
Oct 2012	Fieldwork S-school, cycle 3
Nov 2012	Fieldwork L-school, cycle 3
Dec 2012	Fieldwork M-school, cycle 3

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