"Welcome to Sweden…": Newly Arrived Students' Experiences of Pedagogical and Social Provision in Introductory and Regular Classes[*]

Jenny NILSSON[**]
Stockholm University, Sweden

Monica AXELSSON
Stockholm University, Sweden

Abstract

Education for newly arrived students in Sweden is commonly organised in introductory classes, providing a basis for transition to the mainstream system. Focusing on the hitherto underinvestigated question of how newly arrived students experience the time in and transition between introductory and regular classes, we analyse the social and pedagogical resources these two contexts provide based on interviews with students who arrived during the last years of lower secondary school. The research was conducted during 15 months at three schools in municipalities of different sizes, comprising 82 days of participant observation, 16 interviews with teachers and 61 semi-structured interviews with 22 students. Pointing to the tendency of allocating responsibility for newly arrived students' education solely to the introductory class or the individual student, we argue that social and pedagogical provision also needs to be made in the mainstream system in order for school to fulfil its inclusive and educational aim.

Keywords: Newly arrived students; Second language learning; Academic literacy; Social inclusion; Study guidance in L1.

Introduction

Newly arrived students is the term used in both the academic and education policy discourse in Sweden to describe students arriving from abroad during the time of primary or secondary school and who do not yet master the main language of instruction, i.e. Swedish. Despite the fact that the term "newly arrived" is a temporal definition, there is no unitary definition, neither nationally nor internationally, of the

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[**] ✉ Jenny Nilsson, Department of Child and Youth Studies, Stockholm University, S-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden, +46 8 -12 07 63 16, jenny.nilsson@buv.su.se

length of time a student is to be regarded as newly arrived (Bunar, 2010). The suggestion from a recent government inquiry in Sweden is that a student should only be regarded as newly arrived up to four years from arrival, with certain resources being tied to this time-frame (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2013). Moreover, the term "newly arrived students" encompasses a heterogeneity in terms of immigration reasons and statuses[1], variation in school background and the countries that the students come from, which will become evident in the description of the students studied and presented in the following article.

Similarly to the broad definitional framework, the organizational models that the students encounter include a plethora of local variations. Indeed the high degree of local variation in absence of a common educational policy, has been claimed to lead to uneven quality and arbitrariness in the education of newly arrived students (Bunar, 2010; Matthews, 2008; Pinson & Arnot, 2009). The existing local introduction models can broadly be categorised into two models: introductory classes and direct-integration into the mainstream. The most common placement model is introductory classes[2], in which newly arrived students receive intensive tuition in Swedish as a second language (SSL) and to varying extents instruction in other subjects as well as study-guidance in the student's first language (L1)[3]. The students stay in the introductory class until they are deemed ready to move to regular classes, the transition to which is usually gradual. Following Short's (2002) study in the US, the introductory classes can be organised in different ways. There are in-school programs, meaning that the newly-arrived students are in a separate class in a school but the intention is to provide them the opportunity to interact and cooperate with other students, as well as a separate-site model for introduction, whereby students attend a different school to the one they administratively belong to. Furthermore, Short describes a whole-school model which refers to a whole educational program tailored to newcomers in which they can follow through to upper secondary education. The issue of which placement model is most suitable has been a topic of much discussion within research as well as among practitioners in the field, in terms of the effects on linguistic, social and academic development (Allen, 2006; Axelsson & Norrbacka Landsberg, 1998; Castro Feinberg, 2000; Rodell-Olgac, 1995; Short, 2002). However, previous studies have seldom consulted newly arrived students on how they themselves experience different organisational contexts and what these entail for their perceived possibilities for development (Bunar, 2010; Hek, 2005).

In the following article the aim is to explore the views of a number of newly arrived students regarding the challenges and opportunities they experience in accessing pedagogical and social resources in the introductory and regular class and how they perceive transition between the two contexts. The article mainly draws on interview data, collected as part of a larger ethnographic research project. Using Thomas and Collier's (1997; 2002) theoretical framework and empirical studies as well as Mariani's (1997) and Gibbon's (2009) notion of challenge and support, the comparative focus is

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[1] From 01-07-2013 undocumented migrants also have the legislated right to attend school from kindergarten to upper secondary school.

[2] The common practice of placing newly arrived students in introductory classes ("förberedelseklasser") finds no support in the educational directives. However, muncipalities arrange such classes with support from the legislation regarding special educational needs ("särskild undervisningsgrupp"). A recent government inquiry (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2013) has questioned this practice, suggesting the need to regard the education of newly arrived students not within the framework of special educational needs but as an introduction to the Swedish school system. The inquiry stresses the need to arrange such education as closely as possible to the mainstream system, with a time-limit of a year in introductory classes, if no special requirements exist (ibid.). Meaning that the subject matter Swedish is explained using students' L1.

on pedagogical resources, here limited to the usages of first (L1) and second language (L2) for academic development as well as social resources, akin to the components of what Thomas and Collier (1997; 2002) describe as a socio-culturally supportive environment, here taken to mean interaction with teachers, peers and encouragement of a sense of belonging in the class and school as a whole. Our analysis points to the risk of creating exclusionary environments, in both introductory and regular classes, if the mainstream system fails to develop social and pedagogical resources that cater for newly arrived students' needs.

Second language acquisition (SLA) as a social practice

In the early history of second language research, focus was mainly on SLA as an individual cognitive mental process (Corder, 1967; Selinker, 1972) isolated from the social context. At the end of the nineties this view was criticized for the lack of explanatory power of the role of social interaction in language learning (van Lier, 1996; Firth & Wagner, 1997). Firth and Wagner's report on second language learners' creative way of handling short-comings in language proficiency when interacting in conversations, thus criticized the deficit-perspective of the second language learner. Their research added a new branch, language use, to the language learning field. A connecting question is whether cognition is seen as exclusively individual or as socially distributed. The latter view, emanating from Vygotsky (1962) and embraced by Lantolf (2000) points out the impossibility of separating individual and social processes, language learning and language use, since individuals constantly learn and develop in interaction with the social and cultural environment (Sandwall, 2013). Viewing language learning more as a social practice than an individual process focuses on the individual interacting in a social environment (Lindberg, 2009; Norton, 1997; Pavlenko, 2002). Within this post-structural perspective of language use, societal power relations as well as identity formation are studied, taking into account attitudes expressed by majority speakers which result in exclusionary processes that affect migrants' learning situation. For the present study the point of departure is that a newly arrived student will use and learn language through participation in the social world comprising school, community and society and thus enter in a relational interdependency of agent and world (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Due to its multi-faceted perspective on the provisions for second language learners' school-success (linguistic, academic and social) we use the theoretical framework developed by Thomas and Collier (1997; 2002) paired with theory on scaffolding by Gibbons (2009) and Mariani (1997) as the basis for our analyses.

Education of multilingual students

Newly arrived students aiming at integration into the mainstream school system have certain basic needs similar to those described for multilingual students in general. As a result of their extensive empirical work on school-success for multilingual students in the US, Thomas and Collier (1997; 2002) have formed a theory comprising four necessary interacting components for this education: language, academic and cognitive development and a socio-culturally supportive environment (Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002)[4].

Central to the education of the multilingual student is a socio-culturally supportive environment including social and cultural processes for everyday life within the family, at school and in society. Factors influencing second language development are the individual's emotional answer to the school in form of self-esteem, anxiety, frustration

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[4] During 1982 and 1999, Thomas and Collier studied the school career for over 50 000 multilingual students from kindergarten to year 12 in 15 states and 23 school districts in the US.

and other affective factors. Of importance is whether instructional orientations result in competitive or collaborative classrooms, if the organisation of the school facilitates or impedes contact between students and on an overall level, whether the school has a conscious and reflective approach to the relation between majority and minority. In the community, prejudices and discriminatory processes reflected in personal and/or professional contexts affect everyday life. In society, the status of the minority group has great impact on the individual's self-image and experience of her possibilities at school and in society at large. Furthermore, overall attitudes and values in the majority society as well as integrative and political patterns in terms of acculturation or assimilation play an important role.

The second component, language development, incorporates both development of the second language and continuous development of the first as well as literacy development in both languages. Second language development, at every level of proficiency, benefits from a natural and rich use of spoken and written language. Furthermore, both languages are needed to secure an on-going language and knowledge development for school success.

Academic development, the third component, includes all subjects for each grade level and becomes a central part of second language development once the student has a foundation in the second language. Each year the academic content gets more cognitively demanding with increased specific vocabulary, subject specific genres and language structures demanding more developed texts. Uninterrupted academic development involves the first language for at least as long as the second language is developing. Academic knowledge acquired in earlier schooling is considered of great value, facilitating development of the second language (Thomas & Collier, 2002).

The fourth component, cognitive development, starts at birth and continues through life and is deeply connected to the above three components. To ensure the ongoing development of the thought processes of multilingual students, scaffolding of cognitively demanding tasks is necessary in both L1 and L2, instead of simplifying and watering down the academic content (Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002; Cummins, 2000).

All four processes are seen as strongly interacting, dependent on each other and necessary for successful language and academic development. Instruction for multilingual students should accommodate developmental needs on several levels and contribute to a beneficent environment for learning at school, taking all aspects into account (Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002; Rutter, 2006).

Challenge and support

Central to our investigation of challenges and opportunities experienced by the newly arrived students is the concept of scaffolding, situated help, which has been put forward by Gibbons (2002; 2009). Scaffolding is in accordance with Vygotsky'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 and can also be connected to the work by Thomas and Collier (1997; 2002). Scaffolding, defined as being temporary, future oriented and with a focus on how to do things (Gibbons, 2009), was described by Mariani (1997) as comprising 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 her own) and high support (the scaffolding needed to complete the task successfully). In our analysis of introductory and regular classes, we will consider each educational environment according to the level of challenge and support it offers.
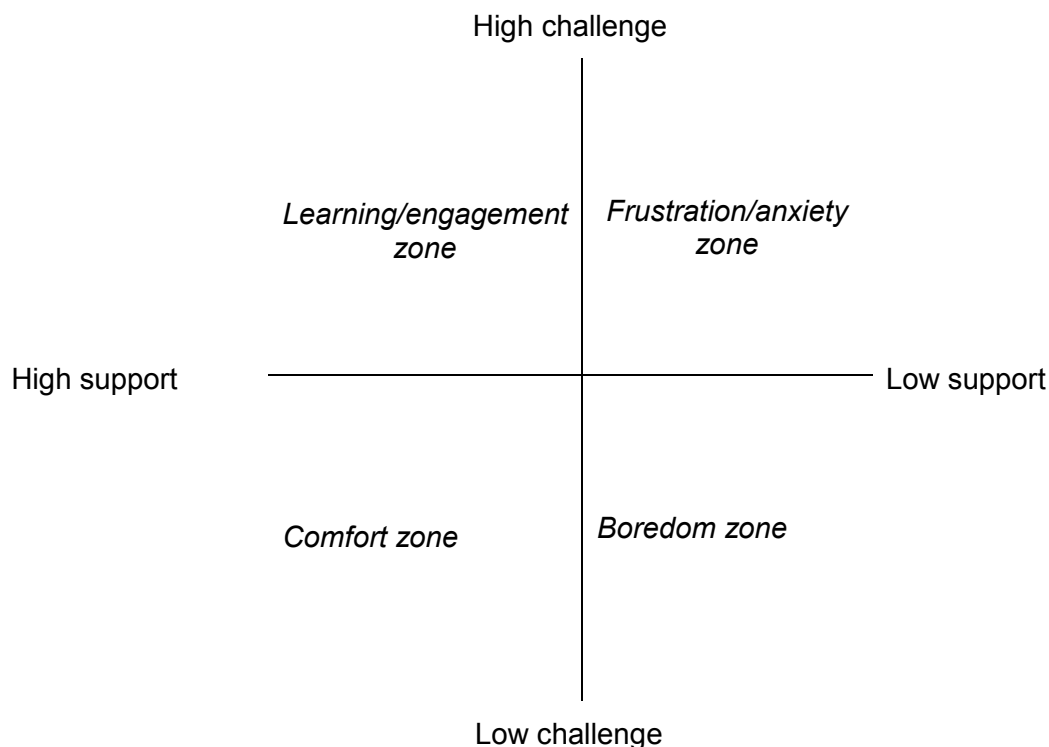
High challenge

Learning/engagement zone | Frustration/anxiety zone

High support — Low support

Comfort zone | Boredom zone

Low challenge

Figure 1. Four zones of teaching and learning (Gibbons, 2009:16; Mariani, 1997)

Method

The three schools

In order to capture the highly varied conditions for reception and introduction of newly arrived students in Sweden, the study was conducted in three schools in municipalities of different sizes. The small municipality has approximately 26 000 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 set in one of the two town schools (cf. Short, 2002). In the autumn term of 2011, the entire school had 460 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. The school in question mainly consists of students who are L1 Swedish-speakers, while the proportion of multilingual students with Swedish as their second language (SSL) make up approximately 3 % of the total school population[5] (the school will hereafter be referred to as the S-school pertaining to the small size of the municipality)[6].

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[5] The facts and figures regarding the three schools are based on information provided by the respective schools, in interviews with headmasters and teachers.
[6] The proportion of multilingual students in grade 1-9 on the national level was according to the National board of education, 21 % in the school year of 2011/2012 http://www.skolverket.se/statistik_och_analys.

The mid-size municipality is dominated by a city of approximately 139 000 inhabitants (2011). The city has a central unit responsible for organizing introductory classes for newly arrived students, which are located at two schools in the city - so called "host schools". The host 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 organizational units. The study was both conducted in the introductory classes of one of the host schools (M-school 1), and in the regular classes of one of the corresponding home schools (M-school 2). 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 (M-school 2) had 600 students, 30 % of whom were multilingual and spoke Swedish as a second language.

In the large municipality, set in an urban area, there were 861 000 inhabitants in year 2011. At the school in question (L-school), located in a north-western suburb of the city, there were 588 students in grades K-6, 7-9. The L-school has had a large proportion of multilingual students for many years. The headmaster's estimation is that 100 % of the students are multilingual SSL students. The school also has long experience of receiving newly arrived students, which at the time of the study made up two introductory classes of 22 students in total in grade 7-9 (in a co-called in-school programme, Short, 2002).

The students

The focus of the present study is on students arriving in the final two years of lower secondary school, grade 8 and 9, since this age-group is portrayed as having particular challenges in the transition to upper secondary school and further education (PISA, 2013). 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 (cf. Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). 22 students who fitted the selection criteria, 12 female adolescents and 10 male adolescents, agreed to take part in the study. The students were born between 1995-97 in the countries of Iraq, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Thailand, Egypt, Uganda, Algeria, Somalia, Gambia, Peru and Russia. There is a wide span in the students' school background, from students with little or no experience of school to students who have completed nine years of schooling prior to arrival in Sweden. The students all arrived in the municipalities 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 came as unaccompanied minors. The students are either asylum-seekers or have residence permit on the grounds of refugee status or family reunification.

Given the longitudinal design of the study described below, 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, 4 of them 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 the 18 students made some contact with regular classes, mostly by taking part in practical-aesthetic subjects. 6 students made a complete transition to regular class during the year, meaning that

together with the 4 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 data-collection. 6 students remained in the introductory class, with no contact with the regular classes. The time spent in introductory class ranged from one to six school terms, the average time being three terms. Out of the 22 students, 13 were placed in grade 9 and thus made a transition to upper secondary school during the year of data collection. All the 13 students began the individual program at the Swedish upper secondary school (all but one at the introductory program for new arrivals "språkintroduktion"). Out of these 13 students, 8 students moved directly from introductory class in lower secondary school to introductory class at 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 upper secondary school level). In the present article the focus is on the 16 students who have experience of being in introductory class in secondary school as well as partly or fully being enrolled in regular classes. 10 of the students who have most vividly described their experiences of being in introductory and regular classes are quoted in the article.

Data collection

The methodological approach in the study is ethnographic, favouring thick descriptions of the students' school context derived from participant observation in the classrooms and semi-structured interviews with students and teachers (Ambjörnsson, 2004; Geertz 1973; Emerson, Fertz & Shaw, 2011). The participant observation was in part conducted jointly by the authors of this article, albeit with different focuses. The first author's objective was to capture the students' perspectives on conditions for learning and participation, by participant observation of the selected students during their school-day, in introductory as well as regular classes[7]. The data collection was carried out in three cycles, with three to four weeks at each school at the beginning, mid-point and end of the period, making up 82 days of fieldwork spread out over a period of 15 months (on average 3 days a week were spent at the schools). The ethnographic fieldnotes comprise 234 typed pages.

The participant observation was complemented by semi-structured interviews at each fieldwork cycle. The aim was to interview each student three times, which was achieved with 19 of the 22 students. For different reasons, 2 students were only interviewed once and 1 student twice, making up a total of 61 interviews that each ranged from 30 to 90 minutes. The interviews followed a question guide with both closed and open questions, covering both social and pedagogical aspects. Although there was leeway for adaptation according to the particular student's situation, there were different overall interview themes at each fieldwork cycle. While the first interview had a mapping focus including questions of school background and current school situation, the second interview moved on to focus more on the transition from introductory to regular class and the experiences of each school context, from a social and pedagogical point of view. The third and final interview had a two-fold orientation toward future plans and retrospective reflections on the experiences of the past year. The interview transcripts together with the fieldnotes were subsequently ethnographically coded, with the aim of extracting themes and sub-themes (Emerson et al, 2011). Although the study comprises data from both participant observation and

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[7] Participant observation was carried out in the following classes: in the S-school in one introductory class, four regular classes and two introductory classes at upper secondary school; in the M-school 1 in three introductory classes, at the M-school 2 in three regular classes and one introductory class at upper-secondary school; in the L-school in two introductory classes, three regular classes and six introductory classes at the upper secondary level.

interviews, the following article will mainly draw on the interview data with the aim of extracting the students' experiences of the two organisational contexts. Of particular analytical interest given the theoretical framework of this article, are the challenges and opportunities that the students experience in accessing social and pedagogical resources in the different contexts, with guiding questions such as: to what degree and how could the students' L1 be used in the different contexts? What aspects of tuition were perceived as challenging or supportive and why? Which contexts were perceived to be socio-culturally supportive, that is to say encouraging interaction with teachers, peers and a sense of belonging in the class and school as a whole?

The students were given the option of using an interpreter during the interviews. 14 out of the 61 interviews, mainly concentrated to the first fieldwork cycle, were conducted with an interpreter (11 with an interpreter present and 3 through phone interpretation). The students with a command of English could also choose that as the language of communication, without having to use an interpreter. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed, on a level of detail which attempts to stay as close as possible to the spoken word (including interruptions, repetition and learner language) but without marking pauses and intonation. In the following article, the transcriptions have been translated from Swedish into English (not translating all colloquial words and repetitions), retaining the Swedish original transcription beside the translation. The limitations involved in transcription (Bucholtz, 2000; Ochs, 1979) and translation (Keselman, Cederborg, Lamb & Dahlström, 2010) are acknowledged but not discussed in the present article. In order to protect the identity of the informants, their real names have been replaced with pseudonyms in the interviews and fieldnotes quoted below. Furthermore, 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 [].

The second author's participant observation, which was conducted during the first two fieldwork cycles, focused on the organisation of the tuition concerning SSL, L1 and study guidance in L1 and L2 related to the students' academic development. This involved audio-recorded participant observations during lessons in seven introductory classes, collection of pedagogic material, digital photos of white board notes as well as observations and audio-recordings in regular classes attended by the selected newly arrived students. The observations were complemented by interviews with 16 teachers in regular as well as introductory classes.

Results

Comparison between introductory and regular classes regarding pedagogical content and organisational form

Before proceeding to the analytical core of the article; the question of how the interviewed students experience the time in and transition between introductory and regular class, it is necessary to provide an outline of the main organisational and pedagogical differences between the two contexts. First of all, the size, composition and time-frame constitute obvious differences between introductory and regular classes. Introductory classes are commonly smaller in size and premised on a temporary and specific mission, their goal being to prepare newly arrived students for transition to regular classes. They are specialized to cater for the pedagogical and social needs of newly arrived students, both as second-language learners and students who are unfamiliar with the Swedish school context. Thus tuition focuses on developing the students' Swedish from a second-language learning perspective as a foundation for further education, mapping students' knowledge in various subjects according to prior schooling and building on this in thematic units and genre pedagogy.

The extent to which other subjects are taught separately or integrated into language tuition varies between the schools' introductory classes. Tuition in the introductory class in the S-school is characterised by thematic tuition in Swedish drawing on themes from the natural and social sciences as well as tuition in mathematics. The M-school 1 has grouped the students into different levels, with a basic level encompassing tuition in SSL, maths and English whereas the continuing level also includes tuition in social and natural sciences from a second-language perspective. In the L-school the introductory classes encompass tuition in SSL, maths and the practical-aesthetic subjects. In all three schools the aim is to provide opportunities for the students to simultaneously take subjects in the regular classes, thus preparing them for a gradual transfer to regular classes.

Although the size is smaller, the span in ages and pedagogical needs is usually larger in the introductory as compared to the regular class. In the S-school's introductory class the students range from grade 4 to 9, whereas the other two schools only cover grades 7 to 9. However, even if the age gap is smaller in the last-mentioned schools, the span in knowledge levels can be equally large. In the M-school 1 the teaching in mathematics has to cater for students who knowledge-wise range from grade 4 to 9. The large span in the introductory class often entails less common instruction and more individual tasks according to needs and level.

Another important observed difference is the extent to which the mother tongue is an active element in the classroom, in communication between students, the teacher/s and for academic development. Mobile applications, computer programs and dictionaries are commonly used in the introductory classes to translate words between L1 and L2. Furthermore, in all three schools study guidance in L1 is a more frequently employed resource during the time in introductory class than in regular class. However, there are important variations between the schools with regards to the ability to cover all the languages spoken, the time allocated to study guidance and the degree to which study guidance has become incorporated in the structures of the school (locally rather than centrally employed bilingual assistants).

There is indeed a discrepancy between the schools as to what degree the comparative differences between introductory and regular classes hold true, mainly depending on the proportion of multilingual students in the regular classroom. However, due to the limited scope of this article, the local variations will only be alluded to and not discussed in depth since the main aim in this article is rather to focus the comparative analysis on the general differences between introductory and regular classes in the social and pedagogical provision for newly arrived students.

The students' perspectives on the two organisational contexts

The above outline of the main characteristics of introductory classes as compared to the mainstream system is familiar from other studies, however the students' own perspectives on the pedagogical and social realities facing them on their way to the mainstream system are to a large extent absent in the literature (Bunar, 2010; Hek, 2005). Our guiding question in the following analysis is therefore what challenges and opportunities newly arrived students experience in making use of the social and pedagogical resources in the two contexts, drawing primarily on data collected interviews and to a lesser extent participant observation. Following Thomas and Collier's (1997; 2002) theoretical framework and Mariani's (1997) and Gibbon's (2009) notion of challenge and support, the comparative focus is on pedagogical resources, here limited to the usages of L1 and L2 for academic development as well as social resources, akin to the components of what Thomas and Collier (1997; 2002) describe as a socio-culturally supportive environment, here taken to mean interaction with

teachers, peers and encouragement of a sense of belonging in the class and school as a whole.

The language in the subjects as a pedagogical resource

The students who have encountered both organisational contexts describe a general difference in the teachers' ability to explain the subject material on their linguistic level. In asking what the qualitative difference is between teachers in the two contexts, one student in the S-school replied that the introductory class teacher is able to explain in a manner in which students from other countries can understand. The participant observation and the interviews with the teachers provide evidence that all teachers in the introductory classes have specialized in second language acquisition and are thus trained to give instruction in SSL and present academic knowledge in accordance with the students' proficiency in Swedish. Furthermore, they are knowledgeable in the routes of acquisition of various parts of the language, aware of the time-consuming task of acquiring a vocabulary for both every-day and academic purposes and they are trained in assessing each student's present language proficiency in order to adapt the pedagogic material. Subject teachers in the regular class have seldom been confronted with these needs during their teacher education with the result that the instruction in regular classes is mainly conducted as if all students had Swedish as L1.

However, there are differences between the three schools observed. In the L-school (100 % multilingual students) most teachers have worked with multilingual students for several years which is evident in a greater use of scaffolding in reading and writing, more repetitions and explanations of tasks and abstract content. In the S-school (3 % multilingual students), it is a new situation for teachers, other than the SSL teacher, to cater for students who do not speak Swedish as L1 and there is no visible adaptation in the regular classes to multilingual students' needs. In the M-school 2 (30 % multilingual students) multilingual students have increased rapidly during the last years, but subject teachers have not received any in-service training to handle the change in student population and there is no systematic whole-school organisation to scaffold multilingual students' academic development.

When tuition in the regular class is experienced as difficult to follow by the newly arrived students, this is perceived to be due to the lack of explanation of the language in the subjects – the terms and concepts used – rather than the subject matter as such. Typical examples of tasks that the students claimed were difficult were textual tasks in e.g. mathematics or written evaluative tasks in the practical subjects. The students themselves claim that the teachers speak quickly, have difficulties to explain terms in a simple way and rarely make use of the pedagogics specific for tuition for second language learners.

Subject teachers commonly explain terms and concepts central to the actual theme they are teaching. However, students in the process of acquiring a second language experience constant gaps in their vocabulary often concerning words that regular teachers take for granted. In e.g. mathematics, every-day Swedish expressions like "teckna, uppskatta and tangent" (draw/write, appreciate/estimate, key/line) acquire a specific, technical significance (Parszyk, 1999; Holmegaard, Johansson Kokkinakis, Järborg, Lindberg & Sandwall, 2006). For students learning in a second language, vocabulary is seen as the single most important factor for school success (Saville-Troike, 1984). Moreover, comprehension of factual texts is highly dependent on knowledge of individual words - international research has shown that at least 95 % of the words in a text should be familiar in order to be able to read and understand (Nation, 2001). In a Danish study on monolingual and bilingual students' understanding of factual words in grade 5, a significant difference was found (Gimbel, 1997). While

the bilingual students (Turkish – Danish) mastered on average 15 of the 50 tested words the monolingual Danish-speaking students mastered 42 of 50.

Newly arrived students will also need instruction in academic literacy, focusing each subject's specific way of expressing abstract meaning. Thus, while the content classroom has the potential of being an effective way of enhancing second language development in providing the students with the opportunity to use the new language to learn about other things (Gibbons, 2009, p. 10), we learn from our newly arrived students' comments that the present regular classrooms fail to take their needs for language and literacy into account (cf. Rutter, 2006).

Angelina, one of the newly arrived students in the S-school, alludes to the need for more support in the social sciences in her regular class:

Interviewer	*Vad behöver du hjälp med i SO?*	What do you need help with in Social Science?
Angelina	*Typ, det vi skriver. Ja det vi skriver.*	What we write. Yes, what we write.
Interviewer	*Men är det svenskan i SOn som du behöver hjälp med, är det språket eller är det själva liksom ämnet?*	But is it the Swedish in Social Science that you need help with, is it the language or is it the actual subject?
Angelina	*Språket.*	The language.

When probing Angelina on whether it is the subject itself or the language that she needs support in, her answer is clear. It is what they write; the language in the subject. Participant observations from the regular classrooms and interviews with the students indicate that many subject teachers in the S- and M-schools focus on the subject matter without any specific attendance to language and with 97 % and 70 % respectively of the students being Swedish L1-speakers they appear to take for granted that the students understand the spoken and written texts. Shakar, a student at the M-school who is in the midst of the transition to regular class at the time of the second interview, stresses that newly arrived students need help with explanation of difficult words:

Shakar	*Till exempel på lektionerna, läraren pratar om vad heter det lektionen, de andra kan svenska, därför att dom är svensk eller för att de är föddes härifrån, de kan bra svenska. Fast den som har flyttat ny kanske han inte förstår några ord, och om läraren vad heter det tar hand om henne eller honom det är bättre.*	For example during the lessons, the teacher talks about, what is it called, the lesson, the others know Swedish, because they are Swedish or because they were born here, they know Swedish well. But the person who has moved new, maybe he doesn't understand some words, and if the teacher, what is it called, takes care of her or him, it's better.
Interviewer	*Och förklarar lite extra så?*	And explains a little extra?
Shakar	*Ja jag menar de orden som är jättesvårt, han kan kanske förklara.*	Yes I mean the words that are really difficult, maybe he can explain

As Shakar expresses it, the teachers cannot expect a newly arrived student who does not fully master the Swedish language to follow tuition without explanation of the terms used. Ali, a newly arrived student in a regular class at the L-school, agrees that adaptation in the form of slower pace and more extensive explanation is necessary:

Ali	*Om dom förklarar mycket, jag förstår mycket. Dom förklarar ingenting, jag förstår ingenting.*	If they explain a lot, I understand a lot. They explain nothing, I understand nothing.
Interviewer	*Ja precis, man måste förklara…mmm.*	Yes exactly, you have to explain … mmm.
Ali	*Till exempel, till exempel en bil som kör till exempel, 40 eller 50 hastigheten. Och en kör 40– det är inte samma. Till exempel de andra elever dom född här, dom går i skolan 9 år. Vi går till exempel…eh 2 år. Sen läraren använder samma hastighet. Det går inte samma hastighet hela tiden. Förstår du?*	For example, a car which drives for example 40 or 50 speed. And one drives 40 - it is not same. For example the other students they are born here, they go to school 9 years. We go for example … eh 2 years. Then the teacher uses the same speed. It doesn't work the same speed all the time. Do you understand?

In the example above, Ali uses the metaphor of cars driving at different speeds to emphasise the need for teachers to adapt according to different students' school backgrounds, abilities and needs.

Support from outside the mainstream system

The newly arrived students do ask the regular teachers for help but sometimes claim that their needs for explanation supersede the perceived opportunity for support. As explained above, the regular teachers are not always seen as able or available to provide the explanations needed. Other strategies employed are therefore to ask or observe classmates or save questions for other occasions. Many of the students claim that they have to work hard on their own, much harder than their classmates, in order to keep up the pace. One student at the M-school found the physics class hard to follow and hence asked the teacher to send him the material on before-hand so that he could prepare at home. This is a fact which has been commented by several researchers in the field of education for multilingual students. The newly arrived student has to catch up linguistically (in L2) and academically with grade peers. At the same time these peers are not standing still, waiting, but instead continue to learn (Thomas & Collier, 1997). A telling example is vocabulary acquisition. A six year old child has acquired about 8000 to 10 000 words in L1. Every following school year the child acquires an additional 2000 to 3000 words in L1 (Viberg, 1987). The task for the SSL student is to simultaneously catch up and keep pace with peers in the same grade.

In the S-school, the main resource for help with the subject matter in the regular class, even after the students have made a complete transition from the introductory class, was the introductory class teacher. In all three schools there is also evidence that the school tries to make use of alternative spaces in the schedule (such as language option, student's option and/or school option, home-work sessions and holiday school) as a time in which newly arrived students can get the extra support needed in the subjects, after having left the introductory class. This strategy is most fully-developed in the L-school. In this school, hours gathered from student's language option and school option, are used in support of subject-based Swedish, taught by one of the SSL-teachers. Thanks to collaboration between subject teachers in Social Science, it is possible to gather students who need or want extra support with language and content Swedish in History, Religion and Social Science. In this way the L-school is able to offer support for the significant challenges in factual subjects and students get a chance to follow tuition in regular lessons and participate in regular tasks and

tests. Several students at the L-school evaluate these resources positively in the interviews, often stressing the importance of catching up and making strategic use of the time in school to gain grades. However, it is clear that the support and adaptation that the newly arrived students need is rarely catered for within the framework of the regular tuition and mainstream classroom.

Use of the mother tongue as a pedagogical resource

The extent to which the mother tongue is used to enhance subject learning, varies between introductory and regular classes. In all three schools, study guidance in L1 is a more frequently employed resource in the introductory class than in the regular class, despite the fact that the students stress that the need might indeed be greater after transition to the mainstream system. Ali, one of the students in the L-school who is fully enrolled in regular class, explains that there was more assistance in L1 when he was in the introductory class than when he moved to the regular class – "de stänger den hjälpen. Snabbt" – "they close down that help. Quickly" he says. When asking the students about the use of study guidance they explain that it helps them to understand the material provided in class. The participant observation also testifies to the increased activity on the part of the student while having access to study guidance, either in the classroom or during individual tuition. Shakar, a student who at the point of the interview has recently begun in regular class in the M-school 2, explains the value of study guidance:

Shakar	Det är jättebra, det hjälper mig för språket.	It is very good, it helps me for the language.
Interviewer	Mm. För språket, tänker du för…?	Mm. For the language, are you thinking for…?
Shakar	För svenska. Till exempel min studiehandlärare, till exempel på en vecka jag har några ord som jag har inte förstått och han kan förklara till mig.	For Swedish. For example my study guidance teacher, in one week I have some words which I have not understood and he can explain to me.
Interviewer	Mmm, just det. Så du samlar ord…	Mmm, exactly. So you collect words …
Shakar	Så det är det som är viktigt.	So that is what is important.

In Shakar's view study guidance in his mother tongue helps him to learn Swedish and his strategy is to collect Swedish words weekly which his study guidance teacher helps him to explain. However, not only the access to study guidance in L1 but also the likelihood that students will make use of their L1 tends to decrease as he or she reaches the regular class. This tendency is obviously related to the students' progression in the second language over time, but there is also evidence that some regular teachers evaluate the use of the newly arrived students' L1 negatively. The attitudes to speaking languages other than Swedish, appear to have a relationship to the degree of multilingual students at the school. Indeed at the most linguistically homogenous S-school, there were indications that the use of L1 was actively discouraged by some teachers. As one teacher explains in the lunch room:

| Lilian och Angelina pratar alltid arabiska (L1) men jag sa direkt 'här är det svenska som gäller' – vad heter det på arabiska för det kommer ni att få höra på mina lektioner. | Lilian and Angelina (the two newly arrived students in the class) always talk in Arabic (L1) but I directly told them – 'here we speak Swedish' – what is that called in Arabic since that is something that you will get to hear at my lessons.[8] |

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[8] From fieldnotes

Evident in the teacher's view on the use of the newly arrived students' L1 is a monolingual norm, which the teacher somewhat paradoxically confirms by a seemingly multilingual attitude (asking for the Arabic translation of his request). Yet another teacher explains some of the conflicts between the same two students and the rest of the class, as partly having to do with their habit of speaking their mother-tongue. It is not surprising that the newly arrived students in the S-school have picked up on these negative signals and claim that they are reluctant to use L1 in class, even though they admit it would make tuition easier to follow. However, even if the attitudes of the two teachers at the S-school can be placed at the extreme end of the spectrum, teachers in all three schools testified to an insecurity as to whether or not the students should be required to express their knowledge in Swedish, or if L1 can be used as a way to access the students' knowledge of the subject matter.

It is hence obvious that some regular subject teachers still adhere to a monolingual ideology in a perceived monolingual world which affects their approach to multilingual and newly arrived students. These teachers demand one language at a time and see no value in students' use of their L1 parallel to the use of Swedish. The idea of L1 value in one language transferred to another is limited if not non-existent, among some of the teachers in regular classrooms observed in the study. This tendency is far from the multilingual practises in the world and ignores the fact that multilingualism and not monolingualism is the global default. In fact, it is claimed by researchers that multilingual students' learning is maximised when they are allowed and enabled to use all their linguistic resources "rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices." (Hornberger, 2005, p. 607). Moving away from a strict separation of languages, translanguaging has been brought forward as a pedagogical model in the classroom, referring to the parallel use of both languages for different activities, for example reading in one language and writing in the other (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Garcia, 2009; Jørgensen, 2008) thus acknowledging the code-switching and translanguaging that multilinguals naturally practice.

Feelings of tiredness

What do the difficulties in accessing pedagogical resources in the mainstream classroom lead to? Several students describe their emotional response in the regular class in terms of tiredness and boredom. One student, Ali, in the L-school explains:

| Ali | *När jag sitter till exempel i svenska lektionen eller engelska, jag känner dåligt. För jag fattar inte mycket. Jag förstår inte mycket. Det är jättejobbigt. Min hjärna snabbt…trött. Vad heter det. Trött. Snabbt. Jag somnar snabbt.* | When I sit in for example the Swedish lesson or English, I feel bad. Because I don't get much. I don't understand much. It's really difficult. My brain quickly…tired. What is it called. Tired. Quickly. I fall asleep quickly. |

Not understanding or following tuition is tiresome and difficult, Ali explains, and leads him to feeling bad during such lessons. Similarly, Anna, a student in the S-school who attends some lessons in the regular class, describes her experience of these occasions as students and teachers "talking and talking", in a way which is hard for her to follow. In the third interview she explains why:

| Anna | *Dom [i ord klass] har läsa så mycket ord och jag kan inte förstå. Bara som bara gå och sitta, bara lyssna men förstå inte. Och det är tråkigt.* | They [in regular class] have read so many words and I can't understand. It's just like to go there and sit, just listening but not understanding. And it's boring. |

Apparent in Anna's extract is an implicit evaluation of herself in relation to the others in the class who are perceived to understand much more than her and to whom the lesson is adapted. In her experience the lessons are reduced to a tedious occasion that she sits in on, simply listening without understanding. The examples above show that without familiarity with the key vocabulary associated with a topic there is a risk that the L2-learner shuts down concentration, resulting in a missed opportunity for learning (Gibbons, 2009).

Desire to resume the educational career

Nevertheless, when evaluating the differences between introductory and regular classes, several students highlight that regular classes provide the opportunity to study more subjects and gain grades. As explained initially, introductory classes do not always cover all subjects or offer the opportunity to gain grades, meaning that the students commonly experience their educational career as being on hold before they reach the mainstream system. Furthermore, the wide span in knowledge levels and pedagogical needs means that the high-performing students after some time can perceive tuition in introductory class as being repetitious or not challenging enough. Mike, one of the students in the M-school 2, explains how he felt that he needed to move to the regular class in order to "lära mig lite snabbare" - "learn a little faster". Shakar, one of the students who has moved quickly through introductory to regular class, sums up the mainstream system's advantages:

Interviewer	*Vad tycker du är för- och nackdelarna med att gå [i förberedelseklass] eller att gå i hemskolan, vad är liksom bra och vad är dåligt med [förberedelseklass], om vi börjar med [förberedelseklass]?*	What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages with being in introductory class or being in the home school, what is good and what is bad with introductory class, if we start with introductory class?
Shakar	*Nackdelen i [förberedelseklass] är att dom läser bara tre ämnen och vad heter det, aa så är det, men om man läser vad heter det i [hemskolan] här, då får man, alltså man har 16 ämnen. Då kan man få höra mer svenska språket, istället för där i [förberedelse-klass]. Då kan man få lära sig bättre svenska. Eller här alla eleverna pratar svenska men där kanske två elever som kommer i samma land, dom pratar på vad heter det sitt språk. Här man är tvungen att prata svenska.*	The disadvantage in introductory class is that they only study three subjects and how do you say, yeah that's the way it is, but if you study what is it called in the home school here, then you get, you get 16 subjects. Then you can hear more of the Swedish language, instead of there in introductory class. Then you can learn better Swedish. Or here all students speak Swedish, but there maybe two students who come from same country, they speak in how do you say their language. Here you are forced to speak Swedish.

Being in regular class gives access to the full range of subjects and provides the opportunity to "hear more Swedish". Evidently thus, there is a hope and belief that being in a mainly Swedish speaking context will enhance language learning; one is naturally exposed to the language and as Shakar explains it, forced to speak Swedish. This perceived advantage of the regular class, spans both pedagogical and social aspects and leads the analysis to a closer look at the social resources on offer in the two organisational contexts.

Desire to become "like everybody else"

One main comparative difference between introductory and regular classes is the differential access to social resources that the two contexts entail for newly arrived

students. The general picture emerging in the three schools is that introductory classes offer an environment in which the newly arrived students can form positive relationships with peers and teachers. Several students claim that it is a place where they can be themselves and where they experience support from fellow students and teachers. Nevertheless, in spite of the students' positive impression of the time in introductory class, the expressed goal for most students in introductory class is to become a part of the larger school collective, symbolised by the transition to the regular class. Becoming "just like everybody else" as one student expressed it, is also tied to a hope of accessing the Swedish language and getting to know Swedish-speaking students, as was seen in the interview with Shakar above. Another student in the M-school 1, Ahmad, who is still in introductory class, explains what lies behind his wish to move over to the mainstream system:

Ahmad	*Jag tycker om där [hemskolan], det är fett bra*	I like it there [home school], it's really good.
Interviewer	*Varför är det bra?*	Why is it good?
Ahmad	*Ett för att du pratar med svensk elever. Två du kommer lära dig svenska mycket mycket o mycket. Två [tre] du läser samma boken. Allt uppe. Men när du gick till en IVIK skolan, det är inte samma ställe. En kan en, en kan inte. En kan prata svenska, en kan bäst, en kan bättre än mig, en kan ingenting.*	One because you talk to Swedish students. Two you will learn Swedish a lot, a lot and a lot. Two [three] you read the same book. Everything up. But when you go to an IVIK school [introductory class at upper secondary school], it is not the same place. One knows, one doesn't know. One knows how to speak Swedish, one knows best, one knows better than me, one knows nothing.

Besides providing the opportunity to speak to Swedish students and learning more Swedish through social interaction, Ahmad emphasises the importance of reading the same books and implicitly thus not being treated differently from other students. Furthermore, the interview with Ahmad eludes to yet another reason for wanting to move over to the mainstream system and that is to avoid going to "IVIK" (being the old term for "språkintroduktion"; an introductory program for new arrivals at upper secondary school level) which is seen by many of the students as a continuation of "the same thing" - as a continuation of introductory class, albeit at upper secondary school. Carolina, another of the M-school's students, explains that she expected to go to a regular class but found out that she was to continue in introductory class at upper secondary level:

| Carolina | *Jag trodde att jag klarar [förberedelseklass] och sen gå till riktig svensk klass. De sa no, jag måste gå med invandrare en gång till [i språkintroduktion på gymnasiet]. Jag sa ok.* | I thought that I complete [introductory class] and then go to a real Swedish class. They said no, I have to go with immigrants one more time [in introductory class at upper secondary school]. I said ok. |

Interestingly in Carolina's words a regular class is coded as a "real, Swedish class", construed as her obvious goal, whereas an introductory class is regarded as "for immigrants". Additionally, the conclusion to the sentence "I said ok" signals that she does not feel that she can do much about the situation. Thus despite the fact that the majority of the students are satisfied with both the pedagogical resources on offer (at least in the short-term perspective) and the social environment in introductory class, when comparing introductory class to the mainstream system status differentials

emerge which are couched in the comparative language of "ordinary" (vs. extraordinary), "real" (vs. unreal), "Swedish" (vs. immigrant).

Proving one's ability to learn

Several issues are at stake in the desire to move to the mainstream system. Qualifying for the mainstream system is not only about inclusion into the "Swedish" (speaking) norm, but also a matter of qualifying for the norm of an intelligent and able student. The interview with Farideh, a student who has just moved from introductory to regular class at the M-school 2 at the time of the second interview, demonstrates how one is evaluated by others and oneself if one remains in introductory class for "too long":

Interviewer	*Var det som du hade tänkt dig att flytta över från [förberedelseklass] hit, var det som du hade fantiserat, eller som du hade tänkt dig?*	Was it like you had thought to move here from introductory class, was it like you had imagined, or what you had thought?
Farideh	*Ehh…att flytta hit?*	Ehh…to move here?
Interviewer	*Mmm*	Mmm
Farideh	*Jag tänkte det var, att det var för mycket, att jag hade varit [förberedeklass] mycket länge, och jag har lärt mig mycket. Kunde. Så jag ville flytta hit. (…) Och några, många har frågat mig också, mina kompisar dom bara "hur länge har du varit?" Jag har varit här snart fyra år Och…och jag går fortfarande till [förberedelseklass]. Alltså, dom har tänkt att, kanske jag trodde att dom skulle tänka att min hjärna funkar inte. Alltså lärde mig snabbt, nåt sånt. Jag ville börja hemskolan som de andra … som går hemskolan.*	I thought that it was, that it was too much, that I had been in introductory class for a very long time, and that I had learnt a lot. Was able. So I wanted to move here. (…) And some, many have asked me also, my friends were like "how long have you been?" I have been here nearly four years.[9] And…and I still go to introductory class. That is, they have thought that, maybe I thought that they would think that my brain was not working. That is I learnt quickly, something like that. I wanted to begin at the home school just like the others…who go to home school.

Farideh's motivation to move to the regular class was partly that she felt that she had learnt enough to be able to follow tuition in the mainstream system but also that she noticed that others would think that her brain was "not working" if she stayed in introductory class. The evaluation of one's own position in the larger school collective is thus strictly related to time in introductory class, whereby a lengthy stay reduces one's status and risks eliciting verdicts of being less intelligent.

Disappointment at lack of social interaction

The transition to the mainstream system is hence invested with hopes of inclusion and recognition, which are not always realised once the move has been made. Farideh's experience is illustrative of the discrepancy between expectations and the reality of transition to the mainstream system. Although Farideh feels happy to have demonstrated her ability to learn by moving to the regular class at the M-school 2, she explains in the third interview that the situation in the regular class was not what she had thought:

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[9] Farideh had first lived in another municipality attending an introductory class in one of the schools there, before coming to introductory class at the M-school 1 and subsequently moving to regular class in M-school 2.

Farideh	*Det blev inte som jag tänkte. Ja.*	It wasn't like I thought it should be. Yes.
Interviewer	*Nej.*	No.
Farideh	*Det är inte… lika vad jag tänkte att det kommer bli här. Jag trodde det var annorlunda än [förberedelseklass]. Det är det men inte som [förberedelseklass]. Det är…värre tror jag.*	It is not… the same as what I thought it would be here. I thought it was different from introductory class. It is but it is not like introductory class. It is…worse I think.
Interviewer	*På vilket sätt, förklara*	In what way, explain
Farideh	*Jag vet inte. Ämnena är svåra och klassrummet…på eleverna typ dom alltså dissar varandra, inte pratar. Alltså alla är inte kompisar typ så. Det finns flera grupp och jag gillar inte, typ nåt sånt. Det är inte samma sak som [värdskolan] och hit, [förberedeleklass] och hit. [Förberedelseklass] var alla…det fanns ingen grupp grupp typ så. Alla hade grupp tillsammans, ingen dissade varandra. Här finns det flera…elever som inte gillar varandra.*	I don't know. The subjects are difficult and the classroom…the students they sort of diss each other, don't talk. That is, not everyone is friends, that's what it's like. There are several groups and I don't like, sort of like that. It is not the same thing as the host school and here, introductory class and here. In introductory class everyone was…there were no group group sort of like that. Everybody had a group together, nobody dissed each other. Here there are several…students who don't like each other.
Interviewer	*Mmm. Och hur är dom mot dig eleverna?*	Mmm. And how are they towards you the students?
Farideh	*Eh…eh några retas ibland. Men ändå jag skiter i, jag lyssnar inte på dom. Aa.*	Eh…eh some tease some times. But anyway I don't care, I don't listen to them. Aa.

In contrast to introductory class in which there was a sense of belonging to the larger group, Farideh finds the regular class to be divided between smaller groups that "diss and don't talk to each other", which sometimes becomes directed towards Farideh herself. The experience of the transition being disappointing, in that the regular classes provide less access to both pedagogical and social resources than what one had originally thought, is found among students in all three schools. However, the degree of discrepancy between expectations and reality varies between students and the schools in question. With regards to the school context, the degree to which the school is multilingual and has a history of accommodating newly arrived students appears to be of importance. In the multilingual L-school, the experience of being new to the country or having a different mother-tongue than Swedish is not unique to the newly arrived students, which seems to ease the transition to and inclusion into the regular classes. However, at the M- and S-schools transition is found to be more problematic.

The perceived contrast between the introductory class and the regular classes appears to be greatest at the highly monolingual S-school. The question of in which context one feels happiest generated the same answer from the newly arrived students at the S-school, who had all experienced being in both the introductory and regular classes. The place where the students said that they felt happiest is in the introductory class, while the contrary is true of regular classes. All five students allude to feelings of loneliness, sadness, exclusion or insecurity while being in the regular class, which was also witnessed in the participant observation in the lack of interaction between the newly arrived students and the rest of the class. Angelina, one of the students who is fully enrolled in regular class, poignantly summarizes her impression regarding the

social environment in the regular class in the answer to what advice she would give an imagined recently arrived student:

| Angelina | Välkommen till Sverige, du kommer och lära dig svenska, och det är jättesvårt, jättejobbigt med eleverna | Welcome to Sweden, you will learn Swedish, and it's very hard, very difficult with the students |

She explains in the third interview that the difficulties have to do with the other students not including her in the social interaction:

Angelina	Det känns ju skönt att det här är sista året, men alltså man måste klara ju sig. Aa, men jag har faktiskt inte tycker att klassen ser bra ut	It does feel good that it's the final year, but you have to manage. Aa, but I don't actually think the class looks good
Interviewer	Varför inte?	Why not?
Angelina	För dom är ju, dom pratar inte med mig. Alltså, jag vet inte hur jag ska svara...	Because they are, they don't talk to me. I don't know how to answer…
Interviewer	Försök...	Try…
Angelina	Eh...alltså dom inte kommer med mig – alltså dom ber inte mig komma. Alltså till exempel såna saker	Eh…they don't come with me – they don't ask me to come. For example those kind of things.

For Angelina, the social exclusion is expressed in terms of the other students not talking to her and not asking her to come along. Another student at the S-school, Lilian, who is partly in introductory class and partly in regular class, vividly describes the contrasting experience in the two environments:

Interviewer	Ja men då undrar jag, hur trivs du i [förberedelseklassen]?	Yes but then I wonder, how do you like it in the introductory class?
Lilian	Det känns som att jag förlorar hjärtat när jag kommer till [förberedelseklassen], jag är så glad, jag känner på en lättnad, och jag känner väldigt skönt att komma dit, klass.	It feels like I lose the heart when I come to the introductory class, I am so happy, I feel a relief, and I feel very comfortable to come there, class.
Lilian	Och när jag går till andra klassen, då känner jag som om jag sitter på glöden. Inte en stol utan det känns som om det brinner, trivs inte så bra.	And when I go to the other class, then I feel as if I'm sitting on embers. Not a chair but it feels like it's on fire, I don't like it very much.
Interviewer	Nej.	No.
Lilian	Det känns som om jag försöker, jag försöker kämpa på för att kunna lära mig språket, för att kunna umgås med dom så, men jag vet inte riktigt, för jag tycker inte att det går, det går inte så som jag vill.	It feels like I try, I try to struggle on to be able to learn the language, to be able to hang out with them, but I don't really know, because I don't think it works, it's not happening the way I want it to.

The experienced difficulty in accessing the social resources in the regular class persists in the second interview with Lilian:

Interviewer	*Mmm, om du får välja tre ord för att beskriva hur det är eh när du går till den stora [ordinarie], klassen, eller när du är i den stora klassen, vilka skulle det vara?*	Mmm, if you were to choose three words to describe what it's like when you go to the big [regular], class, or when you are in the big class, which would those be?
Lilian	*Vad ska jag göra, rädd, vad kommer jag och… prestera.*	What am I going to do, frightened, what will I…accomplish.
Interviewer	*Tack, ja va bra. För då får man en känsla för vad du känner eller tänker när du är där.*	Thanks, yes that's good. Because then one gets a feeling for what you are feeling or thinking when you are there.
Interviewer	*Och om du skulle välja tre ord för hur det är i [förberedelseklass], vad skulle det vara för ord?*	And if you were to choose three words for how it is in the introductory class, which words would that be?
Lilian	*Vila, har frihet, kan göra vad man vill, man är inte bunden, och har kompisar i klassen, att man känner att man har någon, att man inte är ensam.*	Rest, have freedom, can do what you want, you're not tied, and have friends in the class, that you feel that you have someone, that you are not alone.
Interviewer	*Mmm. Är det nåt som har förändrats i skolan sen vi träffades sist, eller hur har skolsituationen förändrats?*	Mmm. Is it something which has changed in school since we last met, or how has the school situation changed?
Lilian	*Jag har förändrats, inte dom.*	I have changed, not them.

For Lilian introductory class is perceived as the place where she can be herself, where she can rest and have freedom and feel that she is not alone. The regular class on the other hand, is a place that requires a two-fold struggle – both to learn the language and to make contact with the other students. In similarity to Farideh above, the situation in the regular class does not correspond to her hopes and expectations. The interview with Lilian also captures the sense of insecurity and worry that the situation in the regular class gives rise to, evident in formulations such as "sitting on embers" and being frightened about what to do and how to achieve her goals. Although Lilian claims that she would like to study more subjects in the regular class, she thinks it will be too hard and she is frightened that she might not succeed. Lilian describes in the third interview that all she could think about in regular class was what the other students would do and how they would react to her, which she feels prevented her from taking in the subject matter being taught. In the end, the school representatives suggest for Lilian to step down a year, in order for her social and pedagogical situation to improve. Indeed as Lilian herself acknowledges, change relies on herself not on her surroundings.

The introductory class as "a place to rest"

One of the effects of the challenges that the S-school's students experience in gaining access to social resources in the regular class and the contrast they experience in the introductory class, is that they continue to seek support and comfort in the introductory class. Indeed the two students who were fully enrolled in regular classes in the S-school still continued to start and finish their day with the introductory class and spend time with the students in the introductory class during breaks. Angelina showed both her comfort in the introductory class and discomfort in the regular class, when she decided to practice a presentation in the introductory class before doing it in front of the regular class. It was also the introductory class teacher that the students came to after having got results back from tests or at occasions of great joy or sorrow. Kim, one of the students in the S-school fully enrolled in regular class, captured the sense of

security that introductory class continued to provide by describing the introductory class as "a place where he could rest". It was not unusual that the newly arrived students at the three schools regretted the transition to regular class and wanted to go back to the introductory class, despite the initial strong motivation to become a part of the mainstream system. However, as several of the students explain in interviews, they realise that they need to put up with a socially difficult situation in the regular class in order to gain grades and pursue an educational career within the mainstream system.

Someone else's students

The students' tendency to return to introductory class, even after the formal transition to the mainstream system, appears to correspond to some regular teachers' reluctance to assume responsibility for the newly arrived students' social and pedagogical integration into the regular class. Again also in this regard there appears to be a relationship between the general preparedness of the school to educate newly arrived students, the degree of multilingual students, the students' experience of the transition and the teachers' approach to the students. However, none of the three schools had any organised mentor programmes for the newly arrived students and their grade peers and it was common for regular teachers to claim that they felt unprepared when newly arrived students came to their classes. Teachers in the introductory classes in the S- and M-schools express a feeling of being the newly arrived students' only advocates. They appear to be caught between two wishes, on the one hand to prepare and help the newly arrived students to move on to regular class as quickly as possible and on the other hand their perception of the regular classes, students and teachers, being unprepared to cater for these students' needs.

Referring to the situation in the S-school, the introductory class teacher experienced that the regular teachers tended to keep a distance – they don't recognise that the students are 'ready' and feel that they are not able to deal with them she explains[10]. This approach was reflected in the passivity towards the newly arrived students' social isolation in the regular class. Lilian whose situation was described above, feels that nothing gets done about her situation – it is like the complaints get thrown in the rubbish bin she says in an interview. Another of the school's newly arrived students, Angelina, perceives that she receives differential treatment from one of the regular teachers both in terms of access to help in the classroom and possibility of receiving the grade she feels that she deserves:

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[10] From fieldnotes

Angelina	*När jag räcker upp handen typ två minuter, så den andra har inte räckt upp handen men den räcker upp handen. Hon ser inte mig, hon går direkt till direkt till henne. Alltså hon ser ju mig. (…)*	When I raise my hand like two minutes, the other [person] hasn't raised their hand but [then] raises their hand. She [the teacher] doesn't see me, she goes directly to, directly to her. That is she does see me. (…)
	Alltså förra året du vet, jag kanske sa till dig i svenskan när jag skulle få C, dom sa att du kan inte få mer än dom svenska, svenska medborgare för du är ju invandrare, som kommer ju från ett annat land. Sen kom min pappa hit och sa varför skulle inte hon få det.(...)	Last year you know, I might have told you that in Swedish when I was to get C, they told me that you can't have more than the Swedish, Swedish citizens because you are an immigrant, who comes from another country. Then my father came here and said why wouldn't she get that (…)
	Alltså jag får aldrig A. Jag blir helt galen på att plugga, bara plugga plugga hemma så att jag får nåt bra betyg, C eller nånting. Och sen dom andra pluggar inte hemma, dom kommer bara pluggar hit och sen på provet dom kollar på varandra och sen hämtar dom typ A eller nånting, och jag får ju bara E. (….)	That is I never get an A. I'm going completely crazy from just studying, just studying studying at home so that I get a good grade, C or something. And then the others don't study at home, they just come here and study and then at the test they look at each other and then collect an A or something and I only get an E (…)
	Jag får inget bra betyg. Alltså jag vill bättra mig men det går inte. Jag pluggar ju jättehårt sen hämtar jag nåt E. Efter när jag pluggar mer och mer. Så får jag E igen.	I don't get good grades. I want to improve myself but I can't. I study really hard and then I collect an E. After when I study more and more. I get an E again.

Angelina perceives that this particular teacher pretends not to see her and attends to other students, even if Angelina has called for the teacher's attention. What is more, a lower grade than what she expected, is explained by the fact that she is an immigrant and cannot get higher grades than a Swedish citizen. Finally, Angelina expresses her frustration over the fact that however much she studies her grades never improve. Thus the value-laden division between "immigrants" and "Swedes" is not only used by the students to explain the differences between introductory and regular classes, but in this case also becomes inscribed in the explanation for differential treatment from teachers and diminished opportunities to gain grades.

Concluding summary

How are we to understand newly arrived students' experiences of the time in and transition between introductory and regular classes, in light of Thomas and Collier's (1997, 2002) theory of components for education of multilingual students and Mariani (1997) and Gibbon's (2009) notion of challenge and support? The interviews and participant observation from the three contextually different schools indicate that the students generally experience that introductory class provides for language and academic development, in terms of an integrated second-language perspective and use of L1 in subject development. All three schools have constructed an overarching organisation to receive newly arrived students by establishing introductory classes and hiring teacher experts in second language learning and to some extent also the students' L1. However, the differences in knowledge and age level characteristic of introductory classes can provide difficulties in creating an adequately challenging environment for each and every student and there are furthermore limitations to

subjects studied and possibility of receiving grades. The mainstream system is on the other hand able to offer students the full range of subjects and grades needed to continue their educational career – indeed the transition to the mainstream is in the students' views the opportunity to become "like everyone else". However, the students often find the transition to the mainstream system difficult, due to the lack of language and literacy scaffolding according to L2-learners needs, the reluctance to use L1 in teaching and perceived obstacles for social inclusion in the peer group of the regular class. Following Mariani (1997) and Gibbons (2009), our data indicates that in introductory class support for language and literacy development is high but in the long-run lacking in challenge. In the mainstream class the opposite situation seems to be the case, high challenge in the access to more subjects that are solely presented in Swedish, but low support due to subject teachers commonly having little knowledge about the needs of second language learners.

From the fieldwork at the S- and M-school, it is apparent that the regular teachers have expertise in their own subjects but present the subject matter with little focus on the specific language constituting the subject and commonly without processing the texts the students are expected to read or giving explicit tuition about how to write the texts. It is often up to students themselves to find out how a task should be presented in speech or writing. Furthermore, study guidance in L1 often ends or at least decreases when the student transfers to the regular class and with the exception of the L-school there is no organised support for academic literacy. In addition, the transferred students are expected to participate in the same tests and exams as their peers and as we could see earlier often without access to dictionaries or other aids. Without adequate support the challenges of the regular class present a great risk for failure on behalf of the individual student. Indeed Gibbons claims that a lack of support "creates frustration and anxiety and may lead to learners giving up and ultimately opting out of school" (Gibbons, 2009:16); akin to the emotional responses evidenced in the students' descriptions of tiredness and boredom in the regular class.

What about the perceived opportunities and challenges in accessing social resources, referring to what Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002) describe as components for a socio-culturally supportive environment? The general conclusion is that the students experience opportunities for interaction with teachers and peers and a sense of belonging in introductory class, more so than in the regular class. As has been shown in the extracts from the interviews with the students who have made the journey from introductory to regular class, the mainstream system generally does not provide the social resources that the students had hoped for, although the degree of discrepancy between expectations and reality varies according to the school considered. Indeed the regular class risks becoming an exclusionary environment in which the newly arrived students end up feeling isolated and lonely (cf. Pinson, Arnot & Candappa, 2010; Rutter, 2006). The access to Swedish that they hoped to gain by making "Swedish" friends seldom occurs in practice – paradoxically less so in the monolingual S-school than in the others. With varying degrees, not only peers but also teachers can signal a reluctance to assume responsibility for newly arrived students' social inclusion into the regular class.

In spite of social and pedagogical resources being treated separately in the above comparison, one main conclusion from our study is that they are interlinked and interdepend¬dent. Indeed many of the examples quoted above can be interpreted in both a social and pedagogical light. The isolation and insecurity that several students associate with regular class, probably have their causes in the lack of access to both pedagogical support and social resources, and as some of the interviews indicate the situation affects not only their self-esteem but also their opportunity to learn and their

future educational career. The effects on learning are especially adverse in relation to the group considered in this study - indeed students who arrive during the latter part of lower secondary school emphasise the stress they experience in catching up and keeping pace with their peers. Furthermore, research within the field of second language acquisition emphasises the social context and the need to take societal power relations into account when creating a favourable learning environment (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002)

Hence although we have concluded that introductory class can be a favourable social and pedagogical environment for newly arrived students, it is important to emphasise that its mission is and should be premised on temporary grounds. Here the schools' organisational directives and the students' voices are clear and in agreement – the intention is for the newly arrived students to make a transition into the mainstream system for both social and pedagogical reasons. However, as we have seen, the students experience obstacles in accessing both social and pedagogical resources in the mainstream system. Apart from establishing introductory classes and hiring L1 and L2 teachers we have not seen any pervasive school restructuring for diversity in any of the schools (c.f. Miramontes, Nadeau & Commins, 1997). The lack of structures for pedagogical and social provision in the mainstream system risks leaving the students to their own devices and creates leeway for a deficit-paradigm that places the responsibility and blame on the individual for not succeeding in school. Indeed the status differentials between the introductory and the mainstream system that the students communicate in the comparative language of "ordinary"/"extraordinary", "real"/"unreal", "Swedish"/"immigrant" and wish to overcome by moving to the regular class, seem to be transferred with them and lock them in as they move to the mainstream system. Our analysis thus points to the need to recognise the status differentials being at work on different levels - between introductory and regular classes, newly arrived students and the rest, introductory class/SSL teachers and regular subject teachers - which put students' opportunities for learning and social inclusion at risk. Indeed in order for the mainstream system not to operate contrary to its intention in relation to newly arrived students – being exclusionary instead of inclusive - schools need to adopt what Thomas and Collier (1997; 2002) call a conscious approach to relations between majority and minority and create an overarching organisation directed to school-success for every student.

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Jenny NILSSON is currently conducting her PhD within a multi-disciplinary research project on learning conditions for newly arrived students, funded by the Swedish Research Council and based at the Department of Child and Youth Studies at Stockholm University. Her research interests include newly arrived students' experiences of the Swedish school system, focusing on perceived possibilities for learning and participation.

Monica AXELSSON is Associate Professor in Bilingualism and Swedish as a second language at the Department of Language Education, Stockholm University. Her research interests include multilingualism and second language learning for all ages and academic literacy. She is currently a member of a multi-disciplinary research project on learning conditions for newly arrived students, funded by the Swedish Research Council.

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