Article

Space for linguistic and civic hybridity? The case of Social Sciences in the Language Introduction Programme in Sweden

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– In Social Sciences, subject content needs to be related to students' experiences and knowledge.

– In secondary school, the language used to construct knowledge is abstract, dense, and complex.

– The concept of *Third space* (Bhabha,1994) revealed problems with teaching and teachers' perceptions of L2 students' needs.

– Education here appears as a space for a restricted curriculum with Swedish as the gatekeeper.

– This shows that subject teachers need to learn linguistic aspects of their own subject.

Purpose: The aim is to analyse linguistic aspects of education in Social Sciences for L2 students.

Method: Lingustic ethnography is used for studying the hybridity of Social Sciences with material from nine lesson observations and interviews with three teachers.

Findings: Findings showed that students' earlier experiences, knowledge, and perspectives on life were not acknowledged. The Third space appears as a transitional space where students are perceived as deficient, not yet reaching the goal of the introduction programme: to enter mainstream education. Students' agency was related to this space where the transformation was expected to take place, while teachers positioned themselves as outside, and the knowledge presented was simplified and fragmentized. While teachers expressed dissatisfaction with students' (lacking) Swedish proficiency, they did not seem to understand their own role to teach Swedish through Social Sciences.

Implications: This shows that subject teachers need to learn linguistic aspects of their own subject and conditions for L2 students' learning.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In this article, Social Science lessons for second language students (L2) in an introductory programme are studied. As a result of contemporary processes of globalization and human mobility, many students spend part of their schooling in settings where the dominant language is another than the languages they have earlier learned. Adolescents who have emigrated to Sweden need to learn Swedish and to enroll in school. Those who are between 16 and 19 years are generally placed in the Language Introduction Programme (LIP) in upper secondary school (*gymnasiet* in Sweden). In LIP, they should receive education in Swedish and the subjects they need, to fulfill the requirements for further education. After this, they may then be enrolled in a mainstream programme, continue through adult education or try to find a job. The situation is challenging for the students: to acquire the new language at the advanced levels needed for further studies, and at the same time use the same language to complement their earlier education. It is also challenging for teachers to teach through a language that students are learning in a situation where classrooms are very heterogeneous. While some students may have had many years of schooling before arrival, in some cases even at university level, others may only have had sporadic schooling, if any at all. In Sweden, L2 students who need it should receive support through what is called Study Guidance in the Mother Tongue (SGMT), and special assistants should be available for this.

Social Sciences is a subject that most students need to complete by fulfilling the course requirements for lower secondary school before continuing on to mainstream programmes in upper secondary school. Social Sciences in Sweden consists of Geography, Civics, History, and Religion, and a common focus is on civic education and identity as a Swedish citizen (Stolare, 2018). The subject content is in itself Swedish in character, with Swedish-dominant perspectives and perceptions represented through the content (Swedish National Agency of Education [SNAE], 2011/2017) and issues of identities and discussions of controversial issues are important. In Civics for lower secondary school, the main content focuses on Swedish population and welfare structures, its legal and political system, its political parties, and threats and conflicts in Sweden and the world. In Religion, the focus is on the understanding of the self and other, views on life in Sweden and the world, Christianity in Sweden and the big world religions, ethical issues, and democratic values. In History, the focus is on historical meaning-making and orientation in time, and the syllabus for lower secondary school concentrates on industrialism in Sweden and Europe, imperialism, colonialization, the World Wars, democratization of Sweden, historical perspectives on Swedish minorities, and ancient high cultures. In comparison, Geography has a more global focus on issues of climate, environment, natural resources, development, migration, and urbanization, and also deals with name geography globally.

This means that, as Social Sciences deals with topics that are close to students' everyday lives and their perspectives on life, it is important for teachers to relate the content to students' experiences and earlier knowledge. Intersubjectivity is important and interaction is necessary in classrooms. This is particularly demanding in an introductory

programme such as LIP where all students have recently emigrated, which means that they bring experiences and knowledge from various settings.

At the same time, the content is also related to language issues. In secondary school, knowledge is specialized and the language that is used to construct such knowledge is abstract, dense, and complex (see for example Schleppegrell, 2004; Fang & Schleppegrell, 2010; Bunch, 2013; Kibler et al., 2015; Hüttner & Smit, 2017; Wedin, 2021). Earlier research on linguistic aspects of Natural Sciences (Richardson Bruna, 2010; Applebee & Langer, 2013; Ünsal et al., 2016), and Mathematics (Norén & Svensson Källberg, 2018; Wedin, 2021) highlights the importance of knowledge among teachers about the subject-specific language of their respective subjects. This is important for learning among all students and necessary for L2 students.

This means that as students develop knowledge in various subjects, they also need to develop the relevant subject-specific language. Stolare (2018) stresses that knowledge goals for Social Sciences in curricula imply a development of complex and less straightforward ways of reasoning, which demands that students develop skills in figuring out and communicating developed reasoning; therefore, content-based and linguistic knowledge presuppose each other. However, research on language issues in Social Sciences has rarely investigated the particular situation for L2 students (however, see Short, 1994; Szpara & Ahmad, 2007; Sellgren, 2011; Olvegård, 2014).

This makes it particularly relevant to study aspects of Social Sciences at LIP as a space for linguistic and civic hybridity. With Bhabha's (1994) metaphor of *third space*, the focus lies on aspects of transgression and transformation in the in-betweenness (MacDonald, 2019). Bhabha uses *third space* to describe a position between two cultures or identities that meet each other, which may imply a conflict. In the third space, the individual finds him- or herself in a hybrid position, separate from earlier positions, but not yet included in the new. The hybridity and the in-betweenness that characterize the third space thus imply an unstable position where the individual may feel less safe and may not belong to either, whilst simultaneously having a potential to create something new. With *the other*, Bhabha (1994) expresses the position as excluded, not belonging to a culture, and characterizes the third space as a state of ambivalence. This ambivalence may express itself in various ways, and the individual may, for example, choose to adapt to the new or to dissociate him- or herself from it. Stereotyping is common in relation to deviations from norms, and questions of power are crucial in third space theory. Thus, the use of a third space framework enables the study of students' transformation to 'Swedishness' and their experiences preparing to transition to mainstream programmes in the in-betweenness of Social Sciences lessons in LIP.

The aim of this article is to create knowledge about linguistic aspects of education and knowledge in Social Sciences in LIP, and the following research questions are used to analyse the material:

1. In what ways are students' earlier knowledge, experiences, and perspectives made visible in the education?

2. What linguistic and knowledge-based bridges supporting the transformation are employed?

3. What spaces are there for students' agency in the lessons?

2 THEORETICAL BASE AND EARLIER RESEARCH

Bhabha's metaphor of *third space* (1994) is used here as the frame for the study of the linguistic and civic hybridity of Social Sciences in the case of LIP. By using the third space metaphor, issues of transformation and transgression in the activity are highlighted. This includes how the use of hybrid language practices can help students and teachers to bridge students' earlier experiences and knowledge, and the subject content, including the specific language used to construct it, implying that hybridity is used 'both as a theoretical lens for understanding diversity and a method for organizing learning' (Gutiérrez et al., 1999, p. 286). As Gutiérrez et al. state, learning environments are diverse, conflictual, and complex in nature, implying that learning spaces are conceptualized as third spaces in which 'alternative and competing discourses and positionings transform conflict and difference into rich zones of collaboration and learning' (1999, pp. 286-7). Space is understood here as an abstract concept involving physical, social, and temporal aspects.

2.1 Third space and social sciences

The use of the hybridity of the third space enables a focus on power through an analysis of issues of agency. This entails directing our interest toward issues of power and questions such as who gets to talk and who is listened to, as well as who is given space for agency.

   Challenges in teaching and learning Social Sciences relate to students' experiences, knowledge and perspectives. Students' frames for understanding may collide with the subject content and thus complicate learning, which makes it particularly important to relate the content to their earlier experiences, and to perceptions that they have about these. This means that education in Social Sciences is largely a hybrid space, where students' experiences and the school subject meet. At the same time, education is a space for linguistic transformation and transgression, as students' earlier linguistic resources meet the specific language demands of the school subject.

2.2 Language in social sciences

In education, ideas that are central for a knowledge field need to be expressed through language (Bruner, 1970; Christie, 2005), and thus learning implies the development of the ability to use language in new ways. Christie highlights that students who have little access to these ways of meaning-making outside school in particular need to have discipline-specific characteristics of language use made explicit. In upper secondary school, knowledge becomes more specialized and thus also further distanced from students'

everyday experiences. Consequently, the language used to express such knowledge becomes more technical and patterned in ways that they need to master, in order to engage in specialized language practices (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2010). Thus, knowledge and language skills depend on each other.

Earlier research on language demands in Social Sciences has mainly focused on conceptual aspects (Smidt, 2010; Stolare, 2018). Research about the subject-specific language of History is relatively well developed, while research on Geography is sparse (Stolare, 2018). Applebee and Langer (2013) highlight that the four Social Sciences subjects share a common aim of shifting the focus from information to reasoned interpretation, and engaging students beyond learning facts to engaging in discovery, problem-solving, and making their own interpretations. They have shown that students frequently engage in writing in Social Sciences but rarely with support (see also Smidt, 2010; Olvegård, 2014; af Geijerstam, 2020). Applebee and Langer (2013) argue that writing should be used for learning, and not only for what they call 'show-you-can'. Thus writing, together with reading, becomes an integral part of the subjects themselves, underlying disciplinary knowledge, enabling students to actively participate in the development of reasoned interpretation.

Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) also focus on literacy, particularly on strategies for reading. They illustrate various literacy demands in subjects through a triangle with basic literacy at the base, intermediate literacy at a second level, and disciplinary literacy at the top.

Studies of language in textbooks (Stolare, 2018) have revealed that these texts are often difficult to critically review and analyse, something that is particularly important in History. Olvegård (2014) showed that L2 students in particular have problems with unclear narrative structure, lack of context, and vocabulary that is technical and abstract. Also, the need for specific background knowledge makes the texts difficult. The importance of developing reading strategies specific for different school subjects has been highlighted by Moje and Speyer (2008; Moje, 2008) and Fang and Schleppegrell (2010). Moje and Speyer suggest that teachers build disciplinary literacy instructional programmes and model reading in interaction with students.

According to Stolare (2018), there is a strong tradition in Social Science education in Sweden to promote students' linguistic competence through strategies such as study visits, dramatizations, and role play. The curriculum (SNAE, 2011/2017) includes linguistic skills such as reasoning, arguing and managing information. Stolare also stresses that in contemporary education, textbooks are less dominant and that texts such as films, music, fiction, newspaper articles, lyrics, and diagrams are used. This implies that students need to learn to make meaning from such texts. To develop necessary language skills in Social Sciences, students need to communicate orally, in writing, and in multimodal ways. Pictures and narrative texts with a clear narrative structure are particularly important in History and Religion, while in Geography maps of various kinds are central. In Geography and Civics, the interpretation of tables, diagrams, and models are particularly important.

In Civics, official printed social texts are common, such as legal texts and newspaper articles.

Concepts may be related to different skills in various subjects. Stolare (2018) exemplifies this with the concept *source*. In Civics, skills in critically evaluating the credibility and relevance of sources is important, as in Geography are skills in using sources for geographical analysis. In History, skills in using sources are particularly important as well as the critical use of sources to construct historical representations based on relevant historical contexts. Students are taught to compare sources, summarize, and develop a content as well as develop an awareness about what interpretation may be involved. They are thus taught that sources should be examined in terms of the time, situation, author, and audience for whom they were written (Applebee & Langer, 2013).

Furthermore, Fang et al. (2006) show that in History, concepts may reflect ideology or approach, such as the naming of kings depending on from whose side the source originates. Fang and Schleppegrell (2010) highlight linguistic aspects specific for History, such as the aspect that in texts there are seldom human individuals present but they are hidden behind categories or cases, represented through functions, such as families and owners. Series of events may be constructed as a participant, such as *the rising productivity* and *a downward spiral*. The perspective in texts is often as an observer and there are often implicit references to earlier parts of the text that may not be obvious for students. These may express processes over time (the Great Depression) and students may need help to unpack such expressions and references. How students' writing strategies were affected by instruction in historical reasoning was studied by De La Paz (2005). Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) highlight that in History, cause-and-effect relationships are often inferred and these relationships are not necessarily visible in the events or made explicit in History texts. Even if they may be explicit, students need to construct such relationships themselves through thinking critically as historians.

2.3 Teaching social sciences for L2 students

In a volume about teaching content areas to L2 students (Oliveira et al., 2019), some chapters report on classroom work in Social Sciences. Clark et al. (2019) display work with students' positionality through critical Geography and History. Working with "My Identity as Spaces and Places", students were encouraged to think like geographers and historians. Students applied language skills by learning concepts and thinking in Geography and History as experts in their own lives. Kim et al. (2019) used visual biography through photography to personalize students' rights, responsibilities and spaces for citizenship. By building on the knowledge that students bring to the classroom, students cultivated their civic selves and developed relevant language skills. Yoder and Jaffee (2019) used two pedagogical strategies, Structured Academic Controversy and Reader's Theater, to make content accessible and highlight students' diverse voices. They argue that such an approach supports a Social Sciences education that is culturally and linguistically

responsive to the needs of L2 students and offer an education that is racially, culturally and linguistically sensitive.

Regarding students who study Social Sciences through a second language, Short (1994) showed how teachers may help students develop both the L2 proficiency and content knowledge while sharing with each other their own earlier knowledge. Szpara and Ahmad (2007) suggest that teachers provide social and cultural support and explicit instruction in necessary strategies for in-depth understanding and should make the curriculum more accessible by reducing the cognitive load without reducing the content.

Thus, a focus on the hybridity of language and content in Social Sciences enables the study of aspects that are important for L2 students.

3   METHODS AND MATERIAL

This study is part of a larger project on language development, disciplinary literacy, and social inclusion among recently arrived students in upper secondary school in Sweden[1]. Linguistic Ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015; Martin-Jones & Martin, 2017) is used as the methodological framework for the whole project, and material was created over two school years. The material used here is from the Language Introduction Programme in one of the four project schools and consists of documentation from observations and interviews. Mainly material from observations in nine lessons in Social Sciences, each 60 minutes, is used, and lessons were recorded through field notes and photographs. One of the lessons was also video-recorded. Teachers, students and SGMT assistants were interviewed as part of the large project, with a focus on language use and language attitudes. Transcripts from interviews with three teachers, one SGMT assistant and five students are used. A fourth teacher in Social Sciences in the LIP at this school did not have a teaching degree and no studies in Social Studies at high school level and was thus not observed for ethical reasons. All interviews were semi-structured and carried out individually with teachers, while students were interviewed in groups. One student was interviewed twice, both at the beginning and at the end of the two years. One of the teachers taught Geography (one lesson observed), one taught Religion (two lessons), and one taught a combination of History and Civics (six lessons).

Throughout the entire project, ethical issues were considered to make sure that no one was harmed. Information was carefully given to all involved, whose written consent was then requested. In particular, video-recording was carefully considered, and consent asked for on each specific occasion. The camera was not directed towards students' faces. All data have been stored securely in accordance with the project data plan, and data are presented in ways that avoid the identification of individuals. As the number of teachers is low, they will be presented as Teacher 1 and so on and will not directly be related to their respective subject, to avoid recognition. For students, pseudonyms are used and detailed information about individuals will be held to a minimum.

The analysis was carried out in three steps. In the first step, fieldnotes and interviews were transcribed, photographs were listed, and the video recording watched several times

and summarized in writing. In the second step, the material was analysed thematically based on the research questions, with the observation material as the primary source, and interview transcripts, the video recording and photographs as a complement. In this step, the material was used to a) identify how students' earlier knowledge, experiences, and perspectives were made visible in the education, b) trace bridges for transition between various linguistic resources as well as between students' earlier knowledge and the content knowledge taught, and c) identify students' agency during the lessons. In the third step, linguistic aspects of the teaching in these lessons were analysed based on the findings.

4   FINDINGS

The presentation of findings begins with the setting and general organization of the lessons. Then, findings from the analysis are presented based on the research questions. Finally, this analysis is used as a basis for conclusions regarding linguistic aspects of education and knowledge in Social Sciences in LIP.

4.1   The setting

All three teachers were qualified teachers with Swedish teaching degrees for upper secondary school. Teachers 1 and 2 were qualified in Social Sciences, while Teacher 3 was qualified in Physical Education (PE) and Mathematics but taught PE and Geography at this school. Teacher 1 had an immigrant background himself, and Teachers 2 and 3 were born in Sweden. Teacher 3 had previously been an L2 student in another country at the upper secondary school level. The SGMT assistant had a degree in engineering from Iran. Teacher 2 also taught Swedish as a second language, and thus had studies in conditions for learning for L2 students, while the other two said that they had no such studies, either from their pre-service studies or from in-service training.

The teachers followed a similar pattern for the observed lessons, with instruction and having students work with exercises in the form of writing answers to questions. In the Geography lesson, the instruction was the introduction to the lesson, and in Religion the teacher held teacher-led lectures the entire lessons. Teacher 1 had students seated in two classrooms: one where he sometimes gave the instructions, and one where students worked with exercises and the teacher only gave instruction in some of the observed lessons.
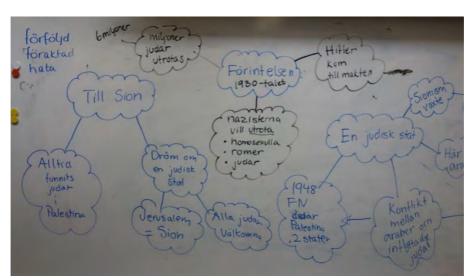
The teachers' lessons included short films, pictures displayed digitally, and their own writing on the whiteboard. In all nine lessons, the topic was directly related to specific pages in the textbooks, which were simplified versions of ordinary textbooks and aimed at students with learning difficulties. These were the only written texts students were given by the teachers during these lessons, apart from written questions on the whiteboard, in exercise papers or exercise books. Students had access to the internet through their individual laptops, and some also used their private mobile phones during

lessons. In addition to ordinary search engines and translation tools, they also had access to digital reading services with oral translations of their textbooks, and on a few occasions some explanations in various languages were also available. The most common languages used by the students, such as Somali and Arabic, were available through these tools. Other languages used by students, such as Dari, Kurmanji, Sorani, Thai, and Tigrinya, were also available in these tools, but to a more restricted extent, and some students complained about the quality of the materials, claiming that translations were not always correct. Some languages used by students, for example Wolof and Tagalog, were not available at all during the observations. In the observed lessons, these tools were only used in the lessons of History and Civics, and the SGMT assistant was present in one of these lessons.

4.2 Visibility of students' earlier knowledge, experiences, and perspectives

Students' earlier knowledge, experiences, and perspectives were not made visible much during the observed lessons. In the two lessons in Religion, the teacher was not observed to relate to students' earlier experiences or their outlook on life. The first lesson focused on David and Goliath, and the second on the history of the Jews. David and Goliath were presented as a narrative with David as the good one and Goliath as the bad, followed by a popular song by the Swedish artist Laleh, "Goliat" (Goliath), with no comments or questions about the relationship between the song and the narrative. It was not clear if the students were familiar with the song, which had been released a few years before any of them had arrived in Sweden. In the lyrics, "Goliat" symbolizes something that "we" are supposed to fight against to stop hurting each other and save the world, but its connection to the topic of the lesson was not made explicit.

The lesson about the history of the Jews was based on the Bible, which the teacher referred to as 'the book that changed the world' with no further explanations. During the instruction, she wrote on the whiteboard (see Picture 1).

Picture 1: Sets of "clouds" on the whiteboard.

The pattern on the board, with three separate sets of "clouds" related to each other, was based on her talk, but the connection between the talk and the picture was ambiguous. The reason for the separation of the three sets with their clouds in the centre — "Till Sion" (To Zion), "Förintelsen 1930-talet" (The Holocaust 1930s), and "En judisk stat" (A Jewish state)—were not made clear. The three words to the upper left — 'förföljd', 'föraktad', and 'hata' (stalked, despised, and hate) — were summarily explained.

Throughout both lessons, students' role during lectures was to listen, and they were not asked questions; nor did they themselves ask questions. Students were not observed copying from the whiteboard or taking notes, and in these lessons, there were no exercises for students to work with.

In the Geography lesson, the teacher gave a presentation on the climate, vegetation and climate change. He showed a film about the rotation of the sun, and both the film and the presentation had Sweden as the geographical center, and was based on the content in the textbook. Students then worked with exercises in relation to certain pages in the textbook. They had some copied pages with exercises including a wordlist with some central concepts from the content translated to some of their languages. In this lesson, students did not use their laptops, and their mobile phones had been collected by the teacher when they entered the classroom.

The teacher in History and Civics also made little attempt to make students' earlier knowledge and experiences visible. The topics of the three observed lessons where the teacher gave a lecture were economics, democracy, and the Swedish political system. In one lesson, he complemented his lecture with two films. Apart from lectures, students worked with exercises and the textbook. In the lesson about economics, the teacher had written some questions on the topic on the whiteboard, then left students to work with them while he went to the other classroom, and after 30 minutes returned and started to talk about the questions and their answers, writing some central concepts on the board. After having explained the meaning of some of them, the teacher referred to them and said 'ni ska förstå' (you should understand).

During these nine lessons, a teacher was observed to explicitly relate teaching to students' earlier experiences only once. That was in Civics, during the lesson on democracy, when the teacher, who himself had immigrant background, said when explaining the concept *conservative*:

Lärare 1: (…) Vi kommer från	Teacher 1: (…) We come from
länder som är konservativa	countries that are conservative
Elev: Efterblivna	Student: Retarded
James: (skratt) ja efterblivna	Teacher: (laughs) yes retarded

Here, the teacher included himself in the "we" who come from countries which are "retarded" in relation to Sweden. The relation expressed between *conservative* politics and the origin of students and the teacher himself as being "retarded" may be understood as disparaging their countries of origin.

It is clear that students' experiences, earlier knowledge, and perspectives were not particularly acknowledged during the observed lessons. Teachers' lectures and the films included no extensions, keeping to the restricted content that the simplified textbook represented. The playing of the popular song "Goliat" in the Religion lesson may be an attempt to bridge to students' perspectives, but the connection between the song and the topic of the lesson may be unclear to students (compare with Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). It would have been possible to use the song to relate to ethical issues regarding the good/bad-dichotomy, and the story in itself could have been related to students' religious knowledge as well as their outlooks on life. However, no such initiatives were taken; nor were there many visible signs of students' earlier knowledge in other lessons; the only perspective was the one presented by the teacher. In the Geography lesson, no reference to students' earlier experiences or knowledge of various climates and vegetation types was made, and what students were expected to write was to be found in the textbooks.

4.3 Linguistic and knowledge-based bridges for transformation and transition

There were also few teacher-initiated bridges observed between students' earlier knowledge and language. The song "Goliat" and the reference to students' origin as conservative may be understood as such attempts, but as less positive examples. However, when working independently, students used their varied linguistic resources amongst themselves and through the available digital tools, in ways that may be understood as bridges. During the observed lessons, this happened mainly in the History and Civics lessons, where students used various translation tools to look up single words and expressions and to translate whole parts of texts. They also used the internet to search for explanations, such as through Google or Wikipedia. In this work, they also collaborated with each other through various languages. As mentioned above, access to translation tools varied among languages, and students explained in the interviews how they had developed individual strategies to improve their understanding. A Tigrinya-speaking student said that Tigrinya was seldom available, and when it was, it was of low quality. Thus, she used Amharic instead, a language that she could not understand, but that her father could. In that way, she could have some parts of texts explained at home. In class, she used Arabic or English through her peers. Although her own proficiency in these two languages was weak, she used them to figure out the meaning of texts with the help of her classmates. Two girls who had Arabic in common chose to sit in the classroom where no instructions were given. There, they read the textbook, searched on the Internet and worked together, explaining to each other and discussing various topics in Arabic.

There were, however, three students who had Wollof, Thai, and Tagalog, respectively, as their main languages. They did not have more than occasional access to these languages during these lessons and were not observed collaborating with the other students. These three students were therefore largely left to themselves. One student, who was the only

Tagalog-speaking student, also knew some English, which he used to translate the texts in the textbook word by word: 'Jag ska översätta först i engelska, jag ska översätta ord för ord e svenska till engelska'. (I will first translate in English, I will translate word by word um Swedish to English). He sometimes addressed Teacher 1 in English, who did not encourage this and often ignored what this student said in English.

The SGMT assistant, who was present in one Civics lesson, knew some of the students' languages; in addition to Swedish and English, he also knew Arabic, Farsi, and Sorani. During this particular lesson, he spent a lot of time with one student, Maryam, who had recently arrived and who knew Arabic. Their interaction was video-recorded while she was reading the text in the textbook out loud and then writing answers to questions, and it became clear that he supported her in various aspects. One example was when she asked for the meaning of words (words in a regular font are said in Swedish, while the bold ones are said in Arabic[2], and the ones in italics are said in English. S is Maryam and A is the SGMT assistant):

S: Hyreshus?	S: Apartment house?
A: راجليتَيَب	A: **Apartment house**
(...)	(...)
S: Hittills?	S: To date?
A: نلآادحليقيي	A: **It means to date**
S: Jaha, ok, ةديج ةملك	S: Oh yeah, ok, **a new word**

He also supported her reading and pronunciation:

S: Hjälpa (skrattar lite generat)	S: Help (laughs a little embarrassed)
A: حصيأ	A: **Yes, that's right**

Furthermore, he gave her moral support when she expressed that she was nervous:

S: حيم ريثألأارقيلاجلكاكيمح أرقبمع نوكنلتبلأ ذاتيألّ (skakar sina händer)نكاحنتلبلايديوسناحتلابسرب)	S: **Master, when I read like this on my own I read great but in the test** (shakes her hands)
A: ام أي لّأاكان يدعق يةلاملكلة من أرُق من أرُقي إذا بزكرأ ردقب مهتلَغنله ييلقرُأ	A: **Yes, I had the same problem, when I read out (loud) then I can't concentrate but if I read (quietly) to myself then I understand**
S:زكرأ ردقبلّال ال men om jag har ett prov – katastrof (läser ur boken om att vara duktig elev)	S: **No, I can concentrate** but if I have a test – catastrophe (reads in the text about being a good student)
S: Det är jag [skratt]	S: That's me [laugh]
A: سخكلبليش سكةقفيشتريه يتل ،كلقديو شليكتن:	A: **I'll tell you, you see yourself as bad (nothing) but on the contrary so**
S: ؟أل	S: **I?**
A: شلقن	A: **contrary**
S: Aha, jag fattar	

A: لك يلتلقاتلي أكثر من الالزم لمية ، لتعجبتلما قلت لي أنك ماخذة betyg c مالنت ،	S: Oh, I get it A: **you are very smart (more than needed) I was surprised when I heard that you had got the** grade C **I didn't expect that** S: **You mean** …
S: ...دكصق A: Betyg C يعني *wow*	A: Grade C **is** *wow*

In the last lines, the SGMT assistant uses three languages: Swedish "betyg C", Arabic يعن and English *wow*. This hybrid language use resembles talk between students where various linguistic resources are used. Note also the use of أستاذ (**Ustaz**, Master or Sir) which is an address term of high respect.

Teachers were only observed inviting students to use other languages a few times, and in the interviews they expressed ambivalence regarding the use of other languages, such as this statement from Teacher 2:

Lärare 2: Men sen kan det ju också liksom vara att, som ibland är det ju ett problem att dom sitter och tjoar, eleverna, på varsitt håll, på sina språk och så skrattar man, och sen så det gör ju att man liksom, jag också och dom andra eleverna inte vet va som händer, inte vet va som sägs. Ja men man kan ju inte, det är klart att man måste prata, sitt modersmål i klassrummet, men och det har man ingen aning om, om dom pratar om skolrelaterade saker eller inte.	Teacher 2: But then there is sort of, like sometimes it's a problem that they sit yammering on, the students, in different places, in their languages and then you laugh, and then this makes you sort of, I also and the other students don't know what is happening, what is being said. Yes but you can't, of course you have to speak, your mother tongue in the classroom, but and you have no clue about it, if they are talking about school-related stuff or not

Teacher 1 also expressed doubts regarding students' use of their various languages and said that he thought that students ought to get more Swedish than they actually did[3] (emphasis added, I is the interviewer and T is Teacher 1):

I: Så du menar att det är mer ett problem i och med att dom inte pratar svenska? L: Kaos. Det är som, ja det är som ett kaotisk ja. Man kan, alltså man kan använda ordet mångfald bara för att, va heter det skönmåla det. [skratt] Nej det är sådär mångfald man använder positiv I: Så du menar att det är ett språkligt kaos?	I: So you mean that it is more of a problem when they don't talk Swedish T: Chaos. It's like, yes it's like a chaotic yes. You can, that is you can use the word diversity only to, what's it called give a flattering description. [laughs] No it's like diversity you use positive I: So you mean that there is linguistic chaos? T: In other words yes, yes what, yes there's linguistic chaos because, that is, we as a school we want them to

L: Alltså jo, jo vilken, jo det är språklig kaos eftersom alltså vi som skola vi vill att dom ska lära sej svenska och borde ge och ha nåt, borde ge verktyg *för att komma på ett annat sätt att dom kan tala svenska, i den sociala miljön.* Så, men sociala miljön när det är såhär då, och skolan har inga tydliga eller uttryckt mål nånting att dom ska få använda det här också den resten av tiden.

learn Swedish and ought to give and have something, ought to give tools *to find another way for them to speak Swedish, in the social environment.* Thus, but in the social environment it's like this then, and the school doesn't have any clear or expressed goals something that they may use this also the rest of the time.

Thus, Teacher 1 argued that students should be told by the school authorities to use Swedish outside class as well. Teacher 3 expressed a similar view, and also that he wished that students knew more Swedish (emphasis added, T is Teacher 3):

L: Det är lite både och. Ja ibland, när dom har kommit lite längre så vill jag ju att dom, mestadels pratar svenska på lektionerna, när dom har ett språk som dom kan. Men sen om dom jobbar med uppgifter och *behöver* diskutera på sitt hemspråk så uppmuntrar jag det också (...). Men ibland vill jag att dom ska prata svenska för att utveckla det.

I: Du menar att det skulle va enklare på många sätt?
L: Ja och både i skolan med inlärning men även i arbetslivet, *om nivån på svenskan hade vart högre. (...) när jag jobbar vill jag jobba med, alltså jag vill ju att svenska ska va grundspråket och det vi har,* pratar i helklass och genomgångar och jag kan ju inte, dom här andra språken något vidare heller. Så det ska ju va grunden. (...) Men sen så tycker jag att dom ska prata mer svenska till exempel på raster och, vid andra tillfällen. Att då, ska dom helst välja att prata på svenska även om dom pratar med en, från samma land eller från sa-, som kan samma språk så att säga. Så mer svenska än idag tycker jag dom ska

T: Well yes and no. Yes sometimes, when they have come further why then I want them to, most of the time talk Swedish during lessons, when they have a language they know. But then if they work with exercises and *need* to discuss in their home language then I encourage also that (...). But sometimes I want them to talk Swedish to develop it.
I: So you mean that it would be easier in many ways?
T: Yes and both in school and with learning but also in working life, *if the level of Swedish had been higher. (...) when I work I want to work with, in other words I want Swedish to be the basic language and the one we have,* talk in whole class and lectures and I don't know, those other languages very well either. So that should be the base. (...) But then I think that they should speak more Swedish for example during breaks and, on other occasions. That then, they should preferably choose to speak Swedish even if they are talking to someone, from the same country or from the sa-, who knows the same language so to speak. So more Swedish than today I

prata i skolan men dom ska även kunna använda sitt modersmål. (...) Om dom pratar för mycke på sitt modersmål då lär dom sej inte svenska tillräckligt bra.	think that they should speak in school but they may also be able to use their mother tongue. (...) If they talk too much in their mother tongue then they don't learn Swedish well enough

As seen in this extract, this teacher says that students' use of their languages stands in the way of their development of Swedish. It is clear that teachers are ambivalent, or rather reluctant, regarding students' use of all their linguistic resources, and they express a view of students as deficient, thus expressing a wish for students with other language qualifications than is the case. Teacher 2 also shows signs of resignation:

Jag gör tre lektioner samhällskunskap och det blir ju att man väljer ut dom viktigaste områdena. Och sen så tänker jag att det löser sej nog. Dom blir bättre. Men det är liksom, dom blir ju starkare och starkare i språket också under tiden. Men samtidigt så tappar man ju många på vägen som aldrig riktigt hinner med, och så	I do three lessons in Civics and you choose the most important areas. And then I think that things will probably turn out alright. They will become better. But it's sort of, they also become stronger and stronger in the language during that time. But at the same time, you lose many along the way who never really catch up, and such

The claim that 'things will probably turn out alright' gives the impression that this is not something that this teacher actually takes on as her responsibility. She does not acknowledge her own role in helping students to 'become better' and 'stronger in the language', nor having a possible role as someone who may support students so that they are not lost 'along the way'.

Few bridges to students' earlier knowledge and language initiated by teachers can be seen; the teaching was focused on the simplified textbook and questions on the text. However, most students themselves created bridges between languages and knowledge in their collaboration, while students who were alone with their languages and who did not have access to support through these were mainly left to themselves.

In the interviews, the student Bahar claimed that her teachers here were at a lower level than her former teachers in the country where she had her earlier schooling. Also, Danilo said that schooling had held a much higher level in the country from which he arrived. There are thus signs of students being less content with their teachers in the LIP programme. This distance between students and teachers in the LIP clearly differs, however, from how the SGMT assistant encouraged and praised the students' skill. Also, the respectful address "Ustaz" (Master) that Maryam gives the SGMT assistant was not something that was observed from students in classrooms in relation to the teachers.

Thus, bridges that appeared were mainly student-initiated and included hybrid language use that was important, involving students and the SGMT assistant when he was present, but not teachers. The third space, such as the Social Sciences education here,

appears as a space to pass through and where students are perceived as deficient, not yet reaching the goal of entering mainstream education, with Swedish proficiency as the main gatekeeper. These teachers do not seem to understand it as their responsibility to attend to students' language needs; rather, the responsibility is put on students.

4.4 Spaces for students' agency

The pattern followed by the three teachers through all nine lessons was teacher-centered and the teacher-student relationship followed a traditional pattern, where students were given a passive role. Only once was one of the teachers observed to respond to a student initiative: in Civics, when a student initiated the topic of Daesh and the return of Swedish children who are left in the camps in Syria, a topic that resulted in a short discussion. Still, in some lessons there was some space for students' initiatives. These initiatives were, however, mostly ignored by the teacher. One such example was when a boy started to sing during the work with exercises and two of his classmates joined him, something that seemed to go unnoticed by the teacher. Another was when one girl said that she could explain to her classmates in Somali. Then, the teacher answered "men på svenska först så att jag vet att det är rätt" (but in Swedish first so that I know that it's correct). She then explained in Somali while the teacher simultaneously continued his presentation in Swedish without taking notice of her talk. A few minutes later she again suggested that she explain, and the teacher said "man måste fatta vad det betyder" (You need to know what it means)" and she once more explained in Somali, and Teacher 1 answered: "men hur vet jag att du förstår, du måste förklara" (but how can I know that you understand, you have to explain) and then continued his presentation. A third example was when Danilo gave an answer in English, a language he and the teacher understood, while none of the other students knew more than very little English. Danilo had recently arrived and his Swedish was still very restricted. The teacher, however, interrupted him and turned to the other students, who in this case did not have an answer to the question.

Thus, space for students' agency appeared primarily in their work with exercises, when they on their own initiative used peers, textbooks, and the digital tools that were at hand. In their attempts to access the content, they talked to each other using hybrid language practices, explaining and translating to each other. Thus, students' independent work became the third space, where their transformation into Swedish-speaking students and transition to mainstream programmes was expected to take place. In this third space, they used their linguistic resources as a less desired tool for the transformation. The SGMT assistant may be understood as including himself in the in-betweenness through the hybridity of his language use, and the teacher's reluctance to respond to Danilo's English expressions as a way to position himself outside of this hybrid space. Students' agency was thus limited to the third space, where the transformation was expected to take place, while teachers positioned themselves as outside this space, and less responsible for what took place there.

5   CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This small-scale study, with three teachers and nine lessons spread throughout the two years of the study, may not say much on characteristics of the subject-specific language of Social Sciences, but it gives us examples of education for L2 students as a third space. Focusing on Social Sciences education in LIP as a third space and the in-betweenness in this space, it seems that these teachers had adapted their teaching to students' backgrounds by restricting the content and also their own teaching. The picture that emerges from the analysis of the education is discouraging; the knowledge presented to students is simplified and fragmentized, and the teaching is meagre. The strong Swedish tradition in Social Sciences education in Sweden of promoting students' competence through study visits, dramatizations, and role play, as described by Stolare (2018), was nowhere to be seen here. Fragmentized lectures and work with exercises of the type that Applebee and Langer (2013) call 'show-you-can' does little to meet the needs of students in Social Sciences education as described in earlier research. The absence of teacher-initiated bridges to students' earlier experiences, knowledge, and perspectives in these lessons means that students are not being offered the teaching that they need and to which they have the right.

Understanding the space where learning is supposed to take place as a third space—the space for students' transformation to Swedish-speaking students and transition to mainstream programmes — students in this space appear to be largely left to themselves, together with the SGMT assistant on occasion. As teachers in this case did not take responsibility for what is commonly included in the role as teacher, such as making sure students receive necessary instruction, involving them in discussions on important topics and checking their content comprehension, it may be understood as abdicating their responsibility in terms of the teacher role. The teachers seem to prefer students with other qualifications — higher Swedish proficiency — and appear to be resigned to doing what they perceive is possible with these students. It is important to remember that some of these students were already highly qualified; some had started their university studies before coming to Sweden and some claim to have been among the top students in earlier schools. It is therefore remarkable that in the LIP — the programme that is charged with teaching them Swedish and the knowledge they need — these students seem to be perceived as deficient when it comes to Social Studies, mainly due to lacking Swedish proficiency.

The characteristics of Social Studies as specifically Swedish-oriented separates it from other school subjects, making the importance of building on students' earlier knowledge, experiences, and perspectives even stronger. In this case, these classrooms appear as spaces for a restricted curriculum, with the simplified textbooks being constructed as the content, and the students' task to learn Swedish as prioritized with respect to other learning. Using Bhabha's (1994) *third space* revealed problems with teaching and teachers' perceptions of L2 students' needs in Social Sciences in ways that resemble problems found earlier in other subjects (Richardson Bruna, 2010; Applebee & Langer, 2013; Ünsal et al., 2016;

Norén & Svensson Källberg, 2018). According to Bhabha, the third space may support adaptation to or dissociation from the new. In this case, the choice students are given is to adapt, by learning the new knowledge but without receiving support to use earlier experiences, knowledge, and perspectives as a potential for change. Whether some students chose to dissociate from what was expected is not made known here, and few signs of transgression were observed. The example with the singing and the explaining for classmates that was ignored by the teacher may be understood as such. The role of the SGMT assistant becomes particularly interesting in relation to third space (cf. Bomström Aho, 2018), as he supports the student both linguistically and through his interpretations in the third space, contrary to teacher 1, who himself has an immigrant background but may be perceived as having left the position of otherness and become representant for the norm.

The findings in this study regarding Social Sciences are disappointing. It is clear that to enable further studies in mainstream programmes, students need to be taught both necessary knowledge and the language used to express it. A question arises: How is it that these teachers do not seem to understand it as their responsibility to teach this? Even though the study is small, and relies on few lessons, the results are consistent for the three teachers, as well as with earlier research (Moje & Spejer, 2008; Olvegård, 2014; Wedin & Bomström Aho, 2019; Wedin, 2021). These three teachers were qualified and experienced teachers, even though one did not have Social Sciences in his degree. They had either studied about L2 students' conditions for learning or had own experience of being an L2 student. However, this does not seem to be enough to create an understanding of conditions for teaching and learning Social Sciences through a second language, nor of the role of language for learning subject knowledge. The choice in one lesson to collect students' mobile phones before the lesson, while students in other lessons were observed to use these to access subject knowledge, as well as teachers' scepticism to students' use of their varied languages, highlights the necessity of educating subject teachers in how use of students' other languages may help students acquire both the new language and subject knowledge. While the teachers expressed dissatisfaction with students' (lacking) Swedish proficiency, they did not seem to understand their own role in teaching Swedish through Social Sciences. As their teaching treated students as homogenous; lacking Swedish competence, it may be that they saw no need to relate to students' earlier knowledge. This further emphasizes the need shown in earlier research (such as Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008; Fang & Schleppegrell, 2010; Smidt, 2010; af Geijerstam, 2020) for subject teachers to be educated in linguistic aspects of their own subject as well as about conditions for learning through a second language.

This study highlights the need for further studies on linguistic aspects of the school subjects History, Geography, Religion and Civics, what in Sweden constitute Social Sciences. There is still a great need for knowledge about the characteristics of the subject-specific language in these subjects and about what linguistic skills are needed to succeed in studies at varied levels. There is also great need for knowledge in educational aspects

of these subjects in relation to language development. Such knowledge is important for all students, and necessary for L2 students.

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ENDNOTES

[1] The research project Recently arrived students in Swedish upper secondary school – a multidisciplinary study on language development, disciplinary literacy and social inclusion, 2018-2021, which was financed by the Swedish Research Council, grant [number 2017-03566].

[2] The Arabic transcript follows the pronunciation, with some adaptation as some dialectal features appear that do not have their representation in Standard Arabic spelling.

[3] Note that this teacher is an L2 speaker of Swedish and sometimes does not express himself idiomatically. This is represented in the translation as near the original as possible.

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