Negotiating epistemic congruence: Students' lived experiences of learning spaces in a contact zone classroom

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Based on fieldwork in an upper-secondary school in Sweden, this paper centers on Swedish as two school-subjects: Swedish (SWE) and Swedish as a second language (SSL), as taught in one class. Adhering to separate curricula, and taught by SWE and SSL teachers respectively, they are often implemented as physically separated subjects. By contrast, this paper explores three different learning spaces in relation to everyday negotiations of belonging and participation among the migrant language learners: combined whole-class teaching, a separate SSL group, and combined book-group discussions. Drawing from the notion of the classroom as a contact zone (Canagarajah, 2020) and theory of spatial repertoire (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014), I discuss how minoritized second language learners negotiated social belonging and linguistic participation in these differently embodied learning spaces. Engaging a linguistic ethnographic approach, the data production consisted of fieldnotes from classroom observations, audio-recorded book discussions and semi-structured interviews. The material was analyzed by means of an epistemic stance analysis. Findings indicate that while an epistemic incongruence prevailed in the combined whole-class teaching, the reverse was found in the separate SSL group. In the space between these opposites, the book-group discussions served as a growing ground for epistemic congruence at the interface of SWE and SSL. The article thus contributes insights into how the organization of SWE and SSL affects how students navigate their multiple and hybrid identities as well as the extent to which they feel a sense of social belonging in order to fully participate in different educational practices.

Keywords: contact zone, epistemic congruence, spatial repertoire, linguistic repertoire, learning spaces, Swedish as a second language
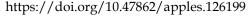
1 Introduction

Sweden is a country where Swedish, as a principal language, is taught as two separate but formally equal school subjects with distinct course curricula: Swedish (SWE) and Swedish as a second language (SSL). In its current form, SSL was implemented as a school subject in its own right almost three decades ago (Tingbjörn, 2004). On the basis of the Education Act (Swedish Ministry of Education and Research, 2010a), the parallel design corresponds to the two subjects' formally equal status resulting in equally applicable academic credits for postsecondary education. Internationally, the

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implementation of two separate but aligned language subjects is a unique feature of national language policy (Hedman & Magnusson, 2022a). The common educational goals of SWE and SSL are rooted in language as a key factor for all students' further education and future employability (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2017), implying proficiency in the majority language Swedish. One reason for implementing SSL as a separate school subject was to safeguard equity in terms of access to a high-quality second language education provided by qualified SSL teachers (Tingbjörn, 2004). This study focuses on the teaching of these subjects in upper-secondary school. Previous studies (e.g., Economou, 2007, 2014; Hedman & Magnusson, 2020, 2021, 2022b) on SSL in upper-secondary education have been conducted in schools in migrant-dense urban and suburban areas where SWE and SSL were taught in separate classrooms and by a SWE teacher and an SSL teacher respectively.

This study aims to contribute new knowledge about a combined practice in an upper-secondary school where SWE and SSL were taught by the same teacher in the same classroom. In this classroom, the teacher was qualified to teach both SWE and SSL. A focus is on the significance of the different learning spaces, arranged by the teacher and the school, for the students in SSL. Unlike the aforementioned studies, this school was located in a small town with a relatively small proportion of migrant students, meaning that the students in SSL were in the minority. The study is premised on the following key question: How do students in SSL at the upper-secondary level negotiate social belonging and linguistic participation as they navigate through different arrangements of learning spaces in relation to school-based learning of the majoritized language?

1.1 SSL as part of a pluralistic language policy

According to the Swedish Language Act (Swedish Ministry of Culture, 2009), Swedish is the principal language in Sweden and the official language in international fora. All residents in Sweden have the right "to learn, develop and use Swedish" (Swedish Ministry of Culture, 2009). The same rights apply to the usage of any of the five national minority languages: Finnish, Meänkieli, Romani Chib, Sámi, and Yiddish, and to Swedish sign language. In addition, it is stated that residents have the right "to develop and use their mother tongue" (Swedish Ministry of Culture, 2009) and to learn additional languages. From an educational perspective, one of the cornerstones of this pluralistic language policy is found in the implementation of Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI); a non-mandatory language subject focusing on the teaching of minoritized languages to students who speak this language at home (Salö et al., 2018).

At all points of compulsory schooling, studying Swedish is mandatory, either as a first (SWE) or second (SSL) language. Both SWE and SSL are core subjects comprising the most hours in the curricula. In compulsory school, the principal is responsible for placement in SSL and if students are considered to be in need of SSL, it becomes a mandatory subject, thus replacing SWE (Swedish Ministry of Education and Research, 2011). In upper-secondary school, SSL is an elective and students themselves have the right to decide whether they want to enroll in SWE or SSL (Swedish Ministry of Education and Research, 2010b). At the upper-secondary level, a qualified teacher holds a degree that includes 90 ECTS credits in SSL. In contrast to the SWE curriculum, the SSL curriculum explicitly focuses on second language learning and multilingualism as a resource not only for individuals, but also for society at large (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a). Despite the guidelines for a school subject grounded in multilingual perspectives and second language pedagogy (Hedman & Magnusson,

2022b), the discrepancy between the national ordinance and the local implementation has been problematic since its inception (MSU, 2004). Almost three decades into its enactment, only 42 % of the upper-secondary SSL teachers are qualified, compared to 90 % of the SWE teachers (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2020). Consequently, a majority of students in SSL do not have access to a qualified SSL teacher. Due to a deficit of SSL teachers and to structural constraints (Swedish Schools Inspectorate, 2020), mainstreaming is still the only option for a large number of students to participate in school-based language learning of Swedish (cf. Lindberg, 2008).

1.2 Academic discourses and second language policies

In an overview of the Swedish academic field of SSL, Hedman and Magnusson (2018) identified a total of 17 academic publications about SSL and different perspectives on equality. In their scrutiny of the field, they discovered two colliding discourses: the SSL discourse and the inclusion discourse. Although grounded in the right to equal language education (Lindberg & Hyltenstam, 2013), the discourses epitomized two different approaches to educational equity. While the SSL discourse is rooted in accommodated second language learning as an *equality-as-equal-opportunity* approach, the inclusion discourse is anchored in an *equality-as-uniformity* and *same-for-all* approach (Westling Allodi, 2007; also see Hedman & Magnusson, 2018). Hedman and Magnusson (2018) concluded that the SSL research field was consistent with a "focus on the justification of the subject" (p. 17, *my translation*) rather than on empirical research where actual practices and lived experiences are at the center of attention and analysis. Current studies by Hedman and Magnusson (2020, 2022b) indicate that in addition to findings of ambivalent student beliefs about SSL as an affordance or hindrance, there are also examples of empirical findings pointing to SSL as being a highly demanding subject, desired by multilingual students in their multilingual identity-building process and for effective pedagogical scaffolding. As stated, these findings were found in schools with a high proportion of multilingual students, where a majority of the students who studied SSL were taught by qualified and experienced SSL teachers.

Siekkinen's (2021) study, conducted in a school where a minority studied SSL, revealed that from a student perspective the interdiscursive relationship between SWE and SSL was unceasingly present as the students navigated between the dichotomies of SWE and SSL. On the one hand, SSL was "constructed as abnormal, unreal, incorrect, and wrong" (Siekkinen, 2021, p. 224) and on the other hand as "something different and positive" (Siekkinen, 2021, p. 226) where scaffolding and a good study environment stood out as advantages. In relation to the complexity of SSL, great importance has also been attached to the SSL teacher as an educator whose qualifications are fundamental for creating enriching learning environments in multilingual classroom settings (Hedman & Magnusson, 2021; cf. Leung, 2019).

Internationally, the parallel design of SWE and SSL as two equal but separate school subjects stand out with regard to their advanced curricula and instruction under the teaching of a qualified second language teacher, that is, a teacher with a degree in SSL and a license to teach it (Hedman & Magnusson, 2022a). Furthermore, the parallel design only pertains to the teaching of the Swedish language, which in both subjects encompasses, for example, literacy, literature, speech, digital literacy, the function of language, sociology of language, and language identity (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, 2011b). All other school subjects throughout the educational system are mainstreamed. The differences between the two subjects are mainly found in language use and linguistics where SWE includes a stronger prescriptive focus on

grammar and philology, while SSL derives from multilingual standpoints regarding language, power, and identity (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, 2011b). By comparison, in Norway, the Norwegian as a second language subject, now continued for beginner language learners only, depended on a corresponding curriculum, similar to the Swedish solution, but without specialized teacher training (Kulbrandstad & Kulbrandstad, 2008).

In Finland, Finnish and Swedish have equivalent status as national languages (Latomaa & Nuoulijärvi, 2010). In the Finnish school system, Swedish is taught as three school subjects. The subject *Swedish and literature* accommodates students who speak Finnish or Swedish as a first language and who attend Swedish-medium education. The subject *Swedish as a second language and literature* is intended for students whose first language is neither Finnish, nor Swedish or Sámi (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2023). The subject *Swedish as the other national language*, is designed for students who attend Finnish-medium education. As specified by the Finnish National Agency for Education (2023), teaching of Swedish as a second language and literature can be separated or partially combined with Swedish and literature, provided that teachers collaborate regarding learning spaces, planning, and assessment. In terms of teacher education, the two school subjects: Swedish and literature and Swedish as a second language and literature, fall within the scope of the overarching academic subject, mother tongue and literature (e.g., University of Helsinki, 2023). This results in there not being enough customized training for future teachers of Swedish as a second language. A recent government report presented by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (2022) concluded that second language learning of Finnish and Swedish needs to be foregrounded in teacher training across the educational system in order to better meet the needs of second language teaching.

In further contrast to the SSL curriculum, the body of research from English-speaking contexts has focused on the education of English language learners in general mainstream classes rather than in language education classes (see for example Gibbons, 2003, in Australia; Creese, 2010, in the UK; Peercy, 2011, in the USA). In England (Creese 2010; Leung, 2019) separate second language education has been abolished in favor of the same for all education (Westling Allodi, 2007), a path that has overshadowed second language perspectives (see Leung, 2019).

2 Theoretical points of departure

2.1 The classroom as a contact zone

The concept of contact zones has been advanced by Canagarajah (2020), as a theoretical approach to gain insight into the possibilities of diverse classrooms. This concept was originally defined as a culturally charged social space and a meeting point (Pratt, 1991). A contact zone classroom is a social space where the negotiation of unshared norms becomes the pillar of learning (Canagarajah, 2020). According to Canagarajah (2020), classrooms constitute contact zones provided that teachers adopt a position of "facilitators, rather than authorities, offering affordances to help scaffold the development students themselves desire" (p. 102). Consequently, for classrooms to become educational contact zones, they need to be designed as a process where students and teachers constantly and unpredictably negotiate diverse voices and literacies on the basis of risk-taking (Canagarajah, 2020). Focusing on students, the objective of contact zone classrooms "is to learn how resources come together, strategies renegotiate norms, and dispositions shape texts" (Canagarajah, 2020, p. 102). In the present study, this

specifically applies to language resources and tactics for speaking in a culturally and linguistically diverse learning context.

2.2 Spatial and linguistic repertoires

Originating from Gumperz (1964), the notion of linguistic repertoire has been expanded to comprise fluctuating linguistic resources, such as space, place, and lived experiences of language (Busch, 2017; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). The term *spatial repertoire* embodies a multitude of incorporated concepts centered around "linguistic resources available in a particular place" (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p. 161). This presupposes that linguistic resources can change and they are reliant on place. For Pennycook and Otsuji (2014), space is understood as something that is objectively given, while place must be interpreted and sensed. The classroom is the given space, but depending on the activities (Pennycook, 2010), the *sense of place* shapes the spatial repertoires that can be produced and thereby the linguistic resources available in each place (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014; see also Agnew 1987; Cresswell 2004). In the current study, this pertains to whether the classroom is used for whole-class teaching, separate SSL-group teaching, or book-group discussions (see Section 3.2). Hence, there are also inherent social aspects of given spaces, "for it is also speech and social interaction that construct the meaning of place" (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p. 180). This results in a process where the interrelationship between a given space and an interpreted place generates social spaces and shared practices. Such spaces and practices are based on linguistic repertoires (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014) and how they are collectively negotiated.

As defined by Busch (2017), a linguistic repertoire is a dynamic assemblage of a person's language resources, including lived experiences of language. The linguistic repertoire, as a process, "not only points backward to the past of the language biography, which has left behind its traces and scars, but also forward, anticipating and projecting the future situations and events we are preparing to face" (Bush, 2017, p. 356). For Busch (2017), a lived experience of language is an emotional or bodily reaction, such as joy or shame, which relates to how speakers are received by interlocutors. Lived experiences of language are closely connected to forced relocations of people. As they enter newly given spaces, three situations, or senses of place, (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014), stand out relating to negative experiences: (1) incongruent perception of self with regards to being positioned or categorized by others, (2) language as a determiner of social inclusion or exclusion, and (3) linguistic capacity as a means of power (Busch, 2017). In the current study, these situations have a bearing on how students navigated and interpreted the three different aforementioned learning spaces, in relation to *linguistic identities of distinction* (Talmy, 2009, p. 1). Such acts of distinction, might lead to social creations of in-groups and out-groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) as well as limited or expanded spatial and linguistic repertoires, depending on perceptions of identities and students' overall lived experiences of language.

3 The study

3.1 Research setting and participants

As part of a larger research project, this study was conducted in a 10th grade classroom at Spruce High School, [1] an upper-secondary school located in a small Swedish municipality. The teaching of SWE and SSL was designed as a combined local practice

warranted by the teacher Agnes' dual qualifications to teach both subjects. According to the principal of the school, the process of staffing each class stemmed from a determination to safeguard the students' right to be taught by adequately trained teachers, provided that the needs of the organization as a whole were met in terms of teacher resources and economic circumstances. Furthermore, the principal considered group dynamics as an important factor for implementing combined practices, if necessary, given that there are social advantages to group sizes that are not too small.

The study comprises 25 students and Agnes, their teacher of SWE and SSL. Seven of the students followed the curriculum for SSL in the mandatory combined teaching of SWE and SSL. Six of the students also participated in the recommended, but non-mandatory, separate SSL group. One of the students in SSL chose not to participate in the separate SSL group. Four of the students in SSL, Alma, Gabriella, J-Hope, and Snit, were selected as key participants due to their regular attendance in all learning spaces. All four students were migrant students who had arrived in Sweden during their middle-school years. Together, their language repertoires encompassed three minoritized languages originating from Africa and central Asia. Of the 25 participating students, 18 had a Swedish majority background and followed the curriculum for SWE. Agnes had approximately ten years' experience of teaching combined classes of SWE and SSL. All the participants received information, orally and in print, about the purpose and procedures of the study. This included protection of participants, future publications, and data storage (Swedish Research Council, 2017). Those who decided to participate signed consent forms and chose their own pseudonyms.[2]

3.2 The classroom as a given space and a sense of place

The classroom was not only a given physical space, since its afforded spatial and linguistic repertoires brought about different senses of place depending on, among other things, the purpose for which it was organized and populated. In this study, I focus mainly on spatial and linguistic repertoires relating to the classroom as three different learning spaces: (1) the combined whole-class teaching, (2) the separate SSL group, and (3) book-group discussions as a part of the combined SWE and SSL practice.

During *whole-class teaching* the classroom was crowded but quiet and the students were seated in traditional rows, based on free choice seating, facing the board and the teacher. An IRE-pattern (Mehan, 1979) dominated the interaction in whole-class teaching. This meant that the teacher initiated interaction and evaluated student response. However, student response was often non-existent in this forum since students in both SWE and SSL tended to remain silent. For whole-class teaching, the students from a majority SWE background sat together and likewise students from a minority background sat next to each other, thereby spatially creating an embodied social boundary. Students habitually chose the same seat or the same part of the classroom. This combined class as a whole had mandatory scheduled lessons three times a week.

In the teaching of a *separate SSL group*, the classroom was spacious and also highly interactive. While only the front of the classroom was used, due to the small group of students, there was movement among the students who tried new seats, including the teacher's desk chair. The teacher initiated this type of non-mandatory extracurricular period once a week to fortify the learning objectives of SSL in a separate space.

For *book-group discussions*, the students were grouped by the teacher and seated in a semi-circle. These groups consisted of five to six students both in SWE and SSL and throughout the academic year, the students met in these groups at least every other week, as a part of the combined teaching of both subjects.

3.3 Methodology and the ethnographic fieldwork

This study was designed as a case-study anchored in linguistic ethnography to gain a detailed understanding of how emic perspectives can be understood in relation to broader discourses (Copland & Creese, 2015; Rampton et al., 2015; Shaw et al., 2015). The benefit of this epistemology and methodology approach is that "it looks at how language is used by people and what this can tell us about wider social constraints, structures and ideologies" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 27). The fieldwork at Spruce High School spanned across the academic year of 2021–2022 and I conducted fieldwork in Agnes' whole-class teaching, in the separate SSL group, and in the book-group discussions. In order to participate "as fully and humanly as possible" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 3), I conducted observations from the left front corner of the classroom. With my back turned towards the whiteboard, I gained a peripheral vision of the classroom facing both the students and Agnes. If Agnes was occupied, students asked me for help as I had openly entered the field as a researcher with long-term experience of teaching SWE and SSL in linguistically diverse classrooms. During group work, such as book discussions, the students often sat in a semicircle that I also joined in. I engaged in open ethnographic observations, and consequently I did not follow an observation schedule (Copland & Creese, 2015). While informal conversations took place in the hallway and on the spur of the moment, I also scheduled audio-recorded interviews with participants. The interview guide for the semi-structured interviews comprised thematized questions about the participants' experiences of combined practices of SWE and SSL. All the interviews were conducted in Swedish, and they took place in the classroom or in an adjacent group room. The interviews were later transcribed and translated into English (see original transcripts in the Appendix).

3. 4 Material and analytical processes

In its entirety, the compiled data corpus consisted of transcriptions of 17 semi-structured audio-recorded interviews and 32 book discussions together with observational fieldnotes (200 pages). This study adheres to the solid practice of ethnography, where fieldnotes comprise one essential data set among several (Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Creese et al., 2015). Fieldnotes "have the potential to be particularly context-sensitive" (Denscombe, 2017, p. 241) and are used here to bring a complementary perspective from other data sources. Although the analyses are based on initial multiple readings of printed and digital versions of the data source as a whole (Copland & Creese, 2015), for the purpose of this article, my focus is mainly on student interviews, accompanied by fieldnotes and transcribed book-group discussions about three novels. Taken as a whole, the data sets provide perspectives on the three different learning spaces outlined above. As I analyzed the material, I noted key phrases in the margin of the fieldnotes and transcriptions from which I selected themes that tell "the best story" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 197) appertaining to the study's research question and theoretical framework. Combining utterances and actions in connection to theoretical underpinnings of place and space in an abductive and iterative process resulted in *daring and belonging* as the main themes. Following these overarching themes, I developed three sub-themes: (1) holding back and wanting to belong in whole-class teaching, (2) making headway in the SSL group, and (3) unlocking conversation in book-group discussions.

In the analysis of transcribed interactions and fieldnotes centering around these themes, I draw from a three-layered epistemic analysis based on epistemic access,

primacy, and responsibility (see Stivers et al., 2011): (1) *Epistemic access* here involves a participant's different sources of knowing, such as book knowledge or personal experience, (2) *epistemic primacy* is relative and applies to the interrelationship between the interactants concerning who has the right to know and say what in the situations under study, and (3) *epistemic responsibility* specifies not only the right to know certain things, but also the obligation to act and respond to what is learned in a conversation (Stivers et al., 2011). Further, *epistemic congruence* is applied here to either indicate interactants' mutual recognition of each other's sources of knowing (cf. epistemic access), or with respect to power dynamics in conversation (cf. epistemic primacy, Stivers et al., 2011).

In the following section, I present the findings centering around daring and belonging from a student perspective and discuss them with reference to these three layers of epistemic access, primacy, and responsibility. The findings section is presented under the headings of the three sub-themes, and the article ends with a concluding discussion.

4 Findings

4.1 Holding back and wanting to belong in whole-class teaching

Having transitioned from compulsory school to upper-secondary school, all the key participants reported on previous and ongoing experiences of combined whole-class teaching. In Excerpt 1, Gabriella, narrates a lived experience of language, where the incongruent perception (Busch, 2017) of her as a learner in the past, undermines how she sees herself in current learning spaces.

Excerpt 1: Student interview

> Researcher: What is your experience of attending a class where the teaching of SWE and SSL is combined? What does it feel like for you?
>
> Gabriella: You don't dare to do the things that you want to (…). Sometimes, in compulsory school, well I'm a person who just wants to ask [questions] all the time, ask, ask, ask, but then once in compulsory school, I asked the teacher all the time and they said, "do you like need help all the time?" They, my classmates, and then I felt that perhaps they think that I'm stupid and that I don't understand anything, do you get it? I needed help but I thought, I won't do it anymore. I don't dare. So, it can be a disadvantage so it's good to take SSL sometimes, where you have people who are alike.

Gabriella describes herself as an active student who asks questions in order to gain access to different sources of knowledge. She explains to me that she is a person who dares to ask openly, thereby taking epistemic responsibility for enriched learning in a broader context that includes her peers. Nevertheless, the negative reactions from peers have made her hold back in silence. Afraid of being categorized as less knowledgeable (Busch, 2017), she therefore no longer dares to ask questions. Gabriella's account can be understood as a perceived loss of epistemic primacy in the whole-class teaching, which may also jeopardize her opportunities for epistemic access, resulting in a limited spatial repertoire (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). In the last line, she expresses a positive attitude towards the separate SSL group in terms of belonging with students "who are alike." The relative degrees of epistemic primacy and the personal feelings of belonging with

students in the separate SSL group are also evident in Alma's account of affordances and constraints of the combined whole-class teaching (see Excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2: Student interview

> Researcher: What are the affordances of the combined teaching of SWE and SSL?
> Alma: Then it's not unfair to us SSL students (…). We learn the same things (…). Then it's easier for us as a society to grow closer together.
> Researcher: What are the constraints of combined teaching of SWE and SSL?
> Alma: It's hard to always say what you think. Perhaps you think that oh, if I say this, then the SSL students will not find it weird, but the Swedes will find it weird and then I don't say it. I let it go.

Alma recognizes the "SSL students'" access to the same content ("learn the same things") as "the Swedes" – her categorization of students in SWE – as fair and a vehicle for togetherness beyond the classroom ("as a society"). At the same time, she also depicts combined whole-class teaching as a hindering space where she holds back. Alma's account implies that she experiences epistemic access, however, as she senses that her knowledge will be received negatively by "the Swedes", she chooses not to bring forth epistemic primacy outside of the SSL group (cf. Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). In line with Gabriella (see Excerpt 1), Alma remains quiet, worrying about how her peers in SWE might react. Alma's non-primacy can further be explained by a reflection that she offered as our conversation continued, see Excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3: Student interview

> Researcher: In your opinion, does the combined practice of SWE and SSL impact teaching in any way?
> Alma: Another thing that I've noticed about students is that when SSL students are on their own, then it's easier for them to speak in front of the teacher or in front of each other but when Swedes are present, it becomes a little stiff for us to talk, and I think for them too. I don't know, it feels as if you don't talk as much when you're with Swedes.

Alma concludes that in the combined learning spaces, students in SSL are not as engaged as they are in the separate SSL group. Hence, her epistemic primacy seems to surface or submerge depending on whether she sees herself as a talkative member of an in-group group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), as in the separate SSL group, or as part of the combined whole-class. Just as in Excerpt 2, Alma speaks of an us and them ("SSL students" versus "Swedes"). Her reference to the separate SSL group as an in-group with inclusive members only (being "on your own") demonstrates the relative characteristics of epistemic primacy as being dependent on who the interlocutors are (cf. Stivers et al., 2011). In Excerpt 4, Alma is still reflecting on the impact of teaching in the whole-class setting (the same question as in Excerpt 3).

Excerpt 4: Student interview

> Alma: Sometimes there is a clash. She [Agnes] explains everything in one way to Swedish students and it's not only in upper-secondary school. I noticed it in compulsory school too, that there are two different ways of explaining things. For example, she has explained something and then she looks at us SSL students: "Have you understood? How are you doing?" [Alma changes her voice and sounds excessively nice] And then they try to explain it to us in an easier way. Sometimes I think that this is really tiring because you feel like: don't I get it? Or don't I know anything?

Focusing on the role of Alma's current and previous teachers, Alma shares a lived experience of being positioned with an unwanted identity of someone who understands less and thus needs additional explanations in order to understand the instructions given in whole-class. The use of "sometimes" indicates that for the most part this is not an issue, but when it happens "an epistemically incongruent situation" (Stivers et al., 2011, p. 16) emerges. This means that the teacher's claimed primacy in her capacity as an educator is not congruent with Alma's perception of epistemic access. Instead, Alma's imitation of the teacher's use of an excessively kind voice to ensure the students' understanding, indicates that she finds it condescending. The "clash" that Alma mentions seems related to how the teacher asks the students in SSL if they have understood. In addition, the clash also relates to how Alma, as an individual learner, perceives being positioned as a member of an out-group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), involving a collective identity that she contests.

In common with Alma, Snit shared a similar experience, but for her it was something that she had only felt in the past. In her present learning spaces with her present teacher, she feels that the teacher understands her aspirations (see Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 5: Student interview

> Snit: I think that the teacher understands what's difficult for us (…).
> Researcher: What is that you think that the teacher understands?
> Snit: I want to get an A. She knows that so she helps me reach my grade. She said she would help us. We work a lot with things so that we will reach our goals, and that's the best. No one thought like that in compulsory school. The only thing she [the teacher] said is that oh you're new [Snit changes her voice to sound pitiful and belittling], you're new, you cannot, you cannot get it [an A]. It makes me give up. It makes a big difference. I like this teacher more.

As evident from Excerpt 5, Snit had previous experiences in compulsory school where she, as a new user of Swedish, was bound to make low grades. Similar to Alma's imitation of how she perceived the teacher's voice, Snit depicts her former teacher's approach as belittling. The epistemic access incongruence (Stivers et al., 2011) concerning Snit's development trajectory is apparent in Snit's cognizance of the teacher's claimed epistemic primacy where being new translated into "you cannot" attain a high grade. This bothered Snit to the extent that it made her "give up." In her transition to upper-secondary school, Snit thus experienced a different approach, and she validated the classwork as meaningful and aspirational. Snit's trust in her teacher can be explained as epistemic primacy congruence (Stivers et al., 2011), meaning that Snit trusted in the teacher's pedagogical and emotional scaffolding. Excerpt 5 also illustrates that Snit felt

that her teacher believed in her as a competent learner, which according to Snit, "makes a big difference."

4.2 Making headway in the SSL group

The first part of the following fieldnote depicts an observation of a scene from the combined book-group discussion and the second part is a description of an observation from the separate SSL group. Both refer to the students' readings of *Miss Peregrine's home for peculiar children* (Riggs, 2016). Together they illustrate the relative modus operandi of epistemic primacy, depending on spaces, interactants, and a desire for deeper epistemic access.

Excerpt 6: Fieldnote

> Raising her hand with a pointed index finger, Snit indicates that she wants to say something about the pictures. The teacher does not see her. Snit remains silent. (Fieldnote a, from the combined book-group discussion, February 4, 2022)

> Snit and Gabriella speak non-stop about the book, and they want to know more about the letter. Who wrote it? (…) Gabriella can't let go of page 63 and she asks: "Why did they write Jacob Magellan Portman[3] in the book?" (…) I check with Agnes if it's okay that I join (. …) Here we are, two students in SSL, a teacher, and a researcher, but it's not how I categorize us. We are readers (. …) I try an interpretation (. …) I think that it's grandpa's way of saying something to Jacob, that Magellan is like a nickname and that he thinks that Jacob too is an explorer (. …) Gabriella agrees with me and says that this is a reasonable explanation (. …) Gabriella and Snit speak in a way that is different from the combined space. More than anything they ask a lot of questions. (Fieldnote b, from the separate SSL group February 4, 2022)

As illustrated in Excerpt 6, Snit's raised hand signals epistemic access, although she does not maintain primacy by remaining silent. Conversely, she brings her curiosity to the separate SSL group, where other linguistic resources seem available (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014), and where she and Gabriella claim full epistemic primacy by openly asking multiple questions. I am intrigued by their focused attention on the name Magellan and why Jacob's grandfather dedicated the book to Jacob Magellan Portman, when his name is Jacob Portman. Carried away by the moment, stepping into a role as a first-time reader of this book, like Snit and Gabriella, I ask permission to share my own knowledge. Together we reach epistemic access congruence in the grandfather's hidden message of telling Jacob that he is an explorer, comparable with the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan.

    Snit and Gabriella's experiences of claimed primacy in different spaces are consistent with J-Hope's narrative about differences between combined whole-class teaching and the SSL separate group (see Excerpt 7).

Excerpt 7: Student interview

> Researcher: Are there any differences between the combined whole-class teaching and the SSL group?

> J-Hope: The teacher explains more in detail [in SSL] about what we need to know (. …) For example, if we are in a conversation [in the combined practice] the teacher might know that we don't talk so much with Swedes and so on, but when we are with immigrants only it might be easier for us to say what we think and so on. You are not afraid of each other because you know each other very well. It can be easier to talk during this class.

J-Hope notices that in the SSL group, "when we are with immigrants", the teacher gives more thorough explanations compared to the whole-class teaching. From J-Hope's perspective, the teacher has "prior epistemic access" (Stivers et al., 2011, p. 10) to how students feel about the different learning spaces, and there seems to be no inner conflict between epistemic access and epistemic primacy in the SSL group. J-Hope's observation implies that in the SSL group, she has deeper epistemic access to the content. Like Alma, J-Hope alludes to the separate SSL group as a space where it is "easier to" claim epistemic primacy and speak freely (where no one is "afraid"), compared to the combined whole-class. In Pennycook and Otsuji's (2014) terms, the students describe "how and why particular resources are available" (p. 163) in the separate SSL group, but not in the whole-class teaching. J-Hope's observation is also in alignment with my classroom observations of the separate SSL group (see Excerpt 8).

Excerpt 8: Fieldnote

> The atmosphere, just like the students' and the teacher's behavior, changes during the SSL classes. It's merry and characterized by questions and interactions. The teacher receives a plethora of questions about language. The students in SSL seem happy although they're tired and despite the fact that the students in SWE have already called it a week. (Fieldnote, December 4, 2021).

This observation suggests that the separate SSL group constituted a learning space where students in SSL employed epistemic primacy to ask questions in order to increase their epistemic access. During one of the combined book-group discussions, the teacher apologized for accidentally mixing up the groups, resulting in a triad consisting of Snit, J-Hope, and the teacher. For Snit, the learning space unexpectedly changed from combined to separate, which she welcomed: "Snit looks happy and says that she thinks that it's good that it will just be her and J-Hope" (Fieldnote, February 18, 2022; see also Excerpt 9 from their discussion).

Excerpt 9: Book-group discussion in SSL

1.	Snit:	Jacob. Then he says you abore [*dyke*r/dive] him, something like that.
2.	Teacher:	Adore [*dyrkar*/adore]
3.	Snit:	Yes, adore.
4.	Teacher:	What does it mean?
5.	Snit:	Isn't it that you're interested in him or what? I don't understand the word.
6.	Teacher:	Adore means that oh, you're so good. You're the best.
7.	Snit:	Yes, like that. Okay.
8.	Teacher:	Yes.
9.	Snit:	You adore him. Yes, I do. Jacob explains because then, Jacob got to know more than his dad.

Snit's use of "something like that" indicates that she has doubts about whether or not "*dyker*" is correct, yet she takes a risk and claims epistemic primacy (turn 1). "*Dyker*" (dive) is understood by the teacher as the verb "*dyrkar*" (adore). Using a recast (turn 2), the teacher acknowledges Snit's vocabulary and provides her with the correct pronunciation. Snit immediately claims epistemic access by repeating it aloud (turn 3). At the next level, the teacher asks Snit about the meaning of the word adore. Following her understanding of adore as being related to the meaning of being "interested in" Snit downgrades her knowledge with a tag question (turn 5). She then concludes that she is not fully aware of the meaning. With epistemic responsibility, the teacher explains the meaning of adore and Snit instantly incorporates both the pronunciation and the usage in her own production (turn 9). As evident from Excerpt 9, the shift of learning spaces, from the combined SWE and SSL to the separate SSL group, afforded Snit another type of language resource (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014), in this instance based in the teacher's language scaffolding.

In their interviews, Gabriella, J-Hope, and Snit referred to SSL as a subject that they needed for their Swedish language development. Although the students mutually agreed that the separate SSL group was a justified space for second language learning and a space for daring to speak, this same space also triggered ambivalent emotions (see Hedman & Magnusson, 2022b; Siekkinen, 2021). In everyday conversations, participants, including the teacher, referred to the combined whole-class as "Swedish" and the separate SSL group as "second language". In Excerpt 10, set in the separate SSL group, J-Hope welcomes the accommodated SSL teaching while Gabriella contests Agnes' practice of showing "special consideration and concern for the Swedish as a second language students" (Siekkinen, 2021, p. 223).

Excerpt 10: Fieldnote

> When the students in SWE have left the classroom, Agnes says [directed towards the students in SSL]: "How much energy do you have?" She wants to know if they need help with the Goldman text. J-Hope wants Agnes to clarify the instructions for the summary. "It's not hard for us to understand what you teach us together with the Swedish [students]", Gabriella says and points towards the back of the classroom where the students in SWE usually sit. (Fieldnote, October 1, 2021)

J-Hope and Gabriella here express epistemic primacy to voice their different opinions in the separate SSL group. In this episode, J-Hope uses her epistemic primacy to take advantage of the accommodated learning space and Gabriella uses hers to dispute it. Gabriella's embodied reaction, pointing towards an empty space usually populated by the SWE in-group, can be understood as an amplification of incongruent perceptions (Busch, 2017) between interactants. Here, Gabriella declares that she is not in need of additional explanations. In the SSL group, she thus dares not only to use her epistemic primacy to ask questions, but also to question the accommodated pedagogy (Westling Allodi, 2007) and the unwanted identity of being in need.

4.3 Unlocking conversation in book-group discussions

The literary units formed part of the combined whole-class teaching, meaning that the instructions were given in whole-class and all students read the same book. The students were grouped by the teacher for the book-group discussions and the groups consisted of students in SWE and SSL. In Excerpt 11, Snit shares a meta-reflection about her own participation, and she gives a concrete example of a situation when she did not claim

epistemic primacy, although she had epistemic access to the content of the novel (cf. Excerpt 5).

Excerpt 11: Student interview

Researcher:	Yes, or what did it feel like to have book discussions, when it was new, and what did it feel like when you had met the group several times?
Snit:	I think that I shared my opinion the first time, but the first time we met as a group it was stiff and I couldn't say very much and when the teacher asked I might have said "I don't know" and I have regretted that I said that. I wanted to tell them what I think, how I feel when they ask and such things.
Researcher:	What is it that you regret that you didn't say?
Snit:	When I say" I don't know." It was difficult. I had the thought but it was difficult with the people who were there so I couldn't say what I thought. I always have regrets when it happens.

On the one hand, Snit reports to have claimed epistemic primacy by initially sharing her opinions about the novel. On the other hand, she does not seem to have been able to maintain this type of epistemic primacy. Hence, by answering "I don't know", her epistemic access remains unknown to the group. Snit's account is indicative of an imbalance between her epistemic access to the content of the novel and her desired epistemic primacy. At the end of Excerpt 11, Snit's concealed epistemic access and her negated primacy can be explained by virtue of not feeling comfortable in the group. This repeatedly prevented her from full participation and from making full use of her linguistic resources (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). As my conversation with Snit continued, I asked her how she felt about the upcoming book-group discussions, and she said that "perhaps it will be stiff this time too but I will try. I will try my best." Over the course of time, Snit, like all students, remained silent in the whole-class space. In the social interaction of the book-group discussions, however, she lived up to her promise and claimed epistemic primacy. In the following Excerpt 12 (about four weeks later), Snit is part of a group that consists of two students in SSL (Snit and J-Hope), three students in SWE (Zoe, Kurt, Anna), and the teacher. As we join their conversation, they are characterizing Ester's parents. Ester is one of the main characters in the novel *När hundarna kommer* (Schiefauer, 2015).[4]

Excerpt 12: Book-group discussion

Teacher:	Mm, what about her parents? What are they like?
Zoe:	Proper.
Teacher:	Proper.
Zoe:	And strict.
Teacher:	And strict.
Zoe:	Yes.
Snit:	But still, they also allow her to do what she wants.
Teacher:	They allow her to do what she wants.
Snit:	Yes, exactly!
Teacher:	Do they really do that?
Snit:	Yes, because in the book, they said that she was going to a party, at twelve, eleven thirty, and she was allowed to go.
Teacher:	Yes, mm.

Snit:	If it had been our parents, our parents would not allow us to go [she points at herself and J-Hope) at that time [laughter]. It feels-
Teacher:	No, perhaps that's a small difference.
J-Hope:	It seemed, when she said to her parents that they were going, they did not seem shocked. It was normal that their daughter would go out during the night.

Through their individual readings, all the students have gained different levels of epistemic access to what the fictive parents are like. In her capacity as a teacher, Agnes is bestowed with "superior rights to know" (Stivers et al., 2011, p. 14, see also Sacks, 1992). In the first instances of Excerpt 12, the teacher Agnes makes affirmative full repeats of Zoe's statements, thus validating this knowledge as correct. With a high degree of epistemic primacy, and by means of the concessive cancellative discourse marker "but still", Snit contests the description of the parents. With persistent primacy, Snit confirms the teacher's full repeat to which the teacher then questions the correctness of Snit's statement. Through the use of the inferential discourse marker "because" and her reference to the text as a source of epistemic access, Snit stands her ground and maintains epistemic primacy. She then transfers the story into her own context, thus adding her own experience as a new dimension of epistemic access, in which she also includes J-Hope. In combination with the teacher's response about implied differences between cultures, Snit's comment alludes to an identity of distinction (Talmy, 2009). This constructs her and J-Hope as an out-group group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) that contrasts the habit of late curfews for the in-group youngsters. This is confirmed by J-Hope whose close reading provides her with both epistemic access and primacy to support Snit's interpretation. In her verification of Snit's understanding, J-Hope demonstrates epistemic responsibility to further inform the conversation. From the perspective of Snit, Excerpt 12 shows how she was able to establish a balance between epistemic access and primacy. This finding suggests that on the basis of literature as a shared source of access to multiple life stories, emotions, and places, the book-group discussions within the combined practice of SWE and SSL, developed into a thriving contact zone (Canagarajah, 2020). In this social learning space, students in SSL step by step dared to speak not only about the content of the novels but also about how it was relevant to their epistemic access beyond the texts.

In the fifth and last book-group discussion about *How I live now* (Rosoff, 2004), J-Hope revealed a different depth in her reading. In Excerpt 13, she draws on knowledge sources that not only provided her with epistemic access, but also epistemic primacy and responsibility. In addition to J-Hope, the group consisted of Hassoni (SSL), Maylis, Vivianne, Kurt (SWE), and the teacher (see Excerpt 13).

Excerpt 13: Book-group discussion

1.	Teacher:	Brief thoughts about what you've read for today. Shall we start with you, J-Hope?
2.	J-Hope:	I still think that it's boring.
3.	Teacher:	It's still boring?
4.	J-Hope:	The plot. At least I'm used to [it]. In our culture it's common practice for cousins to get married.
5.	Teacher:	Mm.
6.	J-Hope:	So, I'm like relatively used to it.

Here, J-Hope employs epistemic access, primacy, and responsibility to legitimize that there are different ways of living, of which she has personal experience and knowledge.

Her use of "our culture" paves the way for Hassoni, who in a later round validates her statement by saying that "in my culture it's common that cousins get married." From the perspective of epistemic responsibility, J-Hope and Hassoni's citing their common practice implies an act of "fulfill[ing] their responsibilities" (Stivers et al., p. 9) to the knowledge gap of the conversation as a whole and to their interlocutors.

5 Concluding discussion

Based on the data presented, the combined whole-class teaching of SWE and SSL indicates that, in this space, the inclusion discourse and same-for-all approach prevailed (Hedman & Magnusson, 2018; Westling Allodi, 2007). This means that the combined whole-class teaching tended to adhere to the demands of the SWE curriculum only, whereas the SSL discourse and accommodated second language teaching was a feature of the separate SSL group only. The epistemic access and primacy incongruence (Stivers et al., 2011) for students in SSL in the combined whole-class, suggests that in this specific classroom, combined whole-class teaching alone did not suffice to cover the content and potential of the SSL curriculum (cf. Leung, 2019). In the same vein, it imposed constraints on linguistic resources available (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014) to the students in SSL. The fact that the teacher initiated and implemented a weekly separate SSL lesson, further evidences the limitations of the mainstreamed language classroom (Hedman & Magnusson, 2021; Leung 2019).

Conversely, the separate SSL group was found to form a hybrid practice that included legitimized spaces for expanded spatial and linguistic repertoires to be produced (Busch, 2017; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). As second language learners, the students were not necessarily students in either SWE or SSL, but in both (cf. Siekkinen, 2021) depending on the given space and their interpretations of it as place (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). In the micro-context of the separate SSL group, the students positioned themselves as an in-group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) where they were able to release from ongoing negotiations of their multiple identities that unfolded in the combined whole-class space. These negotiations tended to be based in identities of distinction (Talmy, 2009), positioning them as an out-group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). The students in SSL constructed themselves as an out-group in relation to "the Swedes" regardless of learning space. Hence, such acts of distinction ("immigrants versus "Swedes") may not easily vanish by avoiding separate SSL classes altogether.

Another core finding is that between the SWE-oriented whole-class teaching and the separate SSL group, the book-group discussions formed a combined learning space where the two curricula merged, and where social boundaries and acts of distinction seemed easier to overcome. The book-group discussions, in particular, spurred spatial and linguistic repertoires (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014) as well as epistemic congruence (Stivers et al., 2011) based on the readings and discussions in which the students participated. The small format of the book-group discussions was thus found to develop into a learning space of daring for students in SSL over time.

This paper brings attention to how migrant language learners may constantly have to negotiate social belonging and linguistic participation as they navigate through different learning spaces. The students in focus were found to move between spaces and linguistic resources that afforded them different levels of epistemic access, primacy, and responsibility. The findings suggest that neither the combined whole-class space nor the separate SSL group was explicitly favored by the students. While they yearned for inclusion and a same-for-all approach, the students in SSL also valued the existence of a learning space for accommodated pedagogical and emotional scaffolding by a qualified second language teacher and in a designated space. These findings shed new light on

the relevance of giving language learners access to multiple and varied learning spaces that encourage linguistic mobility, in this case, in relation to the school subjects SWE and SSL. Moreover, the findings indicate that these types of insight need to advance to the level of policy, as it has in Finland with regard to student groupings (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2023). These findings further reinforce the need for student perspectives, based on empirical research *with* participants *on* local practices, where students' lived experiences take precedence in learning spaces that may not yet be known.

Funding

No funding was received for conducting this study.

Endnotes

[1] All names of places and people are pseudonyms.

[2] The research project as a whole has been approved by the Swedish Ethical Authority under the reference number 2020-05309

[3] Jacob Portman is the main character of the novel. Ferdinand Magellan (1480-1521) is a historical figure, here perceived as an explorer rather than a colonizer.

[4] *När hundarna kommer* is a Swedish youth novel about a love so strong that it becomes destructive (Schiefauer, 2015). It has not been translated into English.

Disclosure statement

The author declared no conflict of interest.

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7 Appendix

Excerpt 1: Elevintervju

	Original
Forskaren:	Hur upplever du att gå i en klass där svenska och svenska som andraspråk är tillsammans? Hur känns det för dig?
Gabriella:	Man vågar inte göra saker som man vill (...) Ibland brukade de säga på högstadiet, alltså jag är en sån person som bara vill fråga hela tiden, fråga, fråga, fråga men sen var det en gång i klassrummet på högstadiet och då frågade jag hela tiden läraren och då sa de "behöver du liksom hela tiden hjälp+", De här klasskamraterna och då kände jag att de kanske tror att jag är dum i huvudet som inte kan förstå någonting, fattar du? Att jag behövde hjälp men jag tänkte jag gör det inte längre, jag vågar inte längre. Så det där kan vara en nackdel för det är bra ibland att man är i andraspråk kan man säga, där har man människor som är lika.

Excerpt 2: Elevintervju

	Original
Forskaren:	Vilka fördelar finns med att undervisningen av svenska och svenska som andraspråk sker tillsammans?
Alma:	Då är det inte orättvist för oss som är sva-elever (…). Vi får lära oss samma sak. (…) Då blir det lättare för oss att själva samhället börjar gå närmare och bli mer som ett samhälle.
Forskaren:	Vilka nackdelar finns det med att undervisningen i svenska och svenska som andraspråk sker tillsammans?
Alma:	Det är svårt att alltid säga vad man tycker och tänker. Man kanske tycker att åh om jag säger det här så tycker inte sva-elever att det är konstigt men åh svenskar kommer att tycka att det är konstigt då säger jag inte. Jag skiter i det.

Excerpt 3: Elevintervju

	Original
Forskaren:	Forskaren: Tror du att undervisningen på något sätt blir annorlunda när läraren undervisar i både svenska och svenska som andraspråk?
Alma:	En annan sak som jag har märkt med elever, när sva-elever är själva, då är det lättare för dem att prata inför läraren eller inför varandra men när det är svenskar blir det lite stelt för oss att prata och jag tror för dem också. Jag vet inte, det känns som om man pratar inte lika mycket när man är med svenskar.

Excerpt 4: Elevintervju

	Original
Alma:	Ibland blir det lite krock. Hon förklarar på ett sätt till svenska elever och det är inte bara på gymnasiet utan jag har märkt det i högstadiet också, att det är två olika sätt när de förklarar saker och ting. Till exempel, hon har förklarat någonting och sedan kollar hon på oss sva-elever: Har ni fattat? Hur går det? [Alma förställer rösten till att låta extra len.] Och så försöker de förklara på ett lättare sätt för oss. Ibland tycker jag att det är jättejobbigt för man känner sig: fattar jag inget? Eller kan jag inget?

Excerpt 5: Elevintervju

	Original
Snit:	Jag tror att läraren fattar vad som är svårt för oss. (…)
Forskaren:	Vad är det du tycker att läraren förstår?

Snit:	Jag vill ju nå ett A. Hon hjälper mig så att jag ska nå mitt betyg. Hon sa ju att hon ska hjälpa oss. Vi arbetar med mycket saker för att vi ska nå våra mål, så det är det jag tycker är bäst. Ingen tänkte så på högstadiet. Det enda hon sa åh du är ny [förställer rösten], du är ny, du kan inte, du kan inte få det [A]. Det gör att jag ger upp allting. Det gör stor skillnad. Jag tycker mer om den här läraren.

Excerpt 6: Fältanteckning

Snit vill säga något om bilderna, hon markerar genom att höja handen och pekfingret. Agnes ser inte. Snit förblir tyst.

Snit pratar oavbrutet om boken och vill veta mer om brevet. Vem har skrivit det? (…) Gabriella kan inte släppa sidan 63 och hon frågar: "Varför skrev de i boken Jacob Magellan Portman?". Jag blir nyfiken och får vara med. Gabriella ger sig inte. Hon vill veta varför farfar har skrivit "Till Jacob Magellan Portman" (…) (Riggs, 2017, s. 63). Gabriella och Snit pratar på ett sätt som de inte gör i den stora klassen. Framförallt ställer de massor av frågor.

Excerpt 7: Elevintervju

	Original
Forskaren:	Är det någon skillnad på lektionerna, den där sista timmen på fredagar när alla som är där läser svenska som andraspråk?
J-Hope:	Läraren förklara mer och fördjupat om vad vi ska kunna (…) Till exempel om man har samtal och sånt så vet kanske läraren att kanske att de andra pratar inte så mycket med svenskar och så där, men när vi är med bara invandrare är det kanske lättare för oss att säga vad vi tycker och sånt. Man är inte rädda för varandra för man känner varandra väldigt mycket. Det kan vara lättare att prata med den här delen.

Excerpt 8: Fältanteckning

Jag tänker på hur stämningen liksom elevernas och lärarens beteenden förändras under lektionerna i svenska som andraspråk. Stämningen är uppsluppen och präglas av frågor och interaktion. Språkfrågorna haglar över läraren. Eleverna är glada trots att de är trötta och trots att eleverna som läser svenska redan har avslutat sin arbetsvecka.

Excerpt 9: Boksamtal

	Original
Snit:	Jacob. Då berättar han, du dyker honom något sånt.
Läraren:	Dyrkar.
Snit:	Ja, dyrkar.
Läraren	Vad betyder det?
Snit:	Är det att man är intresserad av honom eller vad är det? Jag fattar inte ordet själv.
Läraren:	Dyrkar betyder att man åh du är så bra, du är bäst.
Snit:	Ja, sånt. Okej.
Läraren:	Ja.
Snit:	Du dyrkar honom. Ja, det gör jag förklarar Jacob också för då, Jacob fick ju veta mer än hans pappa.

Excerpt 10: Fältanteckning

"Det är inte svårt för oss att förstå det du lär oss med de svenska" säger Gabriella och pekar bakåt med armen, där eleverna som läser svenska brukar sitta.

Excerpt 11: Elevintervju

	Original
Forskaren:	Ja, eller hur kändes det att ha boksamtal när det var nytt och hur kändes det när du hade träffat gruppen flera gånger?
Snit:	Jag tror att jag sa vad jag tyckte första gången, men första gången vi träffades i gruppen var det stelt och jag kunde inte prata mycket och när läraren frågade svarade jag kanske ”jag vet inte” och jag har ångrat att jag sa så. Jag ville ju berätta vad jag tänker. Hur jag känner när de frågar och såna saker.
Forskaren:	Vad är det du ångrar att du inte sa?
Snit:	När jag säger ”jag vet inte”. Det var svårt. Jag hade tanken, men det var svårt med människorna som satt där så jag kunde inte säga vad jag tänkte. Jag ångrar mig alltid när såna saker händer.

Excerpt 12: Boksamtal

	Original
Läraren:	Mm, hur är hennes föräldrar? Hur verkar de vara?
Zoe:	Ordentliga.
Läraren:	Ordentliga.
Zoe:	Och stränga.
Läraren:	Och stränga.
Zoe:	Ja.
Snit:	Men ändå, de låter henne göra vad hon vill också.
Läraren:	De låter henne göra vad hon vill.
Snit:	Ja, precis.
Läraren:	Gör de det verkligen?
Snit:	Ja, för att de sa ju i boken att hon skulle gå på en fest, klockan tolv, halv tolv och hon fick ju gå.
Läraren:	Ja, mm.
Snit:	Om det hade varit våra, våra föräldrar skulle inte låta oss gå [pekar på sig själv och J-Hope] vid den tiden [skratt] Det känns…
Läraren:	Nej, det är lite skillnad kanske.
J-Hope:	Det verkade, när hon sa till sina föräldrar att de skulle gå, de verkade inte bara chockade det var inte normalt att deras dotter skulle gå ut på natten.

Excerpt 13: Boksamtal

	Original
Läraren:	Ja, en liten kort runda. Vi gör som vi brukar. Korta tankar om det ni har läst tills i dag. Ska vi börja med dig, J-Hope?
J-Hope:	Jag tycker fortfarande att den är tråkig.
Läraren:	Den är fortfarande tråkig?
J-Hope:	Handlingen. Jag är i alla fall van vid, i våran kultur är det vanligt att man gifter sig med sin kusin.
Läraren:	Mm
J-Hope:	Så jag är typ ganska van vid det.