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Moving Together – Conditions for
Intercultural Development at a Highly
Diverse Swedish School

Doctoral Dissertation

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Table of Contents

Abstract	
Acknowledgements	
INTRODUCTION	9
Choice of research angle	12
Purpose and research questions	14
PEDAGOGIES FOR AN ERA OF GLOBALISATION	15
History and areas of research on intercultural education	17
Interculturality and different perspectives on culture	18
Scales and dynamics of culture	20
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	23
Intercultural development of the workplace	23
Intercultural school development	25
Communities of practices, landscapes of practice and brokering	26
Communities of practice	27
Landscapes of practice	28
Participation and positioning of professional groups	29
Space and practice	31
Spaces for teaching, learning and school development	32
METHODOLOGY	35
Case study method	35
Delimiting the case	36
Collection of materials	37
Interview methods	39
Ethical considerations	40
Analysis criteria	41
Limitations to results and interpretation	43
Implications of conclusions to other settings	44
SUPPORT MEASURES IN THE SWEDISH SCHOOL SYSTEM	47
Language policies for national and immigrant minorities	47
Targeted and non-targeted support measures for students with an immigrant background	50
Reception of newly arrived students	54
SUPPORT MEASURES IN THE STUDIED CASE: SUMMARY OF ARTICLES	57
Article I: Teaching in the 'edgelands' of the school day: The organisation of Mother Tongue Studies in a highly diverse Swedish primary school	

Article II: Swedish and the 'Second Language Learner': From Induction to Segregation

Article III: At the bridging point: tutoring newly arrived students in Sweden

Article IV: The role of the school library: reflections from Sweden

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE	61
The local context	61
Cultural and social belonging	62
Sociolinguistic regimes	63
Physical space, time and distribution of responsibilities	65
Workplace	65
Organisation of responsibilities with respect to time	66
Organisation of teaching and classes	67
Organisation of planning and development work	70
Communities of practice shaped by the work organisation	71
The curriculum as a brokering practice	72
Teachers and other brokers	73
Administrative boundary objects	74
Conditions for intercultural school development	75
DISCUSSION	79
Spaces of teaching and potentials for school development	79
Central and local responsibilities	83
Learning spaces and inclusive education	86
Culture and language as support measures	88
Spaces open to intercultural school development	90
Concluding remarks	92
Further research	95
REFERENCES	97
APPENDICES	
Interview guide	117
Articles of the compilation	
Article I: Teaching in the 'edgelands' of the school day: The organisation of Mother Tongue Studies in a highly diverse Swedish primary school	121
Article II: Swedish and the 'Second Language Learner': From Induction to Segregation	143
Article III: At the bridging point: tutoring newly arrived students in Sweden	161
Article IV: The role of the school library: reflections from Sweden	181

Abstract

This thesis is a case study of a primary school in a highly diverse urban neighbourhood in Sweden. Basic pre-conditions for intercultural school development are studied by examining the overall organisation of teaching, learning and opportunities for collaboration in the investigated case. The study focuses on the targeted support measures to enhance learning for students with an immigrant background: Mother tongue instruction, Swedish as a Second Language, and tutoring in the mother tongue, as well as looking at pedagogical support provided by the school library. The latter has a mission to promote learning and inclusion, where non-native speakers of Swedish are a prioritised group.

Communities of practice linked to the work organisation at a meso-level are investigated, and the collaborative relationships between professional groups at the school involved in the various support measures. Teacher relationships and categorisations implied by support measures impact the learning spaces that are shaped for students and the teaching spaces within which teachers work. Collaborative opportunities and convergence of concerns in the teaching spaces combine to shape the overall space for intercultural development.

The raw data for the case study consists of interviews, national policy documents and additional information on local work organisation gained through documents and observations. Four articles resulted from the case study, each focusing a specific support measure. An overarching analysis is then made of findings from these articles and the other dimensions of the investigation. The analysis describes the organisation in terms of monocultural or intercultural school cultures, pointing to significant characteristics of the landscapes of practice, with respect to their overall implications for the spaces of school development. In the discussion, findings are considered in relation to research on professional development in education, collaboration, democracy and inclusive schooling.

The relative positioning of languages and cultures is given particular attention, to ascertain if the school culture is monocultural or intercultural in the sense given by Lahdenperä (2008), and to what extent it could enable intercultural development. Such positioning plays a role in terms of affordances for identity, participation and engagement discussed by Wenger (1998).

This case study should be understood against the wider background of recent social developments in Europe linked to globalisation and technological changes. It is argued that looking at the concrete specifics which facilitate or obstruct school development, and simultaneously reflecting on how the different forms of teaching interrelate in the overall organisation and in policy may provide a useful vantage point from which structural changes can be contemplated.

The discussion underlines the importance of the physical localisation of activities, continuity in personal contacts and time available for joint pedagogical reflection, as basic conditions for effective intercultural dialogue in the organisation. Finally, the impact of policy is considered, looking at connections between levels of policy, expressed in official steering documents, and conditions for teaching and learning at the level of an individual school.

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Writing a dissertation is by no means a straightforward linear process. It would not have been possible without the help and understanding of friends, colleagues, and fellow researchers, in Sweden and in the world, who have supported me along this somewhat tortuous path.

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Education must develop the ability to recognize and accept the values which exist in the diversity of individuals, genders, peoples and cultures and develop the ability to communicate, share and co-operate with others. The citizens of a pluralist society and multicultural world should be able to accept that their interpretation of situations and problems is rooted in their personal lives, in the history of their society and in their cultural traditions; that, consequently, no individual or group holds the only answer to problems; and that for each problem there may be more than one solution.

(UNESCO Integrated Framework of Action, Paragraph 8)

INTRODUCTION

The concerns of this study are to investigate conditions for intercultural organisational development in the case of a school, looking at aspects that can affect the dynamics at a whole school level, and how these aspects relate to the wider contexts of municipal organisation and national policy. The study looks at the meso-level of work organisation and opportunities for collaboration at a primary school in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood, considering how languages and teaching functions are positioned, and how this shapes spaces for teaching, learning and educational development.

It is not unusual to look at intercultural issues in education as primarily connected to the students who have an immigrant background, and possibly their families, rather than as connected to the educational system as a whole. It is also not uncommon to represent school environments with a high proportion of immigrant students as potentially problematic, particularly in segregated multi-ethnic urban neighbourhoods (Bunar, 2010a; Van Ham & Tammaru, 2016). Such approaches look at the learners, trying to determine what they lack and what they should work on in order to perform better. The 'problem' is in other words placed with the students, who are considered from a deficit perspective (Valencia, 1997; Garcia & Guerra, 2004; McInerney, 2007; Granstedt, 2010).

The OECD (2010) has pointed to the issue of an 'achievement gap' between immigrant students and native students in many countries. Despite far-reaching ambitions for an equitable and inclusive education system, the achievement gap is also highly noticeable in Sweden. While the great majority of students with a Swedish background¹ finishing year 9 compulsory school had pass grades in all subjects, only half the students with a foreign background had pass grades in all subjects, and among the newly arrived students² these figures had fallen to one fifth. Only a third of newly arrived students finishing compulsory school had grades that would allow them to at least pursue a vocational track in secondary school.³ In view of such statistics, it is easy to direct all attention towards the failings of the students.

Adopting a deficit perspective does not necessarily contribute to solutions. For instance, it tends to turn attention away from the resources of students with an immigrant background, and downplays observations of higher ambitions and drive that are also found in these groups (Schneider, Crul & Van Praag, 2014). Importantly, formulating a problem not only involves deciding who or what is 'problematic' but has consequences for who or what is expected to contribute to solutions. In other words, the way a 'problem' is phrased distributes

¹ Swedish statistics are compiled using the categories foreign-born, native-born, Swedish background and foreign background respectively. Since 2003, foreign background means that both parents are foreign-born. Swedish background means that one or both parents are born in Sweden. Some statistics give separate figures established both on the person's own place of birth and that of the parents.

² After 0-4 years in Sweden. According to the Education Act, Chapter 3, Section 12a (SFS 2010:800), after four years' schooling in Sweden the pupil will no longer be counted as newly arrived. The term 'newly arrived' is also not applicable by law to pupils of preschool age, who started their education in Sweden before the autumn term of the year they turned seven.

³ Swedish National Agency for Education and Statistics Sweden.

responsibility for solving the problem (or failure to solve it), according to how the problem itself is constructed. We therefore need to critically examine what the problem is represented to be, already at the level of policy:

Governments in this interpretation are not reactive, addressing political “problems”; rather they are active in the creation of particular understandings of political “problems”. Because policies and policy proposals identify what needs to change, they also imply what the “problem” is. (...) Crucially, these problem representations matter for what is done and not done, and for how people live their lives. (Bacchi, 2007, p. 13)

Rather than directing attention on failings among students with an immigrant background, this study therefore instead takes its point of departure in the structures and policies established to enhance their learning. It is here assumed that solutions to problems do not merely lie at individual levels, but also pertain to structure. It is further argued that intercultural skills become increasingly important in a time of global work markets, digital interconnectedness and rapid cultural developments. At policy levels, intercultural education can reduce some of the social conflicts and friction that are caused by larger structural forces (Eriksen, 2013). At the same time, from an organisational perspective, intercultural development can become a valuable tool to enhance the innovative potentials of individual schools, as well as contributing to teaching approaches that more adequately address diversity.

With respect to the present investigation, reflection on education across countries generally supposes familiarity with the national education systems, which can differ greatly. More specifically, earlier research on minorities in education suggests great variation in outcomes depending on contextual factors such as policies and institutions, as well as social and sociolinguistic factors. Sufficient contextual information is therefore crucial for interpretation. At present, a set of targeted special measures in Sweden exist to address the needs of students with an immigrant background:

- the school subjects Mother tongue instruction and Swedish as a second language (SFS 2011:185, Chapter 5);
- tutoring in the mother tongue;
- preparatory classes for the reception of newly arrived students.

Related measures are bilingual education, and mother tongue support for preschool children. Students with other linguistic backgrounds are further a prioritised group for school libraries. The preparatory classes have been widely practiced for decades, but have only recently been given a specific legal status (SFS 2015:246).

The categorisations in terms of the law supposed by these measures are not always entirely clear, and wording shifts between criteria of background, parents’ background, minority status, needs or availability of resources. Swedish as a Second Language shall if needed be arranged for pupils who have a mother tongue other than Swedish, pupils who have Swedish as their mother tongue and who have been admitted from schools abroad, and immigrant

pupils who have Swedish as their main language of communication with one of their custodians(SFS 2011:185, Chapter 5, Section 14).

The right to receive Mother tongue instruction is premised on basic knowledge and the daily use of the language at home, except for nationally recognised minorities and adopted children who can receive Mother tongue instruction even if it is not spoken at home. Another criteria is availability of resources, since Mother tongue instruction does not have to be organised if there are less than five pupils in the municipality. The municipalities do not have to offer mother tongue instruction if there is no suitable teacher.

Provisions concerning tutoring simply state that "a pupil shall receive tutoring in his/her mother tongue, if the pupil needs it" (SFS 2011: 185 Chapter 5, Section 4) . Elsewhere in the texts it is clarified that 'need' is here defined as risk of not achieving learning goals, at the same time that entitlement to this form of support is in practice restricted to newly arrived students and subject to needs assessments made at regular intervals. No specifications exist concerning qualifications for tutoring in different school subjects, and no corresponding teacher training programmes have been established.

School libraries are not a specific measure directed at students with an immigrant background, but the Library Act (SFS 2013:801) which governs all libraries of the public sector, including school libraries, defines people with disabilities, national minorities and people with mother tongues other than Swedish as 'prioritised groups': Libraries in public library service shall devote particular attention to the national minorities and people who have another mother tongue than Swedish, for instance by offering literature in 1. the national minority languages, 2. other languages than the national minority languages and Swedish.⁴

In the following, the purpose and research questions of the study are first presented, and the societal relevance is outlined, considering a wider backdrop of rapid social and technological change. A broad overview is given of some concerns and perspectives of intercultural education, clarifying the historical emergence of this field of research, in order to situate the more specific research area of intercultural school development. The theoretical framework used for the analysis is then introduced, looking at work organisation and collaboration from the angle of communities of practice, brokering and opportunities for engagement (Wenger, 1998). With reference to Lahdenperä (2008), intercultural school development is discussed with respect to opportunities for dialogue between staff with ethnic Swedish and immigrant backgrounds, and the impact of mono- or intercultural school cultures on potentials for organisational development.

After this, methodological issues are described, in particular: how the case was delimited, choices in the level of abstraction in presenting data, and ethical considerations. In the following sections, results are presented, comprising: an overview of language policy and support measures for students with an immigrant background in Swedish educational policy; a summary of the four sub-studies published as articles; a description of the case providing a

⁴ For further details on Swedish law and policy, see page 47ff.

more detailed picture of the local context and how work was organised. An overall analysis of structures and conditions observed in the case is made. The organisation is analysed in terms of mono-cultural or intercultural work cultures, and in terms of the various brokering practices that were observed. Consequences of positioning and the various barriers and opportunities for collaboration are outlined. Finally, conclusions are drawn, regarding potentials for organisational development at the school and between units in the municipality, as well as concerning wider implications for inclusion and equity.

Choice of research angle

For the present investigation, the choice has been made to look at conditions for intercultural school development in a Swedish context. For the purposes of this investigation, this should be understood as the ability to work for more equitable and culturally inclusive practices, seen from a meso-level, and investigated from the perspective of work organisation at an individual school within its wider institutional environment. Although both issues of policy and classroom practices have been extensively researched in the field of intercultural education, questions connected to work organisation have received less attention, and empirical studies are lacking in a Swedish context. While the point of focus in the case lies at the meso-level, the study additionally connects organisational characteristics at school and municipality levels to the manner national educational policies 'represent the problem' (cf. Bacchi, 2007).

The notion of intercultural school development could, in principle, include many different actors. It could be argued, for instance, that the pupils could or should be part of such development processes. Families, communities, local NGOs, or other professional groups besides the teachers might play a role (cf. Cummins, 1986, 2000; Díez, Gatt, & Racionero, 2011; Nel, Engelbrecht, Nel, & Tlale, 2014). For the purposes of the present study, however, the choice has been made to focus on conditions for intercultural school development as they are described by teachers, head teachers and librarians. Observations and interviews with pupils and the wider community have additionally been used to gain a picture of the local context for this school.

The decision to focus on opportunities for collaboration and dialogue between different categories of staff at the school is informed by Lahdenperä's work on intercultural school development (Lahdenperä, 2008). Besides the formal functions and objectives that schools have, Lahdenperä argues that ethnic background plays a role in conditions for school development. With reference to Lahdenperä, the term 'intercultural school development' will accordingly be used here to affirm in a general sense that (perceived, represented, assumed or attributed) group belongings and group dynamics play an important role in shaping spaces for teaching, learning and development at whole school levels.

The research angle adopted for this study looks at how structural affordances of the organisation relate to teachers' opportunities to meet and engage in collective discussions, and if teachers share common concerns. It involves looking at possibilities and obstacles primarily

from the viewpoint of the individual teachers (Ragnarsdóttir, 2012; Lauritsen, & Ragnarsdóttir, 2014), rather than considering how a particular policy can be implemented from the perspective of effective steering (cf. Berg, 1991, 2003), or limiting the study to schematic representations of functions, activities or flows. National policies that govern education (Englund, 1997; Sundberg & Wahlström, 2012) have been examined, considering the ways ethnicity, immigrant status or language may influence spaces for teaching, learning and school development.

The concerns of the present investigation also have to do with the implications of national policies with respect to spaces for teaching, learning and school development. This means looking at how declarations of aims and constraints as they are explicitly formulated in steering documents translate into practice, as expressed from the perspective of teachers and head teachers, but also considering how curriculum and resource allocation combine to shape the practices of the 'hidden curriculum' (Apple, 1990; MacPherson, 2010). There has thus been an ambition to shed light on aspects of the material face of discourse.

In looking at the ways ethnic background and positioning have implications for spaces for teaching, learning and school development the study is further informed by approaches from the wider field of inclusive education. The overarching research concern has to do with the question of how policies and practices impact access to education for all students, and how different options may include some while excluding others. Thus there are tensions between the ambition of inclusion, bringing students together in a common space of shared norms and practices, and the ambition to create separate spaces that allow a plurality of norms and distinct practices. Importantly, underlying norms are expressed through the relative positioning of different spaces of teaching and learning.

Studies of intercultural school development frequently look at development projects that have already been carried out, and which therefore rest on the participants' positive attitudes and engagement in such processes. The case chosen here is a school where meeting the needs of a diverse population of students is on the agenda, but where intercultural pedagogy has not yet been contemplated as such. This is a situation which applies to numerous other schools in Sweden, and therefore concerns issues that are potentially of interest in other locations as well. Rather than describing a particular development project, this study examines basic conditions for collaboration and dialogue.

Purpose and research questions

The purpose of the study is to examine the basic preconditions for intercultural school development in the situated context of work organisation at a primary school located in an ethnically highly diverse urban neighbourhood in Sweden.

The overarching research questions of the investigation are:

Which learning spaces are shaped by the various targeted and non-targeted support measures stipulated in Swedish policy for students with an immigrant background, and how are these measures organised in practice?

How are teachers, pupils - and the languages they speak, study or teach - positioned in these spaces?

Which teaching spaces are shaped by this policy and organisation?

Which physical and organisational opportunities for formal or informal collaboration between different teacher groups result?

Which spaces for intercultural school development ensue from the combined characteristics of this organisation?

The study is delimited to the targeted teaching forms stipulated in Swedish policy documents as support measures for immigrant students' learning, on the one hand, and on the other, the school library, which is a general support function for learning but where students with additional mother tongues constitute a prioritised group. Conditions for intercultural whole school development are investigated by looking at opportunities for collaboration and relations between the different forms of teaching and support, focusing on how teachers, head teachers and librarians define the pupils, how they understand the purpose of various forms of teaching and how it is organised.

The research questions are examined through four sub-studies, which each look at a particular support measure. An overarching analysis is then made of conditions for intercultural school development, using findings from the individual sub-studies, as well as from the investigation as a whole.

PEDAGOGIES FOR AN ERA OF GLOBALISATION

In a globalised world, Europeans will increasingly need the ability to deal with cultural diversity. Intercultural pedagogies have been proposed as one way to address these challenges and objectives (UNESCO, 2006, 2014, 2015; Council of Europe, 2007, 2015, 2016). From the perspective of democracy and social cohesion, it has been argued that intercultural competence is essential for all students to prepare them to participate constructively in society, at national levels. Deliberative competencies and mutual trust are conditions for democracy and the decision-making required to address future challenges (Englund, 2011; Lundholm, 2011). Intercultural collaborative skills are needed to deal with international conflicts and to find solutions to social and environmental problems that humanity is facing at a global level (Marsella, 2009; UNESCO, 2014, 2015). In a closely interconnected world, we also need to be able to situate and interpret information emanating from a wide range of cultural and social contexts.

Researchers concerned with global education and sustainability have argued that essential capabilities further include the ability to engage in dialogue and collaborative problem-solving across national boundaries, empathising, managing value conflicts as well as the ability to see that problems can be approached from multiple perspectives (see for instance McInerney, Smyth & Down, 2011; Gill & Niens, 2014; Reynolds, 2015). Such future-oriented educational aims go far beyond traditional content-based pedagogies that tend to focus on transmitting previously established procedures and standardised digests of received worldviews. Additionally, issues of teacher agency and professionalism are a strategic consideration in a highly heterogeneous and rapidly moving multicultural educational context. Since intercultural teaching situations are eminently unpredictable, using standardised textbook materials and applying pre-established rules or categorisations fails to address complex realities adequately (see MacPherson, 2010, with reference to Maloch et al. 2003). School and teacher development are consequently a central concern, in learning to work across subject matter boundaries and Syaersbe able to teach in local-global settings (Cummins & Sayers, 1995; Nordén, Avery, Anderberg, 2012; Nordén, 2016).

While several voices at international and national levels thus point to the positive role intercultural pedagogy can play in providing some of the complex creative democratic and reflective competences that are called for, some theorists are more critical. A number of researchers see intercultural pedagogy as a fairly naive response to the impacts of globalisation forces, and point to the problems in uncritically preparing students for increased international mobility (see for instance Stromquist, 2002). Other critical voices are sceptical to the ambition of defusing conflicts through intercultural dialogue (Kamali, 2006; Aman, 2014; Bali, 2014), and believe that asymmetrical power relationships can lead to effective silencing of the weaker parties. Thus Nilsson Folke (2015, p. 4) suggests that inclusion can function “as a technique of governance, through which strangers are made into subjects by consenting to the terms of their possible inclusion”. At the other end of the spectrum, critics to

intercultural approaches include advocates of 'back-to-basics' and 'teaching-to-the-test' pedagogies, who feel that school should focus on working with 'facts' and 'skills', rather than considering 'values' or 'perspectives' (see discussion in Frelin & Grannas, 2010; Francia, 2011a; Dolin & Krogh, 2010; Cumming-Potvin & Sanford, 2015).

Resentment towards immigrants, extreme-right movements and racism can be observed in several European countries (Mudde, 2012; Davis & Deole, 2015). Indeed, migration has come to be perceived as a central political issue today (cf. Ipsos, 2015; Council of Europe, 2016; Sutherland, 2016). As a consequence of changing migration patterns, national education systems need to be better prepared to receive students with diverse and changing backgrounds (Faas, Hajisoteriou, & Angelides, 2014; Smith, R  rat & Sage, 2014; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). Although migration tends to benefit receiving countries in the long run (Giovanni, Levchenko, & Ortega, 2015), periods of accommodation are needed. Interacting with new population groups, and relating to unaccustomed values, physical appearances or cultural habits are not always associated with positive sentiments (Eriksen, 2002, 2007, 2013). Shaping arenas for intercultural dialogue thus seems more urgent than ever. At a policy level, voices can be found today that not only advocate subtractive assimilation, but suggest dealing with migration by multiplying physical and administrative barriers to mobility (see discussion in Jackson, 2010; Qureshi & Janmaat, 2014; Thomas, 2014).⁵

Like other European countries, Sweden is also affected by such tensions, and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance sees integration as the most important issue problem in Sweden right now (ECRI 2012, 2015). Meanwhile, at an international level, we are witnessing several serious crises. To counteract tendencies of polarisation and intolerance, the period 2013-2022 was declared the International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 67/104, adopted in December 2012.

The objective of the International Decade is to promote mutual understanding and respect for diversity, rights and equal dignity between peoples, through intercultural dialogue and concrete initiatives. This is essential for all societies today, undergoing deep transformation. The surge of conflict, acts of violence, extremism and intolerance pose a threat to peace, undermining the unity of humanity and calling on us all to redouble our efforts to advance a culture of peace, through dialogue, the safeguarding of cultural heritage, and the promotion of global citizenship education.

(Irina Bokova, UNESCO, 2015, p. 4)

Against this background, it is clear that conditions for intercultural dialogue have become a central societal issue, and education has a key role to play in promoting mutual understanding and respect for diversity. Intercultural pedagogy is in other words not something which specifically or even particularly concerns students with an immigrant background. Whether school cultures are mono- or multicultural (Mampaey & Zanoni, 2015) will affect teaching and learning conditions for everyone.

⁵ For a discussion of the history and dynamics of such trends and the so-called 'backlash', see for instance Shain (2013), Altbach and De Wit (2015) or Brocklehurst (2015).

History and areas of research on intercultural education

As we have seen, intercultural pedagogies and intercultural school development can be approached from a variety of angles and at different scales, ranging from international educational policy at a global level, down to concrete classroom practices and interaction. A vast amount of research in this has been undertaken over the past decades, and intercultural educational research comprises a singularly wide range of perspectives on culture, on learning and on group interaction more generally.

Historically, many aspects of intercultural education were initially investigated in the context of transnational firms and the need for culturally diverse teams to collaborate effectively in the workplace. Another major impetus for reflection on intercultural education comes from international organisations concerned with finding solutions to global problems. The United Nations and various international organisations have considered issues of intercultural education from the perspective of working to prevent ethnic conflicts on the one hand, and to promote peace, democracy and international cooperation, on the other. Here schools have a central role to play. This pedagogical ambition is based on pluralism and respect for diversity. For instance, the UNESCO Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (endorsed in November 1995) stipulates that:

To strengthen the formation of values and abilities such as solidarity, creativity, civic responsibility, the ability to resolve conflicts by non-violent means, and critical acumen, it is necessary to introduce into curricula, at all levels, true education for citizenship which includes an international dimension. (...)

Likewise, curriculum reform should emphasize knowledge, understanding and respect for the culture of others at the national and global level and should link the global interdependence of problems to local action. (...)

(UNESCO Integrated Framework of Action, Paragraph 17)

In education, a considerable body of research points to potential benefits for learning in intercultural pedagogies (Cummins, 2000; Hall, 2008; Lahdenperä & Lorentz, 2010; Ball, 2011; Arrueta & Avery, 2012). Several studies have been made on schools working with intercultural pedagogies (see for instance Axelsson, Rosander & Sellgren, 2005; Obondo, 2005; Dimitriadou, Tamtelen & Tsakou, 2011; Arneback, 2012), which point to improved learning.

Much of this research concerns classroom interaction and pedagogical strategies, providing details and suggestions on how work can be carried out in practice. By contrast, organisational issues at the meso-level have received less attention. Besides Lahdenperä (2008), we could mention MacPherson (2010). Sales, Traver & García (2011) approach inclusive whole school development from the angle of professional development through action research. Yet other strands of research analyse the structural implications of culturally inclusive or excluding pedagogies and policies (Gruber, 2008; Elmeroth, 2008; Musk & Wedin, 2010). Attitudes and conceptualisations of interculturality have also been studied (Schoorman & Bogotch, 2010). Problems in applying monocultural pedagogies (Shain, 2013;

Mampaey & Zanoni, 2015), point to the need for changes in educational approach, at both policy and institutional levels (cf. Francia, 2011b, 2015). Additional considerations, with particular relevance for newly arrived students, are the effects of language and language policy in education (Hyltenstam, Axelsson & Lindberg, 2012; Bunar, 2015; Wedin, 2015).

Interculturality and different perspectives on culture

Regardless of whether we are considering intercultural education with respect to policy, organisation or concrete practices, the concept of interculturality depends on how we look at cultures and the ways they can interrelate (Portera, 2008). One important strand of research in intercultural education concerns stages of increasing intercultural awareness and intercultural skills. Processes of acquiring intercultural sensitivity have been outlined by Bennett (1993) and Heyward (2002), as well as Hofstede (1986). From taking her own culture's perspectives on the world for granted (ethnocentrism), the learner eventually realises that questions can be seen in different ways (ethnorelativism).

It can be argued that gaining this cognitive and emotional distance to the presuppositions that underlie our understanding of the world is one of the major potential benefits of interculturality, since it paves the way for increased self-awareness and reflection. Empathy with individuals who have other perspectives can conceivably improve conditions for dialogue and collaboration. Such processes require both time and commitment, and the later stages in Bennett's model, which involve the ability to act in culturally appropriate ways outside our original cultural sphere, may be difficult to attain for most. Indeed, much of the friction between host cultures and immigrant populations seems to derive from culturally inappropriate behaviour, or from misunderstanding the significance of various actions.

While several strands of intercultural research focus on the processes of developing increased intercultural awareness or more culturally responsive practices, other bodies of research look at cultural characteristics as well as the effects of cultural categorisation. The often-cited cultural dimensions of Hofstede (1986), for instance, focus on features that distinguish groups at a population level. Inversely, rather than looking at distinguishing features, a number of researchers have instead focused on commonalities. Van Oord & Corn (2013) warn against what they term the 'balkanization of difference', that is, the idea that cultures constitute separate bodies, and that long and arduous processes of intercultural development are necessary to bridge the gap between cultures. They further stress that identities and allegiances are multiple:

(...) the pinning down of people to single and unchangeable group membership is more likely to create confusion than to foster understanding (...). (Van Oord & Corn, 2013, p. 28)

In the wider field of intercultural studies, a tension can thus be seen between researchers who treat culture – and by extension interculturality – as pertaining to groups and group interaction, and those who like van Oord and Corn stress the individual's own choice. More critical strands emphasise fluidity, multiplicity and dimensions of power (see for instance

Alsayyad, 2001). Studies of culture and research on interculturality have frequently been criticised for 'essentialism', or for presenting simplistic and stereotyped representations of identity (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004a, 2004b; Kamali, 2006). Alongside discussions of identity in terms of culture, the wider term 'diversity' encompasses any kind of variation, such as gender or disability (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004a). The word covers the same inherent tension, however, as conceptualisation of difference in terms of culture alone. On the one hand, the concepts mobilise efforts to achieve equal rights, to see differences as something enriching and to be allowed to express features in the public space that go beyond a monodimensional norm. On the other hand, there is a danger of establishing rigid categorisations, or that people will be assigned subordinate positions, rather than offered possibilities to claim a distinctive voice. With reference to Alsayyad, Artiles (2003) thus cautions against a notion of diversity that essentialises culture, as well as warning against uncritical approaches to difference more generally:

(...) it is not surprising that traditional treatments of difference ultimately reaffirm difference and offer options that signal the deficits or disadvantages typically associated with difference (...). (Artiles, 2003, p. 193)

In the relativist-essentialist continuum, Eriksen (2013) could be said to occupy a middle position, by arguing for a concept of diversity which encompasses both individual and group variation, and by seeing difference as dynamic, multi-dimensional and situated. He underlines that current emphasis on individual dimensions of culture can be linked to a general shift in political discourse, with greater focus on the individual. Above all, Eriksen feels that the tendency to treat issues of immigrant minorities as primarily a matter of culture - what he calls the 'culturalisation of the minority debate' (Eriksen, 2007, p. 1067) - in fact serves to divert attention from fundamental questions of equity and access to jobs and education:

Rather than addressing jobs and education, the public debate has typically concentrated on hijabs and Islam (...) (Eriksen, 2007, p. 1067)

Like Eriksen (2007, 2013), Bunar (1999) and Elmeroth (2008) conclude that aims such as embracing diversity or affording equal access to education cannot be accomplished within a school context alone, as long as these values are not reflected in society at large. Rather than existing ahistorically as a universal concern, intercultural questions are tightly connected to specific contexts. Views on culture and interculturality thus reflect particular constructions of state, nationhood and national identities (Lorentz, 2007; Bleszynska, 2008). Eriksen (2007) also concludes that cultural issues among immigrants in Europe cannot be reduced to simple dichotomies of sameness or difference. Social and cultural stratification are not necessarily coupled, but depend on specific national policies.

Another frequently used term in this field is 'multicultural' education. Certain authors, such as Lahdenperä (2008), wish to stress the distinction between co-existence of multiple cultures (multiculturalism), and a focus on fostering positive relationships between cultures (interculturalism). Others, like Dervin and Layne (2013; Layne, Trémion & Dervin, 2015), have argued that the terms intercultural and multicultural are both overlapping and polysemic, so that they could be used interchangeably. Similar considerations apply to terms such as transcultural or cross-cultural, although they tend to correspond to a more critical stance to the

essentialising tendencies which can sometimes be found in the area of intercultural research (for examples of discussions on these aspects, see for instance Said, 2003; Grimshaw, 2010; Holliday, 2010; Ubani, 2013; Kirloskar, Shetty & Inamdar, 2015). Cosmopolitanism is another term used for discussions in this area, and like the other terms shows both a wide spread of signification and some overlap. This strand of reflection downplays the significance of roots, while attributing positive qualities to diversity. The notion is further connected to reflection on governance, democracy and global citizenship (Popkewitz, 2004; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Englund 2012).

Scales and dynamics of culture

For the purposes of the present study, the term 'culture' is above all used in two main senses. On the one hand, attention is given to the professional and organisational cultures at play in the smaller and larger groups and communities of practice of the workplace (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Lave and Wenger's concept describes how groups at a workplace over time develop a shared frame of reference for understanding their tasks, solving problems and learning. Such shared activities and experiences eventually produce what may be seen as a subculture. These cultures are considered with respect to the opportunities they offer and how competences of teachers are put to use.

The other main sense of culture used here is to refer to the wider cultural backgrounds and luggage which teachers and students bring with them. These are reservoirs of knowledge and experiences of the world that serve as resources in teaching and learning, which affect expectations of the aims and form school activities should take, and also impact how we evaluate results and how we communicate (Maffi, 2005; Albro, 2005; Cummins, 1986; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). This sense is part of the investigation's discussion of social spaces, and also connects to notions of community and belonging. Drawing on Lahdenperä (2008), the analysis aims to clarify in which respects the school culture is mono- or intercultural.

Culture is in both these senses conceived as multi-layered and interconnected, existing at various scales and involving diverse dimensions. In this investigation, cultures are further considered to be dynamic rather than stable, and also as multiple and overlapping, rather than isolated, as stressed by UNESCO:

Cultural processes are always sites of contestation over meanings, values and ways of life. The challenge is to guarantee the cultural freedoms and rights of all persons to access, enjoy and refer to cultural works, express their identity and creativity, participate in and contribute to cultural life without discrimination and on a basis of equality. This includes the right to differ, to not participate in any cultural activities that undermine human rights, to join, leave, rejoin and create new communities of shared values without fear; the right of everyone to participate in several communities of shared cultural values simultaneously. (Farida Shaheed, United Nations Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights UNESCO, 2015, p. 8)

The focal point in this investigation is above all with how culture is enacted at the level of individuals, small groups and the concrete localities investigated in the case study. While Hofstede (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) make a fundamental distinction between national/ethnic cultures and organisational cultures, it is here argued that allegiances at various scales interact and will be variously brought into play at the workplace. This point is made both by Wenger (1998) and Lahdenperä (2008). However, the concern is here with embodied and lived experiences of culture, and with the transformative potentials of different learning/working spaces, rather than with abstract entities or with culture understood at a wider geographical and historical scale. Emphasis is placed on the implications for organisational development, and for the learning spaces that are shaped.

Besides the ways culture shapes and is shaped by teaching and learning spaces in the organisation, culture can also be found at the level of 'what the problem is represented to be' (Bacchi, 2007). Here it can serve as an underlying explanatory model used by participants or referred to in policy documents. Various phenomena are described by participants as influenced or caused by culture. Such representations can be interpreted as examples of the 'culturisation' of the minority debate (Eriksen, 2007), where stressing cultural differences serves to divert attention away from other possible value tensions or issues of social inequality (cf. OECD, 2012). In a school context, this could mean that teachers explain students' success or failure in their studies as connected to their cultures of origin, rather than as linked to socio-economic or other factors (cf. Rampton, Harris, Collins, & Blommaert, 2008).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the following, Lahdenperä's (2008) model of intercultural school development is presented and used as a starting point, showing how diversity and intercultural dialogue can be used as a dynamic resource in school development. Wenger's (1998) concepts of communities of practice, brokering practices and landscapes of practice point to types of continuities and discontinuities in organisational texture that can be relevant for development processes and intercultural dialogue at the level of the school as a whole. Wenger's theorisation of landscapes of practice is constructed around the notion of 'practice'. This particular form of social space is oriented towards work and workplace learning, with attention to situatedness and embodied practices. While Lahdenperä's analysis draws on studies of school leadership, Wenger considers work organisation from a bottom-up perspective, looking at how smaller communities combine and interrelate within organisations. This theoretical framework has served both in the design of the individual studies, and in the combined analysis of findings.

Intercultural development of the workplace

Although intercultural research at the workplace is a well-established area, implications for school development have as yet not been extensively explored. In education, policy has frequently drawn on management theories in attempts to reduce costs or increase quality by conceptualising learning and teaching as a form of production, while management research on diversity has received less attention. Lahdenperä's model of intercultural school development is situated at the intersection of research specifically concerned with intercultural development in education, and research on intercultural organisational development drawn from management literature, motivated by her interest in school development from the angle of leadership.

In management literature, intercultural organisational development has been presented as a way to use all competences in an organisation, with the advantage of benefitting from a wider range of complementary competences. Additionally, encouraging diversity can enhance creativity, by using differences and dynamic tensions to destabilise mental habits and stimulate new approaches. In the field of education, it can similarly be argued that intercultural school development would bring together dynamic teacher teams with the skills and background required to develop adequate didactic approaches (Lahdenperä, 2008). Arguments relating to these issues have also been raised in the context of transnational educational programmes, as well as in the context of internationalisation of education.

Just as individuals can develop from an ethnocentric to a more ethnorelativistic understanding of themselves and the world, organisations can develop from being monocultural and move in the direction of multiculturalism and greater acceptance of diversity. A further step is interculturality, which in this context involves using diversity as a resource in a learning organisation, where:

(...) organizational members develop their skills and competence, are open to new ideas, challenge themselves and each other, are supportive of each other, and understand their role in relation to the overall work of the organisation (...). (Kim, 2006, p 83)

Looking at intercultural development at the workplace (Kim, 2006; Ghorashi, & Sabelis, 2013; Gotsis, & Kortezi, 2015), as well as theories of organisational change can help us identify aspects that are relevant in relation to fundamental conditions for intercultural school development. Two features in particular are characteristic of the learning organisation (Senge, 1990; Wenger, 1998). On the one hand, such organisations have the capacity to engage in collective processes of reflection, which presupposes high collaborative capacities. Collaborative capacity involves both the individual staff members' competences in this respect, and the structures or values provided by the organisation, and which enable such collaboration (see also Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; OECD, 2013 and Schleicher, 2015, concerning the significance of teacher collaboration in education more specifically). On the other hand, the learning organisation is characterised by an open organisational culture and the willingness to engage in continuous processes of development, where existing practices are reassessed.

Cooke (1987) distinguishes between *constructive* and *defensive* organisational cultures. In passive/defensive cultures, people feel constrained to act in ways that are against their inner beliefs and personal assessment of how the tasks should be addressed. Employees are expected to please superiors and avoid interpersonal conflicts. Rules are more important than personal beliefs and judgement. In aggressive/defensive cultures, emphasis lies on criticism, power, competition and perfectionism. Mistakes are not allowed, and admitting vulnerability is therefore avoided. Constructive cultures instead build on the values of achievement through effort, realising each individual's potentials, encouraging others to grow and fostering pleasant personal relationships. Creativity and cooperation are encouraged, rather than conformity and competition. Lahdenperä (2008) and Cooke (1987) thus reach very similar conclusions concerning significant aspects in organisational cultures, and their implications for outcomes. However, while it can be argued that Lahdenperä has worked with a relatively small number of cases, Cooke's model has been very widely applied, across numerous settings.

In another widely used model for organisational culture, Denison & Mishra (1995) work with four key dimensions: involvement, adaptability, consistency and mission. Rather than focusing on potentials for change, this model sees organisational effectiveness as a balance between flexibility and stability. This point in Denison and Mishra's model converges with Wenger's (1998) emphasis on sustained relationships and continuity over time to achieve learning, and with his conclusions on how participation interrelates with structure to produce 'organisational imagination'. In relation to school development, Berg (2003) has distinguished between organisational characteristics better suited for relatively stable social circumstances, and the greater flexibility and autonomous decision-making capacity that are needed in 'turbulent' environments.

Regardless of whether emphasis is placed on change or on continuity, it is clear that conclusions drawn from organisational studies tend to concern effectiveness in commercial terms. Such organisations typically aim to grow as organisations, in order to compete and produce products for a market. By contrast, education can be understood as growing as a person, both for students and teachers. Education further serves fundamental purposes with respect to society and democracy. Findings from commercial organisations can therefore not be directly transferred to educational contexts, to the extent that aims in education involve working with qualities in interpersonal interaction as such. In education, human capacity building is not instrumental, but an aim in itself.

Intercultural school development

Lahdenperä's (2008) intercultural model of school development is based on the idea of empowerment, and allowing school professionals to take a critical and proactive stance to the demands they are facing. Based on a series of studies involving head teachers and studies of Swedish schools (Lahdenperä, 2006), she has identified certain values that promote intercultural dialogue and which enable educational development on the basis of diversity.

- A *normative framework* and shared core values make collaboration possible, based on the values of democracy, equality, social justice, tolerance, inclusion and reciprocity.
- *Critical values* and capabilities make it possible to distinguish and contrast differences, questioning the status quo.
- *Innovative values* allow the organisation to transcend the conflicts, learn from them, and creatively shape new practices or structures.

Lahdenperä is above all interested in cultural differences depending on the life stories and origins of different individuals. Rather than seeing value conflicts as problematic, she stresses the need for an organisational culture that makes it possible to work with conflicts in a constructive manner. Like Berg (1991, 2003), Lahdenperä believes that school development involves making underlying tensions more visible, so that problems can be discussed. Her work has focused more specifically on intercultural school development from the perspective of school leadership (Lahdenperä, Gustavsson, Lundgren & von Schantz Lundgren, 2016) and has an emphasis on values and the school's organisational culture:

Leadership in an intercultural organisational culture is culture transformative, which means that the leader is meant to influence and change the deeper layers or the non-verbalised elements of organisational culture.
(Lahdenperä, 2008, pp. 32-33)

Several authors (see for instance Holvino, 2003, 2014; Janssens & Zanoni, 2014, 2015; Mampaey & Zanoni, 2015) have distinguished between *mono-* and *multicultural organisations*. In monocultural organisations, emphasis lies on homogeneity and the dominance of a particular culture, while in organisations with a multicultural orientation, diversity is valued. Lahdenperä further distinguishes between *multiculturalism* and

interculturality, stressing that while multiculturalism in certain definitions can imply simply coexisting or sharing a space, interculturality involves learning how to interact in constructive ways to benefit from differences. Clearly, monocultural school cultures are not conducive to dialogue or change, since such organisations aim to maintain a particular hierarchy between languages, ethnicities and cultural values. But merely embracing diversity is not a sufficient condition for what Lahdenperä sees as *intercultural* school development.

In a multicultural school, cultures and identities may nevertheless be conceived as static, and the organisation might aim to preserve a status quo of some kind. Lahdenperä therefore further defines conditions favourable for intercultural school development as an environment with certain values that are conducive to dialogue and change. This involves creating organisational cultures with space for divergence, where differences can be made visible and conflicts can be explicitly discussed. However, discussions involving value conflicts require strong relationships of trust and respect between different members of staff. This fundamental trust and reciprocity makes it possible to manage the delicate balance between consensus compromises, challenging assumptions and accepting accommodations that are always respectful. It is necessary to be able to discuss different options without having to become defensive because of fear of losing status or evolving in directions that stand in strong contradiction to one's own fundamental values and beliefs (cf. Cooke's *defensive cultures*, Cooke, 1987). Lahdenperä's model of school development thus presupposes continuous open dialogue among staff. Besides openness to diverging opinions, another implication is therefore that regular opportunities to meet are needed.

Communities of practices, landscapes of practice and brokering

The work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) is familiar to many as a theory of situated learning, describing how peripheral participants are gradually introduced into a community of practice, where they learn how things are done by being involved in the work and interacting with other members of the group. People in such groups can also transform their own practices, finding other ways to do things. The theory of communities of practice is in fact much wider than describing how practices are learnt in small groups. It describes crucial features in the different ways work can be organised at different workplaces, as well as aspects of organisational design which affect the potentials for the organisation to develop and deal successfully with new situations, what Wenger (1998, p. 257) has termed 'organisational imagination'. This is why conditions for school development can be understood through this theory.

Lahdenperä's (2008) model of intercultural school development supposes an open dialogue at the level of the school as a whole, engaging all categories of teachers, all cultural backgrounds and all competences. Since schools employ different kinds of teachers who collaborate and communicate in various contexts, the dialogue and development processes will be enacted by different groups who work together and communicate on a regular basis. For knowledge to

move beyond the smaller groups that collaborate regularly, 'brokering practices' (Wenger, 1998) between these groups will play a crucial role, to spread initiatives and improve the flow of ideas and know-how throughout the organisation.

Communities of practice

The notion of 'communities of practice' has been used by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) to theoretically discuss the type of collaboration that develops over time when people work together, or share similar concerns. Shared understanding within such groups is mediated over time through the practice itself and carried by the participating individuals. A community of practice is characterised by *mutual engagement*, a *joint negotiated enterprise* and a *shared repertoire*. Indicators include: sustained mutual relationships, both harmonious and conflictual; a rapid flow of information and propagation of innovation; a quick setup of any problem that needs to be discussed; knowing what others know, what they can do, and how they can contribute to an enterprise; mutually defining identities; the ability to assess the appropriateness of actions and products; a shared discourse reflecting a certain perspective on the world (Wenger, 1998, pp. 125-6). Such characteristics reflect both preconditions for close collaboration and are the result of engaging in such collaboration over time.

Communication across groups can be carried by individuals, or mediated in other ways, such as through symbolic artefacts or administrative routines. According to Wenger, there are three types of connections through practice between communities: *boundary practices*, *overlaps* and *peripheries*. Boundary practices attempt to coordinate activities and address possible conflicts. Overlap occurs, for instance, when members of one community work together with another community, and therefore to some extent become part of the practices of that community. Communities of practice are not monolithic entities that only present an inside and an outside. Membership can involve several degrees or layers, where core members enjoy full rights of participation, and peripheral members do not. Peripheries are thus the areas where outsiders for various reasons gain some degree of access to the practices, without enjoying full rights.

Wenger argues that all contacts between communities offer great potentials for learning, and by carrying their know-how and personal histories across boundaries individuals can operate as *brokers*. In the context of schools, for instance, teachers moving across boundaries between different communities of practice can function as *knowledge brokers*, while the individual pupil who receives instruction in different learning situations becomes a *boundary object*. In schools where pupils are given voice and agency (Montero et al., 2012) pupils can also function as knowledge brokers, and thereby contribute actively to the development of the school as a whole. When people belong to different communities of practice, they can thus function as 'brokers', carrying ideas, values and information across contexts. Such brokering does not take place automatically and depends among other things on the degree of participation that brokers have in the various communities to which they belong. At the same time, the boundary objects (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011) shared between communities can

allow coordination of activities, but do not necessarily bridge perspectives, since the meaning and function such objects are attributed varies.

Activities regarded as work in modern societies involve some sort of formalised institutional framework (Wenger, 1998, p. 241ff.). More generally, Wenger has pointed to the dynamic interdependency between organisation through *structure* (that is, involving elements which are difficult to change at a given level at a particular point in time) and organisation through *participation*, driven by engagement in shared enterprises. Structure creates constraints, but also premises continuity and shared systems of meaning.

Communities of practice are defined through their 'domain', that is the commitment to a shared interest, through the community, and through practices. Teachers at a school can be members of several communities defined by different purposes and concerns. This investigation looks at the communities of practice which are directly linked to their role as teachers. Communities of practice also imply developing relationships sustained over time, where members able to participate and engage in common activities. Using this approach to look at conditions for intercultural school development therefore involves attention to material and cultural conditions for sustaining relationships, establishing trust and commitment, as well as the matter of sharing concerns and practices. Looking at organisational development through the lens of communities of practice emphasises knowledge building among practitioners through peer-to-peer connections, and learning by reflecting on practice. The concept enriches our understanding of organisations, by not only looking at formal structures, but exploring connections across organisational and geographical boundaries.

Landscapes of practice

Human activity is composed of a multitude of dynamic communities that relate to each other in complex ways. They can overlap, move apart or come closer to each other, boundaries can be more or less permeable, and newcomers can be more or less welcome. The texture and topography of these social configurations formed by continuities and discontinuities is what Wenger calls landscapes of practice. He distinguishes between communities of practice, which are closer-knit groups, and 'constellations', where connections and interaction can be more sporadic. From this perspective, a school can be understood as a constellation comprising several smaller contexts (communities of practice / learning spaces). The participants in the smaller contexts share practices over time, and thereby develop shared experiences and shared frames of reference (cf. Kreckel, 1981, 1982). This forms a cultural 'glue' (Weick, 1976) which links them tightly together, while interaction across such spaces is more sporadic, forming looser bonds.

Characteristics that may define a constellation depend on the aim of the analysis, and include: sharing historical roots; having related enterprises; serving a cause or belonging to an institution; facing similar conditions; having members in common; sharing artefacts; having geographical relations of proximity or interaction; having overlapping styles or discourses; competing for the same resources (Wenger, 1998, p. 127). The continuity of a constellation

takes the form of boundary objects and brokering, boundary practices and elements of styles or discourses that travel across boundaries (p. 129).

According to these definitions, different professional groups working at the same school can thus be described as belonging to the same constellation (the school), but do not necessarily form communities of practice. Communities of practice are of particular interest for this investigation, since they are dynamic groups within which development of practices is driven by the participants' shared interest and engagement in a common enterprise. By contrast, collaboration across communities cannot be taken for granted, since members of the different communities do not share a common enterprise. They may not have developed strong interpersonal relationships, and do not necessarily share a repertoire of artefacts through which collaboration can be mediated. In Wenger's theorisation, the coordination of disparate practices across the different communities that compose an organisation is conducted through what he calls boundary practices. We might therefore suppose that school development will accordingly depend on improving boundary practices, to enable communication and collaboration across the different smaller communities of practice a school is composed of.

Participation and positioning of professional groups

An important aspect of Wenger's views on organisation is the complexity of different aspects of our persons that engage in practices. It does not just involve being assigned a particular job. Rather we contribute through who we are, through unique ways of understanding the world and what we are doing in it, through the specific manners in which we communicate about tasks and how we share our experiences, through the artefacts that we produce or adapt, and through the multiple ways in which we negotiate meaning in these practices. From the perspective of intercultural school development, any individual teacher will belong to at least three kinds of groups (cf. Wenger, 1998):

- ethnically-socially-religiously-linguistically defined belonging, relating to the teacher's origins and social position in society at large;
- professional belonging, relating to school subjects that are taught, area of activity, employment status, teacher training etc.
- membership in communities of practice, including both the wider networks of professional development that teachers engage in, and the immediate contexts of teaching and learning that the teacher participates in (teams, classrooms).

While Wenger's theorisation emphasises the focalising role of shared practices revolving around a common enterprise, the cultural artefacts of professional expertise and personal background - including language - also play roles in mediating practices and by impacting degrees of participation (see also Wenger's discussion of *nexus*, pp. 158-61).

Professional groups can thus be considered looking 'inwards', in terms of sharing and belonging. Such belonging can affect the degree of participation in a community of practice. There is also a relative positioning that occurs between different groups. Abbott (1988) has

explained how professional groups working in adjoining fields define themselves and their tasks in relation to each other. Importantly, professional identities, groups of 'clients' and perceptions of the nature of a task or problem are interconnected through what Abbott terms 'colligation'. This means that the ways different groups of teachers are positioned relative to each other will ultimately have implications for how students are categorised and for the type of learning and teaching that can take place. Inversely, the manner teaching and learning are organised in time and space will shape corresponding social groupings, positioning and identities (Nespor, 1994). The status of the professional group and their 'clients' are interconnected. Positioning of a school subject or a language, as well as the work conditions of its teachers, will also affect the students (see Torpsten, 2008; Avery, 2011).

Relationships of power between professional groups at a school level do not merely depend on negotiations that take place at the particular school. The position of these groups and their jurisdictions are also largely defined by the functions they are attributed in policy documents at the national level, as well as through allocation of resources at the municipal level. The relative status of different professional groups at the school is significant for the analysis in the present investigation, since it will affect what Wenger has called 'identities of participation' and 'identities of non-participation'. Identification takes place in and shapes communities through engagement in practices, imagination (the feeling of belonging to a category) and alignment with the objectives and ideals of the organisation. Equally central for identities of participation and non-participation, however, are the economies of meaning through negotiations, where certain ideas and perceptions of reality will be adopted, while others are marginalised (Wenger, 1998). The extent to which teachers were prepared to take conflicts when introducing innovations and intercultural practices was also a significant aspect of MacPherson's (2010) analysis. These observations converge with Lahdenperä's (2008) conclusions: mere physical membership in an organisation and physical presence at school meetings contributes little to school development (cf. Möllås, 2009), unless it is accompanied by a real sense of participation.

In terms of participation, engagement requires access to and interaction with other participants in the course of their own engagement. Engagement also requires the ability and the legitimacy to make contributions to the pursuit of an enterprise, to the negotiation of meaning, and to the development of a shared practice. In terms of reification, engagement requires access to (...) symbols, tools, language, documents, and the like. (...) A lack of access in either participation or reification results in the inability to learn.
(Wenger, 1998, pp. 184-85)

In other words, simply belonging to a workplace cannot be equated with participation. Importantly, asymmetrical relations of power and status will ultimately impact the ability to deal with what Wenger calls the 'emergent' (Wenger, 1998, pp. 244-45), that is situations which cannot be foreseen and managed adequately through routines. Lack of engagement is likely to be the case when asymmetry results in marginality, and when 'relations of non-participation are mediated by institutional arrangements' (p. 169ff.). Alongside issues of how collaboration is managed and to which extent teachers have a common enterprise, the matter of relative status and positioning has therefore been a central issue in the investigation.

Space and practice

Wenger's discussion of practice provides the spatial metaphors which lies at the centre of this investigation, since it is assumed that conditions for intercultural organisational development will largely depend on characteristics of landscapes of practice. This concerns above all the relative status of the different kinds of teachers, ultimately leading to marginalisation or to involvement and participation. It also concerns the issue of whether we are in the presence of shared communities of practice (by nature self-organising, able to drive development collectively through engagement in the objectives for their work), or distinct communities (which may depend on centrally managed brokering practices to communicate, coordinate and function as a constellation).

The focus on practice is important since it introduces the dimension of materiality, including issues of space and time in the analysis, as well as dimensions of meaning and social relationality. Thus, when a notion such as 'collaboration' is considered from the angle of situated practice, it involves assigning suitable times and places when collaboration can take place. Collaboration takes time, and there are limits to how many other people a teacher can have meaningful exchanges with or invest in, particularly when such exchanges involve emotionally taxing elements of dilemmas, uncertainty and negotiating fundamental values or world-views. Key information needs to be exchanged in time, allowing others to plan and prepare themselves. Our potential for learning and development is thus both carried by and subject to the constraints of materiality.

However, while it is embodied and lived by unique individuals, practice here cannot simply be reduced to face-to-face interaction, since practice expresses negotiation of meaning, and thus the engagement of participants. Communication, identification and feelings of belonging are enacted in physical time and space, by living human beings. This does not mean that feelings, interaction or representations are limited to physical proximity, and inversely, working at the same workplace does not automatically lead to shared concerns or beliefs. Wenger's notions of 'proximity' and 'distance' are therefore not identical to physical distance, but also not completely unrelated. Continuities and discontinuities unfold over time, and are lived by individual participants with personal histories that cannot be reduced to categorisations and organisation at the workplace.

Although in many instances the space of landscapes of practice coincides with the place of the workplace, this is not so by necessity: the social space of practice does not necessarily suppose geographical contiguity. Inversely, merely working together at a workplace does not create communities of practice, since communities are defined through common aims and a common understanding of what is being done, rather than just by simple physical presence in the same location. Nor are communities defined by their organisational status:

(...) even when communities of practice live and define themselves within an institutional context, their boundaries may or may not coincide with institutional boundaries Institutional boundaries draw clear distinctions between inside and outside. By contrast, boundaries of practice are constantly renegotiated (...).
(Wenger, 1998, p. 119)

Workers at a particular location can belong to distinct communities, and inversely, communities of practice can have members that are concerned with the 'same' issue, but distributed across different places. Sustained interaction among the members is needed, but such interaction can take place through physical or virtual contacts.

With respect to the 'objects' that are worked on, and which mediate the practice, Wenger's theorisation covers not only instances where 'sameness' and continuity are carried by the object as a physical material 'thing', but also cases where continuity is expressed through similarity in characteristics (i.e. through form rather than substance), or through symbolic communication. It is further important to emphasise that materiality in social space theory is not conceptually dissociated from how the situation is perceived and understood by the members of the communities. It is a lived materiality from an insider perspective, rather than concerning events and situations as they may be perceived by outsiders. The materiality of practice thus fundamentally involves dimensions of lived meaning (through engagement, participation, imagination, etc.).

Spaces for teaching, learning and school development

The study draws heavily on Wenger's landscapes of practice, but other spatial metaphors have also been used, and given a meaning that is particular for the analysis which is made. These are the notions of 'spaces' for teaching, learning and school development, and the notion of 'edgelands'.

The notion of 'edgelands' has been borrowed from Marion Shoard (2002), who used it to describe parts of townscapes that were not fully domesticated. The term has in this investigation been used as a metaphor in education, to describe 'inter-spaces' that are not consistently regulated, and which present a certain ambivalence of being both within and outside the educational system. Such inter-spaces relate to different value systems and different territorial claims. While the spatial metaphor of 'margins' takes on a meaning in relation to positioning within a particular power regime, the metaphor of 'edgelands' is open to multiple readings, depending on the perspective adopted as point of departure. Edgelands thus assume a position of proximity as well as outsidership, both towards the core of a power order, and with respect to the peripheries.

One of the characteristics of edgelands is that they receive 'waste' (cf. Bauman, 2004) from the more tightly regulated spaces of order-making. It can be argued that any norm will correspond to non-conforming groups falling outside and deviating from that norm. In tightly regulated school space, pupils have to match a strict set of specifications to be processable by the system. To fit in (Nilsson Folke, 2015), pupils need to conform and subject themselves to those norms, but the ability to conform is also connected to a specific homogenous background. The narrower and more stringently defined the norm is, the larger will be the groups who fall outside, and who will be in need of 'special' measures. By definition, when

norms are narrow, leftover groups will be highly heterogeneous, since they encompass everything else.

Edgelands will tend to receive such leftovers which do not match the specifications of the norm, since in systems of professions, the weakest professional groups are given responsibility for the failures that the stronger groups wish to avoid. This is because the status of strong professions ultimately depends on their capacity to satisfy the client (cf. Abbott, 1988). Weaker professional groups may have less security on the job market, and therefore more difficulties to refuse uncomfortable tasks. They will have less influence on public discourse, and less opportunities to influence the normative systems of education.

Edgelands also receive leftovers precisely because they are less tightly regulated, and their responsibilities therefore less restrictively defined. At the same time, to actually address the needs of the highly heterogeneous groups of pupils that they take care of, spaces functioning as edgelands are obliged to maintain this openness and flexibility. They are thus confronted with an intrinsic dilemma: If the edgelands also start to establish more stringent criteria, pupils will fall out of their scope, and suffer additional rejection. If they do not, the edgelands will have to take care of all the failures created by the normative order of the core. An additional complexity of the edgelands interzone is its permeability to the outlying surrounding areas, parents and the wider community.

Another spatial metaphor employed in this investigation, are what I have called spaces for teaching, learning and school development. For the purposes of this study, these are understood as the combined social spaces within which teaching, learning and development can take place. They are shaped by education policies governing school activities, work organisation and material conditions, cultures and interaction – thus involving both the overt and the ‘hidden’ curriculum. Spaces for teaching consist of school activities from a teacher perspective. This includes not only classroom activities, but planning and preparation meetings, individual preparation, corrections and documentation, professional training events, coffee breaks and opportunities for informal interaction, communication with parents, excursions, etc. Similarly, spaces for learning consist of school activities from a pupil perspective (in this study limited to activities linked to the formal curriculum). The space for school development consists of opportunities for contact where development work can take place. Although school development could in principle involve pupils, parents and the wider community, as well as numerous other professions and institutions, the delimitation has here been made to focus opportunities for collaboration and dialogue between different categories of teachers, head teachers, and with the school librarian.

METHODOLOGY

The study aims to present a multi-layered and multi-dimensional picture of different support measures for students with immigrant background, and some of the ways they combine and affect conditions for intercultural organisational development in the context of a primary school. Case study matches this purpose, since it permits to consider points of detail while simultaneously striving for a 'bird's eye' view of the setting. This is particularly valuable here, since an ambition of the study has been to link the abstract representations provided in policy, with more concrete descriptions of how teachers express what this entails in practice.

Lahdenperä's model of intercultural school development (2008) was used to help decide which activity areas in the school should be investigated. The analysis further draws on Wenger's (1998) notion of Communities of Practice, to determine to what extent teachers working together could be considered to belong to communities of practice that could serve as a base for collective school development work. These theories thus had the function of setting criteria of selection, focus, relevance and interpretation of data for the overall case study (cf. Stake 1995).

Case study method

Case study is not a single method, but rather a family of methodologies that occupy a middle position between the strongly grounded thick descriptions of ethnographic methods (cf. Geertz, 1994), and methodologies that place greater emphasis on theory, or which reduce data to abstract categories. Specific methods used can vary greatly, however, as can the degree of abstraction in the presentation of results. Rather than being considered as a specific method, case study could be seen as integrative reflection between multiple approaches, that is, methodology dealing with a meta-level. Since case studies are not bound to any particular method of enquiry or associated to a given set of ontological assumptions, such integrative work may take on a transdisciplinary and creative character. Each case study will, in this sense, present unique methodological features and propose unique solutions. In terms of ontology, however, case study can nevertheless be said to belong in a broad sense to the empiricist end of the spectrum of research methodologies, characterised by a common interest in the rich and irreducible character of the research object.

An approach inspired by Stake (1995) has been chosen here, to attain an integrated and holistic perspective on complex interrelations in the interpretation and discussion of results. This type of case study is inductive. The initial questions were thus used as a point of departure to guide and focus the investigation heuristically. They evolved dynamically through the research process, 'following the object' (cf. Hine, 2007; Carlsson, Hanell & Lindh, 2013).

Further characteristics of case study include devoting sufficient space to descriptions of context and the use of multiple methods and materials. Case studies typically combine a

variety of methods and weave the different strands of investigation together, to draw a rich and contextualised picture of the phenomena (Miles, 2015). Yin (2003) holds that case study should cover contextual conditions if boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clear, or if they are relevant to the phenomenon under study. Stake (1995), on the other hand, argues that presenting phenomena in their contexts is a defining characteristic of case study.

Delimiting the case

In this investigation, besides the importance of institutional and social context for understanding minority education issues, it is maintained that, at a fundamental level, construction of the phenomena will depend on how boundaries for the case are drawn. For example, excluding other subject teaching from the investigation, as has been done for this study, and limiting interrogations to formal schooling are choices which will affect how the phenomenon appears. This is not a just matter of including more or less data, or data of different kinds. Rather, delimitations can change the significance of findings in more profound manners, making certain aspects visible, while relegating others to the hidden curriculum (Apple, 1990; MacPherson, 2010; Warren, 2013).

Delimiting the object of research is in fact one of the most crucial considerations within this approach. Merriam (2002, p. 8) stresses that: “The case study is characterized by the unit of analysis—the case—rather than by the topic of the investigation.” The delimitation decides what is ‘inside’ and what is ‘outside’ the focus of attention, what is central and what becomes marginal. Ultimately, delimiting the object of research will also construct what comes to appear as structure or constraint (cf. Reed, 2003).

In contrast to a number of other approaches, we could say that case study does not conceptualise defining research questions and selecting research material as fundamentally separate issues. Nor is it a matter of investigating a set of questions at a particular location or site. A case in this sense is instead delimited by the way questions and object of research interrelate: rather than being a study about a ‘case’, the case is constituted through the study (cf. Miles, 2015). Based on Stake’s approach more specifically, the research questions form criteria of relevance for delimiting what is to be considered as external or internal to the study, as well as guiding where the focus of analysis is to be placed.

For the delimitation of the case in the present investigation, the choice was made to look at teachers working at a particular primary school. The foreground explores aims of teaching and conditions for collaboration from a teacher perspective – how does the situation appear for a particular kind of teachers? These questions are considered against the background of how teaching is organised in the municipality. This includes how the different teacher groups interrelate, how they are positioned with respect to organisational boundaries and how work organisation positions the pupil through the various learning spaces that are thereby created. Interview questions were consequently oriented towards work organisation and teaching, and framed in the context of teachers’ own practices.

Within this scope, the limitation was made to focus on teaching provisions which in Swedish education policy have been expressed as support measures for students with an immigrant background. Additionally, the investigation concerned the school library. This was motivated by the fact that libraries are an inclusive support measure to the extent that they are intended for all students. At the same time, they can have a supportive function, since students with disabilities and students who speak languages other than Swedish are prioritised groups for libraries.

Case studies can be situated at very different levels or scales, ranging from the fine-grained investigation of an episode in an individual person's life, to looking at entire historical eras or studying interactions on a global scale (Eckstein, 2000). To look at implications of policy in practice, studies can also move across scales (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). Geographical and organisational settings considered relevant for the present investigation included:

- The primary school as an organisation and as a location for teaching and learning
- The unit of mother tongue teaching, which the mother tongue teachers and tutors were affiliated to
- The neighbourhood the school was located in

Swedish national education policy served both as a background to the individual sub-studies, and as the lived curriculum expressed in teachers' descriptions. Practices at the school were further considered in the context of the municipality and organisational characteristics of the location.

Collection of materials

Raw data for the studies in this investigation primarily consist of recorded interviews. Observations and participation at the school served to gain an understanding of the local context, both for the initial phases of research design and to help interpret the significance of descriptions made by teachers in the interviews. Similarly, observations and participation in meetings and school activities served to contextualise and inform the analysis of interview material for the studies concerning Mother tongue instruction, Swedish as a Second Language and tutoring in the mother tongue.

Considerable efforts were made to gain a clearer picture of the neighbourhood and the place it occupied in the municipality. Extensive time was spent in the neighbourhood on a weekly basis for a period of one and a half years. During this period of 'deep hanging out' (cf. Geertz, 2001) at the local mall, swimming pool, coffee shop, bus stop, charity shop, and other places in the neighbourhood, numerous informal conversations took place with parents, leisure time staff, young people and residents generally. Summarising notes were taken on aspects and incidents that appeared significant, but no detailed field notes were made. The physical environment in and around the school was observed, in particular the use of languages in

signs and writing, pictures, posters, maps, symbols, pupils' school work exhibited on the walls. Participation in numerous administrative meetings and school development events in the municipality helped situate the organisation of the primary school within the context of municipal practices, visions and procedures.

The school is a primary school offering years 0 to 6, and with just under 400 children. During spring 2012, a total of 50 children were interviewed (years 2, 4 and 6). A fairly large number of pupil interviews were conducted in total to gain a picture of the context, since interviews took the form of an oral survey, and pupils' answers to each question were mostly very short. Interview questions for pupils concerned attitudes to languages and literacy, as well as leisure time activities, and interests in and outside school.

In the next stage, a series of interviews were made with a total of 18 teachers and 4 head teachers involved in teaching at the school (6 mother tongue teachers, 6 class teachers, 6 teachers teaching Swedish and Swedish as a Second Language, the head teacher and assistant head teacher of the primary school, and the head teacher and assistant head teacher of the Mother Tongue Unit). Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interviews were also made with a total of 3 librarians: the school librarian and two staff from the local public library which served for the other school (years 6-9) of the neighbourhood. The local library was immediately adjacent to the school, and had been used by the preschool and the lower grades of the primary school during a period when construction work was taking place. Library staff from the local public library had also been visiting the school, working on reading and writing projects in the lower grades.

The interviewed mother tongue teachers/tutors were contacted through the Mother Tongue Unit. The criteria for selection was to be working at the primary school in years 4 to 6, to have experience with tutoring as well as mother tongue instruction, and to represent different languages. All of the interviewed mother tongue teachers were experienced, and had been working at the school for many years. The Mother Tongue Unit comprises more than a hundred mother tongue teachers in about forty languages. Applications had been made for tuition in over sixty languages in the municipality, but it had not been possible to recruit suitable teachers. Altogether 270 of the almost 400 pupils in years 0-6 at the investigated primary school were receiving mother tongue instruction, in 32 languages, and taught by 38 mother tongue teachers.

The six participating class teachers were selected among the twelve class teachers working in years 4 to 6 by pulling names from a hat, and all accepted. Teachers of Swedish worked in years 2, 4 and 6; all teachers of Swedish teaching these years and who had a qualification in the subject Swedish participated. All of the participating teachers were experienced, and all except one had been working at the school for several years. Teacher interviews were semi-structured, with open-ended questions that invited longer responses (see Appendix I). The interview design and the selection of participants served to capture several perspectives on work organisation at the school, and to include different categories of teachers.

Besides the interviews, a range of documents were examined to obtain details concerning work organisation, curriculum and regulations to give an idea of various stakeholder perspectives and to shed light on the institutional framing of the issues investigated in this study. Conditions for developing the school library were considered in relation to local structures and aims in this area. National steering documents and legislation were examined. The analysis of results across the four sub-studies interprets findings in the light of how steering documents set goals for teachers' activities, as well as shaping the setting where they work.

Interview methods

The interview methods used in the investigation are consistent with the fundamental methodological choices outlined above and with case methodology, Stake (1995) more particularly. Using a semi-structured interview guide helps to keep focus and delimit the scope to the research questions and the conceptual framework that has been chosen as a heuristic point of departure. On the other hand, using open-ended questions and flexible follow-up questions maintains an explorative inductive openness. It also gives space for participant voice, dialogue and co-construction of the direction of the investigation (Milligan, 2016). Nevertheless, power relations will have affected the conversations. No matter how open and sensitive I intended to be as a researcher, it is inevitable that I entered the situation with a set of expectations and assumptions (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Pezalla, Pettigrew & Miller-Day, 2012), and was met by other expectations and assumptions. Researchers had come and done research on the school before. In general, teachers and head teacher had not seen results from these studies, and there was a sentiment that research projects meant additional work for the teachers, but did not lead to any benefits.

I am fluent in Swedish, and Swedish was used in the interviews and for most of the communication surrounding the investigation. During the fieldwork, some communication with parents and people in the neighbourhood took place in other languages than Swedish. My pronunciation differs from the local Swedish dialect, clearly positioning me as an outsider, which may have created distances. My academic background additionally positioned me as an outsider in many contexts. I was an outsider to the situation in the sense that I did not work at the school and did not know the locality or the participants beforehand. I have personal experience working as a teacher, but not in the context of Swedish primary school. However, while being an outsider meant that I lacked previous familiarity with numerous aspects of the situation, I did not benefit from the position of 'impartiality' that outsider status can confer. Since my research was financed by the municipality, I was instead met by a widespread expectation that I was there to do reporting and evaluation for the municipality which had commissioned my work.

It is probable that not coming from the locality myself, limited my understanding of the situation. It can have made me blind to unspoken cultural codes and conventions among the

local people, as well as affecting the way I was perceived by participants. It is also likely that I was perceived differently by teachers with an ethnic Swedish background, than by teachers, who like myself, had an immigrant background. Sharing the experience of coping as an outsider in a new situation may have facilitated communication with the minority teachers. I shared the mother tongue teachers' experience of being able to compare the Swedish education system with education in other countries, and also shared experiences of what living in immigrant communities can be like.

The ways we use and understand time impact both the analysis and the interview process (Davies, 1996). I therefore gave adult participants the opportunity to choose time and place for the interviews, but also invited them to make changes and add afterthoughts, so the descriptions would not be given a predetermined shape simply through the way they were placed and confined in time. Questions were sent to the teachers beforehand, so that they were able to think about the issues in advance, and several of the teachers brought notes with them to the interviews, to make sure that they did not forget important points they wanted to make.

The interviews with librarians took place at the libraries, or immediately next to them. Interviews with teachers of Swedish and class teachers took place at the primary school and interviews with head teachers took place in their offices. Two of the interviews with mother tongue teachers took place at the primary school, while the others were conducted at the university, at the Mother Tongue Unit, or at others school where they worked.

Ethical considerations

All participants were informed of the purpose and content of the study beforehand. They were informed that participation was voluntary, and that it could be interrupted at any moment. Transcripts of interviews were submitted to participants for approval. For pupil interviews, written consent was obtained from parents or legal guardians, and teachers' permission was requested when spending time at various places in the school.

Even though normal precautions were taken, it is likely that being commissioned to conduct the research will have had an effect (cf. Stigendal, 2004). Despite considerable freedom to define research questions and orientation of the studies, the work was financed by the municipality that the case school is located in, and was consequently subject to a range of expectations. These expectations affected how the researcher and the research were positioned and perceived by various actors, the ways in which results were anticipated to be used, and thus the standpoints and types of information that participants might want to disclose or withhold. Although the investigation is by no means an evaluation or official investigation, it may well have been perceived as such by participants. Findings will eventually be used in a variety debates and negotiations that can impact the working conditions of the participants.

The fundamental standpoint taken here is that participants at different organisational levels are all doing their best and working to shape their practices in adequate manners within the scope of action that is open to them. The participants' own explanations concerning aims and obstacles in their work are of central concern for organisational development. Any local organisational culture will place certain issues 'off bounds'. Lahdenperä (2008) argues that an open climate and being able to discuss difficult questions where there is no consensus is precisely what allows schools to develop interculturally. Creating spaces where it is possible to talk about sensitive matters is thus one of the fundamental conditions if we wish to draw on teachers' diverse experiences, enabling collective reflection and decision-making. Throughout the investigation, walking the fine line of what can be said and what should remain confidential has been one of the greatest challenges.

Analysis criteria

Findings from the interviews with teachers, head teachers and librarians have been presented in four articles each focusing a particular support measure (see Appendix II). In the following sections, findings concerning the individual support measures presented in the sub-studies are summarised and implications are also further discussed. Additionally, the case is described and an overall analysis is made of the work organisation observed. The bulk of the analysis builds on the combined findings from the four articles, as well as on the fieldwork and study of policy and other documents.

The analysis attempts to answer the matter of to what extent the different kinds of teachers can be said to belong to the same community of practice (cf. Gallucci, 2003), since this is a fundamental precondition for community driven development work. To capture this aspect, teachers and head teachers were asked directly about collaboration between teachers, on the one hand, and on the other they were asked about the aims and priorities of their teaching, as well as about obstacles and possible solutions (Appendix I).

In the subsequent analysis, the concerns broached by the teachers were compared, to see whether they converged or diverged. In Wenger's theory, participants do not have to have the same opinion about a topic to form a community, but they do need to have a 'common enterprise' (Wenger, 1998, pp. 125-26). The definition of the nature of the 'common enterprise' (point 1 below) was to a considerable extent decided by the curriculum and by the distribution of roles prescribed in legislation governing the school system. However, teachers were asked to express what they felt should be the priority, which gave an indication of the visions they were working towards. The interviews could also provide indications of how teachers perceived their own responsibility in relation to more overarching goals, such as democracy.

The work of engagement is basically the work of forming communities of practice. (...) It implies a sustained intensity and relations of mutuality (...): (1)

the definition of a common enterprise in the process of pursuing it in concert with others (2) mutual engagement in shared activities (...) (Wenger, 1998, p. 184)

In the teacher interviews, the teachers were also requested to briefly describe the organisation of their work, which gave an indication of 'shared activities'. Wenger additionally lists the criteria of an 'accumulation of a history of shared experiences', 'the production of a local regime of competence' and 'the development of interpersonal relationships' (ibid. p. 184). The latter points were not systematically explored, but opportunities and obstacles to accumulating shared experiences or developing interpersonal relationships were observed indirectly in the course of the investigation. Additionally, the interview questions about collaboration provided information about formally organised meetings as well as informal brokering practices at the school.

The descriptions of work organisation were in the analysis examined to see in which ways communication and interaction between different groups took place. Forms of communication and collaboration could then be compared to Lahdenperä's criteria for expansive dialogue, in particular the criterion of reciprocity. Approaching work organisation through the teachers' descriptions was thus intended to provide a relatively detailed and concrete picture of interaction within the communities, as well as between communities belonging to a larger constellation of practices. The purpose of the interview questions was also to see which aspects were perceived as significant and to get a clearer picture of the meaning the teachers attributed to different measures and practices they were engaged in. From this angle, the question was not just if the teachers had opportunities to meet, but also if the meetings were useful from the teachers' perspective.

The issue of positioning of individuals with minority backgrounds, as well as the cultures and languages associated to them, is central to Lahdenperä's discussion of monocultural and intercultural school cultures, influencing the opportunities for educational development which these school cultures provide. Wenger also stresses the notions of 'participation' and 'mutuality', to ascertain to which extent communities of practice can support learning and development. Directly asking participants about their relative status was likely to be a sensitive matter, however, especially since the identity of the interviewed teachers was known to head teachers and to other teachers from the same unit. Besides looking at the relative positioning of languages, conclusions in the analysis concerning relative status are therefore drawn on the basis of descriptions that spontaneously appeared in connection to other questions in the interview.

To gain additional data concerning brokering practices, information was gathered both through observation, attending different kinds of meetings at the school or municipal level, and through various local documents describing the schools of the municipality. Head teachers and administrators were asked about aspects of the work organisation that needed clarification. Comparing and analysing participants' various perspectives in the frame of the research process gave opportunities to expose tensions. Putting together the overall picture of organisation and practices made it possible to catch sight of aspects that are not overtly expressed by the participants themselves. Thus, creating a certain estrangement and distance

towards the phenomena opens a space for reflection. Schön (1983) and others have emphasised the dynamic potential of this process for professional development.

Limitations to results and interpretation

The investigation takes an exploratory approach (Yin, 2003). At the same time, even exploratory research does not start from a clean slate, but is constructed upon numerous assumptions and choices. Such choices concern the initial questions that are asked, as well as the interpretations that are made, and the constructs that are used to communicate the findings of the investigation (Alvesson & Sköldböck, 2009). For instance, mechanisms of socially producing success or failure can operate through the manner in which achievement, quality and success are measured and defined in education, using indicators such as marks or other standardised instruments (cf. Stigendal, 2004). Talking about school achievement or inclusion is by no means neutral. Not only is the meaning of 'success' defined and restricted through such measuring instruments, but also the categories of students, teachers or schools that we are investigating. By referring (directly or indirectly) to such categories as researchers we are helping to construct and consolidate the categories 'school with a high proportion of pupils with an immigrant background' or 'adequate forms of support for these pupils' through this research.

The choice was made in this investigation to particularly examine the special support measures that are stipulated for students with an immigrant background. This was also motivated by the wish to look at relationships between teachers with immigrant or non-immigrant background (Bigestans, 2015), based on Lahdenperä's model. At this school, with almost no exceptions, it happened that only mother tongue teachers had immigrant backgrounds. Other considerations underlying the delimitation was that positioning of languages and cultures is relevant in constituting communities of practice, impacting participation, mutuality and identities that contribute to learning organisations and organisational imagination. Looking at the perceived purposes in teaching Swedish, Swedish as a Second Language and Mother Tongue Studies, respectively, was a way to capture how different languages and their speakers were positioned. Extra and Yağmur (2002) point to relative differences in status between different kinds of minority languages, while Bagga-Gupta (2004b) distinguishes between the relative status of languages and the relative status of speakers (positioned as native speakers or second language learners). The focus here has been on the status of mother tongue and Swedish in the narrower context of school, rather than in the wider context of society (see Milani, 2007; Spetz, 2012 for a discussion of attitudes outside school towards mother tongue instruction). Within the school context, both language and speaker status are considered.

A result of delimiting the focus of the study to support measures and not including other school subjects has been that results also frame the issues accordingly. Outcomes thus concerned questions such as: what is viewed as additional/special 'support' and what is seen as regular/normal 'teaching'; which aspects of teaching consequently become 'core' aspects

and what is seen as a 'special' directed effort entailing 'extra' costs? The investigated support measures are in Swedish policy directed towards pupils with an immigrant background, so the excluding implications for learners not categorised as having an immigrant background can only be seen here as a shadow. It does not mean that such implications are unimportant, but they would need to be addressed in a separate study. For instance, several of the ethnic Swedish pupils expressed that they would like to learn some of the immigrant languages that were spoken in the neighbourhood.

Issues of cultural positioning have here above all been investigated by looking at language policies, and clearly, other approaches may have yielded other outcomes. The frame set for the investigation thus builds on a number of implicit assumptions that are far from evident. However, the overarching aim of investigating learning conditions for minority students and examining the particular school in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood are aspects of framing that could not be avoided in this particular case, since these concerns motivated the financing of the study. Importantly, although the investigation is by no means an evaluation or official investigation, it may well have been perceived as such by participants, and findings will in any event eventually be used in a variety of debates and negotiations. A conclusion drawn from experiences during the research process is that single case studies may be less well suited for investigations of this kind, where participants might fear that results of the investigation could lead to budget cuts for the school or loss of employment. For the research concerns dealt with here, a study including several schools as well as different municipalities would have been preferable, to reduce the risk of exposing participants. As an outsider, I also had difficulties assessing in advance how sensitive certain issues would be.

Regardless of what intentions were, the simple fact of working closely with a single case for several years makes it likely that the research process has impacted developments at the school. From this perspective, it is futile to try to conceptualise the school as existing in an 'untouched' more authentic state or as possessing qualities independently of interactions with the research project, or with any of the countless shifting events and interactions that impact school practices daily. The aim of the investigation has not been to represent the status quo of a specific historical moment, but rather to capture dynamic potentials of the present in movement – hence the title, 'Moving together'. Ideally, to be consistent, results would consequently have to be presented as relational, inter-relational and in constant movement, which has not been possible in the linear structure of presentation used here.

Similarly, shifts of meaning occur in the research process, when material (such as the reflections of practitioners in the course of the interviews) is translated, selected, grouped and reduced by the researcher. Despite efforts to include sufficient context, describing involves disembedding events from the context in which they occurred, and thereby inevitably changes their meaning.

Implications of conclusions to other settings

Flyvbjerg (2006) has argued that whether research is generalisable or not, does not depend on the mass of data that is processed, but that is rather a matter of which precise aspects we are

interested in. For certain kinds of questions, it is possible to generalise conclusions based on a single case. However, since many of the considerations that play a role in shaping spaces for learning, teaching and school development are highly dependent on local contexts, clearly conclusions concerning the present study cannot be directly generalised.

Possible applications to other contexts are instead seen as a complex process of further reflection on similarities or discrepancies and considering how the different tendencies observed here might fit into the overall dynamics of another institution or setting (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Context descriptions and interview quotes have therefore been employed in this investigation, to allow the reader to determine if and in which ways findings can be transferred to other contexts and to assess how various aspects of this investigation may contribute to the understanding of other situations.

SUPPORT MEASURES IN THE SWEDISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

The curriculum and national educational policy closely define aims for activities in schools, and shape overall conditions for local practices. Such legal provisions are binding for teachers and for schools. The present case study should therefore be understood in light of the Swedish national policy concerning residents and citizens with immigrant background, and in particular language policy, which besides issues of medium of instruction or validation of qualifications, sets down the relative status of different minority groups, through the languages they speak. Concerning the support measures for students with an immigrant background - mother tongue instruction, Swedish as a Second Language, and tutoring in the mother tongue – it should be noted that to position a student as in need of special support is in itself a highly problematic stance (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004a). Attaching the allocation of resources to categorisations and deficit labels can therefore be expected to have negative effects, regardless of the precise form which the support measure takes. On the one hand, considering the processes of change involved in a particular type of learning as ‘special’ will tend to produce distinct educational pathways, leading to social stratification. On the other, basing resource allocation on categorisation of the learner (cf. Lutz, 2009; Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013) will tend to essentialise the issues, effectively preventing processes of change.

It can thus be noted that a tension exists in the phrasing of the law, between establishing these measures as transitional support measures, intended for a limited period of induction for newly arrived students - where the need is based on categorisation linked to time since arrival - and general support measures, based on individual needs assessment. There is a further tension between the perspective of temporary ‘needs’ and the permanent categories implied by conditions for entitlement (languages spoken at home). Such entitlement conditions are particularly problematic, since attributed categories of disadvantage based on history (own or parents’ place of birth, languages a person has heard in early childhood) cannot be changed as such.

With respect to mother tongue instruction, contradictions appear in framing the subject as support (to be able to follow the national curriculum), while from the angle of international law, entitlement to mother tongue instruction is connected to language rights, diversity and conceptions of democracy involving a certain degree of community autonomy. Such tensions can also be considered in the light of the debate on human rights versus minority rights.

Language policies for national and immigrant minorities

Although Sweden has different minority populations, the educational debate on cultural and linguistic diversity in Sweden has largely been associated to students with an immigrant background. This means that the issues considered here involve a high number of different

languages (cf. the notion of ‘superdiversity’, Blommaert, 2013) and that these languages are typically ascribed a low status (Bunar, 2010b). Extra and Yağmur (2002) remark that while European policies and legislations support cultural pluralism within Europe - including issues of national minority languages - discourses regarding immigrant groups nevertheless tend to be discriminatory. In other words, different policies are applied with respect to what Extra and Yağmur call ‘regional minority’ languages (RM), on the one hand, and ‘immigrant minority’ (IM) languages, on the other (Extra & Yağmur, 2002; Extra & Gorter, 2007; Elias, 2010). More than a decade later, the situation has hardly improved. The European Union continues to advocate multilingualism in principle, but further work would be needed to gain real effects (Romaine, 2013; Guliyeva, 2013; May, 2014; Faingold, 2015).

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for the Protection of Regional or Minority Languages were ratified by the Swedish Parliament in 2000. Finnish, Meänkieli and Sami were recognised as minority languages (Government Bill 1998/99:143) while the Sami, Swedish Finns, Tornedalians, Roma and Jews were recognised as national minorities. The Language Act (2009:600) further recognises Romani Chib and Yiddish as non-territorial minority languages. The Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages (SFS 2009:724) which entered into force on January 1, 2010, was intended to provide additional protection for the national minorities.

Racism and discrimination in education are prohibited in Sweden by the Anti-Discrimination Act 2008: 567 (in keeping with EU Racial Equality Directive 2000/43/EC). It is stressed in the Education Act that education should be adapted to meet different needs:

Children’s and pupil’s different needs should be considered in education. Children and pupils should be offered support and stimulation, so that they develop as far as possible. An ambition should be to compensate for differences in children’s and pupil’s ability to benefit from the education.⁶

(SFS 2010:800, Chapter 1, 4 §)

The Language Act of 2009 (SFS 2009:600) provides the overall frame for language rights and the status of various languages in Sweden (for a discussion see also Lindberg, 2009; Tvingstedt, 2011; Boyd, 2011). Through Article 2 (5) of the Swedish Constitution, the State is committed to preserving and developing the cultural life of linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities but, as in other European countries (cf. Extra & Yağmur, 2002), Sweden distinguishes between national minorities and immigrant minorities.

The Language Act (SFS 2009:600) declares Swedish to be the main language in Sweden, and puts forward the special obligation for all Swedes to use and develop it.

Swedish is the principal language in Sweden. (SFS 2009:600, Section 4)

The language of the courts, administrative authorities and other bodies that perform tasks in the public sector is Swedish. (SFS 2009:600, Section 10)

⁶ The author’s translation

All residents of Sweden are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use Swedish. In addition

1. persons belonging to a national minority are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use the minority language, and
2. persons who are deaf or hard of hearing, and persons who, for other reasons, require sign language, are to be given the opportunity to learn, develop and use Swedish sign language.

Persons whose mother tongue is not one of the languages specified in the first paragraph are to be given the opportunity to develop and use their mother tongue.

(SFS 2009:600, Section 14)

A similar hierarchy between languages is reflected in the Swedish national curriculum Lgr11. Concerning the overall learning aims of education the first point under the heading Goals specifies:

The school is responsible for ensuring that each pupil on completing compulsory school:

- can use the Swedish language, both in speech and writing, in a rich and varied way,
- can communicate in English, both in the spoken and written language, and also be given opportunities to communicate in some other foreign language in a functional way

(Swedish National Agency For Education, 2011, p. 15)

Further down among the goals we find the ambition that (each pupil):

- has obtained knowledge about and an insight into the Swedish, Nordic and Western cultural heritage, and also obtained basic knowledge of the Nordic languages,
- has obtained knowledge about the cultures, languages, religion and history of the national minorities (Jews, Romanies, indigenous Samis, Swedish and Tornedal Finns),
- can interact with other people based on knowledge of similarities and differences in living conditions, culture, language, religion and history

(Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 15)

The curriculum thus gives a central position to the core subjects Swedish and English, and privileges Nordic and national minority languages. Other languages – presumably including immigrant minority languages - are represented as ‘foreign’ and pertaining to ‘other people’.

Intercultural understanding

Democratic values occupy a prominent position in the Swedish national curriculum, Lgr11, which in its introduction stipulates that:

Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based.

(Swedish National Agency For Education, 2011, p. 9)

Besides aspects of education that concern human rights as defined in international law, including the right to education and prohibition of discrimination, the Swedish national curriculum lays forth a number of points under the heading ‘Understanding and compassion for others’:

(...) Xenophobia and intolerance must be confronted with knowledge, open discussion and active measures.

The internationalisation of Swedish society and increasing cross-border mobility place high demands on the ability of people to live with and appreciate the values inherent in cultural diversity. Awareness of one’s own cultural origins and sharing in a common cultural heritage provides a secure identity which it is important to develop, together with the ability to understand and empathise with the values and conditions of others. The school is a social and cultural meeting place with both the opportunity and the responsibility to strengthen this ability among all who work there.

(Swedish National Agency For Education, 2011, p. 9)

This means that developing intercultural competences is placed prominently on the very first page of the actual text of the curriculum, outlining Fundamental values and tasks of the school. Among the Fundamental values, cultural diversity is further mentioned in connection with the need for an international perspective.

It is important to have an international perspective, to be able to understand one’s own reality in a global context and to create international solidarity, as well as prepare for a society with close contacts across cultural and national borders. Having an international perspective also involves developing an understanding of cultural diversity within the country.

(Swedish National Agency For Education, 2011, p. 12)

Although the curriculum expresses the goal that schools should strengthen intercultural understanding, it is not clear how this objective should be attained. Indeed, reports by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (2009, 2010, 2015) suggest that many Swedish schools today are not culturally inclusive, in particular with respect to newly arrived students.

Targeted and non-targeted support measures for students with an immigrant background

In Swedish education policy, two provisions are primarily intended for students who are foreign-born or who have a foreign-born parent: Swedish as a Second Language (SSL) and mother tongue instruction. The Education Ordinance stipulates that:

Swedish as a second language shall if needed be arranged for

1. pupils who have a mother tongue other than Swedish,
2. pupils who have Swedish as their mother tongue and who have been admitted from schools abroad

and

3. Immigrant pupils who have Swedish as their main language of communication with one of their custodians⁷

(SFS 2011:185, Chapter 5, Section 14)

The curriculum thus creates a compulsory distinction between the core subject Swedish (for native speakers) and its counterpart Swedish as a Second Language, meaning that each pupil has to be categorised as one or the other. Both subjects give access to higher education, and the syllabus for the two subjects is virtually identical. The ‘second-language’ syllabus is therefore not suited for newly arrived students learning Swedish as a foreign language, at the same time that it produces what amounts to a formal distinction between ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ speakers based on generational criteria.

The right to receive mother tongue instruction is premised on basic knowledge and the daily use of the language at home:

A pupil who has a custodian with a mother tongue other than Swedish should be offered mother tongue tuition in this language if

1. the language is the pupil’s daily means of interaction (*dagligt umgängesspråk*) in the home and

2. the pupil has basic knowledge of the language.

Mother tongue tuition in a national minority language should be offered even if the language is not the pupil’s daily means of interaction in the home.⁸

(SFS 2014:458, 2010:800, Chapter 10, Section 7)

Even if the language is not used at home, it can be taught if the mother tongue belongs to the national minority languages. Adopted children can also receive mother tongue instruction in a language that is not spoken at home. Mother tongue instruction may not be given in more than one language, except for Roma pupils arriving from abroad.

The right to receive mother tongue instruction is subject to limitations. Except for the national minority languages, mother tongue instruction for a given language does not have to be organised if there are less than five pupils in the municipality. The municipalities do not have to offer mother tongue instruction if there is no suitable teacher (SFS 2011: 185 Chapter 5, Sections 7 – 10). The law further allows bilingual instruction, but this possibility is rarely used.

A third support measure, more specifically intended for newly arrived students, is tutoring in the mother tongue⁹. However, concerning this measure, the Education Ordinance only specifies that:

⁷ Author’s translation

⁸ Official translation from Government Offices of Sweden (2013). In this investigation, the alternative translation ‘mother tongue instruction’ has been used to avoid confusion with the support measure tutoring in the mother tongue.

⁹ *studiehandledning på modersmålet*. The earlier wording of the law would imply that all students who need support in their mother tongue could receive it. In the revised wording, the measure is more directly linked to the newly arrived, and specifications concerning entitlements appear to define it as a limited and temporary

A pupil shall receive tutoring in his/her mother tongue, if the pupil needs it.

A pupil who is to be offered mother tongue instruction and who before arrival in Sweden was taught in another language than the mother tongue can be given tutoring in that language instead of in the mother tongue, if there are special reasons.¹⁰

(SFS 2011: 185 Chapter 5, Section 4)

A link is here made in the legal text to the provision mother tongue instruction (an elective school subject with its own syllabus and formally defined learning aims), and the provision tutoring in the mother tongue, which has no syllabus or aims other than furnishing support. The law also uses the term 'mother tongue instruction' (*modersmålsundervisning*) both to designate teaching of the subject Mother Tongue Studies and for bilingual instruction, where the mother tongue is medium of instruction.

In terms of the legislation, it is particularly significant that Swedish as a Second Language, mother tongue instruction and tutoring in the mother tongue are provided as special support measures - that is, as extra measures framed as remediating or compensating for difficulties in the regular teaching. Importantly, plurilingualism¹¹ and speaking languages other than Swedish is in national policy thereby presented as a learning disadvantage (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004b).

Fundamentally, being defined by law as a support measure, places languages in a subordinate position when they are taught as Mother Tongue Studies. It marks them as auxiliary, and intended for students who would not otherwise reach standards. This position is different from the position the same language might be attributed when taught as a modern foreign language (Cabau, 2005).

Alongside the hierarchical positioning of the various languages found in policy, the intention to place them as equivalent is also found. The wording of the syllabus for Mother Tongue Studies is very similar to the wording of the subjects Swedish and Swedish as a Second Language (SSL) respectively. One significant difference appears in the overall aims of the syllabus, where it is stipulated for Mother Tongue Studies that:

The teaching should help the pupils to master their knowledge of the structure of the mother tongue and become conscious of its importance for their own learning in different school subjects.

(Swedish National Agency For Education, 2011, p. 83)

measure only as long as the newly arrived student cannot manage without it. When students continue to need support beyond the four-year period after their arrival, the question becomes the responsibility of special needs measures, and it is not entirely clear from the wording if special needs measures also include tutoring in the mother tongue.

¹⁰ Author's translation.

¹¹ plurilingualism is here used to translate the Swedish term *flerspråkighet*, as referring to the competence of individual speakers to use several languages, whereas the term multilingualism is used to designate a society where several languages are spoken (see Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009).

The syllabus thus states that the mother tongue is important for learning, but also positions it as something personal, rather than of societal significance. The corresponding wording for both Swedish and SSL is:

This means that pupils through teaching should have the opportunity to develop their language for thinking, communicating and learning.

(Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, p. 227)

The wording here positions Swedish, respectively Swedish as a Second Language, not only as a language ‘with importance’ for learning, but as ‘their language for thinking, communicating and learning’. It thus appears that the syllabus to some extent gives mother tongue instruction a somewhat more instrumental role, aiming at supporting overall learning in other school subjects, as well as developing the mother tongue in its own right. The double function of serving its own syllabus and serving as an instrument for learning generally can also be found for the Swedish language. In this respect, however, Swedish is positioned as medium of instruction ‘language for ... learning’ (for all), while the mother tongue is given an even more auxiliary position as a language ‘with importance’ (for the pupils who take Mother Tongue Studies).

The syllabi for Swedish and SSL are almost identical (Lundgren, 2012), and were intended to be so. At the same time, in the overall aims for SSL, it is stressed that:

Teaching should give pupils a wealth of opportunities to communicate in Swedish based on their level of knowledge, without putting at too early a stage demands on language correctness.

(Swedish National Agency For Education, 2011, p. 227)

There is thus a tension between on the one hand, the positioning as ‘equivalent’ through the use of near identical wording in the syllabus and by giving access to higher education, and on the other, the consideration that SSL is intended for second language learners, suggested by the wording above.

With respect to Mother Tongue Studies, no distinction in requirements or learning goals for the different years is made considering whether students are newly arrived and have prior schooling in the mother tongue, or whether the language has merely been spoken at home. For certain languages, spoken forms may differ considerably from standard written forms, while in others the spoken forms can be important for culture and identity, although standard written forms have not been developed. Writing systems differ greatly between languages. While a language specific syllabus exists for Chinese as a Modern Language as of from July 15, 2014, for instance, the syllabus for Chinese in Mother Tongue Studies is not language specific. It is thus significant, but not unproblematic, that expected language proficiency and standards for outcomes in Mother Tongue Studies, Swedish and Swedish as a Second Language are all expressed in very similar terms.

School libraries are intended to support language and literacy for all students, and are thus not a specific measure directed at students with an immigrant background. They do however have a special obligation towards these students. The Library Act (SFS 2013:801) which governs

all libraries of the public sector, including school libraries, defines people with disabilities, national minorities and people with mother tongues other than Swedish as ‘prioritised groups’:

4 § Libraries in public library service shall devote particular attention to people with disabilities, by for instance offering literature and technical aids based on their diverse needs and abilities, so that they can partake in information.

5 § Libraries in public library service shall devote particular attention to the national minorities and people who have another mother tongue than Swedish, for instance by offering literature in

1. the national minority languages
2. other languages than the national minority languages and Swedish
3. easy to read Swedish

(SFS 2013:801)

The Library Act further specifies that:

14 § In order to give everyone access to the combined library resources of the country, libraries and library authorities in public library service should collaborate.

(SFS 2013:801)

In other words, rather than limiting access to resources in different languages to local collections, school libraries can draw on the country’s total resources. It is also important to point out that resources in this sense are not limited to collections or physical materials, but include networks and expertise. The new legislation specifically applicable to school libraries (SFS 2010:800, Chapter 2, Section 36) emphasises the physical access to library services. However, in the Swedish Schools Inspectorate’s comments to how this law is to be interpreted, it is stressed that libraries are more than a physical space:

Besides the physical solution, a fundamental requirement is that the school library fills the function to support pupils’ learning, that is, is used actively in the education.

(Swedish Schools Inspectorate, 2011, p. 7)

Reception of newly arrived students

With respect to the reception of newly arrived students, the Education Act (SFS 2010:800, Chapter 3, Sections 12 c, 12 d) stipulates that these should be assessed within two months of their reception by school authorities, to be placed in a year and group that is appropriate considering the pupil’s age, previous knowledge and other circumstances. Within the same lapse of time, the student should be placed in the teaching group that they should normally belong to (Section 12 e).

Transitional induction programmes¹² for newly arrived students (preparatory classes) have been widely practiced, but were previously not explicitly referred to in the law. The practice instead used the more generally worded possibility of organising separate groups for special needs students. Legislation is changing on this point, as outlined in Government Bill 2014/15:45. In particular, the recent changes through Act 2015:246 mean that, as of January 1, 2016, preparatory classes for newly arrived students are provided for in the Education Act (SFS 2010:800, Chapter 10, Section 12 f). Students may not spend more than two years in preparatory classes. The wording describes these classes as a provision alongside rather than instead of other forms of teaching:

The head teacher can decide that a pupil whose knowledge has been assessed according to 12 c § should partly be taught in preparatory classes, if the pupil lacks sufficient knowledge of Swedish to benefit from ordinary teaching.

Teaching a pupil in a preparatory class in a particular subject should be discontinued as soon as the pupil is assessed to have sufficient knowledge of Swedish to participate full time in that subject in the teaching group that the pupil normally belongs to.¹³

(SFS 2010:800, Chapter 10, Section 12 f)

Chapter 17 of the Education Act (SFS 2010: 800; 2014:45) also includes stipulations concerning the introductory programmes, intended for students who do not have sufficient qualifications to enter upper secondary education. The introductory programmes are largely aimed at newly arrived students and students with an immigrant background.

¹² No transitional classes were located at the investigated school at the time of the study, and this teaching form was therefore not included in the case study.

¹³ Author's translation.

SUPPORT MEASURES IN THE STUDIED CASE: SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

The four articles on different support measures are summarised below. Findings of these sub-studies will be integrated with remaining empirical observations in the next chapter, Description of the case, where an analysis of the case as a whole is given.

Article I: H. Avery (2015). Teaching in the ‘edgelands’ of the school day: The organisation of Mother Tongue Studies in a highly diverse Swedish primary school. Power and Education, 7(2), 239-254.

Mother Tongue Studies is a school subject offered in Sweden, aiming to promote attainment and inclusion. The article draws on the spatial metaphor of edgelands to analyse the learning and teaching space of mother tongue instruction, which is part of the curriculum but mostly taught as an optional subject after school hours. The study was based on interviews with head teachers, class teachers and mother tongue teachers.

Results indicate that the practical organisation of Mother tongue instruction affected how mother tongue teachers and pupils were perceived, but also potentially provided opportunities for empowerment and educational development. Interaction with class teachers was minimised through the scheduling. The teachers were ambulatory and worked in isolation. Teachers were attached to the Mother Tongue Unit as an organisation, rather than to the school. At the same time, since the courses were perceived as part of the pupils’ free time, they partly escaped the monocultural regimes applying at the school. The relative seclusion made it possible for mother tongue teachers to pursue the goals of their own subject, rather than serving primarily as auxiliaries to goals pursued by class teachers. Class teachers turned to mother tongue teachers as cultural and linguistic mediators to solve various crises. Tensions between high ambitions expressed in the curriculum for Mother Tongue Studies and the minimal resources devoted to the subject cause structural stress. Finally, in the studied case, the Mother Tongue Unit served as a context for educational development among the mother tongue teachers.

Article II: Swedish and the ‘Second Language Learner’: From Induction to Segregation (submitted Equity & Excellence in Education).

Swedish as a Second Language (SSL) is a parallel option taken instead of Swedish, intended not only for newly arrived students, but more generally for students of immigrant origin. This study was based on interviews with teachers of Swedish / SSL, national policy documents and research on residential segregation in Sweden.

SSL is presented in policy documents as a support measure, but is at the same time intended to be entirely equivalent to the subject Swedish. Policy documents represent students of

immigrant background as second language learners and as 'plurilingual'. Teacher qualification requirements are low and qualified teachers are lacking in Sweden generally.

In the studied case, the two subjects were taught together, but assessed separately. Different perceptions of Swedish were expressed by teachers: as a school subject in its own right, medium of instruction and instrument for learning, and language of society. Teachers had difficulties defining differences between the subjects Swedish and SSL. Assigning students to the subjects and forming adequate groups was problematic for them. The local variety of Swedish spoken in the neighbourhood was felt to be a handicap for the children.

Contradictions appear in the conceptualisation of SSL as an induction measure, and the fact that the syllabus for the subject is almost identical to the subject Swedish, and therefore not suited for learning a new language.

Article III: Avery, H. At the bridging point: Tutoring newly arrived students in Sweden. (Accepted with minor revisions. Under review, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*)

Tutoring in the mother tongue is a support measure directed at newly arrived students with the aim of helping them succeed their studies generally. At the same time, like the support measures Mother tongue instruction and Swedish as a Second Language, tutoring in the various school subjects builds on the idea that linguistic proficiency is determining for school success. The study is based on interviews with head teachers, class teachers and mother tongue teachers working with tutoring, as well as observations and meetings.

Recruiting suitable tutors was a major concern, since on-demand recruitment made this career pathway unattractive. At the same time, tutors needed to be highly qualified, and combine knowledge of specific languages with subject-specific competence and teaching experience. The position of tutoring was marginal both at the schools and at the Mother Tongue Unit. When tutoring took place in the classrooms during lessons, the tutor was given the role of interpreter or general resource assisting the classroom teacher. Tutoring during separate lessons took the form of subject teaching and general advice on how to understand the Swedish school system. In the studied case, co-teaching did not take place, and in the best cases collaboration was limited to obtaining information in advance about which topics were going to be taught, so that the tutor could prepare in advance. An experiment had been conducted with floating mother tongue resource teachers for newly arrived students, but these had quickly been swamped by the magnitude of the needs and expectations.

Article IV: Avery. H. (2014). The role of the school library: reflections from Sweden. Intercultural Education, 25(6), 497-507.

School libraries are not only a space for developing literacy for all students, but they have been attributed a key role in providing necessary pedagogical resources and expertise through the new legislation. At the same time, many school libraries are poorly equipped. This sub study was based on interviews with the head teachers, class teachers, the school librarian, local policy documents and observation of how the library was used by the pupils. Pupil interviews provided contextual information.

At the investigated school, the library was staffed part time and placed in a central open location within the school premises. The library had been identified by the head teacher as a highly strategic site, and intensive development work was taking place, involving training for the head teacher and the school librarian. Collaboration to improve access to literature in the various mother tongues had also been initiated and progressed in a promising manner. However, understanding the pedagogical potentials of ICTs was an overwhelming task for the librarian. While the pupils were actively engaged in their library, and library work was strongly supported by the head teacher, at the time of the study no collaboration took place between the school librarian and the other teachers in view of developing new practices. Pupils' main interest was reading for pleasure.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE

In the following, a description is first made of the neighbourhood the school was situated in. An overview is then made of how the different support measures investigated in this study were organised concretely, in order to give a picture of the case in terms of work organisation. Interpretations are afterwards presented considering salient points.

In the next chapter, *Discussion*, the results of the case study will be considered in the light of the theoretical framework and other literature in the field, to show how the different elements combine in allowing or limiting transformative dialogue, creating spaces for learning, teaching and organisational development.

The local context

The primary school which constitutes the focal point of the investigation is situated in a highly diverse urban neighbourhood. Affordable housing and an existing immigrant population make the neighbourhood a usual point of entry for newly arrived immigrants, many of them refugees. These have arrived in successive waves, reflecting international armed conflicts. Student housing for international students is also located in the area. Besides refugees from Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, many families come from Iran. There are some Afghans, immigrants from former Yugoslavia, including many Bosnians, as well as families from Albania, Turkey, Somalia, Eritrea, and a few South Americans. The neighbourhood has a large Assyrian community, and also many Kurds from Dohuk. Among the latest waves of newcomers many come from Syria, but with differing ethnic and religious backgrounds. Friendly interaction across ethnic borders was observed among the residents during the field work, although some emerging tensions could be observed in connection with the ongoing war in Syria, noticeable both in conversations and in posters at the mall. Besides Swedish, Arabic partly serves as lingua franca in the neighbourhood, as well as Persian, and to a lesser degree Turkish.

Over time, a process of residualisation takes place in the neighbourhood among families with children. The most ambitious parents move away fairly quickly. Others appreciate the safe and friendly social climate of the area, and the advantages this offers for younger children. Many therefore let their children go to the local primary school, but later send them off to town, to higher status secondary schools, since they believe these offer a better future and more opportunities for their children. In the long run, the combined effect of such processes is to leave the neighbourhood with a high concentration of families with a low socioeconomic status. Additionally, since the neighbourhood has a high proportion of families with an immigrant background, it has a low status in the town, and residents with an ethnic Swedish background therefore tend to come from vulnerable groups.

Residents mostly worked in other parts of the town, but the neighbourhood was highly self-contained from the point of view of services and social interaction. Although located fifteen

minutes by bus from the city centre, several of the children interviewed in the study had never been there. The neighbourhood has a church, a shopping mall, a swimming pool, a public library, after-school activity centres, primary health care as well as a few other services. Besides the church and the sports clubs, there are relatively few clubs or societies offering meeting spaces. In the absence of organisations, the benches by the shopping mall serve as a meeting place for both the young and the elderly.

The area is generally characterised by safety and good social climate, with positive relationships with neighbours. Parents expressed that they felt safe and comfortable with their children moving around freely in the area on foot, playing and visiting friends, and a strong feeling of security was also stressed by interviewed pupils as an important reason why they felt at home there. By contrast, inhabitants from the city centre described the neighbourhood as rough, and said they would hesitate to go there in the evening.

Cultural and social belonging

Webs of belonging are multiple and overlapping, and can be based on a great number of things. Besides the question of identifying as a speaker of a language, these aspects have not been at the centre of the investigation, but they are nevertheless mentioned inasmuch as they affect the boundaries between school spaces and out-of-school.

Almost all the pupils at the primary school were non-ethnic Swedes. However, year 4 pupils from an adjacent area of semi-detached housing with another ethnic and socioeconomic profile were merged with the classes at the primary school. In the adjacent area most pupils were ethnic Swedes, and those pupils who had immigrant origin tended to come from Scandinavian or northern European countries. Two substitute teachers at the school were second-generation immigrants. One class teacher originally came from another Nordic country and one had a national minority background. The rest of the class teachers were ethnic Swedes, while mother tongue teachers and tutors were foreign born. Almost all the technical staff at school, and staff working with cleaning or the school canteen had immigrant backgrounds and many lived in the area. Most class teachers and mother tongue teachers lived outside the neighbourhood.

Class teachers, school librarian and teachers of Swedish/ Swedish as a Second Language were strongly connected to the neighbourhood as the location of their primary workplace. Mother tongue teachers/tutors instead tended to connect to the neighbourhood through the social networks to which they belonged. Mother tongue teachers tended to have a high educational background, while the neighbourhood population was mixed, including a number of families with little schooling. Generally speaking, 'immigrant background' represented a certain sense of community, composed both of dealing with marginalisation in Swedish society, and sharing experiences such as having learnt the language, or having relatives in different countries. Being bi- or multilingual connected people, but there were differences in this respect between immigrants and those who were born or raised in Sweden, and whose

dominant language was Swedish. Refugee background shaped another type of belonging, connected to experiences and anxieties concerning friends and relatives in war zones.

Routine parent contacts were managed by class teachers, mother tongue teachers and head teachers of Mother Tongue Unit. Problematic contacts tended to be managed by head teachers of primary school and by mother tongue teachers.

Sociolinguistic regimes

Lahdenperä's model of intercultural school development (2008) supposes sufficiently flat power relationships for a transformative dialogue process to be initiated. In a monocultural school culture, all cultures are subordinated to the dominant culture, while in an intercultural setting, divergent opinions are allowed and diversity is appreciated as a resource. Considering positioning of languages as an indicator of cultural positioning, it appeared that school cultures in this case were monocultural, and that hierarchies also reflected dominant representations at the level of national policy. Further aspects derived from work organisation and management at municipal levels.

One aspect of the hierarchies and power relationships between languages concerned the speech communities and was linked to the socio-economic status of their speakers. The concentration of students with an immigrant background in the investigated neighbourhood was seen as inherently problematic, to the extent that it indirectly came to motivate the funding of the present thesis. This monolingual hierarchy further concerned the societal constructs connected to representations of national identity (Wingstedt, 1998; Blommaert, 2006; Milani, 2007), where the term 'Swedish' was consistently used by teachers to designate so-called ethnic Swedes, while non-ethnic Swedes were referred to as 'plurilingual'.

Languages spoken alongside Swedish in the children's homes were referred to as their 'mother tongue', although parents were sometimes suspected of asking for mother tongue instruction in higher prestige languages that might not be the 'actual' mother tongue. When several languages were involved besides Swedish, the point was raised that it might be unclear which language was their mother tongue. At the same time, Swedish was not referred to as these children's mother tongue, whether or not it was spoken in the home. Indeed, class teachers and Swedish teachers expressed confusion that many children did not seem to know their 'mother tongue' (i.e. the immigrant minority language), or had scanty knowledge in it. The designation 'mother-tongue speaker' was thus only vaguely connected to the children's language practices and proficiencies, but instead reflected an ethnic categorisation based on the immigrant background of parents, grandparents or more distant ancestors. The children were accordingly considered as 'second' or 'third-generation immigrants' (cf. Westin, 2015), or 'with foreign background'.

Similarly, the same children were referred to as (Swedish) 'second-language speakers' regardless of the languages they actually spoke. Not surprisingly, the teachers expressed some confusion around the concept since this categorisation and what they had learned about it in

their teacher training had little to do with the children's dialects and varieties of Swedish. The term 'home countries' was systematically used to designate the countries where 'mother tongue' languages were spoken, thus consolidating a conceptualisation of non-ethnic Swedes as belonging to foreign countries. Immigrant minority languages (Extra & Yağmur, 2002; Extra & Gorter, 2007; Boyd, 2007) were thus represented as existing outside Sweden. The immigrant minority languages were also positioned as belonging outside school, while Swedish was not perceived as a 'mother tongue', since it was the 'school language'.

In this hierarchy, English and the so-called 'modern languages' (languages taught as foreign languages in Swedish schools) occupied distinct positions. The dominant nature of English was highly apparent in the fieldwork, speaking with teachers as well as children. This status also transpires from steering documents, where English is one of the three 'core' subjects (Swedish, English and Mathematics). It is allotted more hours and where pass grades are required to carry on to subsequent levels in the school system. The 'modern languages' had a relatively high prestige, but were not given space or visibility beyond being school subjects that could later be chosen in secondary school. For the children however, these languages might also be family languages, since many had relatives living in different parts of Europe. Despite their preferred status in policy, the national minority languages were not visible at the investigated school, while at the Mother Tongue Unit the national minority languages represented a particular challenge in terms of finding qualified teachers, since their teaching had to be ensured regardless.

In the studied case, precarious employment forms and uncertainties concerning long term financing tended to instil a general climate of apprehension rather than trust, thus posing a barrier to intercultural school development. There is a general shortage of qualified teachers in Sweden, but management strategies in the case followed a 'just-in-time' approach, rather than prioritising recruitment, retainment or long-term competence development of school staff. Uncertainties in assessing future demographic developments was linked to free school choice, so that schools could not plan ahead beyond the school year in course. Schools also constantly faced the threat of closing altogether. The precarity affected both mother tongue teachers and class teachers. However, the overall weaker status of mother tongue teachers; the fact that they were called in to teach at the different school on a 'on-demand' basis, and that each language involved a relatively smaller number of pupils, all contributed to the insecurity of their employment situation.

An additional factor was that language composition among pupils was linked to the arrival of newcomers, particularly refugees, which was difficult to predict and plan for in advance, but which involved what was described as 'waves'. A certain staffing was needed to manage the crest of the wave, associated with the first influx. After this it was assumed that new arrivals from any particular group would subside. Taking into account processes of language attrition, even if the newcomers were to settle and have children of their own, a smaller number of mother tongue teachers would be needed in the future and, above all, fewer tutors for a particular newcomer language. The need for teachers with mother tongue competence was therefore perceived as temporary from a central management perspective, and not worth developing structures for or investing training into. Teachers should not have permanent

employment, so that they could be easily fired when the initial critical period of influx had subsided. The picture which appeared locally thus matched observations nationally, indicating considerable difficulties recruiting qualified mother tongue teachers. Clearly also, recruitment is hampered when no teacher training is organised nationally, that would give formal competence for teaching the different immigrant and minority languages. Tutoring in the mother tongue is stipulated as a major support measure, above all for newly arrived students, but no corresponding teacher education exists.

Physical space, time and distribution of responsibilities

Looking at the overall work organisation and considering teachers' descriptions of aims of their teaching, obstacles and the development which they would like, we see that not only are physical opportunities for meeting lacking, but hierarchies and diverging perceptions of the functions of the teaching activities or the subjects which are taught also reduce opportunities for dialogue. Since mother tongue teachers/ tutors and class teachers belong to different administrative units, conditions for intercultural school development are also dependent on coordination and dialogue at the municipal level. However, at both school and municipal levels, brokering practices mainly concern monitoring of results and resources, rather than pedagogical development.

In policy documents, education and students' right to support is generally defined through different types of content, measures and functions. In some cases, aspects of work organisation are specified by attributing responsibility for decisions to school leaders, or by placing content within a particular school subject, for instance, as opposed to placing it among the overarching learning goals. When specific goals or responsibilities are tied to a subject, they may also be tied to a particular category of teacher. Many aspects of teaching organisation are not specified however, and are therefore left to the school. Conditions can therefore also vary widely. The way overall educational responsibilities and the individual subjects interrelate in the concrete work organisation is a crucial question, as are the ways timetabling affects opportunities for collaboration. Finally, perceptions on teaching will depend on the view of the whole that appears to the individual teacher based on his or her position in this organisation.

Workplace

In terms of organisational belonging, class teachers, teachers of Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language, school librarian, and head teachers of the primary school belonged to the primary school. Mother tongue teachers / tutors and head teachers of the Mother Tongue Unit belonged to the Mother Tongue Unit.

The workplaces of class teachers, teachers of Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language, school librarian, and head teachers of the primary school were located at the primary school. Head

teachers were frequently away for meetings. Classes 0-3 and 4-6 were situated in separate wings. Teachers' room, school canteen, administration and school library connect the wings. Rooms at the adjacent secondary school were used for some classes, in the building where the local library that served as school library for secondary classes was situated. Mother tongue teachers gave lessons in Mother Tongue Studies or worked at the primary school as subject tutors for certain hours per week, depending on the number of pupils with their language.

Head teachers of the Mother Tongue Unit worked at the Mother Tongue Unit, but were frequently away on meetings in the municipality. Mother tongue teachers/ tutors worked with ambulatory teaching between different schools, but their lesson preparation and lesson planning took place at the Mother Tongue Unit. Administration and head teachers' offices were located next to the two adjoining rooms used by teachers for lesson preparation. Other rooms were used for group meetings and there was a large teachers' room for coffee and breaks. The physical arrangements thus facilitated collaboration and regular informal contacts between mother tongue teachers/tutors, despite the disconnecting effects of the ambulatory work.

Organisation of responsibilities with respect to time

The frame of time within which the teachers' work is placed can be represented in different ways, depending on which aspects we consider. From the point of view of responsibilities at any given point in time, a first distinction can be made between teachers / tutors on the one hand, and head teachers and librarians, on the other. Teachers are responsible for teaching pupils of a particular year, and work with those pupils in relation to the learning aims of that year. Head teachers at the primary school, head teachers at the Mother Tongue Unit, and the school librarian instead have responsibilities at the school level for these pupils, rather than limited to the concerns of the particular year.

From the point of view of teachers' employment category, class teachers and teachers of Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language work at a *particular level* (in this case, years 1-3 or years 4-6, respectively). The levels correspond to particular requirements in qualifications, so that groups of teachers will tend to have had a similar training. The levels imply a focus on particular kinds of content, but also have different pedagogical approaches, connected to the curriculum for these years. In the studied case, the teachers formed closer social ties to each other by working together in this limited context, and by occupying the same set of rooms and building.

By contrast, head teachers at the primary school, and the school librarian, work with all years (years 1-6), giving them a wider temporal horizon on aims and learning outcomes, but also a much wider set of contacts with the different pupils, parents, teachers or other staff. As a working team, head teachers had regular informal contacts with each other and with the school administrator. The librarian collaborated with the head teacher.

However, despite these differences, teachers, head teachers and librarian at the primary school all experienced schooling from the physical and temporal perspective of that school. This could be compared with the mother tongue teachers/tutors and head teachers of the Mother Tongue Unit, who had more heterogeneous working conditions, but who overall related to a much longer temporal perspective on education. Depending on the language and professional profile of the teacher, some mother tongue teachers work across the entire span of school years (1-12), while others specialise in particular stages. The head teachers at the Mother Tongue Unit work with preschool, as well as with compulsory and upper secondary school levels for all school forms and schools of the municipality.

From the point of view of having contacts with individual pupils through classroom teaching, the tutors, class teachers and teachers of Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language all taught a particular year, at the time of the study. At the investigated school, there were no so-called 'study workshops' mixing pupils from different years (cf. Morgan, 2014).

The school librarian worked with the entire school, receiving classes, work groups composed of pupils from different years, as well as individual pupils. The library space was fluid and open, allowing multiple uses and mixing of age groups, and connecting to out-of-school time through reading for pleasure.

Depending on the language, mother tongue teaching can be with a single pupil, or several pupils from the same year. However, the most common situation is mixed groups with pupils from any of the years that exist at the school. This means that the pupils will see class teachers as attached to a specific age group (group belonging based on age), whereas they will tend to experience mother tongue teaching as a group based on the language spoken at home (group belonging based on language), or in certain cases as an individual concern. In the first case the relationship between pupils and teacher or tutor is limited to the three years which are taught. Peer relationships can be maintained across levels. For mother tongue teachers, irrespective of how long a particular teacher eventually follows the pupil, the relationship is not framed as limited to a set of years or age.

Finally, from the point of view of scheduling of the school day, class teachers and teachers of Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language and school librarian work within the school day. Tutors mostly work within the school day.

This contrasts with mother tongue teachers, who work outside the school day, except for a morning time slot one day of the week. Although it takes place on the premises of school, this situates mother tongue teaching as an out-of-school activity from the perspective of both teachers and pupils.

Organisation of teaching and classes

Each year functioned as a teaching team, responsible for the three parallel classes of each year. The organisation could be different, and could also be changed flexibly. Since there

were more teachers than classes, sometimes pupils were divided into smaller groups, and sometimes the extra teachers functioned as resource teachers, or worked with various forms of co-teaching. Pupil grouping could also shift depending on the tasks and subjects. Besides the planning and preparation work within the teaching teams for each year, informal collaboration and sharing took place in the common teachers' room. Mother tongue teachers and tutors were not part of the teaching teams. The librarian was part of the teaching teams in her capacity of also teaching Swedish, but library work and other functions was not part of the teacher team structure where the closest collaboration took place.

Mother tongue teaching

Teachers worked in isolation at the various schools, but worked in teams and groups at the Mother Tongue Unit. There was extensive collaboration and sharing both among teachers of the same language and across languages.

Class teachers, head teachers and mother tongue teachers were interviewed about the aims and priorities they saw for this subject, as well as with respect to the obstacles they encountered in their experience. The subject appeared as marginalised, although it was perceived as important for both class teachers and mother tongue teachers. From the point of view of the class teachers, Mother Tongue Studies had a function of a support subject, intended to help students with their studies in Swedish and other subjects. Since the same teachers taught Mother Tongue Studies and functioned as tutors in the mother tongue, confusion between the two functions understandably occurred. Mother tongue teachers were concerned with developing skills in the mother tongue, but also strengthening the student's identity. Class teachers turned to mother tongue teachers when they encountered problems with the students, and expected them to perform a mediating function between the school and the student's families.

Results indicate that in the investigated case, scheduling the school subject Mother Tongue Studies at the 'edgelands' of the school day contributed to further marginalising languages taught as mother tongue and minimised interaction with class teachers. Swedish legislation allows for various forms of teaching the subject mother tongue studies, including bilingual instruction, but after school teaching is most usual.

A difference was seen in the descriptions of mother tongue teachers and class teachers with respect to the conception of time the teaching was framed within. Class teachers tended to see the students largely as a function of the year and the subject in which they taught them themselves. By contrast, mother tongue teachers tended to relate to their students as individuals in a wider perspective, considering both aspects within school and outside the frame of schooling. They also conceptualised the students in a life course perspective. Democracy and citizenship were other recurrent themes in the mother tongue teachers' accounts.

Teaching of Swedish/ Swedish as a Second Language

The interview material from teachers of Swedish suggests that the teachers had difficulties understanding how to categorise students as speakers of Swedish or Swedish as a Second Language respectively, on the basis of existing policy documents. Organising satisfactory groups for teaching appeared to be problematic. The Swedish teachers saw the subject as important both as an instrument allowing students to succeed in other school subjects, and as a subject for its own sake. At the same time, other school subjects were seen as ways to teach the students Swedish. Swedish was further perceived as important for future study pathways, access to better work and full participating in society.

Tutoring

Tutoring could take place in the classroom during classes, or outside classes. The pupil receiving tutoring could be taken out of a class, or meet the tutor in-between classes. Mostly, tutoring involved individual pupils. When tutoring took place in the classroom, the tutor sometimes functioned as a floating resource person. There was very little tutoring at the primary school during the period the study took place, but this changed after the time of field-work. At other schools, mother tongue speakers had been engaged as floating resources, and were employed in a variety of functions. Coordination between tutor and class teachers was sporadic and depended on the individual teachers.

Tutoring is a form of teaching that is constructed on the idea of close collaboration between the tutor and the class teacher/subject teacher. In the interviews, both class teachers and tutors expressed that they wanted to cooperate, and deplored that this was not possible. In many cases, tutors did not receive prior information and were obliged to improvise. When tutoring took place within the classroom, the tutor was reduced to a subordinate position, whispering a simultaneous interpretation so as not to disrupt the teaching. In such cases the tutor would also help other students who needed explanations, but this further reduced the time available for the newly arrived student who had been allocated the assigned weekly hour of tutoring. The more experienced tutors did not wait for the class teacher to direct their work, but instead took initiative themselves and attempted to obtain the information and resources they needed. This could take considerable time and efforts. They had difficulties finding free hours to schedule the tutoring outside the classroom, if they wanted to avoid taking the student out during lessons. Finding suitable teaching rooms was also problematic.

Compared to mother tongue teaching, where the teachers see their students from the perspective of a life-course, tutors typically see their task as helping the student make the transition into the Swedish school system. To achieve this, they want to focus on the 'bridging point', the area where it is easiest to cross over, and where the newcomers can gain confidence to manage on their own, as well as learning the unspoken rules of the new territory. Although both mother tongue instruction and tutoring are typically taught by the same teachers, their relation to the student differs, since tutors lose the student as soon as he or she is able to manage without their help. Conditions for teaching also involves a great focus on what is going on at that precise moment in the student's schooling. Lack of coordination

with the class teachers obliges tutors to adopt a moment-to-moment approach, and limits their opportunities for planning ahead.

The tutors interviewed in this study were all also working as mother tongue teachers, but not necessarily for the same pupils. This was due to selecting interview participants who were experienced mother tongue teachers and also worked as tutors. There was no formal employee category for tutors, but not all tutors have qualifications as mother tongue teachers, so they would in this case be employed as ‘non-qualified mother tongue teachers’. Such tutors would not teach Mother Tongue Studies. Inversely, many mother tongue teachers were in fact subject teachers originally, and had only started teaching Mother Tongue Studies since this was a career option that was open to them in Sweden. Tutoring was in such cases less problematic. But not all mother tongue teachers had the subject knowledge allowing them to work as tutors, and therefore not all teachers worked with both types of teaching.

School library services

The local public library was involved in reading projects in the lower years. There had previously been projects involving the school library in class work, but not at the time of the study. Contacts at the time of the study were limited to teachers bringing their class to the library to choose books.

In the studied case, the school library and the adjoining neighbourhood library (also school library for lower secondary classes), both worked in the direction of intercultural development. The head teacher of the primary school invested strongly in library development efforts. Nevertheless, there was little collaboration with teachers, and the two libraries did not form part of development at a whole school level. The collaboration which occurred was linked to specific reading projects, mainly for pre-schoolers and in the lower years. Class teachers’ interaction with the library was mostly limited to borrowing suitable books for their classes.

Organisation of planning and development work

At the primary school, most planning work took place within the individual years. Certain tasks involved teachers from the same level (1-3 or 4-6 respectively), such as working with paraphrasing and reformulating the wording of the national curriculum to write local plans, or deciding the sequence in which content listed in the national curriculum should be taught. Some meetings organised according to subject had been initiated. Meetings also took place at the entire school level. These meetings often dealt with technical questions or information about changing regulations and guidelines.

Teachers and head teachers were involved in a very wide array of professional development activities and events, in different networks and different locations. Several teachers were taking additional qualifications at the school of education. The head teacher and librarian were taking courses and attending library development events locally, regionally and

nationally. Teachers attended conferences locally in the municipality, and more rarely in other locations. The head teacher had been to a study visit abroad.

Mother tongue teachers/tutors were not part of the primary school's planning and development work, but participated in development work at the Mother Tongue Unit. Each mother tongue teacher belonged to several groups at the Mother Tongue Unit, since these were organised a) according to language b) according to the school they worked at c) according to school level. Regular planning and development meetings took place both for the whole unit, and within the various groups.

Mother tongue teachers further engaged in a wide array of professional development activities locally and nationally both concerning their individual languages and for various pedagogical topics. Several mother tongue teachers were taking additional qualifications at the local school of education, or at universities in other parts of the country. They regularly attended national conferences for mother tongue teachers of their language, for mother tongue teachers generally, or relating to different pedagogical topics. The head teachers had been to study visits abroad, but the individual teachers also engaged in networking abroad and searched for resources globally.

Whereas the Mother Tongue Unit functioned as a dynamic space for professional development for the mother tongue teachers with respect to mother tongue instruction, a development space for tutors would presuppose collaboration across the communities of tutors and class teachers. This was something that both tutors and class teachers said they wanted, but opportunities for such collaboration were limited.

Although a number of continuous professional development events were organised at the municipality level, there was little overlap in the events attended by the different kinds of teachers. Some contacts occurred at the school of education, or within the frame of projects initiated by researchers at the school of education.

The only shared development project between the primary school and the Mother Tongue Unit at the time of the study involved the school library.

Communities of practice shaped by the work organisation

The teachers were engaged in communities of practice at different levels, locations and with respect to different common enterprises relating to core aspects of their responsibilities. Boundaries between these communities were constituted both by differences in the nature of the core responsibilities, and by the places and manner in which the work was carried out. The primary school consisted of closely-knit teaching teams organised around each year level of pupils. These combined to form a cluster of smaller communities organised around the common enterprise of succeeding as a school, but above all welded together through regular informal contacts in the premises of the school. Although the mother tongue teachers taught alone, working with different languages and at different locations, they formed a larger

community at the Mother Tongue Unit. This was organised around the overarching goals of Mother Tongue Studies of supporting multilingual and multicultural identity formation, as well as around more general pedagogical aspects of language teaching. The teachers developed sustained interpersonal relationships through the various group meetings and through access to physical spaces for preparing lessons where they could meet their colleagues.

The curriculum as a brokering practice

Policy documents can be seen as creating a frame and as establishing boundaries of activities. But these structures and content not only create distinct spaces, but impact the relationships and communication between them. Certain aspects of the observed case thus may be interpreted as a reflection of the way objectives are expressed in the curriculum. At the same time, practices and organisation locally determined the interpretation which was given to formal aims.

The curriculum includes overarching objectives of both collaboration and interculturality, and further specifies that pupils should be given opportunities to study in cross-curricular manner. Nevertheless, a focus on goal attainment in individual school subjects tends to shift energy away from wider objectives. Work with values was structurally backgrounded generally, and Lahdenperä's core values of democracy, equality, social justice, tolerance, inclusion and reciprocity were not systematically supported at the time of the study.

Despite intentions of equality that appear to lie behind the wording of the syllabus for Swedish as a Second Language and Mother Tongue Studies, the curriculum as a whole does not position different languages and cultures equally. With the exception of English, the curriculum subordinates languages and cultures associated to geographical areas outside Sweden, and especially outside the Western world (Bagga-Gupta, 2004b; Cabau, 2005, 2009a, 2009b). To the extent that the resulting notion of Swedish language and culture does not include hybridity or elements with an origin outside Sweden, relationships will lack mutuality (Wenger, 1998), which limits possibilities for reciprocal and transformative intercultural dialogue in the sense given by Lahdenperä (2008).

An overall observation made across the sub-studies is that the organisational fragmentation reinforced itemised aspects of the curriculum and learning aims that can be conveniently managed within the smaller working groups and the limited timeslots assigned to specific tasks (lessons, meetings), while the broader and integrating aspects of the curriculum fell outside what could be managed in the rare meetings that took place, and therefore received less focus.

In the absence of other mechanisms, the syllabus, formal achievement goals and the assessments through which they were documented took a prominent position in brokering. These boundary objects thereby mediated the directions in which teaching and learning could move across the wider constellation. According to the current curriculum, these objects are

standardised and not open for negotiation or transformation. The structure of these objects also tended towards a fragmentation in lists of items of assessable knowledge. The tendency towards fragmentation thus resulted not only from the short moments teachers had to communicate with each other, but also from characteristics in the boundary objects. More generally also, it appeared that each school subject was taught based on its own syllabus, and pupils did not receive much support in relating school subjects to each other.

From the teacher perspective, a particularly painful dilemma was the conflict between supporting the pupils' learning processes, motivation and growth as a person, on the one hand, and the requirement to give pupils fail grades, on the other. This dilemma was expressed both by class teachers and mother tongue teachers.

The investigation coincided in time with the beginning of the implementation of the new curriculum. The tightly goal-oriented steering system led to conflicts with parents, resulting from the new intended learning outcomes, the automated online documentation and communication systems, and ensuing changes in principles for marking and assessment. Managing the mechanical documentation systems drained teachers of time, energy, attention, and job satisfaction. Teachers expressed that their main role was no longer to be teachers but to serve as administrative clerks. Most study days and competence-raising meetings were spent on learning new details in the administrative systems and trying to understand a constant stream of new requirements linked to detailed guidelines for marking, or learning to use the exact pre-defined wording required for communicating results.

The curriculum represented a series of disconnected boxes that had to be ticked, in an arbitrary sequence. Teachers were dissatisfied that they no longer had time to work with engaging pedagogies. At the same time they felt that this was now impossible since they had to prepare their students for the requirements of the standardised tests, and if they worked with other topics, the students would miss out on the core content of the curriculum. The national tests were another factor that increased stress and pressure. Teachers complained that being required to provide detailed break-down of their time and activities made them feel like factory workers. At the time the investigation drew to its close, the regulations for receiving newly arrived students required that substantial resources be devoted to testing their levels. Frustration was flowing over at the requirement to expose the students to pedagogically pointless testing, and that they had to devote scarce resources to producing documentation that had no purpose. Both class teachers and mother tongue teachers complained that the expectations and content of the curriculum were disconnected from reality.

Teachers and other brokers

Although mother tongue teachers/tutors worked in different contexts, they did not serve as brokers towards the various schools, as a consequence of mother tongue teachers' marginalised position and since opportunities for contacts were limited. Communication was limited to immediate needs. By contrast, mother tongue teachers served as brokers towards

the Mother Tongue Unit, where the entire organisation benefitted from the diversity of teacher experiences, drawing from all the schools of the municipality and in some cases also neighbouring municipalities. The Mother Tongue Unit also benefitted from teachers' involvement in various professional networks nationally and internationally. This brokering was both informal in the teacher room, and structured in formal group meetings.

At the primary school, brokering took place between the teacher teams responsible for each year, both through formal weekly meetings and through daily informal contacts in the common teacher room. Although the school librarian was also a teacher of Swedish, little brokering flowed from the library towards the teacher teams. By contrast, the school library benefitted from the librarian's participation in the wider planning activities, and from the librarian's participation in wider development networks.

A certain amount of brokering also took place involving mother tongue teachers and tutors when they helped to resolve various difficulties generally, and concerning families in particular. The structural gains from such interaction was minimal however, due to the subordinate position of the teachers, and since little communication around the diverse issues took place beyond the immediate interventions. The tutors were teachers who also worked as mother tongue teachers. As tutors, they could benefit from contacts with colleagues in the Mother Tongue Unit, but there was a lack of wider networks, contexts for qualification and meeting opportunities relating to tutoring.

Pupils partly served as brokers between class teachers and tutors, since when direct communication was lacking between the teacher groups, information was instead mediated by the pupils. Teachers thus became dependent on the pupils to gain insights into what took place in the teaching or development spaces to which they did not have access.

Researchers at the School of Education also performed some brokering between the various communities, although there was almost no coordination between researchers working on different questions. Importantly however, the teacher training events and courses provided by the School of Education served as a space where discussions concerning pedagogical issues was encouraged.

Administrative boundary objects

Contacts between the various communities of practice took place through the shared discourse of learning outcomes of the curriculum and the steering instruments to ensure its implementation. Interaction between the communities of practice further took place through the artefacts of the documentation and financing system. From the perspective of development work, just as for the learning objectives of the curriculum, efforts were mainly directed at achieving statistics that would be considered acceptable for each separate indicator. Efforts thus concerned producing pass marks for individual pupils and individual subjects, assigning the required number of teacher hours per pupil of a certain category, and cutting costs

Organisational objectives expressed as performance indicators were as such not negotiable, since the various items were part of the imperative legal requirements and national steering system (producing pass marks, goal attainment, offering teacher hours for compulsory subjects, etc.). Some explicit negotiation around these boundary objects concerned the specific marks that individual pupils would get, or buying services (tutoring for instance) across the organisational boundaries. Implicit negotiation took place through prioritisations, and by not complying with certain legal requirements, such as providing tutoring (or the overall legal requirement of giving pupils all the support they need to reach goals). Mother tongue teaching could legally be refused a pupil if no suitable teacher was available. Finally, the overall lack of teachers with Swedish Second Language qualifications meant that several teachers teaching that subject did not have the formal qualifications.

To the extent that educational activity was bound by the performance indicators, communication was channelled to discuss them, and focus in meetings or communications came to lie on the individual indicators that could be measured. This contributed to creating a general fragmentation of the perceptions of the issues at stake, as well as with respect to the administrative offices responsible for the particular points.

For the school and for the Mother Tongue Unit, recruitment of teachers was a major concern. Difficulties here concerned being able to find teachers who were both able to do the job and who had the correct formal qualification, also since there did not always exist teacher education which matched the qualification requirements specified by law at the national level. The categorisation system of student needs and ways of grouping students implied by national laws created additional dilemmas, since it did not match student needs or existing student groups in practice. Finally, existing job titles from an administrative point of view did not match the categories of teachers specified by law, making it almost impossible in some cases to employ a person. The legal framework of support measures specifies a number of types of functions that should be performed and to which the pupil is entitled, without considering who could perform the functions. While tutoring in the mother tongue is a central support measure, there is no corresponding administrative category of state employee as tutor in the mother tongue, nor is there a corresponding teacher education.

More extensive negotiations took place concerning which measures would be appropriate for pupils who had problems. This might concern pupils with special needs, health problems or difficult family situations. Such negotiations concerned financing issues and which units or services would be responsible for dealing with the problem. Negotiations occurring around the management of these boundary objects rarely concerned issues of pedagogical development or jointly changing aspects of the work organisation.

Conditions for intercultural school development

Despite the fact that a majority of pupils had diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in the investigated case, the organisation remained monolingual and monocultural (Lahdenperä,

2008). There were very few teachers with an immigrant background among the regular staff. The teachers who did have an immigrant background (mother tongue teachers/tutors) did not have a place in the school's planning activities, and their own teaching took place at times and in places that reduced opportunities for formal or informal contacts. Pupils were not allowed to speak their mother tongue at school except in mother tongue lessons. As is usual in Sweden, mother tongue lessons took place outside the regular school day. However, one morning time slot was also allocated, on the day when teachers' joint planning meetings were scheduled. The school library was the only space where literacy in other languages than Swedish or English was valued and made visible for the whole school, but interaction between the library and other parts of the school was minimal.

Based on Lahdenperä's (2008) model, it could be supposed that the subordinate position of languages other than Swedish and English resulted in an overall positioning of speakers of other languages (parents, pupils, teachers, and the communities as a whole) which was not conducive to transformative dialogue. Additionally, the local variety of Swedish spoken in the neighbourhood was not valued, and not considered to be proper Swedish. It must be noted however, that the monolingual and monocultural character of the school is not unique for this particular school, and that this is a common situation both in Sweden and other European countries.

In the present study it was observed that engagement in processes outside the teacher's own daily practices was supported or limited by opportunities for face-to-face contacts, but that commitment also supposed some shared perception of aims, roles and a basic agreement of what the problem is about (cf. Mandell & Steelman, 2003). Thus, while the Mother Tongue Unit provided a space for intercultural educational development for the teachers who belonged to it, interaction between class teachers and mother tongue teachers was minimal. Time and resources were issues mentioned in all the interviews.

The absence of opportunities for sustained interpersonal relations seen in the organisation, and the divergences concerning aims of teaching found in the interviews suggests that the different categories of teachers did not belong to same communities of practice. If development is not driven by participants' engagement in a common enterprise, brokering practices at the school level, but also beyond the school level, would be needed to drive development. Intercultural development was observed within the Mother Tongue Unit, and within the groups working with intercultural library development in the municipality. In other contexts interculturality was not a central concern.

Collaboration was not only lacking between class teachers and mother tongue teachers, but also affected other activities at the school. Class teachers explained that collaboration almost only took place within their teaching team. There were occasional contacts outside the team in case of a crisis, calling in mother tongue teachers to mediate or help understand difficult situations, for instance, or in connection with special events at the school, such as excursions, sports days or end-of-year celebrations. Work with such events had been reduced however, since teachers no longer had time to engage in organising them. The collaboration within the

teaching team focused students as belonging to particular years, and largely aimed at coordinating assessment for the different subjects. Such contacts concerning assessment mostly took place between different class or subject teachers teaching a particular year, but occasionally involved mother tongue teachers. A new development for the class teachers was subject groups across the years, and although they had only had a few meetings so far, teachers expressed satisfaction with the opportunity to discuss questions related to their pedagogical work with teachers from other years.

In the absence of strong brokering practices between teachers, coordination and concrete implementation was instead indirectly mediated through the syllabus, the timetable and formal achievement aims rather than through a shared practice or through dialogue and communication across the communities of practice. Artefacts such as the syllabus, the timetable or documentation of pupil achievement thus served as boundary objects, mediating collaboration. For the case of tutoring in the mother tongue, other types of information and concertation were needed to allow planning. In the absence of communication between class teachers and tutors, tutors had to rely on information from their pupils to see what they were going to teach. While the pupils were given very little voice or opportunities to shape their learning environments, a strong functional load was thus placed on pupils in terms of brokering (cf. Francia, 2011b). Both class teachers and tutors deplored the lack of opportunities for concertation with respect to tutoring.

With respect to coordination at an overarching level between the school and the Mother Tongue Unit, most communication centred around questions relating to financing and budgets. Characteristics in the structures of budgeting therefore formed boundary objects in their interaction. Importantly, just-in-time budgeting tying resources to the exact number of pupils limited possibilities for planning. Little space was left in interactions for long term strategic reflection on the pedagogical implications of the organisation.

DISCUSSION

The different kinds of teachers interviewed in this investigation (class teachers, teachers of Swedish/Swedish as a Second Language, mother tongue teachers/ tutors, school librarian), as well as the head teachers, are working with the same pupils, at the same school. In other words, from the point of view of the schooling which any individual pupil is offered, and from the perspective of the national curriculum these teachers are working together and expected to contribute to the overall aims expressed in national policy. Based on theories of Communities of Practice, and supported by the literature in organisational development, it has been argued here that the nature of teachers' interaction and the social spaces to which they belong will also affect potentials for future development at a whole school level, as well as development in collaborative networks stretching beyond the individual school. The concern of this study has therefore been to see to which extent teachers are working together in practice, in terms of interaction, opportunities to meet and collaboration. The other main issue has been to see what conditions for dialogue and exchange look like, and to which extent there is mutuality, trust and openness, since these are further premises for intercultural school development.

Intercultural school development according to Lahdenperä's model (2008) is a matter of increasing participation of all categories of staff, regardless of their ethnic background. It involves offering space for diverging or conflicting points of view to be heard, and for new solutions to be negotiated in an open-ended process of dialogue and joint reflection. Development potentials thus rest on the open-ended character of transformative processes, on participation, and on sufficiently balanced power relationships to allow dialogic interaction.

Spaces of teaching and potentials for school development

Like Lave and Wenger, Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) bring to the fore the idea of community, and the organisational resources which are embodied in relationships between practitioners. From the perspective of structural conditions for successful school development, Hargreaves and Fullan contrast a view of teaching as unqualified routine work, and a view where teaching is considered to be highly qualified. In the first case, challenges are met by simply increasing efforts and trying harder. In the second, complex judgements and reflection on practices leads to renewal and adaption. Professional capital includes the ability to continuously develop school practices, both as individuals and as a collaboratively working collective. The important question is, according to Hargreaves and Fullan, the organisational culture at the school. This involves above all maintaining an atmosphere of strong mutual trust which allows colleagues to challenge a status quo, 'pushing' and 'pulling' each other out of their comfort zones.

As we have seen, the organisational culture was monocultural rather than intercultural (Lahdenperä, 2008). A hierarchy existed among languages, shaping uneven power relationships in the dialogue between different categories of teachers. Opportunities for

communication between teachers were limited, so that brokering came to pass through the pupils instead. School and organisational culture undermined trust, through the precarious employment conditions and constant anxiety that a school might be closed, or jobs would be lost. Such structural aspects thus tended to undermine the conditions for intercultural school development, as well as making it unclear for the individual if it was worthwhile to invest in the school and plan ahead. Thus the employment policy not only hampered change by leading to defensive attitudes (Cooke, 1987), but also tended to weaken engagement and organisational learning (Wenger, 1998; Stein & Coburn, 2008), as well as reducing advantages for the organisation that derive from continuity (Denison & Mishra, 1995).

Since class teachers and teachers who worked with mother tongue teaching or tutoring belonged to different administrative units, intercultural school development also came to depend on the forms of collaboration that existed across units at the municipal level. Just as within the school however, steering and communication across units was conducted through statistics, evaluations and allocation of financial resources. Spaces for joint pedagogical reflection across the organisational units were lacking.

However, the centralised control and monitoring processes which took place within the school and the municipality (cf. Cooke, 1987) only partly resulted from local choices, but were largely the consequences of overall educational policies at a national level (Sundberg & Wahlström, 2012; Segerholm, 2014; Riederer & Verwiebe, 2015). Such tightly managed steering systems involving a detailed prescriptive curriculum correspond to so-called teacher deprofessionalisation processes (cf. Priestley et al., 2011, 2012). With respect to the research concerns of the present investigation, the question is above all what consequences of this type of system may be for conditions for intercultural school development.

In accordance with the aims for school development expressed by the Swedish National Agency for Education, development work at the investigated primary school was driven by the shared objective of 'goal attainment'. More general long term objectives expressed in the curriculum, such as interculturality, remained a marginal concern. Responsibility for intercultural issues appeared to be placed on the mother tongue teachers and the Mother Tongue Unit. Existing structural conditions in this case were therefore not conducive to intercultural school development.

To compensate for the absence of structural drivers observed in this case, deliberate long-term local policies to encourage intercultural school development would be needed at a municipal level. Brokering practices designed to support intercultural development would be called for, across school subjects, school years, and across administrative units. For this purpose, it would seem more effective if opportunities for meetings and interaction could, besides managing budgets and changes in regulations or documentation systems, also focus on pedagogical issues. Better conditions would also require looking at different educational development efforts in the municipality as an interconnected joint effort and by shaping long term time frames for action.

Much of the literature on school development implicitly or explicitly adopts a perspective of top-down implementation (cf. Berg, 1999, 2003), considering questions from the angle of

school leadership, implementing policies, or disseminating innovations. This top-down perspective seeing development as local implementation of centrally decided goals can also be seen in the national website devoted to school development (<http://www.skolverket.se/skolutveckling/kvalitetsarbete>). School cultures are frequently described as slow to change, and teachers may be depicted as conservative (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; McCrickerd, 2012; Yılmaz & Kılıçoğlu, 2013). By contrast, the choice has here been made to consider conditions for intercultural school development from the perspective of teachers, looking at a meso-level of the organisation.

Weick has theorised that schools are ‘loosely coupled systems’ (Weick, 1976; Orton & Weick, 1990). This means that while various steering mechanisms do have an impact, the overall dynamics escape formal steering and outcomes retain an element of indeterminateness. School leaders may encourage their staff to move in certain directions, but will not be successful unless teachers themselves actively invest in these processes (Oswald, 2014). At the same time, structure will clearly affect the scope of action left to teachers and shape the directions it can take.

In this case, teachers felt obliged to work against their ethical convictions. They expressed feeling guilty for being forced to penalise their students. They were not allowed to use their time and competence for teaching, and complained that it was wasted on meaningless tasks that they did not feel to be part of their professional role. They wanted to do a good job as teachers, and wanted their students to do well, but did not feel that circumstances allowed it. They tried to compensate for injustices by putting in extra efforts, but no matter how hard they tried, it was never enough. They felt that their working conditions were under attack from a never-ending torrent of new prescriptions and demands coming from above. The prescriptions were felt to be virtually impossible to put into practice, and perceived as emanating from politicians who did not understand the realities of teaching and learning.

Examples were seen in the institutional categorisation of students with an immigrant background as ‘mother tongue’ speakers of immigrant minority languages and as ‘second language’ learners of Swedish. The categorisation fails to cover the lived experiences of young people who are born in Sweden, for whom Swedish is the dominant language, and who may not necessarily speak the languages their parents still use at home. Nevertheless, Swedish law obliges teachers to divide their students into one group taking the subject Swedish (for ‘native’ speakers), and another group taking the same subject, but with the label Swedish as a Second Language. Swedish teachers may observe incongruities in the categorisations they are required to implement (see Article II), or feel frustrated about the constraints the requirement places on how they work, but do not have other options but to work within the system.

Mother tongue teachers observed that the syllabus for Mother Tongue Studies - and especially the detailed guidelines for marking of performance – are based on the implicit assumption that pupils are already fully proficient in the language (see Article I). The progression of the syllabus further presupposes that the language benefits from similar support as Swedish, and that it would perform similar functions at school and in society. Trying to teach the immigrant minority languages as school languages - partly equivalent to Swedish and with similar aims -

but under conditions that do not realistically permit to achieve such goals, is therefore a source of frustration.

In the case of tutoring in the mother tongue (see Article III), tutoring is in policy based on the assumption of a close collaboration between the tutor and the subject teacher. But such collaboration was almost impossible in practice. Similarly, the ambitions of school library development (Article IV) suppose development at the whole school level, redefining responsibilities and transforming pedagogical practices. Again, the stated ambitions did not correspond to actual conditions.

In this study focus has been on the support measures for students with an immigrant background offered by policy, but intercultural school development as such concerns all subjects and the entire range of activities existing within a school. In a Canadian context, for instance, Blanchet-Cohen and Reilly (2013, p. 12) recommend that teacher capacity include ‘co-creating the curriculum incorporating student diversity’, to achieve culturally responsive education in the area of sustainability (cf. Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Their suggestion sheds light on the limitations to intercultural school development which currently exist in the Swedish system. Clearly, the type of intercultural development recommended by Blanchet-Cohen and Reilly is premised on forms of curriculum that are open to such negotiation of content. To enable this type of intercultural school development, objectives in the curriculum would need to be worded in sufficiently general terms so as not to preclude it, alternatively explicitly provide for teacher and pupil involvement in defining learning aims. We can thus conclude that conditions for intercultural school development are a matter of curriculum and organisational design, at the same time that they depend on participation (Wenger, 1998).

Another particularly vulnerable aspect with respect to school development lies at the level of brokering practices in an organisation, since different groups of staff may not share the same concerns (cf. Weick, 1976; Wenger, 1998). Details of practice need to be communicated to higher levels in the organisation, and therefore also suppose brokering across administrative levels. Finally, important dimensions of school development draw on networks that reach outside the walls of the individual school. In the studied case, the textures of landscapes of practice (Wenger, 1998, pp. 118-119) did not necessarily correspond to organisational boundaries. This was particularly noticeable with mother tongue teachers who constantly moved between different teaching contexts, but this question also concerned the role of the school librarian.

Based on the present study (see *Summary of Articles* and *Description of the case* above), it appeared that the overarching system experienced in the investigated locality was not conducive to engagement and participation that could support school development and a learning organisation. Teachers expressed being overwhelmed, and also feeling depreciated and powerless. Many of the problems seemed to result from the combination of a detailed and strongly prescriptive curriculum, goals perceived as unrealistic and meaningless, a mechanical and time-consuming assessment system, monitoring by authorities, lack of trust, pressures to perform, coupled with insufficient or inadequate resources.

Central and local responsibilities

A curriculum shapes a framework of action through goals and monitoring instruments, and also impacts positioning through the representations it conveys. This does not mean that it is necessarily impossible to conduct any form of intercultural school development unless it is explicitly encouraged by the curriculum. Speaking from an Icelandic context, Jónsdóttir and Ragnarsdóttir (2010) observe that intercultural education is not an objective of the Icelandic curriculum. Nevertheless, several Icelandic schools had developed culturally inclusive ways of working (Ragnarsdóttir & Blöndal, 2015). Importantly, teachers with immigrant backgrounds had in many cases been able to participate democratically in school development (Ragnarsdóttir, 2012; Lauritsen, & Ragnarsdóttir, 2014; Lefever, Berman, Guðjónsdóttir & Gísladóttir, 2014), in spite of some obstacles to collaboration (cf. Valenta, 2009 and Bigestans, 2015 for a discussion of experiences in Norway and Sweden).

It would thus seem that provided sufficient freedom of action is offered in the overarching framework within which teaching and learning take place, opportunities can be used for intercultural development work. Teachers and pupils with immigrant backgrounds can be offered increased participation, even when intercultural values are not explicitly encouraged, as in the Icelandic case. But inversely, in cases when intercultural values are explicitly prescribed, if teachers no longer have freedom to act, no space is left for participation.

Besides the enabling and structuring functions of the curriculum, we would therefore need to pay more attention to how action at school level is constrained, through legal sanctions and resource allocation. These constraints have a direct effect, by stipulating or prohibiting certain actions, but there are also more indirect effects. A culture of accountability will tend to produce hierarchies, where hard and binding requirements are prioritised at the expense of those that are softer. Binding requirements are isolated quantifiable aspects that are linked to an individual person (cf. Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013). Inversely, the latter include complex objectives that are difficult to measure and objectives where responsibility is shared by several individuals. When pressures and lack of resources make it impossible to meet all of the binding requirements, immediate demands will be prioritised over long term objectives. Blame over failure will tend to be attributed to actors who cannot defend themselves (cf. Abbott, 1988).

Interculturality is included among the overarching aims of the curriculum. Paradoxically, this means that the impact is mainly symbolical, to the extent that the assessment systems are geared to follow measurable learning outcomes for individual subjects, individual students and individual years, rather than looking at relationships between subjects, between students, and the community. These assessment systems do not look at learning that stretches outside the classroom, nor do they consider learning which reaches across years, or which cannot be standardised and defined in advance. It could also be argued that tensions exist between the normative mission of teaching democracy (openly debating values, contesting received ideas and thinking critically), tolerance (avoiding controversial issues so as not to offend anybody),

and the normative mission of teaching knowledge, when knowledge is through assessment practices defined as conforming to predefined standards and outcomes. The norms expressed in the curriculum cannot be understood merely as prescriptive texts, but thus take their meaning from the combination of overt aims, and the hidden curriculum shaped by more indirect effects linked to different aspects of structure and local practice.

Sweden is characterised by a system where municipalities and individual school units are said to have autonomy concerning how they organise the implementation of centrally defined goals. The curriculum has been described as being goal-driven. However, combining this form of steering with a close systematic monitoring of results at numerous levels, for large numbers of measurable indicators and at frequent intervals, means that not only goals, but also the process is tightly constrained. In other words, the total effect amounts to extremely centralised detailed steering, but where decision-makers nationally do not have to reflect on, or take responsibility for, the ultimate implications of the laws and binding guidelines which they issue. Nor do they have to consider necessary preconditions for the laws that are instituted. In the case of the support measure 'tutoring in the mother tongue', we have seen that both teacher education and corresponding administrative categories of employment were lacking. Similarly, Swedish as a Second Language is framed as a support measure, where a wider repertoire of pedagogical skills would be expected, at the same time that formal requirements for teacher qualifications are half the credits required for the corresponding subject Swedish.

The roles and responsibilities of various pedagogical and administrative staff are governed by detailed rules and regulations, as are routines and procedures for communication and reporting. Large parts of information exchange are managed by automated systems; all information therefore has to fit into existing slots and be converted into standardised categories compatible with the programmes. Looking at the meso-level of school organisation, and based on the findings from this case study, important implications of the current Swedish system with respect to conditions for intercultural school development include: using resources, time, energy and attention for producing documentation and assessment; reducing communication to statistics and standardised reporting formats; fragmentation of perception of tasks and responsibilities.

Such fragmentation is in itself a barrier to joint reflection and collaboration. Intercultural school development rests on engaged processes of dialogue and joint pedagogical reflection between different categories of teachers, regardless of ethnic background. It involves mutual respect and collaboration both within and across organisational units. Importantly, conclusions from joint reflections also need to have ways to be tried out in practice and refined over time. The more detailed rules and regulations that have to be complied with, the more difficult it becomes to find any functioning way of organising one's work, let alone trying out new forms. It may be that consequences of governing systems that reduce opportunities for collaboration and change are more noticeable for teachers and students with an immigrant background, but the fundamental conditions considered in this investigation are therefore not substantially different from those which apply to transformative school development more generally.

All things equal, and regardless of what policy looks like, actual teaching practices substantially contribute to shaping learning and teaching affordances. If schools as organisations are to address major social and technological changes in proactive and innovative manners, the schools' capacity to develop ultimately rests on the individuals who work there (NCCA, 2008). The teacher still plays a key role in how the educational system translates into practice, and attention needs to be devoted to teacher agency, professionalism and opportunities for participation (Priestley et al., 2011, 2012; OECD, 2013; Hilton, Flores & Niklasson, 2013).

But teachers and head teachers can only bring about substantial changes at whole school levels when structural conditions permit it. Within the classroom and the time slot of a lesson, an individual teacher has certain autonomy in managing the details of how content is delivered. By contrast, coordinating between teachers is constrained by the time table, the physical location of teaching and by the binding requirements connected to the boundary objects of formalised brokering practices. Describing education in the US, Hargreaves and Fullan comment:

Schools received fewer resources. Class sizes often grew. Teachers had to spend more time in the classroom and less time with each other. Professional development time was cut. The curriculum was standardized and sometimes even prescribed in excruciating detail. Testing increased and spread. Schools were publicly ranked in tables of crude performance measures (...). Outside inspections and top-down interventions were swift and punitive. (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 37)

In a Swedish context, teachers in Robertson's study (2013) deplore that they do not have sufficient time for their core activities, and little time is available for coordinating with other teachers. Based on the findings of the present study, the question of time is not only a matter of total number of hours allocated per pupil, but to which extent the organisation of time enables collaborative work.

The physical organisation of work plays an important role. In the present investigation, it could be objected that physical location is a secondary consideration, to the extent that virtual means of communication exist. But in this study, it appeared that using virtual means of communication for coordinating between teachers was largely coupled to having an existing interpersonal relationship as well as continuous informal opportunities to meet and resolve pending points. Such communication also appeared to depend on professional proximity. Overall, much of the necessary communication and coordination in the investigated case took place outside the school day, outside working hours, and in locations outside the school premises, since neither scheduling nor provision of physical premises enabled collaborative work that was necessary.

The embodied materiality of practices of teaching and educational development has implications for the hidden curriculum. This means paying attention to necessary material resources, having sufficient time for various tasks in and outside the classroom, as well as sufficient time and opportunities to meet colleagues. School environments can thus be seen as offering different affordances, where material conditions and organisational cultures combine

to shape spaces for teaching and educational development. This concerns how the environment is understood, but also what can actually be accomplished under the given conditions.

Learning spaces and inclusive education

Intercultural education does not by definition have to be inclusive, since cultural diversity might in principle be valued in a particular educational setting, while race, gender, disability or differences in income might be discriminated against. Non-inclusive intercultural education is for instance offered in certain international elite schools. Inclusive education, on the other hand, does comprise intercultural education, to the extent that it attributes positive values to diversity. Differences might have to do with language and culture, but could relate to the individual and collective experiences of belonging to a minority, having transnational family ties, multiple home languages, or a refugee background, for instance. There is thus an area of overlap between intercultural and inclusive education.

Like intercultural education, inclusive education does not designate a particular pedagogical approach, but rather a field of concerns. Generally, there are strong lines of convergence in many of the issues discussed. These have to do with emphasising or downplaying difference, benefits and problems connected to special support, the question of integrated or distinct tracks and teaching spaces, as well as logistics problems that arise for rare disabilities. An important discussion is how educational disability is relational, created by the overall situation, rather than residing in the student. Other common concerns are issues of interprofessional collaboration between the special education support teachers, and the 'regular' teaching staff.

A frequently discussed issue in the wider field of inclusive education - and with special relevance for induction measures for newcomers - arises when allocation of resources is linked to a stigmatising label, such as special support (Rizvi & Lingard, 1996; Fridlund, 2011; Furberg, Möllås, Simmeborn-Fleischer & Carlsson, 2006; Lutz, 2009). Increasing 'client differentiation' (Abbott, 1988) by multiple 'support' measures may not be compatible with inclusion, collaboration and an effective use of available resources (Persson & Persson, 2012). As a result of policy and support measures aiming to address diversity in Sweden, practices tend to divide the student population into a quadrant with four categories: Swedish mother tongue versus Swedish second language, along one dimension, and 'normal' students versus 'special needs' along another. An additional category is 'newly arrived' students from abroad. These categories underlie the school subjects Swedish, Swedish as a Second Language and Mother Tongue Studies (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004b), as well as interconnecting with various legal stipulations concerning the student's right to receive 'support', such as tutoring in the mother tongue (SFS 2010:800; SFS 2011:185). Certain forms of teaching thereby become framed as actual teaching, while others are given the subordinate and instrumental position of 'support' measures. Not unsurprisingly, and regardless of which criteria are used, attempts to

establish the boundaries between student categories (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004a) give rise to confusion and dilemmas.

Effects of excluding practices may limit opportunities for school achievement, as well as impacting health and wellbeing (Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013; Nilsson Folke, 2015). At the same time, in a school system where the mainstream classroom is ill equipped to accommodate diversity, creating separate spaces that are not marginalised may be the best option. Sending newly arrived students directly into mainstream classrooms, for instance, would be an instance of submersion (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008), which has proved less effective across numerous contexts (Ball, 2011).

More generally, it can be questioned whether inclusive education and equal rights to education should be taken to mean that everyone should do the same thing all the time. Mother Tongue Studies is notably an opportunity to increase social and cultural capital linked to areas where the language is spoken. Even if the cultural spheres of minority languages are positioned as less valuable from the perspective of the national curriculum than Swedish and English, they may have significant value for the pupil. This is above all in terms of individual identity and self-esteem. But languages have numerous values in access to knowledge, cultural experiences and job opportunities (National Union of Teachers in Sweden, 2016), and encouraging linguistic diversity is also crucial for Sweden's economy and research capacity. Thus, while even strong international languages such as Chinese, French, Arabic or Spanish are positioned as low status immigrant languages when they are taught as Mother Tongue (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004b), the linguistic and cultural competences relating to these languages are clearly viewed as assets in other contexts (see for instance European policies on language skills for business and employability Kelly, 2013). Such tensions in perceptions and attitudes towards different languages were also observed in the interviews.

Besides considering inclusive education in the light of teaching and learning spaces, the present study suggests that attention needs to be devoted to implications of monolingual and monocultural norms (Wingstedt, 1998) with respect to spaces for school development. This involves on the one hand the need for development that can shape more inclusive learning environments, and such development presupposes collaboration across teacher groups. But on the other, prioritising collaboration at all costs can have the effect of reducing spaces to pursue plural objectives and work with development processes for different purposes. In an institutional context where minorities have a lower position, a risk is that the minority perspective is 'drowned' in a consensus around dominant norms. All development resources risk to be channelled according to prioritisations defined by a majority, leading to practices of assimilation. Assimilation reduces intellectual and social resources expressed in the public domain to the single dimension of the dominant culture, rather than drawing on diversity or moving towards transformation. Rather than leading to intercultural development, increased collaboration driven by majority perspectives would in this event consolidate the status quo.

More generally, we see that including or excluding effects (OECD, 2012) of various arrangements is highly dependent on the specific learning activity, the wider objectives and details in the organisation where the learning takes place. There are also characteristics in the

overall pedagogical approach and organisation which allow for more or less diversity in teachers, students or learning aims.

As a consequence of the separation between ‘teaching’ and ‘support’, at schools in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, a majority of students would in principal qualify for some form of special measures. In such cases it is rather the notion of what constitutes normal or regular teaching that has become problematic, and not the student (Bagga-Gupta, 2004a; Francia, 2011b, 2015; Nilsson & Bunar, 2015). At the level of society, it can be argued that:

(...) passing on ‘migrant status’ to generations born in the country is in effect to cement a socio-political division in society (...). (Westin 2015, p. 14)

The monocultural monolingual paradigm is not well suited to meet the complex needs of a diverse student population. Indeed, we may ask how well suited this paradigm is to educate students in ‘pure Swedish’ neighbourhoods, at a time when digital interconnectedness and the forces of globalisation are affecting every person on the planet.

Regardless of which organisation is adopted, resources need to correspond to requirements, and teaching approaches need to be attuned to the students they meet. If this is not provided by the educational system, the entire load of adapting and conforming to implicit expectations lies on the student. Inclusive education is in other words not only a matter of grouping, but depends on the underlying norms, the amount of resources, and the specific forms of resources that are provided. A similar reasoning can be applied to the teachers and administrators. In this case study the problem was formulated in a way that focused the teachers and the individual school, but many of the constraints are in fact situated at structural and policy levels.

By not providing adequate resources, training or structures, a relatively generous attitude can be professed at national policy levels, while placing the blame of failings in the system on local actors. Such structural limitations became visible through this study by closely examining conditions for meeting, joint reflection and collaboration between the individual teachers, in the concrete materiality of time, space and distribution of responsibilities.

Culture and language as support measures

Mother Tongue Studies and Swedish as a Second Language are defined in Swedish law as support measures for students with an immigrant background (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004b). It has been argued in this investigation that the categorisation is questionable. In the case of Mother Tongue Studies, developing the pupil’s capacity to reflect and study in the mother tongue has been found to be a crucial support for learning generally (Ball, 2011). But the minimal resources that are today allocated to Mother Tongue Studies do not correspond to the ambition of developing a powerful cognitive base for learning. Also, if the mother tongue is to serve as a tool for studies, this would involve changing teaching and learning approaches across the curriculum, as well as changing corresponding requirements for teacher competences.

Another point is that while for newly arrived students with prior schooling the mother tongue is already a cognitive base for learning, the functions of the language for other students will differ. For students with little or interrupted schooling, the written language will be poorly developed, and the language will in this case not serve as an instrument for studies if pedagogies or access to learning resources is mediated through the written language. For students with an immigrant background where the mother tongue is a heritage language, spoken competence is likely to be limited as well. While Mother Tongue Studies can serve as identity support and give access to valuable social and cultural capital for these students, the immediate tool for studying is likely to be Swedish, as their first and/or strongest language.

In the case of Swedish as a Second Language, the syllabus is supposed to be equivalent to the syllabus for Swedish (as a native language). This means that the subject cannot serve as a context to teach newly arrived students the language. If resources allocated are only marginally greater than for the subject Swedish, it will also not serve the purpose of remedial teaching for students with weak language skills. There is in this case the risk of simply creating highly heterogeneous groups of students with differing and special needs.

The leftover groups inhabiting these 'edgelands' of the school system will have characteristics perceived as 'difficult', simply because the main track is geared to work with whatever those pupils are not. If the educational norms are based on origin ('foreign' versus 'native'), compliance cannot be learned. If immigrants were to become more 'native-like', more minute details will be focused to conserve the distinction. Examples that receive focus in the case of Swedish are spelling, word order, proverbs and unusual idiomatic expressions, the correct use of prepositions and the capacity to paraphrase. These are typically aspects that take a longer time to acquire, which distinguish the natives from newcomers, but which are in fact not fundamental to using the language for communication and learning. Another example is the focus on acquiring 'good' pronunciation, where emphasis does not relate to comprehension, but to sociolect and residential area.

While Swedish and Mother Tongue are language instruction framed as support, the only clear teaching form stipulated by law that is intended to function as a subject support measure is tutoring in the mother tongue. Nevertheless, provisions here are equally contradictory and learning affordances are questionable. Seen as a teaching space, this measure requires close collaboration and coordination between class teachers and tutors, although conditions are not conducive. Another problem is that from the point of view of the pupil and with respect to potentials as a learning space, studying the different subjects is primarily based on teaching that takes place in the regular classroom. In a context of teacher-led conventional classroom teaching, if the tutor is also expected to attend these lessons, the tutor's role will be reduced to listening and interpreting for the student. When tutors are only granted for single hours weekly, this means losing the tutor's time as a teacher. But the alternative of taking the student out of the lessons for the tutoring sessions can be stigmatising, and means that the student misses the regular lesson. In after-school hours, especially younger pupils may be tired and lose focus. It can be concluded that regardless of whether tutoring takes place individually or in groups, solutions would need to consider scheduling blocks of available time during the school day for tutoring-related activities that do not clash with lessons.

Alternatively, the entire pedagogy of organising teaching in time-tabled lesson slots would need to be reconsidered, as well as the system of monocultural and monolingual teaching in Swedish more generally (cf. Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013; Nilsson & Bunar, 2015; Bunar, 2015).

While students with disabilities and students with mother tongues other than Swedish constitute prioritised groups, the school library is not explicitly expressed as a support measure for students with an immigrant background. But libraries present many characteristics which in fact enable them to function as inclusive spaces providing effective support for students with varying needs. School libraries can play a role by stimulating reading for pleasure, thus connecting the individual student's personal interests with the social space of the school. The library can further facilitate the use of multimodal resources and teaching materials or collaborative spaces outside the school walls, and beyond national borders. Facilitating access to both multimodal resources and engaging literature in Swedish and the students' mother tongue can potentially provide impetus to empowering dynamics of engagement and motivation. To have a sufficient impact, however, this again supposes development at whole school levels, as well as extensive networking in the municipality and beyond. However, collaboration between teachers and librarians is not a prioritised objective in a structural sense (Eri & Pihl, 2016).

Spaces open to intercultural school development

At the level of individual schools, existing educational content and teaching practices will always express a certain view of intercultural relations or hierarchies. Regardless of the cultural or linguistic composition of a class, views on how individuals and groups should and can relate interculturally to each other are produced and enacted. MacPherson contends that:

If left as implicit objectives, (...) forms of social, cultural, and religious exclusion or marginalization may become the “hidden” intercultural curriculum, rather than sustainability, equity, and/or social cohesion.
(MacPherson, 2010, p. 282)

It is therefore important to remember that intercultural school development is not a particular concern for schools with many students with an immigrant background. Also, choosing not to work with issues of interculturality is not a ‘neutral’ position, since it still involves endorsing and supporting a particular set of values, which have consequences for how people see themselves and how they behave towards each other.

In this study, we have seen that work culture, in the sense of organisational monoculture or interculturality (Lahdenperä, 2008), positions teachers and the subjects they teach as more or less central to the concerns of the school as a whole. Positioning through work culture interrelates with the issues and functions attributed by national policy to different categories of teaching and to different subjects. At the same time, these forms of positioning contribute to shaping different spaces for teaching, learning and school development. At the school level,

and for the municipality as a whole, the relationships between different communities of practice affect potentials for dialogue and exchange of expertise. It has been argued in this study that the extent to which teachers can participate in development spaces is a fundamental condition for intercultural school development.

More generally, however, it can be argued that culture in the sense of work culture, and culture in the sense of intellectual resources are interconnected, since communities of practices are spaces of learning for those who participate in them. Over time, participants develop shared resources which allow them to communicate and collaborate. Culture in the sense of having symbolic ‘universes of mutual intelligibility and shared references’ (Eriksen, 2007, p.1062) is thus a condition for learning. Participating in specific communities is linked to matters of belonging and will over time shape identities. We can therefore ask to what extent the geographies of spaces of teaching and learning may affect affordances for student learning, not only through the pedagogies and strategies that can be developed at school levels, but also in terms of general feelings of group belonging, identity and participation (cf. Nespor, 1994; Montero, Ibrahim, Loomis & Newmaster, 2012).

Numerous benefits could be achieved by positioning teachers and pupils with immigrant backgrounds in ways that would allow them to participate more fully in school activities and school development. However, introducing any additional objectives for school development requires an allocation of sufficient resources to make progress realistic. It also involves shifting prioritisations and creating a better balance between different objectives. Simply adding the goal of intercultural development to a long list of existing demands may otherwise be perceived as draining resources from more urgent tasks.

While the present study has investigated work organisation from the perspective of the teachers and head teachers, the spaces for teaching and learning that were observed do not just have implications for teachers’ ability to participate in shared intercultural development work. These spaces position the pupils, and can impact their sense of belonging and participation in learning activities at the school (cf. Smyth, 2013; Montero, Ibrahim, Loomis & Newmaster, 2012). Diversity can be used as a positive resource in school settings, to mirror diversity in society and provide models for democratic dialogue. This supposes work organisation that actively engages with these questions, and where democracy is a central concern (Jacobsen, Frankenberg & Lenhoff, 2012; Council of Europe, 2016).

At the meso-level of organisation, tensions appear between the expectations and structural conditions laid down by the curriculum and other steering documents, on the one hand, and on the other, the actual circumstances for teaching and learning that teachers encounter in practice. Teachers therefore need to be better prepared, not only to address issues such as highly heterogeneous classes or student populations with other cultural reference frames and insufficient command of the medium of instruction, but also to collaborate with other teachers and professionals in developing adequate pedagogies and structures (Dillon, Salazar & Al Otaibi, 2015). This requires work organisation which provides spaces for meeting and collaborative school development. The creation of such opportunities is not only a matter of changes in scheduling and providing physical meeting rooms, but also entails revising the

distribution of responsibilities and working with values (Lahdenperä, 2008). The negative impacts of defensive organisational cultures need to be considered (cf. Cooke, 1987), and here accountability, goal achievement and the constant threat of budget cuts may contribute to limiting spaces for collaboration and school development.

Concluding remarks

The hierarchies and functions attributed to languages as school subjects expressed in national steering documents as well as through the local work organisation have been part of the focus of this investigation. Swedish language policy gives precedence to Swedish, providing a privileged status for national minority languages, but offering the right to maintain and develop other languages. Nevertheless, in educational policy, taking Swedish as a Second Language and being entitled to mother tongue instruction are framed as relating to deficits, as well as representing something ‘exceptional’, outside the regular structures. The separate status of the potentially plurilingual student (cf. Bagga-Gupta, 2004b) laid forth in the legislation and curriculum, coupled with being categorised as non-Swedish in terms of sociolinguistic regimes (Blommaert, 2006) and teacher perceptions, was reflected in and reinforced through the details of the local work organisation. Focus in this study was thus on implications of categorisations, not as symbolic power, but as an administrative process, leading to grouping of certain students and teachers, creating identities through this grouping (Nespor, 1994) and affecting relationships between teachers.

With respect to work organisation, we have seen that in the investigated case, conditions for more extensive collaboration across different teacher groups are lacking. Issues of interculturality are not a central concern in the regular school, and the responsibility for managing these questions is largely placed on the mother tongue teachers and the Mother Tongue Unit. At the same time, all the interviewed teachers and head teachers presented increased collaboration as a desirable aim, and all were driven by the wish to see their pupils succeed at school and in society. It also appeared that many of the obstacles identified in the course of this investigation derive from the structural level, where teaching students with an immigrant background is framed as a question of special measures.

Commenting on issues of social justice and exclusion in education in an Australian context, McInerney concludes:

A moral imperative underlies this situation: a nation is diminished economically, socially and culturally if a significant proportion of its young people lack the opportunities for personal fulfillment and active engagement with society. (McInerney, 2007, p. 97)

These reflections are fundamental, and can also be applied to the Swedish case. The right to education is underlined both by international law (e.g. Art. 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Art. 13 and 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) and Swedish legislation:

Everyone should have the same access to education, regardless of geographical place of residence and social and economic conditions¹⁴
(SFS 2010:800, Chapter 1, 8 §)

To the extent that a large proportion of pupils with a migrant background in Sweden today do not finish compulsory education with qualifications that allow them to continue to upper secondary school,¹⁵ it can be argued that poorly adapted education systems are in fact barring students with migrant backgrounds from education, in particular from the more valued pathways. Intercultural school development can therefore play a role in creating better environments for learning and teaching.

The notion of 'school development' has frequently been taken as a synonym for implementation and working towards goals defined in steering documents (Berg, 2003). Similarly, the notion of flexibility and 'adapting' has sometimes taken on the meaning of responding to the demands of market (cf. Lubienski, 2003). But processes of rapid social and technological change call for more than complying with the explicit demands that are made on educational actors. Ultimately, the pace of change in society calls for the capacity to respond innovatively, take initiatives and to manage cultural contacts in constructive ways. At the local level, schools need the capacity to collectively reflect on the specific circumstances of their students and to find creative ways of meeting groups of pupils with changing backgrounds, living in sometimes precarious conditions that may shift from year to year. To shape engaging learning environments, they need to meet their students in the full complexity of their actual situation, rather than through the stereotyped lens of categorisations.

Professional expertise for a professional group involves not only the capacity to collaborate and develop knowledge within one's own group, but also to collaborate effectively between professional groups and between professions (Pihl, 2009a). Increasingly, addressing educational challenges effectively further involves inter-organisational collaboration (Head, 2012; Mandell & Steelman, 2003), and the ability to build ad-hoc educational 'alliances' for specific purposes (Gilles, Potvin & Tièche Christinat, 2012; Nel, Engelbrecht, Nel & Tlale, 2014).

Schools need to address rapidly changing conditions by making active and strategic choices, rather than simply reacting and adapting. One-size-fits all solutions cannot be expected to match all needs. Nor is it reasonable to expect policy makers to have the necessary pedagogical expertise or foresight to provide detailed and adequate instructions concerning any situation that may arise. Limiting the scope of teacher's agency and professional discretion (Priestley et al, 2011, 2012) can create alienation, reducing participation, critical thinking, as well as blocking creative problem-solving (cf. Cooke, 1987)

Teacher's attitudes and practices play a key role in the learning environments that are offered, but to actively involve teachers in didactic reflection, time and space for collective discussions and strategic thinking is needed. Schools have to make the best use of the full range of competences and experiences available within each school (cf. Lahdenperä, 2008),

¹⁴ The author's translation

¹⁵ see statistics of the Swedish National Agency for Education, Statistics and Evaluation.

while also encouraging networks with resources outside their organisation. But availability of resources is not merely a question of funding or whether a practice is materially possible. It is also a question of regulations and values, deciding which practices are allowed and affecting the meaning that is ascribed to different situations. In the context of school education for students with an immigrant background for instance, technology gives almost immediate access to transnational learning communities, as well as information and learning materials in different languages. Technology can also offset certain disadvantages that newly arrived immigrant students might face, by using digital dictionaries and thesauruses, translation software and word-processing to help with understanding, spelling or grammatical correctness. Multimodal teaching can reduce the exclusive dependency on verbal proficiency. The full pedagogical implications of these new resources require further reflection in both theory and practice (cf. Erixon, 2014; Cumming-Potvin, & Sanford, 2015).

If educational aims are indeed to supply education for all (Bagga-Gupta, 2004a) and to support student development fully, it would seem called for to use any human or technical resources that make it possible for students to succeed, as the Education Act also stipulates (SFS 2010:800, Chapter 1, Sections 4 and 8). But if the primary function of school is instead to function as a sorting mechanism (Pihl, 2009b; Berg, Karlsson, Oskarsson, 2014; Riederer & Verwiebe, 2015), it follows that school will produce ‘winners’ and ‘losers’. Pupils, teachers and school leaders will be placed in front of the impossible task of reducing differences, while resource allocation, standards, administrative procedures and regulations are calibrated to produce difference.

The losers of an excluding system may belong to a previously marginalised group (such as ethnic Swedish poor boys from families with no tradition of higher education), or to an emerging marginalised group (newly arrived teen-age refugee boys with interrupted prior schooling and possible trauma). Regardless of whether their failure is analysed as related to ethnicity, language, social class, aptitude, or any intersection of these (cf. Artiles, 2003; Lutz, 2009), excluding school systems produce difference, barring segments of the population from valued career pathways or further study. In the long run, insufficient education and widening social gaps pose a threat to social cohesion and can undermine the foundations of democracy.

Further research

Issues of transition into the Swedish educational system merit further research. Tutoring in the mother tongue has not been the object of academic publication in Sweden, although it is one of the main support measures provided for newly arrived students. Indeed, according to a comprehensive literature review by Bunar (2010b) limited research exists in Sweden concerning the reception of newly arrived students more generally (see also Nilsson & Bunar, 2015; Bunar, 2015). Work on tutoring for newly arrived students found internationally includes Dumenden, (2011) and Weekes, Phellan, Macfarlane, Pinson & Francis (2011), but does not necessarily involve mother tongue tutors.

With respect to tutoring in the mother tongue, coordination and communication between the mother tongue tutor and the subject teachers are a necessary condition for adequate tutoring, as in the case of other forms of support teaching. In view of the coordination and collaboration problems that were observed in this case, it appears that further research would therefore be needed concerning possible ways of developing collaboration between tutors and subject teachers. Such research might look at issues such as planning (Dillon, Salazar & Al Otaibi, 2015) and distribution of responsibility depending on the teachers' respective backgrounds and expertise (cf. Peercy & Martin-Beltran, 2012; Shin, Lee & McKenna, 2015). Support structures, teaching materials and networks for continued professional development in this area merit close attention. To the extent that tutoring in the mother tongue requires collaboration (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2013), it could be argued that this is an area where the concerns of different kinds of teachers would logically converge. Tutoring could therefore constitute a potential starting point for processes of intercultural school development. Research is also urgently needed to investigate needs of students with interrupted schooling, disability or trauma, to develop adequate tutoring strategies and formats.

Further research would be needed to examine more closely some of the tensions and contradictions that emerged, considering their implications, not only for school development, but also with respect to teacher education.

A particular picture of conditions for intercultural school development was drawn by choosing to focus on support measures directed at students with an immigrant background. Looking at the work organisation from the angle of subject teaching of other subjects may well have offered other insights. Languages, geographical, religious or cultural frames of reference might be expected to position teachers and pupils differently, depending on the subject. Other collaborative constellations are likely to have emerged. This is therefore also an area where further research could be conducted.

The present investigation examined the meso-level of organisation from the perspective of teachers and head teachers. The learning spaces offered to the pupils were inferred from the

organisation of teaching. To understand the significance of these learning spaces, an investigation involving the concerned pupils would be necessary. Similarly, relationships were inferred between the learning spaces and pupils' out-of-school experiences, their sense of belonging and the wider community. Issues of contacts with parents and the mediating role expected from teachers with an immigrant background were touched upon. All these questions would merit further investigation.

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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Swedish / Swedish as a second language

- Can you describe briefly how instruction in the subject Swedish is organised at your school?
- How do you see the role of Swedish teachers at school?
- Are there any differences between instruction of Swedish and Swedish as a second language?
- What do you think ought to be the main priorities in teaching Swedish?
- Are there any differences in the priorities in teaching Swedish or teaching Swedish as a second language?
- What do you feel are the main challenges in your work?
- How do you think conditions could be improved?
- What would be needed for that to happen?
- What are the most strategic barriers that prevent this?
- How do you collaborate with the library?
- How does cooperation with the other teachers work?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

Tutoring in the mother tongue

- Can you describe briefly how tutoring in the mother tongue is organised at your school?
- Do you have any experience with tutoring in the mother tongue?
- What do you feel are the main aims with this form of teaching?
- What conditions do you think would give good results?
- What are the most critical barriers right now?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

Mother tongue instruction

- Can you briefly describe how mother tongue instruction is organised at the school(s) you are working at? / you are responsible for?
- What do you think ought to be the main priorities with mother tongue instruction?
- How do you see the role of mother tongue teachers at the school?
- What are the main challenges for you?
- How do you think conditions could be improved?
- How does cooperation with the other teachers work?
- If you were able to change something, what would you like to change?
- Is there anything you would like to add?

