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Editorial

Adult Migrants' Language Learning, Labour Market, and Social Inclusion

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Abstract
In this thematic issue, we present up-to-date research from authors who problematise the various links between adult migrants' language learning, education, the labour market, and social inclusion. Some contributions are more focused on the relation between education and social inclusion, while others emphasise links between language learning, the labour market, and social inclusion. Together, authors in this thematic issue point to the multiple challenges migrants face when trying to establish themselves in a new country.

Keywords
adult education; adult learning; host countries; inclusion; labour market; migrants; second language learning; work

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "Adult Migrants' Language Learning, Labour Market, and Social Inclusion" edited by Andreas Fejes (Linköping University) and Magnus Dahlstedt (Linköping University).

1. Introduction

Language learning and language education play a central role in the establishment of adult migrants in a receiving country. Issues concerning language, learning, and the inclusion of migrants have gained increased political significance in the wake of globalization, particularly in recent years (Canagarajah, 2017). Whereas adult migrants' knowledge of the receiving country's official language is often treated as a prerequisite for social inclusion, the alleged lack of language competence among adult migrants is often considered a threat to social cohesion (Rydell, 2018a). However, the category of adult migrants is quite heterogeneous, including quite different life experiences and conditions for language learning and social inclusion (Abrahamsson & Bylund, 2012). From the perspective of migrants themselves, language learning appears mostly future-oriented, as access to linguistic resources is linked to a future identity of being part of an imagined community. It is thus regarded as a means for entering the labour market as well as higher education (Ahlgren, 2014; Norton, 2013; Rydell, 2018b). However, with a strong focus on language and language learning, there is a risk that other factors of importance for migrants' social inclusion are neglected (Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2021; Simpson & Whiteside, 2015).

For adult migrants, adult education is a crucial setting for initial language learning (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020, 2022). The main focus of initial language learning for adult migrants, as elaborated in national as well as international policies, is the preparation of these individuals for the labour market, i.e., employability (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Simpson & Whiteside, 2015). However, the relationship between language learning and the labour market is complex. It has, for example, been shown how migrant adult students during their work placement encounter limited access to interaction and learning opportunities (Sandwall, 2013), or that knowledge in English, rather than the local language of the new host country, could be sufficient for career opportunities (Nelson, 2010). From a longitudinal perspective, it has been pointed out how those adult migrants that had participated in second language education after a period of 10 years experienced a higher level of labour market participation than those who never attended such education. Meanwhile, no significant differences

were found concerning levels of income (Kennerberg & Åslund, 2010). Nevertheless, other studies have illustrated that access to the labour market is not solely determined by migrants' language proficiency, since migrants' social mobility also depends on factors such as educational background and social networks (Behtoui & Olsson, 2014).

In sum, the relationship between migrants' language learning, the labour market, and social inclusion is a complex one. For this thematic issue, we invited contributions that problematise such relationships across different educational settings, labour markets, and geographical contexts.

2. Introducing the Contributions

Questions regarding the social inclusion of migrants often present education and the labour market as the main, or even sole, route to social inclusion. Migrants are most often construed as in need of language competence to get a job as quickly as possible, and thus become included in society. Nyström et al. (2023) provide a somewhat different take on the question. Although recognizing the importance of getting a job, they focus on contexts other than education and the labour market that are construed by migrants themselves as important on their path towards social inclusion in Sweden. These contexts are sports, internships, and civil society engagements. Likewise, Svensson (2023) also directs the analytical focus to migrants and their own experiences of social inclusion. She specifically compares the lived experiences of migrants in New Zealand and Sweden, illustrating how a range of exclusions intertwine and, in various ways, prevent a successful social inclusion in terms of language, social engagement, and labour market entry. Keeping the focus on migrants' own experiences of language learning and their establishment in the labour market, Cores-Bilbao and Camacho-Díaz (2023) turn to women who have migrated from China to Spain. They illustrate how, after a long period in Spain, these women wish to engage in language learning to widen their social networks but are met with mismatches between their training aspirations and the curricula of the courses available to them, which are solely focused on language learning. Jang (2023) also focuses on the experiences of migrant women and, specifically, follows one migrant worker in South Korea over five years, tracing her efforts in engaging in learning activities to enhance her social status and career prospects, as well as learn to better support herself and her children.

Turning back to comparative analyses, Pötzsch and Saksela-Bergholm (2023) provide an account of integration programs initiated in Finland and Canada. Drawing on interviews with staff, students, and employers engaged in such programs, they argue for a transformational approach to social inclusion with a focus on egalitarianism and the full exercise of critical agency among migrants in their respective countries of residence. In their contribution, Söderlundh and Eklund Heinonen (2023) also direct their attention to two programs for language learning of migrants in Sweden: One of these targeted medical doctors with ambitions to gain accreditation to work as doctors; the other focused on unemployed migrants who, through the program, could work with maintenance of public areas. The authors illustrate how these programs construed migrants as lacking context-specific vocational knowledge, including a professionally related vocabulary. Turning to Austria, Zakariás and Al-Awami (2023) focus on a state-subsidized language program for adult migrants. They specifically turn attention to migrant language teachers from Central and Eastern Europe, illustrating how they are shaped as second-order teachers in migrant education in Austria. Turning to yet another group of migrants—migrants from Poland to Norway searching for labour—Golden and Opsahl (2023) analyse how two individual migrants react to current stereotypes of Polish migrants in the Norwegian labour market, and how a space might emerge to provide possibilities to contest stereotypes as well as to re-create professional expectancies.

In their contribution, Rydell et al. (2023) draw on narratives of four newly arrived students in Sweden, turning attention to how education intersects with migration policy. They illustrate how changes in education and migration policy form and, in various ways, direct migrants into specific professions and segments in the labour market. Such steering of migrants' educational and occupational choices is induced by power relations, an issue dealt with further in Zschomler's (2023) contribution. Zschomler turns to the lived experience of migrants engaged in language learning at a further education college in London. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, she illustrates a recurring, quite painful experience of "deskilling and delanguaging," and how it leaves an imprint on both migrants and teachers. However, to be a "good migrant" in relation to established norms doesn't seem to be enough. As Nordmark and Colliander (2023) illustrate when studying how adult migrants in Sweden are positioned in relation to education and the labour market, there is a need for a broader understanding of social inclusion. Such understanding needs to highlight the intersecting conditions for inclusion such as recognition, work opportunities, getting a residence, and being able to combine language learning with parenthood.

Bauer et al. (2023) also focus on notions of the "good migrant," or rather the "good citizen." By analysing civic orientation courses for migrants provided by the labour market agency in Sweden, they illustrate how migrants are construed as unknowing and in need of being fostered in order to be includable. Further, social inclusion is repeatedly understood as being conditioned not only by labour market participation but also by behaviour deemed correct in the workplace. Sweden is also the focus of Majlesi et al.'s (2023) contribution. They focus on how social inclusion is constituted through conversations taking place between migrants and volunteers at

language cafés organized by civil society organizations in Sweden. They illustrate how migrants emphasise belonging, rights, and access to resources for social participation as conditional to social inclusion, where the language cafés are conceived of as a possibility to develop the local community into an inclusive, equal, and integrated society. Finally, St John (2023) focuses on the role of multilingual assistance in the teaching and language learning of migrants in Sweden. Drawing on an action research project, the author explores how teachers were engaged in studying their own classroom teaching, laying the foundation for further development of how multilingual assistants could be used to enhance migrants' language learning.

3. Conclusions

Taken together, the 14 contributions to this issue not only provide valuable and important insights into the lives of migrants but also point to the importance of studying and problematising the links between language learning, education, the labour market, and social inclusion.

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Conflict of Interests

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Article

Social Inclusion Beyond Education and Work: Migrants Meaning-Making Towards Social Inclusion

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Abstract
In public discourse, the social inclusion of migrants is often regarded as a challenge demanding migrants to increase their engagement in adapting to the new host country. Such imaginaries commonly declare migrants as being unwilling to acquire language skills and specific cultural values. In parallel, formal education is often proposed as the single most important remedy to inclusion, which generally solely implies labor market participation. However, there is a range of other, often neglected, practices that migrants themselves regard as important for their social inclusion in society. This article aims to analyze what practices are assigned meaning by newly arrived migrants in Sweden on their path toward social inclusion in the country. This is a longitudinal interview study with 19 newly arrived adult migrants that were interviewed on two occasions, three years apart. Drawing on a sociocultural perspective, we understand social inclusion as an ongoing process by which individuals become members of different communities. The result shows that important for social inclusion is access to valuable relationships and close social ties. These relations are important in all communities in which the migrants participate. The analysis illustrates three different communities, outside of formal education and employment, that migrants ascribe meaning to concerning language learning and social inclusion. These communities are sports, internships, and civil society engagements. Through its longitudinal design, this study also illustrates how migrants' narratives and their meanings shift with time and how migrants relate to these communities over time.

Keywords
meaning-making; migrants; narratives; social inclusion; Sweden

Issue
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1. Introduction

In contemporary political and popular discourses, the social inclusion of migrants has commonly been framed as a concern regarding migrants' abilities or even their willingness to adapt to host countries in terms of language acquisition as well as conformity to ethnocentric imaginaries of cultural values (see, e.g., Ålund et al., 2017; De Haas et al., 2020). Language has also been construed as the "key" to employment as well as wider inclusion in society (Dahlstedt et al., 2021). A deficit discourse emerges where migrants are seen as lacking something that needs remedy (see, e.g., Fejes, 2019; Osman, 2007; Smith, 2016). Education is often proposed as a solution through which migrants will be able to conquer the skills imagined to be necessary to become included in society (Ahlgren & Rydell, 2020). Reaching social inclusion thus foremost becomes an issue of engagement in formal education as well as labor market participation. Such a view on social inclusion is not only construed through the public discourse but also by migrants themselves (see, e.g., Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2022; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

However, we argue that such a view on social inclusion is too limited. Rather, we view social inclusion as participation in a wide range of practices deemed meaningful and supportive on the path toward realizing one's

dreams. Social inclusion thus becomes an issue of participation and developing a sense of belonging. There are practices other than language education and labor market engagement that might be important for migrants' social inclusion and, in this article, we turn our attention to what migrants themselves construe as meaningful on their path toward social inclusion. Our findings are based on a longitudinal interview study with newly arrived migrants—asylum seekers at the time of the first interview—and follow-up interviews three years later.

1.1. Migration, Learning, and Social Inclusion

The deficit discourse on migrants and their inclusion has been raised by several scholars (see, e.g., Fejes, 2019; Morrice et al., 2017; Sayed & Soudien, 2003; Schreiber-Barsch, 2018). Policymakers and their inclusion strategies implicitly include a deficit discourse through which migrants are construed as lacking abilities important for social inclusion that can be remedied with education (Morrice et al., 2017). Even though education is offered by public means, today migrants themselves are made responsible for their own inclusion (Fejes, 2019; Schreiber-Barsch, 2018).

A deficit discourse is also prevalent in informal practices within the realm of civil society, e.g., within activities organized by popular education institutions (Fejes, 2019). Despite this, such activities have been shown to be highly valued by migrants as spaces for developing a sense of belonging (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2022; see also Yuval-Davis, 2006). Such feelings are not least fostered through the mutual recognition and respect (Webb & Lahiri-Roy, 2019) that emerges through the mobilization of material, human, socio-organizational, cultural as well as moral resources in popular education institutions (Mešić et al., 2019). Such mobilization includes the provision of access to social networks, assistance in contact with authorities, as well as language learning opportunities organized in a more non-formal learning setting (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020; Mešić et al., 2019).

Other more informal practices that have been put forward for their potential for integration, learning, and belonging are different sports activities (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2021). Such activities have been argued to create meeting places between people as a basis for developing relationships which in turn enable the creation of a distinct community. Football is one such example that is argued to make possible the creation of a long-term connection with others, furthers asylum seekers' sense of control, identity, and sense of belonging (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Woodhouse & Conricode, 2017).

The process through which migrants develop a sense of belonging can be seen as a process of gaining access to specific communities of practice (cf. Thunborg et al., 2021). Participation in such communities may be conceptualized as "lived citizenship" through which migrants can create meaning and negotiate citizenship in terms of rights, belonging, and participation (Lister, 2002, 2007). However, through newly arrived migrants' participation in non-formal settings, a duality might emerge concerning their social inclusion (see, e.g., Morrice et al., 2017; Thunborg et al., 2021). Thunborg et al. (2021), for example, point to the challenge that activities of language learning for migrants may become activities unilaterally promoting networking between migrants rather than mixed networking that also includes non-migrants. Ekholm and Dahlstedt (2019, 2021) point to analogous risks in sport-based interventions (in this case football) in adding to the further stigmatization of migrants. Activities intended for migrants in the name of inclusion may thus not necessarily generate such an outcome.

2. Analytical Perspective

In this article, social inclusion is seen as participation in a wide range of practices deemed meaningful and supportive on one's path toward realizing one's dreams. Social inclusion thus becomes an issue of participation and developing a sense of belonging (see, e.g., Marshall, 1950). To conduct an analysis of migrants' paths towards social inclusion we make use of Wenger's (1998) and Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner's (2015) theorization of how individuals construct belonging to different communities.

According to Wenger (1998), there is a strong connection between learning, identity, and particular practices. As a newcomer to practice, the individual needs to develop a relationship that will render meaning and structure. In that sense, a practice is always a form of doing, related to a historical and social context. The development of a specific practice requires a community, with a particular set of traditions, activities, and boundaries, whose members engage and recognize each other as participants. Wenger further argues for the presence of movement both within and across communities of practices—a movement that has been explicated with the notion of trajectory. Trajectories are understood to form our identities along a non-fixed motion over time influenced by different sources. In that sense, a trajectory has "coherence through time that connects the past, the present, and the future" (p. 154).

Wenger (1998) stresses that all individuals belong to a range of communities as full or more peripheral members. All these communities contribute to the construction of identity in one way or another. Identity formation thus involves experiences of multi-membership and a work of reconciliation, i.e., the maintenance of one's identity across different communities of practice. For Wenger, identity is not a solid core but rather comprises different parts that could all be seen in the nexus of multi-membership. He further claims that, "in a nexus, multiple trajectories become part of each other, whether they clash or reinforce each other. They are, at the same time, one and multiple" (p. 159).

Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015) further conceptualize trajectory as the motion through a social

landscape where individuals' identity begins to reflect the landscape they inhabit. Therefore, "over time it accumulates memories, competencies, key formation events, stories, and relationships to people and places. It also provides material for directions, aspirations, and projected images of ourselves that guide the shaping of our trajectory going forward" (p. 19). Not all practices have the same significance, and the individual can have a variety of relationships with different locations in the landscape. However, the landscape "is well colonized and some hills are well guarded. Some communities may welcome us, while others may reject us. The experience can be one of painful marginalization or merely the chance to move on" (p. 20).

In sum, we here understand social inclusion as ongoing processes where individuals become members of different communities and through such participation develops a sense of belonging. To capture how individuals construct meaning we need to understand "the concerns they pursue across different contextual settings and the kind of conduct of life they try to realise" (Nielsen, 2008, p. 34).

3. Method

Our analysis is based on a qualitative longitudinal study grounded on interviews with newly arrived migrants enrolled in a study circle called Swedish From Day 1. The study circle was arranged by the Workers' Educational Association (ABF), the largest study association in Sweden. The initial sample included 46 participants who were spread out across study circles at three different locations in Sweden. The first set of interviews was conducted in 2018 and occurred adjacent to the interviewees' arrival in Sweden; all of them were applying for asylum. The second set of interviews was conducted in 2021 with 19 of the initial sample of participants. Six of the persons had received a resident permit, five had received a temporary resident permit, four were still waiting for a decision on their asylum application, two were awaiting deportation, one had been deported, and for one the migration status wasn't clear at the time of the interview. Among the 19 participants, there were nine females and ten males aged between 18 and 60 at the time of the first interview. Country of origin included Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Burundi, Lebanon, Palestine, and Gambia. Their educational background ranged from no education at all to university degrees.

The follow-up interview was met with 26 non-responses, six of which were due to incorrect or missing contact information. Possible reasons for non-response could have been an unwillingness to participate further, deportations (which explains the discarded Swedish telephone numbers), or changes in contact information (it is not uncommon that newly arrived migrants temporarily use pre-paid telephone SIM cards). Most of the follow-up interviews were conducted via a video communication platform due to the Covid-19 pandemic and lasted 25–60 minutes. All interviews were transcribed verbatim; for readability, we have edited some quotations in this text.

The initial set of interviews focused on the participants' background, their experiences arriving in Sweden, the migration process, their encounters with different educational and labor market settings, their social life in general, and their dreams for the future. We used a semi-structured interview guide with three sections: the present, the past, and the future. Open-ended questions were posed, such as: Tell us about your current situation, what are your dreams for the future? Follow-up questions were posed in order to get insight into areas of interest within each section of the interview, e.g., what educational background they had, their experience of the labor market, their current social situation, etc.

At the time of the follow-up interviews, interviewees had moved on from the initial educational setting in which they were engaged at the time of the first interview. Our focus was on their experience engaging in these other activities as well as their overall experience of the migration process in Sweden. More specifically, we were interested in what practices were "assigned meaning" in support of their social inclusion after a few years in Sweden. For this second interview, we revised our interview guide. The guide was still semi-structured and there were still three sections: the present, the past (since we last met them), and their current dreams for the future. Follow-up questions focused on asking for clarification and elaboration on those activities they engaged in that seemed meaningful in their path toward social inclusion and those that were not. Taken together, the initial and the follow-up interviews provide a thick description of participants' experiences arriving in and living in Sweden for a few years.

Following ethical research practices, participants gave their consent to participate after having been informed about the aim of the study, how the research material would be utilized, and their personal data managed. All personal data have been pseudonymized. The research project has received ethical approval from the regional ethical board at Linköping University (ref. 2017/280e31).

The empirical material was analyzed using a thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which provided a productive platform for managing our empirical material. More specifically, this involved close scrutiny of all interview transcripts to familiarise ourselves with the material as a whole before initiating the coding and thematization process. The thematization and coding processes were guided by the aim to identify meanings that migrants assigned to different practices regarding their path toward formal language education, the acquisition of employment, and social inclusion in a wider sense. The analysis resulted in the identification of meaningful community practices for social inclusion and how these communities relate to relations to insiders.

4. Findings

Our aim is to provide insight into what practices, besides education and work, are assigned meaning by migrants on their path toward social inclusion. The central aspect that is emphasized as important for social inclusion is access to valuable relationships and relations with insiders, i.e., individuals who have a Swedish background or had migrated to Sweden long ago. These relations are important in all communities in which the migrants participate. In the analysis, the migrants emphasize three different communities, outside of education and employment, that are ascribed meaning in their path toward formal language education, acquisition of employment, and social inclusion in a wider sense. These communities are sports, internships, and activities arranged by civil societies.

4.1. Relations With Insiders and Social Inclusion

Relations with insiders and other types of relationships are assigned meaning in the interviews in relation to social inclusion. Several participants have referred to partners, family, or other members in the communities they are engaged in who either have Swedish background or had migrated to Sweden long ago. These persons are described as central to the migrants' paths into Swedish society. One example is a person who explains that his sexual social identity has opened doors to a community that is inclusive on an identity basis. Such a community has, in turn, opened doors to the host country. Dating is here given a central value:

> I'm saying it's the easiest way to make friends in Sweden, that's what I found, through sex. Because…yeah, I mean, they will get to know you more, and then you will meet and meet again….I'm homosexual and I'm using [an] application….We are homosexual, we are, all of us, homosexual. So we have the same kind of history, which is being not accepted. (Dov, interview 2)

Having a Swedish partner is another similar type of example where value is attached to a close tie as important for the individual's path towards social inclusion. Ruhi explains how his girlfriend inspires him to have higher ambitions. He says:

> Before I met my girl, I didn't have such big plans. But she is the manager at [a food store in Sweden]….But when one hangs out with people who are well educated and have better jobs, then one too wants that. That's something they may inspire. I think it is very important to hang out with the right people, to gain more information, to plan, and to follow a goal—so I believe. One may say: "Yes, I have the potential," "I am able." She's a huge inspiration for me. (interview 2)

Here we see how Ruhi's relationship with his girlfriend and her friends provides opportunities and inspiration to see the possibilities that may be accessible to him.

Another type of social tie that has been assigned meaning in the interviews involves teachers, close friends, and family. Teachers are ascribed a central function in providing support that goes beyond their professional responsibilities. Participants describe their teachers as offering support in terms of, e.g., housing, assistance in contact with authorities, being supportive in terms of career possibilities, and by being there for them. One example is Azar who, by the time of the follow-up interview, had become a nurse. She explains how she decided to pursue such a path based on her teacher's advice:

> He [a teacher] motivated me so much. I didn't have so much information about Swedish society or the shortage of health professionals….He motivated me a great lot and gave me extra books to read in order to develop my language. (interview 2)

Friends are across the interviews raised as meaningful to the participants on their path towards social inclusion. They do not only provide concrete support with gaining new contacts, assisting in finding employment, or offering societal guidance but are also ascribed importance in terms of moral and psychosocial support. Friends are thus framed as important for offering a safe space that provides opportunities to find comfort and overcome insecurities in speaking a new language. Experiencing a sense of security in one's own abilities, even though the learner may be conscious of imperfections, can be illustrated with Lal and the support he finds in his friends:

> My Swedish friends have always inspired me. They give me pep talks, a lot of love, and warmth….So I dared to say something instead of being silenced or scared to say something wrong. I have always heard [things like]: "It is good, you are able to speak," "everything will be ok—not everybody is able to speak the language from the beginning," "you do not need to be scared—you have to feel secure." (interview 2)

In addition to Swedish friends, participants also refer to relatives and close family members who are already established in Sweden as meaningful others. They are described as guides who assist in the learning of the Swedish language, and as persons who provide insider tips regarding the workings of Swedish society. One example of such support is the provision of temporary accommodation. As Dov explains: "I have my sister here. She's [been] living here now, [for] seven years, with her husband, and she has two daughters….I used to live with her, as soon as I've arrived in Sweden" (interview 2).

In sum, what we have illustrated is how meaning is assigned to relationships with persons who are

construed as "insiders" in Swedish society. These persons provide migrants with support that might assist them on their path toward social inclusion.

4.2. Civil Society and Social Inclusion

Communities within civil society are assigned meaning by participants on their path toward social inclusion. Such communities include the church and study associations that organize specific activities directed at migrants, not least in the form of so-called "language cafés." These activities are described as places for learning the Swedish language and learning about Swedish society, e.g., traditions and way of life. However, focusing on the initial interviews when all participants respondents were refugees, the activities also emerged as a place to get away from the hardship of being in an asylum process, living in a vacuum, and only being surrounded by other refugees. As explained by two participants:

> Yes, I can only recommend it to those who sit at home, they do not have to….They must come to ABF. Here you can find friends, learn Swedish, and get in contact with others. ABF is not a school, I believe, it's a home. I feel at home when I'm here. (Ruhi, interview 2)

> I had plenty of time….I stayed at the refugee accommodation. It was so crowded….But I came here, we had a class here, wifi. It was free. I sat there in the afternoon. It was five hours, from twelve to five, until they closed. During those five hours, I wrote and wrote and wrote. (Salah, interview 2)

As seen in both quotations, by going to the ABF or the church, these participants meet other asylum seekers, as well as Swedes who are participating in these activities. In that sense, the activities are assigned meaning as an important social community, providing meaningful activity, the chance to socialize and feel part of a community.

In the follow-up interviews, it becomes evident that most participants had received some form of temporary or permanent residence permit while one participant had been deported and others were still awaiting deportation. Looking back at what had occurred since the initial interviews, the participants still ascribe strong positive meaning to engagements in the above-mentioned activities organized by civil societies. These organizations remained welcoming places with open doors and places where anybody could engage and feel engaged. In many ways, these organizations are talked about as "open" and "inclusive," with both organized and unorganized activities that give the migrants direct access to a community without any formal requirements and demands. What becomes evident is how individual participants engage across activities organized by different civil society organizations.

In sum, participants ascribe great meaning to these organizations, not solely as welcoming social communities but foremost in terms of a tool to learn the language. In the follow-up interviews, we can see how participants put a strong emphasis on how they, through these activities, have progressed in their language learning as well as in their knowledge of Swedish society. As explained by one participant: "Here I have learnt so much about the society, democracy, laws, the law about the society, migration and asylum seekers" (Lal, interview 2).

4.3. Participating in Sports Communities

Sport is another type of activity organized in the realm of civil society; however, the reasons to participate in these types of activities are familiar to the participants. These trajectories are initiated among participants before they arrive in Sweden. There are several types of sports communities present in the study. These activities offer, according to the participants, opportunities to experience bodily and psychological wellness, as well as opportunities to encounter Swedish speakers and improve their Swedish language skills. As Maryam expresses: "I thought it's better if I could find a place where I can practice in order to learn the language. As I thought, I chose this dance and theater group….I have been with them for a year" (interview 2).

Maryam engages in a dance group, not only to do sports but foremost as a way to meet Swedish speakers, socialize, and practice the language. The dance group can be seen as a social community providing means for inclusion. Here, participants are allowed to partake in physical activities as well as social ones. These activities provide opportunities for informal language learning—and, in turn, provide possibilities to establish social ties, as discussed in the former section.

Across the interviews, it becomes evident how participants encounter difficulties in establishing friendships with Swedes. Thus, there is a lack of informal social communities where one can learn about the new host country and practice the language. Physical activities, as illustrated above, might thus become one way to meet Swedes and practice the language. With a similar ambition, Navid went to the gym. At the gym, he engages with others. As he explains:

> We talk to each other, but we are not real friends that hang [out]. I go to the gym five to six times a week [laugh] but I do not have a job and you have to practice, practice the language, and work out. Work out both the body and language. (interview 1)

As Navid explains, he used to go to the gym in his country of origin, a practice he now continues. As a bonus, the gym activity provides opportunities to practice the language. This is a different situation to Maryam's, who engaged in dancing as a newcomer with the specific aim to learn the language in a social community.

In the above cases, there are no predefined requirements put on the participants for specific proficiency

levels in the Swedish language when engaging in sports activities. Rather, language practice can be identified as a byproduct of the activities. However, sports can also be identified as an incentive to practice the language. For Salah, learning the language is framed as important to communicate with colleagues with whom he practices dancing. He explains: "Well I had to learn the language if I want to have contact with people. I work out and dance and it is, well, I….You need the language to get a connection" (interview 1). In this case, the participant has engaged in sports at a level that requires certain language apprehension. Thus, the activities become an incentive to learn the language.

In sum, sports emerge as a community with assigned meaning in the migrants' paths toward social inclusion. These sports activities provide a space to learn new things, make new friends, meet Swedes, learn the language, and continue practicing one's sports interests.

4.4. Internship as a Chance and Recognition

Gaining employment is an important ambition among migrants. One way to gain access to the labor market is through internships. In the first round of interviews, when participants had just arrived, internships were mentioned a few times. At the time of follow-up interviews, several participants had gained experience in various types of internships within civil society organizations as well as in the wider labor market. In several cases, such internships served as gateways into different jobs.

When participants refer to internships, language learning plays a secondary role. Rather, an internship is talked about as an opportunity to have one's experiences and knowledge valued and recognized. Migrants do not simply explain that they were randomly offered opportunities to get an internship—on the contrary, they express that someone discovered and acknowledged them and their ability, thus giving them a chance to prove themselves. Ruhi and Lal talk about this duality:

> One day their interpreter didn't come, and they asked me if I could interpret. There were also midwives that came and informed women, so I started to interpret for them. They were really pleased with me….So, from there, I found different contacts, I found friends, found a job, and I received a temporary security number. It was very important for me in order to apply for positions in the elderly care. I think it was really good that I didn't stop working voluntarily. I wasn't paid but it didn't matter. (Ruhi, interview 2)

> And then, she told her manager at RFSU [a non-profit NGO working in the field of sexual and reproductive health and rights] about me, about me being interested in their organization….After a year I got an email from their manager asking me if I was interested in becoming a moderator at RFSU. I was really happy, it was just fantastic when I heard that….The thought was that I shall inform those who are new in Sweden about their rights when it comes to their body and sexuality. I think that I want to continue working for RFSU and I do not know what will happen after that. I like working with refugee matters….Yes, I want to use my experiences [at RFSU] in some way. (Lal, interview 2)

Ruhi explains that he gained the internship by first stepping in for a missing interpreter in a study circle in which he participated. Lal gained her internship after showing her interest in a specific organization. In both cases, participants' knowledge and competencies were acknowledged as highly relevant for the specific communities they mention.

Yet, there were also participants who, based on their previous work experience, were offered internships. During these, the migrants had the possibility to have their previous experience and knowledge displayed and acknowledged. As explained by Soheila and Ruhi:

> I had my own hair salon in Iran and worked as a hairdresser. When I arrived here, I succeeded at one of my friend's [salons], and I even got paid. I got paid by the hour. (Soheila, interview 2)

> And then our manager saw that I [was] quite able with the computer, and she felt that I could work with alarms and locks. (Ruhi, interview 2)

Both Soheila and Ruhi had opportunities to make their knowledge and aptitudes visible, assessed, and acknowledged as relevant for specific communities. Again, language learning is constructed as a secondary effect—or as Adalla says: "Yes. The most important thing was my internship at the library. It was fun and I could practice my Swedish. It went well" (interview 2).

5. Discussion

The importance of formal education and experiences of labor market participation for the social inclusion of migrants are recurring themes in research and popular discourses on migrants' integration (see, e.g., Fejes, 2019; Morrice et al., 2017; Sayed & Soudien, 2003; Schreiber-Barsch, 2018). We claim that such accounts of social inclusion, when viewed in isolation, are narrow and implicitly may risk obscuring other important engagements in practices among newly arrived migrants. We further argue that this is especially problematic as many other activities are regarded by migrants as prerequisites precisely in succeeding in formal education and the labor market. In this article, we have sought to unveil these engagements in practices vis-à-vis migrants' meaning-making accounts in their paths toward social inclusion. In line with this aim, we have illustrated that many other practices are construed as important and that many of them are regarded as vital for the possibility

of becoming economically self-reliant. Thus, participants' accounts illustrate that social inclusion is not solely aligned with labor market participation.

In line with Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015), our analysis shows how communities are assigned a variety of meanings in migrants' paths toward social inclusion. Further, migrants can have a diverse set of relationships with different locations in the landscape. The communities this article focuses on—relations with insiders, civil society organizations, sports, and internships—were emphasized in participants' accounts as relational places where migrants become acknowledged and are given a voice. These communities are openly organized and are often explicitly welcoming to migrants as newcomers. The threshold for active participation in these communities is low, for example in partaking in a dance group or hanging out in the gym, thus making it possible to participate in many different communities depending on what is offered and what is found meaningful (e.g., Nielsen, 2008). These communities include both migrant newcomers and people who are regarded as "insiders" in Swedish society and role models that may guide newcomers towards becoming insiders themselves—and thus, included (see, e.g., Morrice et al., 2017; Thunborg et al., 2021).

Language learning is recurrently framed as crucial for inclusion but is not exclusively articulated as the principal aim; rather, in many instances, language proficiency becomes a consequence of migrants' participation. Language learning is thus regarded as a salient byproduct of participation in the focused landscapes. Furthermore, the analysis shows that these practices are significant for providing access to resources (e.g., Mešić et al., 2019) and experiences where newly arrived migrants can gain new knowledge and access specific insights that may be utilized in other practices. These different experiences and the specific knowledge acquired within the landscapes can be traded in and transferred from one community to another. By extension, we argue that engagement and participation in landscapes other than those of traditional and formal forms of education may generate possibilities for future labor market participation as well as wider inclusion in society (Dahlstedt et al., 2021). This could be especially important for newly arrived migrants since they often endure a lengthy asylum process during which they, in many regards, are not granted access to society. Engaging in other meaningful practices, therefore, becomes important for learning and social inclusion.

Conflict of Interests

In this article, editorial decisions were undertaken by Ulf Hedetoft (University of Copenhagen, Denmark). The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

"We Kiss Everyone's Hands to Get a Permanent Job, but Where Is It?": The Failure of the Social Inclusion Narrative for Refugees

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Abstract
Humanitarian migrants, while required to prove their vulnerability to gain entry to a country of settlement, rapidly become subject to an integration narrative where self-sufficiency is the primary aim. In the integration narrative, language learning is conceptualised as an individual endeavour that will inevitably lead to employment, while linguistic fluency and social inclusion tend to be presented as the inevitable outcomes of engagement in the labour market. Lack of success is attributed to individual failures and is typically addressed through policies designed to incentivise the individual to try harder. Drawing on a qualitative study involving refugees, language teachers and settlement brokers in New Zealand and Sweden, this article critiques the integration narrative by contrasting it with the voices of those who have sought to conform to the ideal narrative yet failed to reach the idealised outcomes. Using M. M. Bakhtin's notions of monologue and epic discourses, it challenges the view of language learning and integration as "a test of virtuosity" (Sullivan, 2012, p. 49) which the deserving are guaranteed to pass. Instead, it argues that a range of exclusions prevents successful language acquisition, labour market entry, and social engagement and that incentives, while potentially increasing the individual's desire for success, are insufficient unless structural inequalities are addressed.

Keywords
dialogism; employment; language learning; refugees; social inclusion

Issue
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1. Introduction

The process of receiving or resettling humanitarian migrants is subject to contradictory expectations of verifiable deservingness. On the one hand, to prove their need for asylum or third-country resettlement, individuals are expected to demonstrate considerable vulnerability and are authored as victims and as powerless; on the other hand, once granted residence, they rapidly become subject to an integration narrative where self-sufficiency is the primary aim and where failure becomes a marker of unworthiness (Darrow, 2018). Social inclusion for humanitarian migrants is all too often framed in terms of a duty to integrate rather than as a right to access markets, services and spaces (World Bank Group, 2014). This is particularly salient in terms of access to the labour market and to language education, where the duty to learn the language and gain employment is often emphasised above the human right to work and to education (UN General Assembly, 1948, Arts. 23 and 26 respectively). Social exclusion is thus seen as a deficiency on the part of the individual that needs to be remedied through a range of incentives and disincentives (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Morrice et al., 2021).

This article is based on research in two contexts: a post-industrial/rural municipality in Sweden (Nyfält) and a designated resettlement area for quota refugees in New Zealand (Jonestown). Sweden and New Zealand were selected as they are both refugee-receiving first-world countries with clear integration programmes but with significantly different histories of migration and refugee reception. Sweden is historically a country

of emigration, conceived of as culturally homogenous, and with a traditionally generous asylum policy that has become increasingly restrictive since 2015 (Migrationsinfo, 2023; Stern, 2019). New Zealand, on the other hand, is a settler country, officially bicultural, and with a historically very restrictive refugee reception, which has only recently started increasing (Immigration New Zealand, 2023a). While the contexts have significant differences, there is also a range of similarities in terms of how refugees are perceived, the barriers they face to social inclusion, and how the journey to self-sufficiency is conceptualised. Both contexts have certain narratives of what "integration" looks like and presume a straightforward process for newcomers who possess sufficient motivation and desire to be included in their new social context. Both contexts also have a range of barriers that complicate this process and an apparently limited understanding of these among policymakers.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Refugee Reception in New Zealand and Sweden

While New Zealand has significant numbers of immigrant arrivals, both permanent and temporary, refugees constitute a very small part that is nevertheless significant in terms of settlement needs (Mortensen, 2011). New Zealand receives primarily UNHCR-approved quota refugees, with a yearly quota of 1,500 (Immigration New Zealand, 2023a) and an additional 600 under the family support category (Immigration New Zealand, 2023b). A small number of asylum seekers—generally fewer than 150—are also accepted yearly (Immigration New Zealand, 2023c). New Zealand's quota is small partly to be able to incorporate categories of refugees who may require additional support during settlement, such as women at risk, medical and disabled cases, and cases requiring special protection or additional support (Beaglehole, 2013; Marlowe, 2018). The controlled nature of refugee resettlement in New Zealand means that individuals and families are allocated to one of thirteen resettlement locations (Immigration New Zealand, 2023a) and are often settled with members of the same linguistic and ethnic background in order to facilitate support.

In contrast to New Zealand, Sweden has traditionally been a country with very generous asylum policies, but significant changes have taken place in the years since 2015 and policies are becoming increasingly restrictive. Generous asylum policies and conditions for settlement meant that large numbers entered Sweden over the years (Hagelund, 2020), culminating in 2015 with a total of about 160,000 asylum seekers (SCB, 2023). The large numbers led to revised migration laws (Stern, 2019) and in 2022 the numbers had decreased to about 9,000 quota refugees and asylum seekers with just under 3,000 family reunification cases (Migrationsinfo, 2023). The current government is reducing numbers further, with the quota decreasing from 5,000 to 900 and further restrictions on asylum seekers to be implemented (Tidöavtalet: Överenskommelse för Sverige, 2022).

Both Sweden and New Zealand place a significant emphasis on labour market participation for refugees (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Marlowe et al., 2014) although Sweden views education as a necessary precursor to employment (Hernes et al., 2022). A high threshold to employment in Sweden means that labour market entry can be delayed (Hernes et al., 2022), but outcomes improve steadily the longer an individual resides in the country. While employment rates are only at 45% for refugees who have been in the country for 0–9 years, these increase to 65% after 10–19 years and 80% after 20 years or more (SCB, 2021). Outcomes are impacted by a range of factors, including gender, age, area of origin, and earlier access to education (SCB, 2021). In the New Zealand context, an expectation of rapid labour market integration is reflected in the frequent monitoring of results, which occur one year, two years, three years, and five years after settlement. However, time is still an important factor and only 10–18% of working-age refugees are in paid employment after one year in the country, while after three years the figures increase to 30–40% and 40–50% at the five-year mark (MBIE, 2021). Outcomes are impacted by gender—with women being less likely to be engaged in the labour market—and country of origin, with refugees from Iraq, Myanmar, Syria, and Afghanistan finding it most difficult to gain employment (MBIE, 2021).

2.2. Understanding Social Inclusion, Language, and Employment in Refugee Settlement

Social inclusion for refugees, in the form of access to the labour market and language education, has received increasing academic attention in recent years but remains comparatively under-researched, and undertheorised (Garnier et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2020; Morrice et al., 2021). While learning the host language has been demonstrated to be essential for self-sufficiency, well-being, and integration (Blake et al., 2017; Morrice et al., 2021; Tip et al., 2019) there is a need for a greater understanding of language learning for adult refugees and how various countries' policies may impact learning opportunities (Morrice et al., 2021). Similarly, while a range of studies has been undertaken on refugees and workforce integration (see Lee et al., 2020), significant gaps remain. Lee et al. (2020) suggest that there is a need for further investigations that take into consideration multiple levels, cross-country contexts, and a range of stakeholder perspectives. Further, while there is significant evidence of refugees being subject to barriers to employment and advancement, many studies focus exclusively on individual agency and the improvement of human capital rather than providing any theorisation on structural barriers (Lee et al., 2020).

Investigating the structural barriers and the underlying ideologies that motivate them involves a critique

of the idealised integration narrative which presupposes that individual motivation is the only requirement for success and that lack of success is best addressed through incentivisation. In the context of refugee language learning, incentivisation has been investigated by Kosyakova et al. (2022). The results of the quantitative study demonstrate that in the refugee context incentives have very little impact on language learning in comparison to other factors such as exposure, although the authors found that language learning was considerably improved for those being granted residence. The guarantee of continuous residence then appears to have increased the learners' investment in the language, and perhaps also their ability to invest when no longer in a state of precarity. Incentivisation in relation to labour market entry has been investigated in a quantitative study by Hernes et al. (2022) providing comparisons between Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. The authors suggest that the incentivisation model, which at the time the data was captured was only used in Denmark, leads to comparatively high employment outcomes in the short term, but decreases in outcomes over time. On the other hand, the focus on education prior to employment in Norway and Sweden delayed access to employment but appeared to lead to more stable long-term outcomes. While these studies are significant, they are quantitative studies, and the findings would benefit from being supplemented by a qualitative perspective, as also suggested by Hernes et al. (2022). Further, recent changes in Swedish policies have meant that an incentivisation model has recently been adopted in Sweden (Emilsson, 2020), and the impacts of this on individuals is an important area for exploration.

To address some of the research gaps outlined above, I have chosen to investigate social inclusion, language learning and employment in refugee settlement from multiple stakeholder perspectives, engaging with two significantly different contexts, and exploring ideological, institutional, and individual dimensions. To do this, a dialogical perspective will be adopted as it provides a framework to investigate relational as well as ideological dimensions of social inclusion.

2.3. A Dialogical Perspective

From a Bakhtinian dialogical perspective, identity is intersubjective, that is, constructed in the multiple interactions between self and other so that our sense of who we are is dependent on how others perceive and understand our identities (Holquist, 1990; Sullivan, 2012). In our interactions we not only author our identities or "create ourselves" as we address and respond to others (Holquist, 1990, pp. 28–29); we also author others and, in turn, are authored by others (Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004). In the act of being authored, subjects may be authored as valued individuals, enriched and unique, or as "impoverished" or reduced to a type without individual uniqueness and value (Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004, p. 298).

I will argue that in the context of refugee reception or resettlement, there is a tendency to author refugees as a type designed to fit into a monological, epic narrative of integration. In a monological narrative, the subject "acts, experiences, thinks, and is conscious…within the limits of his image" as defined by the author (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 52) and is not seen as an individual with their own uniqueness. The subject is not entitled to their own truth but is subjected to the singular "truth" imposed by the author, and is also subject to "a reification" to fit into a market-oriented understanding of reality (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 62). In the epic narrative, the objectified subject also becomes the hero of a predetermined plot. Their character will be tested through challenges where success is always guaranteed if they have the character of a hero and "pass a test of virtue" (Sullivan, 2012, p. 46). Therefore, an epic discourse does not contain any space for debate as to the validity of the quest or the fairness of the obstacles (Sullivan, 2012).

2.4. The Epic Language Learner

An epic construction of the "language-learning other" provides a narrative that precludes any recognition of structural constraints or economic inequalities and, instead, attributes success or failure solely to the effort and motivation of the self-actualising individual. This reductive view of the language learner fails to recognise how formal language learning is impacted by unique individual circumstances including age and gender (Morrice et al., 2021), physical or emotional health (Field & Kearney, 2021), and earlier educational disadvantage (Field & Kearney, 2021; Morrice et al., 2021). It also fails to take into consideration the sociocultural aspects of language learning (Rydell, 2018) and the less-than-favourable conditions for informal language learning that refugees encounter in society and the workplace (Piller, 2016). Viewing language learning as a personal responsibility and attributing slow progress to individual motivational factors, leads to the implementation of solutions that do not address affordances for language learning, but individual responsibility and motivation. Campaigns aimed at newcomers assume that they do not understand the value of acquiring the dominant language (Piller, 2016), and measures to promote language learning often include financial incentives or punishments even though research suggests that refugees rate language learning as a high priority (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Morrice et al., 2021).

2.5. The Epic Job Seeker

While entry into the labour market is a high priority for refugees (O'Donovan & Sheikh, 2014), it also tends to be used as the exclusive measure of social inclusion by policymakers and politicians (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; O'Donovan & Sheikh, 2014). The epic job seeker narrative is evident in both contexts of the study through a

policy-level focus on rapid labour market integration as well as practices designed to incentivise entry into work, even at the expense of language learning (Cooke, 2006; Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Morrice et al., 2021).

In New Zealand, which has a long history of immigration to meet labour market demands (Peace & Spoonley, 2019), the initial resettlement of refugees was explicitly designed to cater to labour market needs (Beaglehole, 2013). While humanitarian criteria are currently predominant in the selection process, the New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy (Immigration New Zealand, 2023d) focuses strongly on rapid entry into (any) employment and on refugees rapidly decreasing their needs for government support (Marlowe et al., 2014). In addition, refugees are also subject to welfare initiatives that favour a work-focused approach, with high expectations of work readiness and sanctions for welfare beneficiaries not meeting the requirements placed on job seekers (O'Donovan & Sheikh, 2014).

In the Swedish context, integration has increasingly come to be measured in terms of employment rates (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017) and engaging in employment is framed as a duty for the reluctant job seeker to realise. Thus, Swedish for Immigrants (Sfi) courses have increasingly become "labour market tools" (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017, p. 124), and participants have been required to divide their time between language learning and work experience placements. Unremunerated engagement in the workplace is expected to yield significant benefits for the individual, though empirical studies in the Swedish (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017) and Danish (Arendt & Bolvig, 2020) contexts have demonstrated that students have extremely limited interactional opportunities in these settings. In addition to these measures, permanent residence, as well as family reunification, is now contingent on sustainable financial self-sufficiency, meaning that there is considerable pressure to gain long-term employment in order to secure long-term residence and to bring one's spouse and children (Emilsson, 2020).

3. Methodology

The data that forms the basis for this article was collected through qualitative, semi-structured interviews in New Zealand (2021) and Sweden (2022). Interviews were conceived of as dialogical interactions between interviewer and interviewee, embedded in the broader sociocultural context (Tanggaard, 2009), and included open-ended questions that allowed the interviewer to follow up on matters of interest, but also allowed participants to redirect the conversation to topics of interest to them. Because of the potentially emotional nature of the interviews, the interviewer and interpreters prioritised the well-being of participants by retreating from topics they were reluctant to speak about (e.g., the refugee journey), and redirected the conversation when required. Interviews were conducted in either Swedish or English, with interpreters as required or requested by participants. Interpreters in New Zealand were selected based on recommendations from the settlement support agency, and in Sweden by contacting interpreters through an open database until a suitable interpreter was found. Criteria for selection included availability for face-to-face interviews, experience, and ability to deal with a range of dialects (specifically the Arabic interpreter). Aside from interpreting, the interpreters also assisted with cultural brokering before, during and after the interviews, and additional cultural advice has been sought from members of ethnic and religious communities as required. Data was transcribed by the researcher, focusing on lexical and syntactic features. Analysis was done in English and Swedish, and quotes included in this article from the Swedish data set are translated by the researcher. A full ethics application was submitted prior to data collection and was approved by the Massey University Human Ethics committee. In addition, ethics approval was sought and obtained from the Migration Research Working Group at Red Cross in New Zealand and by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority.

Data are based on interviews with a total of 85 participants who were approached through educational institutions, ethnic organisations and agencies. Participants included former refugees (n = 56), language teachers and tutors (n = 14), and individuals working in roles supporting refugee settlement (n = 15). Refugee background participants in New Zealand included Afghan, Rohingya, and Palestinian refugees who were either quota refugees or had arrived under the family reunification category. In Sweden, they were primarily Syrian and Eritrean refugees but also refugees of other Arabic-speaking and African backgrounds and included quota refugees, family reunification cases, and asylum seekers who had been granted asylum and now were Swedish residents or citizens. Educational backgrounds ranged from no formal education to university degrees, and participants' reported proficiency at the time of the interviews ranged from pre-A1 to C2 on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) in English or Swedish respectively. There were no exclusion criteria, but as the main vehicles for recruiting participants were language schools and settlement organisations, many were in their early stages of language learning and/or settlement. No participant had been settled for more than 10 years. All names of participants and places are pseudonyms and ethnic and gender identifiers have been used only where relevant to understanding the data.

3.1. Dialogical Data Analysis

To understand data, I draw on a dialogical analysis that is both semantic and structural. Semantically, I have chosen to adopt a method that looks for the dialogical processes expressed in interview data, as well as the generalised or larger-scale dialogical interactions taking place outside the interview context. Using the NVivo software, semantic analysis was undertaken through a

coding methodology that is based on the grounded theory method (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007) but deviates from this in that it adopts a developed theoretical perspective as a guiding framework for analysis. Like GTM, coding was done inductively, looking for processes and actions and connecting these together into larger processes and concepts (Charmaz, 2006). Once higher-level categories were created, these processes were then analysed dialogically. The semantic analysis was supplemented by dialogical narrative inquiry, paying attention to the way utterances are always in response to the positions and utterances of others, both present (e.g., the interviewer) and absent (Holquist, 1990) thereby discovering the discourses that have influenced the responses of the participants.

4. Findings

Findings from the interviews indicated that refugee background participants were familiar with dominant epic narratives, and resented these, instead describing themselves as highly motivated both as language learners and as job seekers, but facing a range of obstacles and difficult choices. The epic construction of integration was not only viewed as a misrepresentation but it also became clear that incentivisation measures did not foster rapid social inclusion but often had the opposite effect. Although many of the themes and processes were common to both the Swedish and New Zealand contexts, interviews in the Swedish context offered particular insights into a pathway to sustainable employment that was lengthy, inflexible, and disrupted, while the New Zealand interviews provided insights into rapid labour market entry and its consequences.

4.1. Desire and Motivation

In both contexts, refugee background participants were aware that they were authored as reluctant language learners and job seekers, and contested these representations. Language was described as "key" and language learning as common sense:

> Since we came to this country, learning the language of this country is important. (NZ)

> Do you think there is any person who doesn't want to speak the language? (SW)

Language was seen as a means of social inclusion and as a requirement for a viable dialogical identity in the new context. Even when language support was available from professional interpreters or the first language community, individuals desired the independence arising from competence:

> I have to speak from my own tongue. It's better, it's reliable, it's convenient. (NZ)

> I want to, without interpreters, speak myself. (SW)

However, the desire to speak did not necessarily lead to proficiency. Participants quoted a range of barriers, including age, family responsibilities, trauma, transnational responsibilities, health, and lack of prior education and/or literacy.

The desire for social inclusion and a viable dialogical identity extended to a desire for employment. At the most basic level, engaging in employment was a way of authoring a contributing identity, as opposed to the assigned identity as deficient:

> We're refugees but we're just the same humans as you guys, like, you helped us, we can help you guys. (NZ)

> I want to become someone. I don't want to be a problem. I want to show that we, we came here to be like ordinary people, to help, to integrate in society. (SW)

Individuals who valued their identity as a hard worker, struggled particularly with not being able to realise this identity in a new context:

> I like working. When [I] have work, I am happy. When not have work I not happy….I understand working.

The desire to work was clearly also conditioned by financial need, as financial resources were seen as indispensable for social inclusion, and particularly crucial in assisting their children's inclusion:

> They play sport and they like to be, they're trying to be like [New Zealanders], like others. And they need more label clothes. Of course it's optional, but they don't think it's optional. (NZ)

Importantly, establishing employment as a desire, refugee background participants often framed work not as a duty but rather as a right that they were denied:

> And they say that refugees do not want to work, but this is not correct. They come here to work and provide for their families….They come to find security. To find a good life. But they don't find security, not a good life. They couldn't find a job. And it's—all humans have the right to work. (SW)

4.2. New Zealand: Doing the Jobs That Nobody Wants

Data from the New Zealand interviews exemplified clearly the ideology of rapid entry to the workplace and that refugees should assist in addressing the labour shortages in New Zealand rather than seek careers leading to social mobility. This ideology was so embedded that it was used to promote a positive narrative of refugee reception by language teachers and support workers:

> Yeah, I'd say they are happy to do any menial task that we think is beyond ourselves and won't do them.

> [People say] they are taking Kiwi's jobs and that's when I can at least say, well, that's absolutely rubbish. Because Kiwis aren't taking their own [entry-level] jobs

It was also clear to refugees, who contested it:

> So what I am seeing, about the refugee people didn't have perfect education. [Some organisations] like to use these people to work on, like, part time jobs, season jobs, and [entry-level] jobs.

For those intending to enter skilled or semi-skilled work, there was a range of barriers, even for those with qualifications and professional experience. In Jonestown existing networks were a strong factor in obtaining employment, and participants also reported that aspects that made you appear culturally different in your application and interview were likely to impact your success, including your name, your overseas work experience (depending on the country), cultural differences in interactions, and whether you were wearing a hijab. Improving career prospects through undertaking further study was primarily complicated by the financial aspect, and choosing between the obligation to provide for family members (on location or abroad) and personal ambitions:

> That's the moral conflict that I went through….Do I go for my labour job, like being a waitress forever for the rest of my life? Do I go for a social work degree where I have to compromise many days of the week just sitting in school and I wouldn't be able to work?

This was aggravated by a rigid student allowance system, limited to 120–200 weeks, depending on age (Ministry of Social Development, 2023). If some of this allowance was required for language study, this could limit the time available for mainstream tertiary study:

> [In my final year of university] they told me your Studylink [student allowance] has finished. My Studylink, I use, like, 192 weeks. Just eight weeks I could study.

For language learners, the student allowance could only be utilised for courses that led to nationally recognised qualifications and therefore had higher requirements on literacy levels and academic ability. For other English courses, students remained on the Jobseeker Allowance, subject to obligations designed to promote rapid financial self-sufficiency. This, combined with a poor understanding of how long language acquisition for adults may take, meant that language lessons could be curtailed by social welfare employees:

> And they say, oh, you already two years, you already three years, you no need to learn anymore. You have to work. If you [do] not work we'll stop your benefit.

With labour shortages and employers willing to take on workers with very low English proficiency (CEFR pre-A1), Jobseeker beneficiaries with limited literacy and language could be offered employment, which they were then obligated to accept. Once in entry-level employment beginner users of English found it difficult to improve their work situation as there were few pathways available and incentivisation measures prevented workers from re-engaging with language learning. A work broker explained:

> We get people and they're pushing us to get them into work, so we get them into you know that entry-level work, be it horticultural or other sectors, labouring type [of] roles. But there's no avenue later down the track when they come off the benefit to be re-engaging in stair-casing these people into other roles.

Progression within one workplace was complicated by the fact that there were few in-work opportunities for literacy and language development and most other in-work training opportunities relied on written materials in English.

To discourage workers from abandoning or losing their employment, the social welfare agency had a 13-week stand-down period before the Jobseeker benefit could be recommenced (Work and Income, 2022). There was therefore little possibility for leaving employment to re-enter English study unless you were able to undertake the more demanding courses leading to national qualifications. With limited understanding of systems and processes, and limited access to information, not all individuals understood their work obligations, and particularly the 13-week stand-down period. This excessive penalty then affected them and their families:

> If you stop their benefit thirteen weeks, how the family want to eat and survive? If you say two weeks, three weeks, we can understand, oh, this is my wrong, my fault….If you stop the family thirteen weeks, better you give the family poison.

For those who entered the workforce with lower levels of language and limited literacy, there was also little opportunity for informal language learning in the workplace. To manage the language challenges employers would hire groups of people from the same linguistic background and appoint the most proficient speaker as the communicator for the group, limiting workplace exposure to English:

> They are constantly using their own language at work and at home and they're not getting any opportunity

> to develop their language or understanding in a social—you know, work and social environments. (Work broker)

With a limited command of English, they also struggled to access their rights as employees:

> One said, oh, my arm's a bit sore. Just, you know, that sort of thing….But for them to actually say, look, this is RSI, you know, understanding what their rights are, I don't know. (Language teacher)

For this group, engagement in the labour market facilitated financial inclusion, in that workers were better able to provide for themselves and their families and become taxpayers, but not social inclusion in the broader sense. Rapid entry to the workforce instead contributed to assigning to them a particular social location with limited scope for social mobility.

4.3. Sweden: The Long Road to Employment

Despite the policy goals of rapid labour market entry, many of the Swedish participants found that there was a long road to employment, where compliance was expected but did not necessarily lead to the desired outcomes.

Those with higher levels of education and professional backgrounds, while able to gain employment, were often barred from working in their original field. Qualifications gained abroad were not accredited as equivalent to Swedish (or EU) qualifications, and work experience abroad was not ranked very highly:

> I was a computer engineer and I have earlier…really strong experience. With many international firms, companies, like Dell, HP, eh Cisco, yes, I have strong experience, I have a very strong CV….[But] if you have nothing, education from Sweden, you are zero.

There appeared to be a general expectation that professionals should be willing to re-evaluate their options. Examples included teachers becoming teacher aides, university lecturers becoming childcare workers, journalists becoming bilingual tutors, and IT experts working in administration. Even then, retraining to fit into the labour market could be time-consuming due to the rigorous education pathways, as was the case for this university-educated computer scientist:

> And she studies from the beginning. She studies supplementary high school courses, studies childcare, so she loses three years through studying. And now finally she's working as a child carer.

Those who had arrived in Sweden with little or no previous education, and often no or limited literacy, had to deal with even greater obstacles. They faced a labour market that was tightly regulated and highly technical, with a lack of "simple jobs" and high expectations on language and education even for entry-level work:

> We have incredibly high levels of education in Sweden. And then if you are illiterate, as many are, which we don't have in Sweden, the politicians don't get how long it takes to learn this language in order to take a course, in order to get a job….If you are going to be a cleaner you still need to understand pretty good Swedish because you then need a course. (Language teacher)

Policymakers and bureaucrats lacked an understanding of the needs of this group, as exemplified in the centralisation and digitalisation of the state employment agency:

> They have transferred to make it digital services. And that you apply for work digitally. But a person who is illiterate from Somalia doesn't handle digital services, so right there, integration has failed. (Integration facilitator)

Individuals who genuinely wanted assistance in obtaining work were frustrated with only receiving directives and no actual support:

> Not working. Employment agency: You must work. Which work?…I must myself [find] work….I don't know work. (Refugee)

For these individuals, a significant period of language learning could also be necessary before they were work ready, which was difficult for policymakers to appreciate. In addition to the difficulties associated with age and lack of earlier education, many also lived segregated from fluent Swedish speakers:

> Actually, do our students study Swedish as a second language, or are they that segregated from the Swedish that they rather study Swedish as a foreign language? (Language teacher)

Even for those with Swedish neighbours, interactions were difficult, as these generally politely declined opportunities for interaction:

> When I invite my neighbour, please, drink coffee, yes, again, again, please, I want to. "No, no, thank you very much" (Refugee)

4.3.1. Incentivisation

While maintaining the high threshold to labour market entry, recent policies have sought to promote rapid entry into sustainable employment through the implementation of a number of incentivisation measures and projects. However, findings suggest that rather than

facilitate labour market inclusion, these measures served to discourage individuals and often prolonged the road to sustainable employment.

Permanent residence and family reunification were both contingent on individuals becoming sustainably self-sufficient—in practical terms, gaining permanent employment. Seasonal work, subsidised employment, and fixed-term contracts did not count in this context, which meant individuals could be reluctant to take these positions. Additionally, the precarity experienced by those on temporary residence permits impacted their language learning motivation and focus:

> Often [motivation] is connected to a goal or a belief in the future…and if then you only have one or two years why on earth would you learn this complicated little language that is only useful for you in this tiny spot of the earth? (Language teacher)

The impact was perhaps the greatest for those who were still trying to qualify for family reunification, and whose spouses and children therefore lived in a state of long-term precarity elsewhere:

> We have participants who haven't seen their family for seven [to] eight years. Wife and children, only kind of Facetimed sometimes. And some have financial support yes send money to the family and are about to starve to death themselves. Of course it is a challenge to study and move forward. (Work broker)

> Much thinking, what shall I do, every day call to me children. "Daddy, daddy," they say. So you think about it. So you can't sleep. What shall I do? You think a lot. (Father with wife and children in displacement in Sudan)

The focus on rapid self-sufficiency also meant that a range of initiatives was carried out to create exposure to the labour market through work experience, seasonal work, various work schemes, and subsidised employment, in which the individuals often had limited choice. While there were examples in the data where these had been successful and lead to permanent employment, they were more often seen as disruptions to the language learning journey:

> Then they place them in some work experience or some job or something and then they come back…and then they have lost a lot and so we start over again. So yes, it's a bit of a never-ending story with them. (Language teacher)

Many who worked in workplaces with others who spoke the same first language struggled to retain what they had already learnt, and even when working in a Swedish-speaking environment, linguistic development was often limited:

> They've maybe learnt some of those phrases that make them understood, because you pick that up…"I can communicate what is needed to cope with the work here." Yes, but maybe you can't cope outside of your workplace. (Language teacher)

Unpaid work experience, which again individuals were obliged to accept, was particularly contentious, and interpreted as exploitation:

> There are many who are exploited. They go to work experience and are promised to get a job…and when time is up, out they throw them, and say, no, we cannot afford it, we cannot hire. So you are exploited. (Refugee)

As the temporary financial support is contingent on compliance with prescribed activities, compliance is high. However, compliance did not guarantee sustainable employment:

> And now I'm on activity support from early in the morning until the time I arrived [4 PM] every day and it's work without pay….We kiss everyone's hands to get a permanent job, but where is it?

4.4. Acknowledging the Uniqueness of the Individual

While the intended solutions in the shape of incentives and interventions did not produce the desired results, findings suggested that results may be obtained through a different approach—one that acknowledged the uniqueness of the individual and focused on interpersonal contact.

Nyfält municipality, after becoming discouraged with the state employment agency, set up their own employment unit, where they work with refugees, employers and trainers to ensure each individual finds a pathway that is achievable:

> The biggest difference is that we work very close to the individual

In Jonestown, the Pathways to Employment organisation filled the same function, brokering between refugees, employers, and training providers. However, they also felt that further work was needed for individuals to continue to develop:

> It would be nice to know that we could at some stage…take them out and use some funding to train them into better long-term employment

The need to understand and work with the individual was also echoed by refugees and language teachers who spoke of the need for tailored approaches to enable professionals to remain in their fields or to find realistic pathways for those with lower levels of education and literacy.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The current study suggests that refugees are subject to epic, monological narratives that portray the journey towards social inclusion as straightforward and contingent on the compliance and virtuosity of the individual, but that these narratives, and the ensuing processes, are contestable and, indeed, contested. The refugee background participants authored themselves as motivated language learners who desired to access the labour market and develop an identity as fully participating subjects. However, their efforts were thwarted by a range of barriers, as well as by the policies brought in to incentivise and fast-track their entry into the labour market. In the New Zealand context, the expectation and incentivisation leading to rapid labour market entry could confine refugees to a particular social location with limited possibility of social mobility and limited access to language learning opportunities. In the Swedish context, the failure to understand diverse needs could lead to a lengthy pathway to sustainable employment, which was often disrupted by projects and schemes that did not ultimately benefit the individual. Additionally, incentivisation relating to residence and family reunification caused considerable distress for individuals and impacted negatively on their progress.

The findings support earlier studies that have indicated that language learning provision has increasingly become a tool for labour market integration (Cooke, 2006; Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Morrice et al., 2021) and that rapid entry to employment may negatively impact language acquisition and social inclusion (Piller, 2016). They also further exemplify the high levels of motivation among refugees (Lindberg & Sandwall, 2017; Morrice et al., 2021) as well as the lack of understanding among policymakers of the diverse needs of language learners (Field & Kearney, 2021; Morrice et al., 2021). Further, they confirm that incentives that increase precarity lead to a decrease, rather than an increase, in motivation and focus (Kosyakova et al., 2022; Scarpa & Schierup, 2018). Finally, they extend O'Donovan and Sheikh's (2014) argument that the solutions appear to lie in one-on-one support and interaction with individuals, rather than in high-level measures of incentivisation.

The dialogical perspective adopted in this article serves to further illuminate the ideology that underlies social inclusion policies for refugees but also hints at possible solutions. Social inclusion is unlikely to be successful as long as one group is treated as distant, "otherised" subjects, without individual form and uniqueness and without voice in their own destiny. In the words of Bakhtin (1984, p. 58):

> A living human being cannot be turned into the voiceless object of some secondhand, finalizing cognitive process. In a human being there is always something that only he himself can reveal, in a free act of self-consciousness and discourse, something that does not submit to an externalizing secondhand definition.

Thus, engaging dialogically with unique individuals, working one-on-one and creating viable pathways, is likely to produce greater social inclusion and employment outcomes than financial and social incentives and disincentives. This would also require an acknowledgement of language learning and employment as human rights rather than as duties that the individual is obliged to comply with.

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Conflict of Interests

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Article

Socio-Occupational Integration of Chinese Migrant Women in Andalusia Through Spanish Language Training

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Abstract
The present article explores the perceived role of work and proficiency in a second or additional language(s) among a group of Chinese migrant women learning Spanish in Andalusia. The enrolment of Chinese adult learners in language upgrading programmes in immersion contexts is relatively low, as Chinese expatriates tend to establish close-knit, socio-culturally elusive communities whose interactions with local residents are often limited to work-related purposes. The distinctiveness of this ethnographic work lies in its focus on women who, having resided in southern Spain for extended periods and aiming to emancipate themselves from male family referents, have only recently sought greater inclusion in Spanish society. Through in-depth interviews, these women's prospects for professional advancement and self-employment are also identified, albeit subsidiarily, among the reasons for pursuing higher levels of linguistic competence. The results point to a desire to develop higher levels of competence in linguistic, civic, and socio-cultural literacies to expand their social networks and engage more actively in the communities where they currently live. Avoiding vulnerability to potential deception in the workplace and administrative settings, coupled with the need to participate in better-informed decision-making at the personal level, is also highlighted as contributory factors to their willingness to pursue multiliteracies in linguistic, civic, and occupational areas. The conclusions point to a mismatch between the training aspirations of these women and the curricula of the courses available to them within a Chinese educational organisation, whose focus lies almost entirely on the development and reinforcement of linguistic skills.

Keywords
Chinese migrant women; linguistic inclusion; migrant women; multiliteracies; Spanish L2

Issue
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1. Introduction

In recent years, highly educated Chinese urban women are increasingly facing challenges in shaping and maintaining their self-identity. On the one hand, they are expected to adhere to traditional gender roles and family expectations, while on the other being encouraged to pursue studies and careers. Moreover, as they navigate multiple social, cultural, and economic spheres, they may encounter conflicting norms, values, and expectations that affect how they see themselves and their place in the world, particularly in the professional arena (Sun, 2008).

These hurdles to work–life balance have been particularly notable among Chinese expatriate women living in traditional migrant-receiving countries, where marginalisation in the workplace, stigmatisation, and difficulty in landing white-collar jobs (Man & Preston, 1999) have been commonplace for decades. Having migrated abroad for personal reasons and not necessarily in search of better career opportunities, the prioritisation of the roles of spouse, mother, and homemaker

dependent on a male breadwinner (Chen, 2019) has led to significant obstacles in their search for a fulfilling career in their host countries, resulting in so-called downward occupational mobility or outright withdrawal from the paid labour market. There is consensus that this phenomenon of "feminisation" or "redomestication" is particularly prevalent among highly educated Chinese migrant women (Cooke, 2007), who often struggle to find employment commensurate with their qualifications and pre-migration work experience (Ho, 2006a).

On the other hand, the isolation of Chinese migrant women is exacerbated by their lack of adequate linguistic skills, particularly if access to language training is limited (Hsiao & Schmidt, 2015). Language barriers also represent a further constraint to labour market integration, owing to limited competence in the language skills needed to operate in the sectors for which these women are qualified, which in turn triggers a loss of self-esteem and a reassessment of their own identity (Chen, 2019). Moreover, these women also endure vulnerability to the more taxing aspects of diasporic existence, including forms of gender-based violence or socio-economic disadvantage (Migration Data Portal, n.d.). Similarly, a report by the Spanish General Union of Workers (UGT) highlights that migrant women are overrepresented in occupations with lower wages and may experience a higher risk of poverty or social exclusion ("UGT warns that migrant women," 2023). Additionally, migrant women are subdued to gender obligations and the strains of family expectations. Although these factors have oftentimes been reported to cause social isolation beyond the domestic circle, they may also spur the willingness "to pursue strategies of self-determination and fulfilment both within and outside the family" (Lee et al., 2002, p. 616). Such aspiration would imply accessing opportunities and integrating into social spaces that require contextually relevant linguistic and cultural knowledge.

Even though the communicative processes in which newly arrived Chinese migrants in Spain participate and the relationships between language, identity, and social structures have been tentatively studied, research has been limited to the compulsory school-age population (Pérez-Milans, 2011). There has been no research on the adult Chinese community, especially the female population, who have acquired Spanish largely on their own initiative (Quiles Cabrera, 2020). To fill this lacuna, this article explores the post-migration biographical narratives of six Chinese migrant women holding higher education degrees who have either resorted to lower-paid positions abroad or opted to forgo their careers in support of their husbands' professional pursuits. Through in-depth qualitative interviews, we draw on these participants' perceptions of the factors that impede their social inclusion and professional fulfilment, namely language barriers, cultural differences, and the devaluation of their professional trajectories. We also address the impact that these personal experiences have had on these women's identities and their long-term career prospects. Ultimately, we hope to stimulate a wider debate on the need for greater support and resources for this population by embracing pedagogical approaches that foster the emergence of a more equitable and inclusive global workforce.

In light of the above, this probing study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the current expectations of Chinese highly skilled migrant women for labour market inclusion, based on their trajectory in Spain?
2. What self-perceived training needs do the interviewees manifest to achieve social integration in the host communities?
3. To what extent is there a mismatch between the aspirations of these women and the curricula of the courses and self-study materials available to them?

In what follows, we will review some of the most relevant theoretical postulates in this research area, before delving into the empirical part of our research and the findings it has yielded.

2. Theoretical Basis

2.1. Identity Renegotiation of Highly Skilled Chinese Migrant Women in Spain

Since the turn of the millennium, the Spanish government has sought to strengthen trade cooperation ties with China and to facilitate the social integration of the Chinese expatriate population in the country (Nieto, 2003). Such a process of psychological adaptation of Chinese expatriates to host societies has recently been described around three distinct milestones: crisis, self-adaptation, and self-growth (He et al., 2019). Throughout this continuum, migrants gradually begin to familiarise themselves with the host community and become acquainted with the myriad of stereotypes and prejudices about the Chinese that are generally held by the Spanish (Nieto, 2003), most of which they do not share and seek to dispel.

To this end, Chinese community associations in Spain promote the image of Chinese people and their cultural and economic activities, as well as bilateral bonds with China (Sáiz López, 2012). Concurrently, migrant life in Spain demands that the Chinese diaspora be aware of a variety of themes pertaining to this country, which has led to a recent upsurge of associations addressing them (Zigang, 2021). Yet, as opposed to the still more prevalent commercial and cultural representation objectives of Chinese community associations in general, women's associations show a greater capacity for rapprochement and engagement with local institutions in charge of managing services such as education, health, and child and family welfare (Sáiz López, 2015), which testifies to their civic-mindedness.

He et al. (2019) argue that two post-migration processes of identity formation and reformulation take place: a struggle to preserve the homeland culture and identify with their motherland and a willingness to partake in day-to-day interactions with members of the receiving community at large. The interplay of these dynamics results in the process of acculturation, which in turn brings about effective integration into the host society provided there is a balance between attachment and commitment to home and foreign cultures, and to the pre- and post-migration sense of self. In this context, as van den Bergh and Du Plessis (2012) state, social support from peers is instrumental in the affirmation of role identity and in supporting women in reshaping their professional selves.

In the case of highly skilled women, the renegotiation of their post-migration gendered identities often entails a "de-skilling" or "feminisation" (Meares, 2010), a consequence of the trade-off of their own career prospects for the sake of their spouses' professional advancement (Cooke, 2007), family building, and childcare. Previous research (van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012) has argued that the impact of migration on the life stages and work trajectories of professional women should be explored in more depth, as women's career choices are far greater shaped by their evolving identities than are those of their male counterparts, generally implying that women "inevitably have to opt out of their existing careers in their home country and re-build careers in the host country" (p. 144).

In countries with extensive migrant-receiving tradition and supportive migration legislation, research has reported that Chinese women expatriates re-examine their own cultural values concerning the salience of professional careers, attaching value to alternative living choices, downplaying the significance of economic status, and carving out time to spend with loved ones, explore personal interests, and enhance the overall quality of their lives. However, these same studies argue that such a change in mindset may be prompted by the dire labour market predicament they face (Ho, 2006b). Moreover, job hunting is often limited to their immediate setting, as these women's communicative competence in Spanish is insufficient to meet the requirements of highly qualified positions in the wider context.

Thus, a very common alternative to waged labour within the Chinese community is self-employment or family entrepreneurship. The intricate relationship between Chinese expatriates' prevailing labour market niche, level of educational development, family structure, self-realisation, and cultural integration in Spain has recently garnered some interest. For instance, second-generation Chinese youth in Spain have been found to harbour considerably lower educational aspirations and performance than young people of other cultural backgrounds. Faced with school and employment discrimination inflicted on ethnic minorities but succeeding economically in small business ownership, Yiu (2013) argues that the Chinese in Spain have modulated their academic ambition as a means of strategic adaptation. This self-limitation would be passed on from Chinese migrant parents to their offspring (Yiu, 2013). On these premises, in Southern Europe, and singularly so in the Spanish context, Chinese familism, understood as the social system in which norms, ideals, and values revolve around family well-being, gives rise to the extended family being heavily involved in the professional activity of both permanent migrants and newcomers (Sáiz López, 2012). While this system ensures welfare at the group level, it also often forces women with higher education to surrender their potential professional status and join the workforce of small enterprises for which no university qualification is required (Sáiz López, 2015).

In contrast, a counter-cultural movement led by Chinese expatriate women has recently been identified, consisting of a post-migration vindication of homemaking, which enables them to distance themselves from the hegemonic stance in China, where domesticity is generally devalued (Huang, 2020). Such a shift would merit further fieldwork to ascertain the extent to which it is a generalised trend or context-specific.

2.2. Spanish Language as a Vector of Integration

At present, there seems to be general agreement that proficiency in the language of the host country is one of the steppingstones to successful integration, representing a major tool for enhancing migrants' sense of agency and stimulating social interaction and participation (Pulinx & Van Avermaet, 2017). Yet despite its relevance for migrants' incorporation into the labour market and their socio-cultural insertion, formal language learning curricula envisaged by educational authorities of receiving countries fail to offer work-related linguistic pathways aligned to highly skilled migrants' pre-migration qualifications and expertise. In effect, training courses made available to migrants tend to feature rigid programmes based on functional language literacy, rote procedures, and standardisation in lieu of fostering equity and cultural integration (Kiss & Mizusawa, 2018) or emulating natural processes where the acquisition of the target language is driven by social immersion (Quiles Cabrera, 2020).

Furthermore, current language education models prepare migrants to assume low-paid, menial jobs that have so far "de-skilled a number of well-educated/experienced professionals" (Otomo, 2020, p. 363). In the case of migrant women, North (2017) raises a strong objection to such training programmes, deeming it necessary to move beyond existing models and integrate different forms of learning, so that instruction may become both functional and empowering.

It is, therefore, crucial to integrate sociopragmatic skills in language classrooms to equip migrants for dealing competently with social interactions in the country of residence, as well as for being able to match their

conduct to the requirements and specific characteristics of the workplace, following the preferences of prospective employers (Holmes & Riddiford, 2011). In this sense, the role of the local language in terms of social mobility and its bearing in the expression of skilled women's identity (van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012 is increasingly acknowledged.

Limited research has looked at the influence of host country language proficiency on intercultural adaptation and workplace and non-workplace adjustment in Chinese cultural contexts. Zhang and Peltokorpi (2016) highlight that country language competency has manifold implications for interaction, social affirmation, and expatriates' work and non-work adjustment in mainland China. In a similar light, Pérez-Milans (2011) concluded that the macro-social processes that affect the integration of Chinese migrants in the Spanish context are reproduced and legitimised through everyday practice in institutional spaces, whereby the cultural decapitalisation of the Chinese and the hindered access to occupational and academic Spanish language education afford them fewer opportunities to participate in complex interactions.

Recently, attempts have been made to develop teaching models and materials at various Spanish proficiency levels and to measure the effectiveness of an eclectic methodology for the development of Chinese learners' communicative language competence in an immersion context (García Viudez et al., 2016). These new approaches are primarily conceived to enhance the spoken communicative effectiveness of Chinese workers in Spanish, although they generally overlook other areas necessary for the inclusion of trainees in terms of civic and socio-cultural literacy. In this context, civic competence should be understood as Spanish learners' understanding of ways to effectively engage with and initiate change in their host community and the wider society. It therefore follows that Spanish L2 methodologies for migrants must encompass more than merely linguistic instruction if they are to be fully integrated into Spanish society (Chao & Mavrou, 2021). Opposing the conventional view, however, a counterargument hints at possible resistance from the Chinese community in Spain to their female nationals' mastery of the local language. Beyond its impact on access to paid employment outside the family-owned business, or to participation in grassroots associations and other civic initiatives, acquiring higher competence in Spanish could threaten intergenerational and gender relations within the Chinese community, as it would bring young women closer to the norms, functioning and social values of the Spanish culture (Sáiz López, 2015).

2.3. A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies for Further Social and Labour Inclusion

Nearly 30 years ago, Cazden et al. (1996), also referred to as the New London Group, brought together emerging trends in foreign and second language teaching, primarily based on mediated communication, to enable migrants to embark on "full and equal social participation" (p. 60) in host societies. Broadly operationalised, (multi)literacy is a key element in enabling migrants to identify as full members of the receiving society and to avoid discrimination.

According to the ensuing *pedagogy of multiliteracies*, such integration cannot be realised as long as language learners remain subordinated to teacher-led classroom practices focused primarily on the development of purely functional communication. In a recent systematic review, seven subsets of literacies traceable to this approach were classified, namely cultural, digital, socio-affective, civic, linguistic, visual, and occupational (Cores-Bilbao, 2022), thereby catering to a whole range of possible training requirements.

Today, advocates of the same postulates call for critical and social engagement of language teachers, who must use multimodal meaning-making to make their learners effective users of non-native languages (Kiss & Mizusawa, 2018). Against this conceptual backdrop, linguistic literacy, alongside and in conjunction with the development of other literacies and modes of communication, should underlie all innovative educational approaches to foreign language learning (Holloway & Gouthro, 2020). Thus, consolidating literacy-related content within the teaching of Spanish L2 for migrants is deemed essential (Chao & Mavrou, 2021). In addition, this approach enables teachers to "tailor learning to the specific experiences of the communities they are working with, taking into account linguistic and cultural pluralism" (Holloway & Gouthro, 2020, p. 15), fulfilling the educational aspirations of adult learners. Consequently, by embracing the teaching of Spanish as an L2 through a multiliteracies approach, Chinese migrants can be supported to shape their "desires to affect change in their own lives, within their communities, or to advocate as active citizens on a broader societal level" (Holloway & Gouthro, 2020, p. 16).

In the same vein, Dolzhich and Dmitrichenkova (2019) equate multimodality in the foreign language classroom to the merging of two or more modes of communication, such as visual, gestural, or spatial, to deliver meaning. As such, the multimodal approach would prepare learners for uncertainty, equipping them to handle unpredictable events and complex sources of information, providing meaningful and culturally contextualised learning opportunities, as well as eliciting a sense of belonging. As Holloway and Gouthro (2020) posit, in keeping with the ethos of multiliteracies pedagogy, teaching must be concerned with embedding multimodality, cultural plurality, technology, and zeal for social justice into language education, which is innately socially constructed, power-charged, and shaped by context.

However, despite the many advantages of this approach for adult educators to consider, the

multiliteracies paradigm and multimodal instruction seem not to be permeating the current day-to-day practice of adult education and the training of target groups who could benefit most from greater social inclusion (Holloway & Gouthro, 2020). In this sense, the present article endorses the advancement of an inclusive occupational multiliteracies (Cores-Bilbao, 2022) framework, which brings together the development of job-related skills and the multiliteracies approach to overcome the downward occupational mobility of migrants, as it might be well suited to address the training needs and expectations of Chinese professional migrant women in Spain, strengthen their sense of self-worth and underpin their future career paths in the long term.

3. Methodology

3.1. Goals

The purpose of this article is to explore the perceived role of work and Spanish language proficiency among highly skilled Chinese migrant women. In their quest for greater social inclusion, these women have embarked on learning or perfecting Spanish, as well as passing it on to more recent migrants.

3.2. Participants' Profile

The cohort of interviewees is composed of 6 research subjects, but we believe it to be a sufficiently significant sample given its very specific profile. The targeted nature of this article, centred around Chinese migrant women with higher education degrees, with long-term residence in southern Spain, and who have studied or are currently studying Spanish, has led to a purposive sampling process (Schreier, 2018), based on our specific aims and objectives and on the availability and willingness of the subjects to be interviewed. Thematically and methodologically akin studies (Cooke, 2007; Hsiao & Schmidt, 2015; van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012) rely, in turn, on comparably sized cohorts.

The age range of the interviewees oscillates between 30–40 (four subjects) and 50–60 (two subjects). The Spanish language learning trajectories of the participants can be categorised as follows:

1. Four subjects sought formally structured instruction. They enrolled in a language school in Seville and, having completed a beginners' course, they are gradually progressing to attain an intermediate level.
2. Two subjects had begun their language learning process independently and have subsequently further developed their communicative skills in an immersion context.

Table 1 outlines the professional and academic backgrounds of all research subjects. Among the university degrees completed in China, the two most popular are economics (S3 and S5) and English (S1 and S2), followed by technology (S4) and accounting (S6). As for their professional careers in China after university, they entered the banking, press, education, and interpreting sectors.

All the interviewees relocated directly to Spain from China, except in the case of one participant who had previously spent an interim period in Ireland. Among the reasons given for these migrations, four respondents mentioned marriage and one alluded to family reunification, as her sibling was already residing in Spain. Only one respondent transferred solely for her own professional advancement.

As Table 2 shows, there does not seem to be a clear correlation between respondents' length of residence in Spain and their willingness to learn Spanish. Several respondents lived in Spain for years before becoming interested in learning Spanish (S1, S3, S4, and S5), while others started learning Spanish independently very shortly after settling in Spain or even before migrating (S2 and S6).

3.3. Procedure

The participants were recruited by a fellow researcher and collaborator of the authors, a Chinese teacher of Spanish at a private language school in Seville. She played a critical role in the success of the empirical phase of the

Table 1. Professional profile of the interviewees.

Example	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6
Field of studies	English	English	Economics	Technology	Economics	Accounting
Pre-migration employment	Newspaper clerk	University faculty	Bank clerk	Technology teacher	Interpreter	n/a
Employment in Spain	Chinese tutor	Headteacher	Shopkeeper	Chinese tutor	Headteacher	Clerk
Length of time living in Spain (in years)	10	4	14	4	30	9
Length of time working in Spain (in years)	7	4	12	4	26	7

Table 2. Spanish language trajectory of the interviewees.

Example	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6
Years elapsed prior to taking up Spanish	9	–	12	2	4	–
Years spent learning Spanish	1	4	2	2	26	9
Reasons for delaying learning Spanish	Lack of access	–	Work and Childcare	Covid	Apathy	–
Place of formal Spanish instruction	PCS *	PCS	PCS	PCS	–	–
Source of independent Spanish learning	None	Books	Books	Books, videos	Books, TV	TV, social circle
Pre-migration Spanish language training	6 months	–	–	–	–	1 year
Current CEFR level of Spanish	B1	B1	B1	B1	B2	A2+

Notes: * Private Chinese school in Seville; CEFR levels refer to the Spanish language courses that the respondents are enrolled in.

study, acting as face-to-face liaison for the interviewees and providing Spanish language support in cases where interpreting was necessary, thus ensuring the participants' linguistic confidence. The working language during the interviews was Spanish.

All eligible subjects known to the recruiter (10 in number) were invited to participate in in-depth interviews, with six women finally agreeing to recount their migratory trajectory and the motives behind their efforts to acquire or build upon their Spanish.

3.4. Data analysis

The preliminary screening of the participants' responses yielded 43 valid thematic categorizations. The six transcripts, totalling 107 pages, were subjected to further textual analysis by both authors. To ensure inter-rater reliability they independently categorised the content of the transcripts, and then compared and pooled their analysis, cross-examining and recoding the fragments where there had been discrepancies.

Table 3 presents the topical categories which display the highest number of co-occurrences among the responses of the different interviewees. As can be observed, the concerns most frequently voiced in the different interviews spun around three key domains: labour market prospects, Spanish language learning, and personal life.

4. Findings

4.1. Bleak Job Prospects in Skills-Appropriate Positions

Overall, the women display an attitude of acceptance in the face of the realisation that they will not be able to perform the professions for which they were trained in China: "I have been living in Spain for 14 years. I stayed at home for the first two years, but when my child started pre-school, I started working at my husband's bazaar. In China, I used to work at a bank" (S3).

The main reasons given for this career disruption refer to the self-perceived lack of linguistic competence for specific professional purposes (S1, S4) and the bureaucratic impediments to receiving a full-time job offer stemming from their resident status and the hurdles encountered in the accreditation and professional homologation systems.

Among the employment options available, online (S4), part-time and weekend positions (S1, S5, S6) are the most consistently reported. In some cases, adaptable working hours or suitability for work-life conciliation are cited as the reason for accepting their current positions:

> I studied accounting in China. When I first arrived in Spain, I spent two years at home, without a job….Later, I got a position as a tutor, but I can't work long hours because I need to take care of my

Table 3. Topics emerging from the interviews.

Example	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6
Downward occupational mobility	•		•	•	•	
Experience in different types of learning approach	•	•	•	•	•	•
Female "redomestication"	•		•	•	•	•
Rootedness in Spain	•		•	•	•	•
Turning point in Spanish language learning	•	•	•	•	•	•
Workplace Spanish language needs		•	•		•	•

> family. It's a flexible job. I take care of administrative duties. (S6)

With the exception of S2, the interviewees unanimously subordinate their professional practice to the collective well-being of the members of the nuclear family residing in Spain, while occasionally alluding to their filial duties towards the elderly relatives who have remained in their homeland (S6). Accordingly, few women fathom aspiring to job opportunities that make them feel professionally fulfilled or entertain thoughts of launching or revamping their own business, typically within the retail sector (S3, S4).

The interviewee with the most protean profile in the group initially experienced isolation from co-workers due to an inability to communicate adequately. The same interviewee recounts episodes of discrimination at work, having experienced different operating conditions to those of her Spanish counterparts:

> I have lived in Spain and worked as a cultural advisor for almost 4 years, but I do not have a permanent card [to enter the building]; every day I have to request it. But my local colleagues do have the card. (S2)

The hypothetical option of returning to China, where job opportunities would be more in line with their qualifications, seems to have been considered in some cases in the initial stages of the residency (S5) but is currently ruled out. The reasons for this dismissal usually refer to a disengagement with the culture of origin and a lack of professional updating, as the Chinese context is perceived as rapidly evolving and technologically more advanced than that of Spain.

4.2. Social Integration Indicators in the Immediate Environment

Despite some reservations, a crisis phase in the post-migration psychological adaptation process is often voiced. Albeit sparse, references to the present longing for the family that remains in China are also made (S1).

References to social integration are clustered around the nuclear family, regardless of their provenance. In cases where the spouse is Spanish, the network of people with whom the interviewees socialise on a regular basis is wider:

> Here, my husband's family treats me like a daughter, just like my Chinese family. They are very open to a new culture, so I'm delighted. There are always a lot of birthdays and celebrations, so I speak [in Spanish] a lot. (S6)

Allusion to leisure activities and participation in socialising events outside the core group is scarce. Friendships are also of relative importance, especially when they arise from contacts made in the children's environment:

> [My husband] has friendly colleagues, all Spaniards; so, at New Year's Eve, we went out together….There are times when we celebrate the children's birthdays and we meet in the park. Also, at soccer games every Saturday morning, we are always there with the other parents watching the game. (S3)

It is precisely in their role as mothers that these women perceive shortcomings in their skills, manifesting difficulties in navigating communicative situations with the teaching staff who educate their children, and entrusting the husband, generally more proficient in Spanish, to liaise with them (S1, S3). Nonetheless, their digital competence presently enables them to bridge communication gaps and, in some cases, has empowered them to attend teacher meetings: "Now, I'm in contact with the other mothers from my children's school via WhatsApp in Spanish, through the mothers' group. I also go to school to talk to my children's teachers" (S6).

The personal approach of respondents to Spanish culture has begun only recently, following a turning point in their lives. The pre-relocation information was very limited or erroneous, especially regarding the possibilities of carrying out daily activities while communicating in English. The contrast with the lived reality, especially during the first months of their settlement, is a cause for considerable confusion.

The conceptualisation of Spanish culture is often cliched, focusing on an unnuanced understanding of elements such as gastronomy (1), flamenco (S2), and living a quiet life (S1, S4) as a *bon vivant* (S3, S4). Inferences about cultural disparities or culture shock are scarce and generally linked to communicative barriers: "There are many Spaniards that say that the Chinese are very serious and quiet, but that's because we can't speak good Spanish" (S3). Among the cross-cultural divide perceived by the interviewees, workers' attitude towards work stands out: "Most of the Chinese come to Spain to work. They live to work but the Spaniards work to live'' (S5).

Where the length of permanence in Spain has been more prolonged, the interviewees express more overtly a double attachment to their pre- and post-migration identities: "Now, I am a Sevillian. I have been living here longer than in China. I think I'm quite integrated. I have many Spanish friends and we talk very often. I also have very kind neighbours who are like family" (S5).

In terms of the support of local Chinese associations, only one interviewee vindicates their significance in the adjustment of newly arrived migrants to the new socio-cultural context, as she herself volunteers her time to this end:

> I help in associations. Right now, there are two Chinese associations in Seville. They always call me to request my help. I help those who need an interpreter. I used to go to educational centres like schools, to help Chinese families who do not understand much Spanish. (S5)

Finally, the crucial importance of speaking Spanish to be able to interact socially with others effectively is recurrently pointed out:

> I had been living in Spain for more than eight years, but I didn't learn Spanish. I only talked with the neighbours on the streets, but I had problems. At that time, I didn't have many Spanish friends, but after learning Spanish, and knowing more and more words, I have more Spanish friends here. (S1)

4.3. Educational Voids Concerning Comprehensive Skills Acquisition for Inclusion

Despite overtly pursuing the aim of social and labour integration in Spain, respondents unanimously prefer to be taught Spanish by teachers of their own nationality who follow a traditional approach.

However, once they had acquired the basics of Spanish, they also manifested a novel interest in finding schools with local teachers to refine their language skills:

> I had a lot of dreams that I was going to learn to speak Spanish, but I didn't learn. After living in Spain for 14 years my Spanish is still terrible. I started learning Spanish only two years ago. I enrolled in the school with Chinese teachers, twice a week. But I also want to practice in the normal class so I can learn to speak better. In one or two years, I am going to enrol in a Spanish school. (S3)

Furthermore, looking back many of the participants conclude that their lack of language proficiency in Spanish has prevented them from achieving a greater sense of integration, or has postponed it over time. Such situations of socio-cultural isolation have been particularly reinforced when the women initially harboured an attitude of rejection towards acquiring the local language (S5) or anticipated a considerably shorter permanence in Spain than it ultimately turned out to be.

In other cases, either inadequate pre-migration Spanish instruction or the lack of access to post-migration language training delayed integration is reflected upon:

> In Shanghai, I studied Spanish for six months before living here. But when I first arrived, I couldn't speak any Spanish. And the teachers in the village couldn't speak English or Chinese, so we couldn't communicate. For nine years I sought opportunities to study Spanish but there are no Chinese teaching schools near my house. (S1)

Two-thirds of the participants are following or have completed formal Spanish language training courses. In contrast, the entire cohort uses a variety of means to supplement their learning, including local media and television, the internet, and the mentoring of their children, who attend school in Spain.

There seems to be little awareness of the relevance of civic engagement and there is a reliance on close relatives to carry out bureaucratic procedures: "At first, my sister helped me to do paperwork in the City Hall. But now, it's my daughter, as she can speak good Spanish" (S4). Similarly, these women's sense of agency falters when it comes to carrying out less frequent private operations (S6), such as bank formalities (S3), or interacting with their driving instructor (S1), despite which no planning on the part of the course providers to equip participants with skills in the labour, cultural or social spheres is identified.

5. Conclusions

In this article, highly qualified Chinese women's perceptions of the factors that impede their professional realisation in Spain have been explored, including language barriers, cultural differences, and labour discrimination. The impact that such personal experiences have had on these women's identities, sense of self-worth, and their long-term career prospects have similarly been addressed.

As for the first research question, concerning the interviewees' current expectations of inclusion in the labour market, while career progression and the possibility of self-employment were reported among the underlying goals motivating the pursuit of higher levels of language proficiency, they were not paramount.

The results obtained seem to mirror the two prevailing stances found in the literature (Cooke, 2007; Ho, 2006a; Meares, 2010; van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012), as we have identified dual career orientations held by similar-sized groups: (a) that of women with protean profiles, one of whom embarked on migration exclusively for professional advancement, while two others would like to upgrade professionally after having temporarily shelved their careers; and (b) that of women embracing their post-migration status, in which domesticity and family care, coupled with lower workloads and greater shift flexibility, have reshaped their occupational identities. For this latter group, the turning point that prompted the learning of Spanish primarily stemmed from the wish to partake in the schooling environment of their children, or from the desire to achieve greater inclusion in Spanish society.

With regards to the second research question, regarding respondents' training needs, the results indicate their willingness to reach higher levels of competence in terms of linguistic as well as civic and socio-cultural literacy, enlarge their social networks, become more actively involved in their communities, and make better-informed decisions at the personal level. This conclusion would seem to corroborate the empowering and emancipatory vision held by Lee et al. (2002) and depart from the hypothesis held by Huang (2020), an

alleged Chinese women's reclamation of housewifery as a means of distancing themselves from their motherland. Nevertheless, despite having lived and operated in Spain for years, and as a consequence of not having previously sought further Spanish language training, most of these women are lacking the entrepreneurial agency to pursue professional advancement in the Spanish labour market.

During the dialogic process of the in-depth interviews, these highly qualified Chinese women displayed a personal commitment to self-improvement, regarding increased language literacy as the means to meet their self-perceived training needs in Spain, but also discerning their lacunae in terms of civic and occupational literacies. Thus, it could be inferred that the interviewees' sense of self and their post-migration identities would be enriched by achieving higher levels of the said literacies, which would propel them to transcend the boundaries of their native cultural context. Hence, the reflections voiced by these women are in line with the proposed methodological shift towards the pedagogy of multiliteracies, as an alternative to the more conventional Spanish L2 training given to them.

As for the third research question, related to the language course curricula, the evidence reveals a clear misalignment of the educational aspirations of migrant Chinese women and the training programmes at their disposal within Chinese educational organisations in Spain. Nevertheless, they are preferred by the interviewees because of the familiarity and sense of security provided by the Chinese instructors.

In this sense, the traditionalist nature of language teaching in Chinese schools, even those overseas, is accentuated by their unfamiliarity with the pedagogical foundations of the multiliteracies approach and the benefits it holds for adult migrant learners in immersion contexts (Holloway & Gouthro, 2020). By training their faculty in integrative multiliteracies approaches, targeting competence development in the linguistic, civic, and social spheres, talented professional women would have the opportunity to realise their full potential outside the confines of the migrant family unit.

6. Limitations of the Study

The generalisability of the present study results is constrained by the limited sample size, hence additional research to substantiate the conclusions reached would be necessary. Thus, the purpose of this article is to initiate a discussion on the didactic approaches that could favour the social and labour market inclusion of highly skilled Chinese immigrant women.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Agency and Investment in L2 Learning: The Case of a Migrant Worker and a Mother of Two Children in South Korea

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Abstract
Given the call for more research on migrant workers' L2 investment and agency, this five-year longitudinal case study followed the Korean language learning experiences of Iroda, a migrant worker who moved from Uzbekistan to South Korea, focusing on how and why she exercises her agency and invests in her L2 learning. Drawing upon the conceptual frameworks of agency, "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2010, p. 28), and investment, which leads to an increase in an individual's social power and cultural capital (Darvin & Norton, 2015), data was collected from various sources and inductively analysed over five years by using the constant comparative method and the individual-level logic model. The findings show that Iroda agentively and voluntarily seeks out resources to expand her linguistic repertoire, devoting entire weekends to learning the Korean language while balancing her efforts with her weekday job. As her Korean proficiency grows, she endeavours to apply for a graduate programme at a Korean university to enhance her social status, career prospects, and earning potential for herself and her children. Notably, the findings suggest that her purposeful and agentic investment in L2 learning is driven by the growing acceptance and recognition of her potential within the target society.

Keywords
agency; investment; L2 learning; female migrant worker; Korean as a second language

Issue
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1. Introduction

The concept of second language (L2) learners' investment and their exercise of agency allows researchers to further explore the locus of the learners' daily lives and L2 learning experiences concerning learners' desires and hopes to acquire new identities as they approach new worlds (Kinginger, 2004; Norton, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Drawing upon the conceptual framework of L2 learner agency and investment in L2 learning, this case study aims to examine a Russian-speaking Uzbek female migrant's investment in L2 learning and her agency in the process of learning Korean as an L2.

It has been widely reported that female (im)migrants in South Korea, hereafter also referred to as Korea, predominantly consist of "foreign brides" who marry Korean citizens, workers with H-2 or F-4 visas (overseas Korean visas), or students with D-4 visas (student visas; see Chung, 2020; Heo & Kim, 2019; Shakya & Yang, 2019). Yet, Iroda (pseudonym), the focal participant of this study, is unique in that she was Uzbek and migrated to Korea with an F-1 visa (parents of international students) as a legal guardian of her children who held D-4 visas. Her children were multiethnic (Uzbek and ethnic Korean), being considered the 4th generation of ethnic Koreans from the former Soviet regions, also known as *Koryoin*.

Although her legal status indicated that the primary purpose of her stay in Korea was for the education of her children, the underlying reason for her migration to Korea was twofold: first, to reunite with her husband (3rd generation *Koryoin*), who had been working in Korea since early 2010; second, to follow a desire to escape from the socioeconomic inequality she encountered in Uzbekistan.

Like in the case of Iroda's family members, a growing number of 3rd- and 4th-generation *Koryoin* have migrated to South Korea from Central Asia due to socio-economic disparity and political instability after the resolution of the former Soviet Union in 1991. This population is distinctive from the other ethnic Koreans in foreign countries such as China and Japan because they lost their heritage language (Korean) and perceived Russian as their first/mother/native language. Also, they do not seem to engage in Korean language and learning practices despite considering themselves as returning ethnic Koreans in South Korea. In other words, their focus is primarily on obtaining permanent resident visas and securing decent jobs with good wages, rather than investing in Korean language learning. Their Russian-only practices and their lack of Korean language proficiency have become a social issue, negatively affecting their social relations with South Koreans (Jang, 2021, 2022a, 2022b; Kim, 2018).

However, as an Uzbek in the *Koryoin* community, Iroda's remarkable journey demonstrates her determination to learn Korean as her L2 and effectively integrate into the Korean mainstream community. Through her linguistic skills and resourcefulness, she successfully developed her identity as a multicultural Korean citizen, becoming fluent in Korean and even pursuing higher education at a Korean university. It is crucial to examine her case as unique and distinct from other female migrant workers in a *Koryoin* community, emphasising the significance of her resettlement experience.

By focusing on the case of Iroda, a mother of two *Koryoin* children, the research questions will be discussed in depth followed by detailed analysis and descriptions of the individual participant drawn from observations, interviews, and family and life histories as well as other narratives (Duff, 2018). Specifically, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How does Iroda invest in learning Korean as an L2?
2. Under what circumstances and why does she (re)develop and enact her agency to learn Korean?

By answering the questions, this study seeks to understand the agentive and voluntary L2 investment of the female migrant, as well as identify the imagined and current communities that influence her agency (re)development. The findings of this study are expected to further advance L2 researchers' and educators' understanding of migrants' L2 investment and agency in their host country.

2. Theoretical Frameworks and Literature Review

2.1. Imagined Communities and L2 Investment

The term imagined community was first coined by Anderson (2016) with the conceptualisation of the notion of community. While examining the underlying sense of community and defining the concept of nation, Anderson (2016) proposed that "it is imagined because members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members…yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion…all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are imagined" (p. 6). This view indicates that community members internalise an image of the community based on a sense of their actual presence in the community. Also, because it is imagined, their "imagined communities" can be created based on the interconnectedness of the communities across borders without the limitation of a particular geographic locale (Chavez, 1994).

Later, Norton (2001) expanded the concept of imagined community by drawing upon Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory to link the learners' current learning and their future affiliations (Kanno, 2003) through a process of legitimate peripheral participation. The process illustrates how newcomers move further toward fuller participation in the community practice of old-timers. Within the framework of community practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991), Wenger (1999), in his later work, developed the notions of non-participation and participation focusing on their relations with the construction of a learner's identity, suggesting that both types of participation come into play in shaping individuals' identities (also as cited in Norton, 2001). Further, he conceptualised imagination as "a mode of belonging that always involves the social world to expand the scope of reality and identity" (Wenger, 1999, p. 178) which demonstrates the human capabilities of associating with individuals beyond their current realities through their imagination (Kanno, 2003). It is through imagination and in pursuit of their imagined communities that individuals are expanding themselves by going beyond their space and time and by generating new images of themselves and the world while participating in everyday dynamic and complex language practices in the community (Wenger, 1999). The two theoretical frameworks, the concept of community (Anderson, 2016) and communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1999) are associated with Norton's conceptualisation of imagined communities, which has been developed in the field of second language acquisition in relation to L2 learners' imagined communities and their investment in L2 learning.

Norton (2013) further developed the concept of imagined communities (e.g., Norton, 2001; Norton & Gao, 2008; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) and investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2016). In her book, *Identity and Language Learning*, she claims that "the target language community may be a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships, but also a community of the imagination…that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 3), which presupposes that a learner's imagined identity and investment in language learning are interpreted within imagined and concurrent contexts.

In a similar vein, Norton (2000, 2001) visualises L2 learners' imagined communities as having a significant effect on learners' current language and social practices though it is not immediately accessible and tangible (Song, 2012). Namely, Norton (2013) refers to "investment" as a way to view L2 learners' varying desires to involve themselves in community practices and social interactions.

This has provided a more explanatory construct within a sociological framework that allows researchers to move beyond the binary view of motivation (e.g., Dörnyei, 2001) and to understand how fully motivated language learners show the different levels of L2 investment. Reflecting on Anderson's (2016) imagined community, Norton (2016) employed the term "investment" to refer to L2 learners' "imagined communities" and "imagined identities," and found them to have an impact on learners' literacy and language practices in certain contexts and in their subsequent progress in learning language(s).

2.2. Migrants' Investment in L2 Learning and Agency

Investment can be conceptualised as the commitment to the identities, practices, and goals that (re)shape language learners' learning processes while continually negotiating in various structures of power and social relationships (Darvin & Norton, 2018). That is, learners invest in learning or speaking language(s) if they expect to obtain a wider range of material and symbolic resources, which will lead to the increased value of their social power and cultural capital (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2016), which in turn presents various identity positions that the learners can perform in listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Norton, 2016). Following these lines, research on learners' L2 investment holds a significant place in L2 learning theory in that it illustrates the historically and socially constructed relations between language learners' identities and their learning commitment (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Migrant L2 learners engage in language and learning practices with various forms of social, cultural, and economic capital and make a wide range of investments to negotiate new identities across space and time (Darvin & Norton, 2014; Norton, 2013). Namely, migrant L2 learners are more likely to show multiple identities imagining themselves as part of either their home communities or host communities, or both (Chavez, 1994). Thus, how they invest in L2 learning is dependent on the more dynamic and complex negotiation of power within and across different contexts, which renders investment as complex, uncertain, and contradictory (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 1995, 2013).

In this regard, migrant L2 learners' commitment to language and learning practices has been explored across different settings (Dagenais, 2003; Kanno, 2003; Park & Abelmann, 2004; Song, 2012). The existing literature revealed that their imagined communities were closely interrelated with their histories and future directions, which were reflected in their current language practices and investment in L2 learning (Park & Abelmann, 2004; Song, 2012). In addition, their future membership in a specific community impacted their recognised social and economic values of language(s) via language ideology. It implies that the (im)migrants' investment in L2 learning can be considered from their engagement in their local community as well as from their relationships to language and social practices of future communities that exist in their imaginations and across national borders (Song, 2012).

As migrant L2 learners perform across transnational contexts, this highlights two important ideas: that the learners arrive equipped with capital (e.g., linguistic skills, social networks, and material resources) and that their involvement in a given space includes the acquisition of new symbolic and material resources, the use of their equipped capital, and the transformation of the capital into something valuable in new circumstances (Darvin & Norton, 2015). The transformed capital can be called symbolic capital "once they [new symbolic and material resources] are perceived and recognised as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 4), and it is specifically related to the understanding of investment in the new world order (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Likewise, L2 learners reshape their agency, "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2010, p. 28), while taking into account their equipped and placed capital, resources, and given contexts. In other words, human agents are neither completely free nor entirely socially determined actors. Rather, given the social nature of agency that can be pervasively affected by cultural, linguistic and social aspects of human actions, beliefs, and intentions, they can transform the existing linguistic and sociocultural systems that in turn (re)produce their agency (Ahearn, 2010). In addition, as the construct of investment is closely related to that of language learners' imagined identities and imagined communities (Norton, 2016), their hopes for the future and imagined identity will influence their agency and investment in language and literacy practices in a new space and their subsequent language learning progress (McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2016).

Notably, the concept of L2 learners' imagined communities and investment enables researchers to move beyond the locus of learners' daily lives and L2 learning experiences. It also allows for a broader consideration of learners' hopes and desires as they strive to embrace new identities while taking proactive steps to explore new and larger worlds (Norton, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). In the case of Iroda, a member of the migrant population and a mother of two ethnic Korean (*Koryoin*) children, her language learning trajectories cannot be entirely understood without considering various other factors (e.g., family history and hopes for the future) because she has more flexible and less fixed identities which reflect her current situation and future goals. Thus, for this study, I decide to employ Norton's notion of L2

investment and imagined community, as well as Ahearn's concept of agency to navigate Iroda's investment in learning and using Korean as an L2 and the exercise and (re)development of her agency in the process of pursuing and shaping her career, as well as her academic and other related goals.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Context, a Focal Participant, and a Researcher's Role

Due to a recent influx of ethnic Koreans (*Koryoin*) from the former Soviet Union (e.g., Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan), many *Koryoin* communities have emerged in South Korea. This research was conducted in a *Koryoin* community in Dusan (pseudonym), located in southwestern Korea. Among the initial settlers in this community, four *Koryoin* households (Iroda's family, Alexandria's family, Ludmilla's family, and Kristina's family, all pseudonyms) participated in the study over five years, from 2018 to 2022. They were from Uzbekistan but had limited knowledge of the Uzbek language, mainly speaking and perceiving Russian as their L1.

For this study, I decided to focus on Iroda's case as she and her family members were multinational and multi-ethnic, which was uncommon in the *Koryoin* community. Unlike other *Koryoin* families who maintained strong ties to their Korean heritage and identified as ethnic Koreans from the former Soviet Union, using predominantly the Russian language, Iroda identified herself as an Uzbek with Russian nationality, making use of both Uzbek and Russian language in her daily life. Despite not being *Koryoin* herself, she decided to resettle in the *Koryoin* community largely due to her marriage to Theodore (pseudonym), a man with a multi-ethnic background—his father was *Koryoin* while his mother was Uzbek.

Theodore's appearance was more like an Uzbek, but because of his family name, Kim (the most common Korean family name in both Korea and *Koryoin* communities), he was often easily identified by *Koryoin* and Uzbek people as multi-ethnic. Before he migrated to Korea, according to Theodore, because of his multi-ethnic background and on account of the difficult economic situation in Uzbekistan, he could not receive any job offers. As a result, in late 2000, he decided to move to South Korea as a migrant worker, leaving behind Iroda and other family members.

Moreover, Theodore harboured concerns about his children's future, as their last names identified them as belonging to a minority group in Uzbekistan. Similar to Theodore's distressing job search experience, his children, Alexei and Yuri (pseudonyms), might potentially encounter comparable obstacles in the future due to their ethnic background. While no one explicitly informed Theodore and Iroda that their children would face discrimination in hiring based on their race and ethnicity in Uzbekistan, the challenging situations they had encountered left them worried about their children's future careers and overall life in the country.

Iroda grew up in a bilingual environment, with exposure to both Russian and Uzbek languages. Despite the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russian remained the primary language of instruction in her school, leading her to perceive it as her first language. However, within her household, Uzbek was predominantly spoken, and her mother, who was a kindergarten teacher, played a crucial role in teaching Iroda the Uzbek language, enabling her to utilise it academically.

Like Theodore, Iroda had a multiethnic background, as her mother was of Russian heritage while her father was Uzbek. However, by adopting her father's last name, which identified her as Uzbek, she was never treated as a person of mixed ethnicity or a minority in Uzbekistan. Iroda and Theodore first met at the Uzbek university they both attended. As a couple during their college years, they studied together and worked hard to secure decent employment after graduation. However, during their job search, Iroda witnessed the prevalent discrimination between Uzbek and non-Uzbek minorities in Uzbekistan.

In addition to the challenging economic conditions in Uzbekistan, Iroda faced the difficult decision of allowing her husband to seek work in Korea, resulting in several years of living apart. Eventually, she realised that living separately indefinitely was not sustainable. Consequently, she had to choose between relocating to Korea with her children and staying in Uzbekistan with her children while waiting for her husband to be reunited with them. After the birth of her second son, who was diagnosed with hearing problems and required continuous and costly treatment, she decided to migrate to Korea.

However, the visa application process was not straightforward for Iroda and her children. Despite her husband working in South Korea, they encountered difficulties during their Korean visa application in Uzbekistan. Faced with this situation, she once again had to make a decision: whether to wait for an extended period or to first migrate to Russia and then apply for a visa with Russian nationality. The second option was viable because Iroda was Russian on her mother's side, allowing her to obtain Russian nationality with the necessary documentation. Nevertheless, this decision came with a major drawback. Iroda could not retain dual citizenship (both Russian and Uzbek) due to Uzbekistan's national policy that strictly prohibits it. To expedite the visa issuance process, Iroda made the life-changing and irreversible choice to switch her and her children's citizenship to Russian, ensuring their reunion with her husband in South Korea as soon as possible.

According to Iroda, this decision carried significant consequences, as it prevented her from returning to her home country where her ageing parents resided. In essence, she had made a choice that potentially meant being unable to see her parents again for the remainder

of their lives. While there is no official rule preventing Iroda and her children from crossing the border, she expressed concerns about facing difficulties if she were to attempt to leave the international airport or the train station in Uzbekistan. She believed that she would either be unable to leave or be subjected to extensive interrogation until she paid a substantial sum of money.

This perception stemmed from her own experience when she visited Uzbekistan while obtaining her Russian citizenship in Russia. During that time, she needed additional official documents and had to make the trip to Uzbekistan. According to Iroda, upon arriving at the train station in Uzbekistan, she was treated as if she were a criminal, being denied passage through immigration simply because she was residing and working in Russia. This incident left her with the apprehension that she might encounter difficulties when crossing the border once she had completed the citizenship issuance process. Despite the challenges and sacrifices that came with relinquishing her Uzbek nationality, Iroda persevered and found her way to Korea, ultimately reuniting with her husband.

By the time I started the research in 2018, Iroda was 31 years old and a mother of two children, Alexei (a 13-year-old boy) and Yuri (a 9-year-old boy). She held an F-1 visa as a parent of international students as she was not eligible to obtain a spouse visit visa due to the change of her nationality from Uzbek to Russian; Theodore's nationality remained Uzbek. It was not until 2020 that Iroda was able to switch to a spouse visa (F-1) when Theodore became eligible for the overseas Korean visa (F-4; see Table 1). Theodore, being a descendant of *Koryoin*, had to navigate his in-between status as a "non-overseas Korean" with a working visa until 2020, due to the Overseas Korean Act, known as the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans, which excludes ethnic Koreans from China and former Soviet Union countries, including Uzbekistan (Chung, 2020). This situation had a significant impact on the residency status and even the nationality of Iroda and their sons.

As a Korean-English bilingual with Korean nationality, my first encounter with *Koryoin* children occurred when I worked as an English teacher at a regional elementary school in South Korea in 2012. This experience sparked my deep interest in researching and exploring effective approaches to teaching English to emerging multilinguals within Korean EFL contexts, ultimately inspiring me to pursue a doctoral degree in the L2 education field. I first became acquainted with Iroda on Facebook while recruiting young *Koryoin* learners of Korean and English in South Korea for my doctoral thesis pilot study in 2018. Since my dissertation was mainly about the *Koryoin* children's language and learning practices across home, school and community, I planned to offer free online tutoring sessions for their English and Korean language learning during the pilot study period. Iroda was the first respondent of the recruitment of research participants posted on Facebook who asked me in English if I could tutor her children for free. From that day on, we became friends, building a good and close relationship. We often spoke in English for the first two years and later in both English and Korean with Iroda's growing Korean language skills. I also performed multiple roles such as a big sister, a tutor of her children and a researcher. Iroda is currently studying Russian language and literature as a graduate student at a regional Korean university, and I am grateful to share her story of overcoming adversity and the obstacles she faced during her resettlement in the host country.

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis

This 5-year qualitative single case study explores how Iroda invests in L2 learning and under what circumstances and why she (re)shapes and exercises her agency to learn Korean as an L2. Given this, Iroda's L2 investment and agency are investigated by focusing on people's lived experiences, finding the meanings people place on the structures, processes, and events of their lives and relating the meanings to the social contexts that they are situated in (Miles et al., 2020). Namely, a qualitative case study approach is employed to examine "a contemporary phenomenon (case) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (Yin, 2018, p. 15).

To provide confirmatory evidence for this single-case study, I adhered to the following guiding principles while collecting data: "(a) using multiple sources of evidence; (b) maintaining a chain of evidence" (Yin, 2018, p. 113). Considering the significance of the principles for conducting a rigorous case study, I collected data using diverse methods which included observations in Iroda's household, community, and a regional immigrant centre, semi-structured interviews, and documentation (e.g., artefacts). Collected information from her story, her perspectives on the research contexts, and her L2 learning and using experiences yielded rich and comprehensive enough data for investigating Iroda's language and learning practices and her actions taken to invest in L2 learning.

To analyse data, I drew upon the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 2017) as qualitative

Table 1. Changes in Iroda's family's visa status in South Korea.

Year	Iroda's husband	Iroda	Children
2018–2019	H-2 Working Visit	F-1	D-4
2020–2021	F-4 Overseas Korean	F-1	F-1
2022-present	F-5 Permanent Resident	F-2	F-2

data analysis. Upon collecting data from diverse sources, the data were verbally transcribed and analysed daily. Then, the data was inductively analysed and coded to identify significant patterns and themes following established qualitative research procedures (Duff, 2018). After certain salient themes were recognised, more theoretical categories were derived from the relevant literature and data.

Moreover, an individual-level logic model was employed as it outlines a complex and recurring sequence of events or incidents over a specific timeframe (Yin, 2018, p. 186). In detail, the patterns not only demonstrated how a preceding event can serve as a causal factor resulting in a subsequent outcome but underscored the interconnectedness of events in generating multiple outcomes (Yin, 2018). In other words, this model not only elucidated a range of activities or events, but also revealed the transitions between events and the contextual conditions that influence them (Yin, 2018), which assisted me to explore how, under what circumstances, and why Iroda invested in L2 learning and developed her actions and strategies to learn and utilise an L2. During the data collection and analysis, the inductive and systematic comparative approach and the individual-level logic model enabled me to pinpoint the primary focuses of this research: (a) a female migrant worker's L2 investment and (b) her agency as an L2 learner.

4. Findings: The Story of Iroda

"The most challenging thing was the *language barrier*" (interview, 24 May 2020). This statement was made three years after Iroda's resettlement in South Korea, which aligns precisely with what she stated in her initial interview conducted in May 2018, approximately eleven months after she migrated to South Korea. Although she perceived L2 learning and use as the most challenging task to achieve, she had been showing strong motivation and constantly investing in learning Korean as an L2.

Likewise, the existing literature on L2 investment and imagined community provides clear evidence of migrants' strong motivation in acquiring an L2 (Darvin, 2020). However, their level of investment in the language and learning practices within a specific classroom or community can be influenced by how these practices make them feel inadequate, incapable, or unworthy (e.g., Norton, 2013; Reichmuth, 2020; Sung, 2023; Wu, 2017). Conversely, Iroda sensed her marginal standing in South Korean society, but she made ceaseless efforts in learning her target language which makes her case distinct and provides insights into the role of agency in good L2 learning.

In the early stage of her resettlement, her primary motivation for learning Korean was to obtain a visa that would allow her to work legally. However, as her children grew older and enrolled in secondary school, she prioritised developing her socioeconomic status in Korea. In other words, Iroda had a strong desire to pursue higher education to obtain a diploma that would qualify her for an office job, aiming to serve as a good mother who was responsible for raising her children as good multicultural Korean citizens.

Additionally, in preparation for graduate school, she acknowledged that attaining proficiency in the Korean language would be a valuable means to achieve her career and personal goals. This realisation became a driving force for her to *act* and *invest* further in her Korean language learning as well as building relations with native Koreans. Overall, acquiring proficiency in the Korean language had always been a matter of great concern and a motivation for her as it is an essential aspect of becoming acclimated to Korean society and establishing herself as a member of the community. In the subsequent sections, Iroda's story will be illustrated chronologically.

4.1. Building a Better Future: Pursuing South Korean Citizenship for Family Benefits and Education Opportunities

As briefly addressed in the methodology, Iroda originally hailed from an Uzbek community and identified herself as Uzbek, while her husband had a multi-ethnic background, being half-ethnic Korean and half-Uzbek. Despite her husband's ethnic Korean background, he was not recognised as an overseas Korean, which prevented him from obtaining an F-4 visa (legal status for overseas Koreans) and negatively affected Iroda's visa application process in Uzbekistan. Iroda stated that the visa application became politically complicated, resulting in a potentially lengthy wait of several years for her Korean visa to be issued in Uzbekistan. Thus, to reunite with her husband in Korea within a year or two, she had no choice but to change her nationality to Russian and apply for a Korean visa in Russia. After much effort and navigating through the challenges, she was finally able to reunite with her husband in Korea. However, in the process, she lost her Uzbek nationality and her way back home to Uzbekistan, where her parents and relatives still resided. When asked about her plans to return to Uzbekistan, she sadly expressed her sincere desire to do so but mentioned that she would not be allowed to cross the border.

It was an irreversible decision, but she had a clear purpose for migrating to Korea and a vision for herself and her children. As evidenced in the interview conducted during my initial visit to her home in 2018, she was resolute in settling in Korea for the better education and future prospects of her children. This aligns with the cases of other migrants documented in existing literature (e.g., Norton, 2013). Similar to Iroda, these migrants exhibited strong motivations and high expectations regarding the potential benefits they could obtain through successful adaptation to their host country:

> We came to Korea one year ago…with *a specific purpose*. Let me explain from the very beginning.

> My husband is of Korean ethnicity, and the Korean Embassy allows ethnic Koreans to come here and earn money [with a working visa]….When he had the opportunity, my husband came here to make some money. However, as our children grew older, we decided that it would be better for them to receive an education and work in a developed country like Korea….We believe that there are many more opportunities for our children's future here, rather than in our homeland. (Interview, 6 May 2018, originally in Russian)

What distinguishes Iroda's case from the extant literature is her strategic mindset and well-defined strategies in utilising available resources to effectively pursue her objectives, which shows her agency. For instance, Iroda shared her well-thought-out plan to obtain South Korean citizenship to avail her children of increased government benefits while residing in Korea, such as those offered under the Korean multicultural benefit policy and access to student loans. Her goal of achieving dual citizenship (Russian and Korean) was clearly defined and meticulously planned, based on the information she had diligently collected from the immigration office, the *Koryoin* community, and online.

The first step of her plan to obtain Korean citizenship was to pass the test of proficiency in Korean (TOPIK) level 3. To do so, she enrolled herself and her two children in the free Korean language programme at the regional migrant worker centre, as seen in the picture in Figure 1. As part of her L2 investment, in addition to participating in the programme at the centre, she diligently took free online TOPIK courses for six months, which were offered by a regional university, culminating in her successful passing of the level 3 exam in July 2019. It is important to note that she participated in the programme with her children, showing them what actions they could take to invest in L2 learning (joining the free Korean language programme in the community) and what goals they could accomplish by learning the target language (applying for dual citizenship).

Her unwavering commitment to L2 learning was fuelled by her strong affiliation with an imagined identity (e.g., Korean citizen) and community (Korea), which motivated her to voluntarily and agentively invest in learning Korean as an L2. This investment in her L2 learning reflected her active engagement with her future community, illustrating that imagined communities are not distant from individuals' everyday realities, but rather significantly influence their present investments and actions (Norton, 2013).

4.2. Iroda's Agentive Quest for Career Advancement Through L2 Learning During Covid-19

With the outbreak of the worldwide Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, Iroda encountered significant financial challenges although she was officially eligible to work after changing her visa status to F-1 (a spouse visa of overseas Koreans) upon Theodore's F-4 visa (overseas Korean) being issued in 2020. The impact of the pandemic on the job market made it less likely for her to find a job with reasonable pay. She faced ongoing financial difficulties as the pandemic situation prolonged.

One day, I received a text message from Iroda, in which she informed me about her challenging circumstances:

> I cried because there are no decent job opportunities available for me….Currently, I work at a nearby

Figure 1. Iroda's Korean learning with her children at a regional migrant centre (December 2018).

> factory, which is physically demanding. I worry that I won't be able to continue such work as I get older. While my husband will be eligible to apply for an F-5 [permanent resident visa] next year, I don't anticipate a significant change. I mean…I believe *pursuing an education at a Korean university may be necessary*. With a diploma from a Korean university, I think I can improve my chances of finding a decent job.

When asked about her academic aspirations, she expressed a strong desire to pursue a degree in the field of multicultural education or social welfare. Her motivation stemmed from a deep-seated passion to help migrant children who, like her own children, faced linguistic challenges with their academic work. Furthermore, she believed that her fluency in multiple languages, including English, Korean, Russian, and Uzbek, would provide her with an advantage in the job market, particularly in multilingual and multicultural educational institutions, if she obtained a diploma in the related field. It is evident that her dedication to learning Korean and pursuing a degree has served as a pathway for accumulating social and cultural capital. This, in turn, empowered her to assert her agency and actively participate in the process of navigating and constructing her L2 learning experience and (re)shaping her imagined identity which was deeply interwoven with her multilingual identity (Kim, 2019).

Iroda could have pursued practical education, such as her friend who obtained a certificate as a Korean-Russian interpreter after completing a Korean language programme where "many [migrants] see greater *potential* and *benefit*" (Dadabaev et al., 2021, p. 451). Yet, she hoped to apply for a graduate school in multicultural education or social welfare. From her perspective, it would allow her to work in a field that not only benefited multicultural and multilingual society, like the *Koryoin* community where a growing number of emerging multilingual migrants resettled, but also prioritised the well-being of her children.

In pursuit of her dream, Iroda diligently prepared for and successfully completed level 4 of the TOPIK. As such, she remained committed to further enhancing her Korean language skills in pursuit of imagined identities related to her professional aspiration. Clearly, her L2 investments are (re)constructed by her negotiation of various roles within Korean multicultural citizenship, striving to become a fluent Korean speaker, a middle-class Korean, and a university student, which also reflects her commitment to personal growth and integration (e.g., Kim, 2019).

Her aspirations also show that migrants imagined the world to be different from prevailing real worlds (Greene, 1995), planning their futures and devoting themselves to belonging to their imagined communities. It also suggests that the more detailed imagined community and the stronger desires they possess, the more likely they will become agentive in making L2 investment in different forms to reshape their identities to best fit into their prospective communities.

4.3. A Persistent Strive for Inclusion in an Imagined World: Utilising Linguistic Repertoire for L2 Investment

Iroda's voluntary acts to participate in Korean society were not limited to learning Korean as an L2 but also encompassed active involvement in local events. Her motivation for getting involved in the local community was twofold: to cultivate meaningful relationships with Koreans and to deepen her knowledge of Korean culture and language. As an example, in 2020, during the fourth year of her stay in Korea, Iroda was invited to serve as a judge in a regional bilingual speaking contest. In this contest, young emergent bilingual children showcased their language skills by delivering speeches in two different languages: Korean and their native language (L1).

During the contest, Iroda assumed the role of a judge for the young Russian-Korean bilingual participants, assessing their proficiency in the Russian language. It allowed her to establish a connection with Dr. Choi, who also performed as a judge in the contest. Dr. Choi was a professor from a Korean university who specialised in Russian language and literature. Their acquaintance was not limited to a one-time meeting, but as Iroda continued to serve as a judge in the subsequent years, in 2021 and 2022, their relationship grew closer to the point where they could openly discuss Iroda's aspirations for further academic pursuits. Dr. Choi provided counsel to Iroda, suggesting that she consider applying for a multicultural education programme.

However, due to the absence of any available multicultural education programmes for international graduate students in nearby universities, Iroda found herself at a crossroads, having to decide whether to abandon her application or explore other programme opportunities, such as Korean as second language (KSL) programs. Iroda chose an alternative path despite the KSL education program being available to her because she was intrigued by Dr. Kim, a professor in the Russian Language and Literature Program at a regional university, who showed a keen interest in Russian-speaking children in South Korea. This, along with her prior encounters with Korean monolingualism in KSL education, greatly influenced her decision-making process.

Upon submitting her application, she reached out to Dr. Kim and was fortunate to have a recommendation from him. It facilitated her acceptance into the programme and led to her being awarded a graduate assistantship which further fuelled her determination to continue her studies. It exemplifies her proactive efforts to establish connections with native speakers, driven by a desire to enhance her communicative competence, secure meaningful employment, and attain symbolic membership within an imagined community of accomplished multilingual and multicultural migrants (Cervatiuc, 2009).

After her initial meeting with her advisor, Dr. Kim, Iroda shared pictures on her Instagram (Figure 2) of books she discovered at the university library. She was particularly intrigued by finding the Korean version of *Central Asian Studies* (Figure 2a) and the Russian version of the *History of the Korean Independence Movement* (Figure 2b). In her written comment on the picture, she expressed her enthusiasm, stating: "My first day at the university…and such a useful book 😍" (originally in Russian, as seen in Figure 2). These books were valuable to her as they were not readily available in local libraries. She appreciated that her proficiency in Korean and Russian was valued in the programme she enrolled in and would be further enhanced through reading materials in these languages. Additionally, she was excited about expanding her knowledge of Korea by utilising her linguistic repertoire.

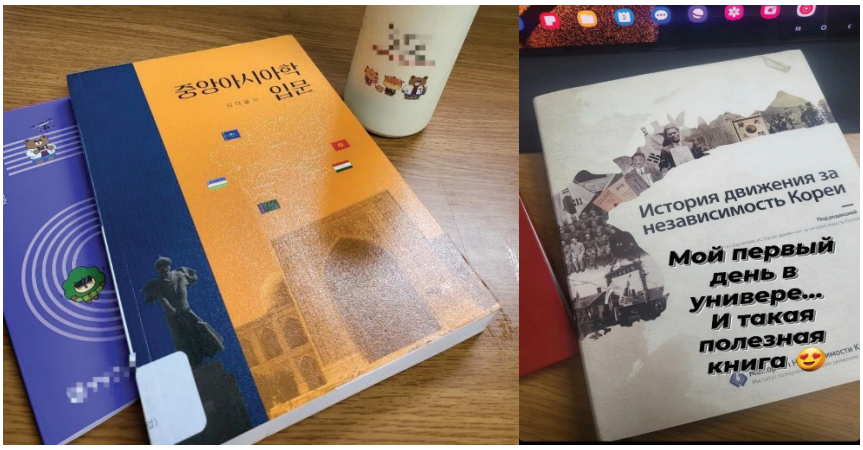
It is noteworthy that she voluntarily utilised her full linguistic repertoire to take part in regional events as well as to get better involved in her university life, which demonstrates her agency concerning her multilingual and imagined identity. Namely, "success does not so much depend on abandoning their culture and language to embrace those of another society as on preserving their original cultural endowment while adapting instrumentally to a second" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 229). Also, the example above certifies the ability of individuals to develop a sense of community and to create social relationships under adverse conditions (Chavez, 1994). Clearly, individual agency and identity should be understood concerning their investment both in realities and in possible future worlds (Kanno & Norton, 2003).

In late 2022, she expressed her gratitude for her accomplishment on Instagram, as shown in Figure 3. Her message showcases her agency—what attitudes and mindsets she had and what actions she had taken to achieve her goals. Despite facing numerous challenges during her resettlement in Korea, she remained resilient and determined. Rather than giving up or feeling defeated, she made multiple attempts to overcome the obstacles, to be inclusive in her host country, and achieve the successful and fulfilling life she had imagined. It proves that individuals can connect themselves with future communities that exist beyond their immediate community and that investment in such imagined communities may have an impact on involvement in language learning as well as identity construction (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Thus, it seems that language learners' orientation toward imagination—imagined communities and imagined identities—has just as much effect on their current identities and language learning as the direct, everyday actions they take within their various communities (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

5. Conclusions

The story of Iroda illustrates how she took action and why she reshaped her agency while investing in Korean learning. As a female migrant of Uzbek ethnicity and Russian nationality and with limited knowledge of the Korean language and culture, Iroda migrated to Korea and (re)constructed her imagined communities with a keen awareness of the context and constraints she faced daily. In other words, she did not seek to merely adopt a Korean identity at the expense of her Uzbek identity. Instead, she imagined herself transcending borders and sought to incorporate the Korean language and culture into her linguistic and cultural repertoire.

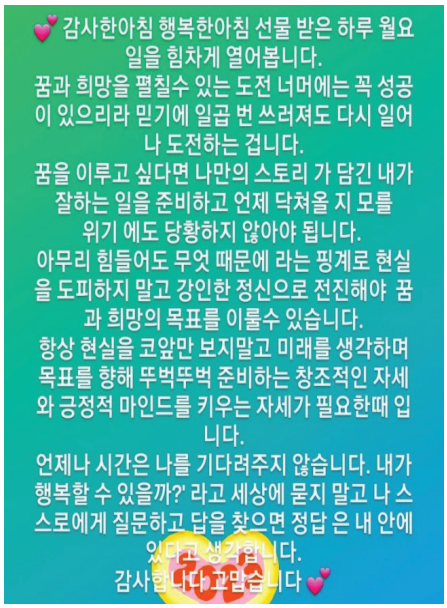
Iroda also demonstrated a strong motivation in learning and utilising her linguistic and other resources, including Korean, Russian, and her newly formed connections in Korea. Her pursuit of near and far imagined communities and identities drove her to make continuous efforts in L2 learning. It is worth noting that, initially, there was a significant gap between her current situation and her imagined world upon resettling in Korea. However, as the agent of her own life, she gradually narrowed the gap by taking step-by-step actions to address life-challenging



(a) (b)

Figure 2. Iroda's posts about *Central Asian Studies* (a) and the *History of the Korean Independence Movement* (b).

[Original post]



[Translation]

Grateful morning, happy morning. I begin Monday, a day that feels like a gift, with energy. I believe that beyond challenges, there will be success, where I can unfold my dreams and hopes. So even if I fall multiple times, I will get up and try again. If you want to achieve your dreams, you need to prepare for what you are good at, which contains your own story, and not be flustered even in unforeseen crises. No matter how difficult it is, you should not escape from reality with excuses but move forward with a resilient spirit to achieve your goals, dreams, and hopes. It's time to promote a creative attitude and a positive mindset, always thinking about the future and preparing step by step towards your goals. Time never waits for me. Instead of asking the world "can I be happy?" I believe that the answer lies within myself; when I ask myself, the answer can be found inside of me. I'm grateful. Thank you.

Figure 3. Grateful message on Iroda's Instagram upon acceptance to a graduate programme.

problems, such as initiating her Korean language learning at the age of 31, and creating a clearer vision of her future, as shown in her application process for graduate school. Overall, Iroda's case highlights her imagined identities and agency based on the notion of becoming a good mother as an L2 learner and a multilingual and multicultural Korean citizen who is responsible for raising her children in the host country, which greatly affect her L2 investment and vice versa.

Although the findings of this study contribute to the broader body of research on this topic, it is essential to recognize its limitations. The data was collected from a single case, which may not entirely encompass the complexities of imagined communities, L2 investment, and agency among female migrant workers in South Korea. Furthermore, considering that this research was initiated before the pandemic and continued throughout its occurrence, it is crucial to acknowledge that there might be other instances of female migrants' agentive moves and L2 investment that differ from the findings reported in this article. Consequently, this calls for further research to explore and comprehend these variations in different contexts and circumstances.

The findings of this study hold significant implications for educators and researchers in the field of L2 education. Namely, Iroda's experiences as a newly migrated worker and her accomplishments through L2 investment provide valuable insights for educators and researchers to understand the trajectories and identities of female migrant workers, as well as the importance of the exercise of their agency in host countries. The implications of this research lie in recognising the significance of investment and agency in L2 learning among female migrant workers. As exemplified in Iroda's case, despite limited time and energy due to caregiving and full-time employment, certain female migrants exhibit remarkable dedication to learning L2s. Understanding their motivations and language practices holds the potential to shape their future paths, offering insights into L2 learning processes, informing educational policies, and exploring the impact of language proficiency on socio-economic trajectories. This research agenda contributes to enhancing knowledge, facilitating social integration, and empowering female migrants in their pursuit of socio-economic advancement.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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Article

Critical Social Inclusion of Adult Migrant Language Learners in Working Life: Experiences From SFI and LINC Programs

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Abstract
How can integration education programs facilitate the more seamless inclusion of migrant newcomers into working life and civil society? Traditionally, integration policy and practice have been framed within a nation-state discourse in which views of migrant incorporation are grounded within a bordered nationalism embodying a native–migrant dichotomy that reifies the view of the "migrant other" as a subject defined by its "lack" in competence and agency. In our qualitative multiple case study, we explored the bridging potential of integration programs in facilitating the inclusion of migrant students within working life in Helsinki and Edmonton. We examined the "inclusectionalities," referring to the intersections of inclusion and exclusion that position adults enrolled in SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) and LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) language integration programs in the liminal spaces between belonging and othering. Guided by an understanding of critical social inclusion where migrants set the boundaries for interactions with authorities based upon their own needs and interests, we propose a transformational approach. Here migrant learners participate in a structural process where the fluid nature of social, political, and economic arrangements is consistently renegotiated on principles of egalitarianism and the full exercise of critical agency, herein envisioned as deliberate action resisting the social domination of racialized minorities by challenging and redefining institutional structures.

Keywords
adult migrant student; critical social inclusion; inclusectionality; working life integration

Issue
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1. Introduction

A characteristic of both Canadian and Finnish social policy initiatives discussing integration regimes for newly arrived migrants is the rhetoric that state-sponsored integration programs should closely align with national economic needs (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2010; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment in Finland, 2016). The prescribed settlement process requires that migrants participate fully in the labour market, within a nebulously defined broader objective of increasing their overall societal participation (Kaushik & Drolet, 2018; Saukkonen, 2017). According to the 2010 Finnish Integration Act, for example, migrant inclusion into society can be considered successful when they have secured employment (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016). As a result, the main thrust of both Finnish and Canadian integration education programs is on enhancing employability and accruing language competences. Failing that implies that one's integration, conceived of in primarily individual terms, must be considered unsuccessful (Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015). However, there is also a recognition that migrant skills and competences have been underutilized within working life and that their educational journeys are often long, convoluted, sometimes

truncated, and frequently frustrating (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016; OECD, 2018). A selection of research examining the obstacles to effective labour market inclusion of Finnish and Canadian migrants includes deficiencies in information and guidance, a lack of recognition of foreign credentials and previous work experience, employers' requirements for native working experience and language fluency, insufficient language skills, discrimination and institutional racism, and a lack of social support as well as employment networks (Alho, 2020; Ertorer et al., 2020; Kaushik & Drolet, 2018; Masoud et al., 2020; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015; Sakamoto et al., 2010). Consequently, integration programs such as SFI and LINC mirror wider changes in social policy within the welfare state, which promote market-oriented interventions and measurable outcomes by emphasizing the accruement of skills and competences that are defined according to labour market demands (Haque, 2017; Kärkkäinen, 2017). It remains a point of discussion if migrants are automatically construed as unemployed within these programs which thereby seek to ameliorate this perceived lack of employability through processes of deskilling, reskilling, and upskilling (Garsten & Jacobsson, 2004). Although both Canada and Finland are nations where official bilingualism is constitutionally enshrined, practices vary according to how and where integration programs are offered in the minority languages of French (CAN) and Swedish (FIN). Regional factors such as the proportion of minority language speakers in a given locality, distinct local/provincial legislations, and a general willingness or predisposition to engage with minority concerns affect their availability.

In this article, we explore the bridging potential of integration programs in facilitating the inclusion of migrant students within working life at NorQuest College in Edmonton, Canada, and the Swedish Adult Education Institute (Arbis) in Helsinki, Finland, using a multiple case study approach. We examine the "inclusectionalities," referring to the intersections of inclusion and exclusion that position adult migrants enrolled in LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada) and SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) language integration programs in the liminal spaces between belonging and othering (Pötzsch, 2020). Guided by an understanding of critical social inclusion where migrant learners renegotiate social, political, and economic arrangements with majorities based on principles of egalitarianism and the full exercise of critical agency, we propose a transformational approach. Here inclusion is not prescriptive but a dynamic, involving, and evolving process.

2. Integration vs. Critical Social Inclusion

2.1. Why Definitions Matter

National integration education programmes such as LINC and SFI have tended to adopt a "civic integrationism" (Joppke, 2009) in which "good" migrants are reified by demonstrating language proficiency, filling labour market niches, and adopting canons of liberal values. However, and this constitutes the core of our article, such programs also prescribe how interactions between students and staff configure inclusion. They expose inclusectionalities as well as the attendant liminal spaces in which migrant students are subsequently positioned. Sometimes they can be both included and excluded within the same shifting zone (e.g., the labour market). How students are positioned depends greatly on who serves as an arbiter over which expressions of migrant diversity either "help" or "hinder" inclusion. Given the interdependence of inclusectionalities, describing the process of social inclusion in integration education programs matters, for as Ahmed (2012, p. 183) states, "the very promise of inclusion can be the concealment of exclusion." It is, therefore, imperative to explore where the concepts and attending practices of integration and critical social inclusion diverge as they are often employed synonymously or interchangeably. Given the static and often stigmatizing implication of the term "immigrant," in this article we have chosen to employ the more fluid and less pejorative description of "migrant" in referring to adult students in integration education programs while acknowledging that it too is a contested term.

2.2. Integration

Western integration policy has been criticized as a thinly veiled attempt to assimilate cultural and other differences into the essentialist narratives of homogenous national cultures (Favell, 2022; Schinkel, 2018). It targets integrating the "migrant other" within a largely static, uncritically depicted national home—not general societal transformation (Hage, 2000). The majority's underlying attitude of "we know what's best for immigrants" robs migrants of their critical engagement creating relationships of dependence on the receiving society for which they are later chastised (Goldberg, 2015). Another difficulty is that integration is often gauged as either a present state or an outcome. It is measured in labour market participation, language competence, educational diplomas, etc., and thereby obscures the link between outcomes and structural constraints (Crul & Schneider, 2012). A more ontological critique focuses on the social imaginary which informs our conceptions of integration. When integration refers to persons "outside of society," who need to be grafted in, society then becomes circumscribed as the myopic domain of entitled majorities who are given an exemption from such integration regimes. Society thus conceived has no integration problems. However, if it were posited that society includes all who move within its national/international domain then aiming integration measures solely at distinct individuals or groups of "migrant others" becomes problematic (Schinkel, 2019).

The interminable migration worries embedded in this exclusionary understanding of society may, in fact, mask fears of "real" integration (Beauzamy & Féron, 2012; Lentin & Titley, 2011). On the one hand, "we" must be seen to want to integrate "them" while paradoxically reaffirming the "truth" of their non-integrability in order to justify their illiberal treatment. In integration discourse, groups of migrant students are typically identified by what they lack, such as linguistic competences or work experience in the receiving country. Accordingly, migrant learners are expected to update or reform traditions and skills that are presupposed to impede their ability to integrate. In this way, integration programs become a medium for deskilling and re-skilling students predicated on assumptions of "the lack" (Kärkkäinen, 2017). Explanations for performance deficits are attributed to the observed characteristics of individuals or otherness of the group and are not placed at the door of the educational system in which they participate or which they subsequently leave (Hilt, 2015).

2.3. Critical Social Inclusion

By contrast, critical social inclusion shifts the adaption burden from migrants to society. This transpositional reimagining of inclusion forces majorities to turn their gaze from the migrant other onto themselves to interrogate how their taken-for-granted entitlements are reflected in and reproduced by society. This necessitates that civil institutions tackle inequalities based on class, gender, race, and religion as structural impediments to the effective exercise of political agency and confront hegemonies (Stewart, 2000). Recognizing that societal structures are vicissitudinous is a prerequisite for social transformation on this scale. Inclusion, so envisaged, is not based on integrationist responses that presume migrant subsumption into something as vaguely defined and static as "society." It entails a clear recognition that inclusion's egalitarianism goals are illusory if the assumptions and practices regulating everyday social and institutional life remain ethnically skewed and racially blinkered. Inherently, this implies a radical transformation of the aims and performance of inclusion. The boundaries of solidarity are redrawn, "not by transforming those on the outside to clones of insiders, but by valorizing the diversity that they bring with them" (Kivisto, 2015, p. 25).

In our definition of critical inclusion, migrants are egalitarian collaborators in renegotiating political, social, and economic arrangements with majorities on principles of social justice (Askonas & Stewart, 2000). How inclusion is practiced is not prescribed by majorities but is reciprocally negotiated and transacted with racialized minorities. Its means and schemes are mutable and adaptable to the singularities of social circumstances. Social inclusion in this sense is not seen as a more benign and less assimilationist version of integrating migrants into a pre-defined society but rather into a process of social imagining that is transformative, emanating from migrants' own needs and circumstances. When this happens, the boundaries of solidarity can expand (Atac & Rosenberger, 2013). Thus, the most crucial difference between integration and inclusion rests in the ideological and practical contents with which these are invested. The inclusion challenge is to embrace society as a dynamic, multitudinous construct within which social boundaries are defined and contested by diverse participants with unequal access to sources of power and avenues of persuasion; and to acknowledge this inequality as largely structural while attempting to alleviate it. As such, it must be recognized that all projects of inclusion potentially generate new forms of exclusion which are subject, in turn, to critique and democratic reform (Pötzsch, 2018).

2.4. Structural Research Examining LINC and SFI Integration Programs

Previous research that scrutinizes LINC and SFI from a structural perspective, by analysing the unconscious societal and institutional norms shaping pedagogy and integration regimes is generally sparse. However, there are notable exceptions. Among them, are those that have interrogated the ramifications of entrenching principles of neoliberalism and new public management, exemplified by a focus on migrant employability and self-sufficiency (see Carlson & Jacobson, 2019; Y. Guo, 2013; Haque, 2017; Paquet & Xhardez, 2020; Sandwall, 2013; Slade, 2015; Webb, 2017). Additionally, studies have critiqued the heavy focus on language acquisition in underlining that language proficiency alone is not a guarantor for social inclusion or socio-economic advancement (see Ennser-Kananen & Pettitt, 2017; Pötzsch, 2020; Rosén, 2014). Research has also problematized the "deficiency discourse" in which migrant learners are identified by what they lack in perceived language as well as cultural and employment competences (see Gibb, 2015; Hertzberg, 2015; Hilt, 2015). These studies pose the question of whether the policy goal—"full" inclusion in society—is at all realizable if exclusion processes are an internal part of inclusion processes. More generally, the concept of migrant employability defined through "individual responsibility" (Colliander et al., 2022; Ertorer et al., 2020; Fejes & Berglund, 2010; Lindblad & Lundahl, 2020) and "deskilling & reskilling" (Aydiner & Rider, 2022; S. Guo, 2015; Ortiga, 2021), as being equated with "successful" integration (Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013; Pöyhönen & Tarnanen, 2015) and as "creating liminalities" (Diedrich & Omanović, 2023; Kaushik & Drolet, 2018; Sakamoto et al., 2010; Yijälä & Nyman, 2017) is central to our discussion.

3. Methodology

3.1. Methods and Data

We examined how social inclusion was conceived, contested, and practically operationalized within LINC and

SFI curricular modules designed to enhance migrant employability and labour market participation. Research questions guiding our inquiry were: What is the bridging potential of SFI and LINC integration programs in facilitating the inclusion of adult migrant students within working life? What are the resulting inclusectionalities in positioning adult migrant students created by these efforts at work-life inclusion?

Through both semi-structured and in-depth qualitative interviews, we foregrounded the experiences of staff, students, and employers. This study took inspiration from research designs that embody a collaborative, participant-centred approach (Brown & Strega, 2005). Accordingly, we spent extended fieldwork periods in Helsinki and Edmonton between the years of 2018–2019. We adopted a multiple case study research approach instead of a comparative case study approach to represent the experiences of contributors. The latter seeks similarities and differences among cases based on a few specified attributes. However, this focus on pre-described variables or topics for comparisons can obscure the situationality and complexity of cases and deliver more simplistic rather than "thick descriptions" (Stake, 2006, p. 82). By contrast, the aim of multiple case studies approaches is to elucidate new information about a broad pattern that holds across cases and analyze the commonalities that characterize them. Therefore, in presenting our findings we have not adopted the comparative approach by juxtaposing and separately contrasting NorQuest or Arbis cases but sought to highlight recurring patterns as well as strengths and weaknesses accompanied by the most representative illustrative quotes that connect our cross-case themes.

The material consists of 53 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with teachers, administrators, students, support personnel, and representatives from working life (32 from Arbis and 21 from NorQuest). Interview transcripts and observation logs generated a multifaceted qualitative dataset, analyzed using ATLAS.ti aided inductive content analysis. This included stages of coding, categorization, and theming. In the coding stage, single codes including both emic and etic labels were inserted in the margins of collected data archive files representing the entirety of the fieldwork material. This stage was followed by categorization, i.e., labels were subsequently subsumed under code groups and later categories. In this grouping, although codes were taken from the entire database in ATLAS.ti, a tag was made next to each element of data to indicate which case narrative it originated from. Code groups represented intra-institutional factors such as curriculum structure, study choices, student and teacher participation, discrimination, etc., as well as extra-institutional factors including liaising, employer readiness, goal setting, practice experiences, and value bases among others. This initiated the sorting of codes into related categories depending on their contextual linkages and interrelations. Interview guides helped to streamline the coding process as interviews followed a certain sequential rhythm. The flexible nature of the code family program in ATLAS.ti also allowed for a creative reordering and re-configuring of code groups and interlinkages in arriving at themes. Ostensibly, the theming stage in the study began rather early. During data collection and in the first stages of analysis, certain subjective truths embedded in the material began to emerge (i.e., the role of enabling and disabling structural factors). This cognitive readiness was refined during the mapping stages of subsequent fieldwork periods. The code family program served as the means for crystallizing the final themes. In making theme choices, the sheer frequency of particular codes did not necessarily dictate final theme selection. In fact, it was sometimes the atypical or marginal categories that encapsulated a particular poignancy in describing the phenomenon of work-life inclusion. Some considerations that helped in theming were thinking about how themes linked up with research questions and how they reflected the bordered reality of single cases. For example, is the chosen theme one which holds true for all case studies? Before making a final selection then, we revisited the NorQuest and Arbis material separately and compared the associations the themes had with the data. Ultimately, our analysis yielded the following final themes: "fitting in" and "background matters."

In conducting interviews (45–90 min.), venues, times, and dates were adapted to the wishes and needs of the interviewees. Participants creatively challenged and personalized our dialogues on large thematic areas covering "self-reflexivity" (i.e., how informants reflected on their own understanding of and contribution to inclusion within working life), inclusion's "performance" denoting how inclusive practices were practically operationalized within and beyond institutions, and the "structural factors" aiding or impeding its implementation. In interviews with migrant students, the policy of giving voice and choice dictated arrangements. SFI learners spoke either Swedish or English, the latter often being the preferred choice as most students' competence in English exceeded their Swedish language proficiency. Unfortunately, our fieldwork at NorQuest was truncated by the Covid pandemic and thus LINC student interviews that were scheduled for 2020 could not be completed. This also accounts for the underrepresentation of LINC student voices in the analysis.

3.2. Ethical Considerations

We built a foundation of trust with study participants and relevant gatekeepers by establishing contacts in advance including preparatory visits to the schools. Gaining access to migrant student groups was aided by introductory information sessions where we solicited their participation by distributing formal letters of consent and explained the voluntary nature of participation as well as issues of confidentiality, privacy, and data

security. To ensure confidentiality, the identities of interviewees were protected by assigning pseudonyms and by the non-disclosure of identifying background information. When working with vulnerable participants such as migrant students, data access by whom and for what purposes is a recurring question. We therefore devised a data management plan that ensured that during and after the project, all data would be secured in a locked storage and saved on secure servers with each file protected by a password. We also had to submit a thorough ethical application before commencing the NorQuest College fieldwork. Separate ethical applications were not a requirement for the Finnish case studies.

3.3. Site Descriptions: NorQuest LINC and Arbis SFI

LINC is a federally funded program introduced by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (part of CIC) in 1992 (Cervatiuc & Ricento, 2012). According to its mission statement, it aims to facilitate the integration of migrants into Canadian culture by providing language and settlement training and by extending possibilities to develop employment and social competences. In the province of Alberta, prerequisites for student eligibility include having permanent residence status and a preliminary Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) assessment (CIC, 2015). During the time of our fieldwork, NorQuest College's LINC program educated more than 1500 migrant students in integration classes ranging from CLB levels 3–8. Structured around portfolio-based learning assessments as the foundation for curricular development, it grouped students of the same educational background together according to their previous educational histories. In recognition of the varied life situations of students, NorQuest College's LINC offers a wide range of full and part-time studies, as well as specialized classes organised in flexible time schedules (Lefebvre, 2014).

In 2019, the program was in a phase of transition to meet the Canadian Federal Government's increasing employment focus for newly arrived migrants with all CLB levels now featuring in-class modules on employment including themes on CV-writing and job interview preparation (Paquet & Xhardez, 2020). In addition, the newly introduced, governmentally subsidized LincWorks program presented CLB 3–5 students with opportunities to engage in paid, entry-level job internships. Community service-learning modules provided migrant learners at CLB 6–7 levels with experiential learning components. Concomitantly, LINC provided employment certificate training in food safety, first aid, and occupational health to facilitate workplace entry. These modules were embedded within a comprehensive net of student support services including workplace-integrated learning (WIL) staff who liaised with work-life collaborators and matched learners with placements, social workers, employment counselors, and a career center that assisted in securing employment. Unlike the Finnish SFI courses, however, obligatory work internship periods for all participating students were not an integral part of LINC.

The Swedish Arbis SFI represents an interesting case as it is embedded within a majority language (Finnish) environment offering integration education in the other official (and minority) language, Swedish. Arbis offers an SFI program originally conceived of as a pilot within the national integration project Participating in Finland (Tarnanen et al., 2013). Its curriculum is based on the guidelines laid down by the National Board of Education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2012) and on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) aimed at advancing migrant integration by facilitating their active participation in working life and civic activities. SFI is targeted at migrant newcomers with statutory integration support including an integration plan from the local employment services but can also be accessed as voluntary studies as part of *fria bildningen*, or the informal, state-subsidized adult education system. It comprises 20 hours/week of compulsory language learning in one of the official languages (Finnish or Swedish). According to Arbis' own mission statement (Helsingfors Arbis integrationsgrupp, 2012, p. 5), "the education aims to promote social justice and help migrants to adapt to and engage with Finnish society while simultaneously affirming their own cultural background." Participation is preceded by an entrance test focusing on reading, writing, and listening skills, grammar knowledge, as well as math and IT skills.

Arbis offers vocational components in four thematic areas: (a) working life skills; (b) knowledge of working life; (c) career choice; and (d) internships. The "working life skills" course provides practical skills relevant to the Finnish labour market, whereas the goal of the "knowledge of working life" course is that the students receive basic facts about working life practices as well as labor legislation. The students also become familiar with job search channels to enhance their employability in addition to participating in CV and job application workshops. During the "career choice" course, the students receive individual career supervision and create a career plan. The final part consists of an internship in a Swedish-speaking organization for six weeks. Important support that complements the work of language teachers are career supervisors and internship providers.

4. Findings

A consideration in representing our findings was that any identified theme(s) should inherently highlight recurring cross-case patterns in keeping within a multiple case study approach. We have therefore avoided separating cases into a Finnish/Canadian comparative dichotomy and chosen those quotes that most poignantly describe recurring patterns as well as strengths and weaknesses of working life inclusion present at NorQuest College LINC as well as Arbis SFI.

4.1. Fitting In

The following quote neatly encapsulates a recurring theme within our research, namely that the thrust and direction of curricular components targeting working life inclusion within LINC and SFI integration programs aimed largely at migrants "fitting in" to meet labour market and employer needs:

> And then we talked about the Canadian workplace…how can you change and fit in, so it works for your employer. (LINCWorks curriculum planner)

Given the articulated priority that these programs align with social policy directives aimed at enhancing migrant employability in both Canada and Finland, a clear shift towards work-life integration was evident. LINC's curricular employment modules at all CLB levels as well as SFI's compulsory internships for all migrant learners attest to this. Some research participants testified that these had several inclusive outcomes including student empowerment:

> One lady from Syria, her dream was to be in childcare, went through the job interview. It was not easy and she did amazing. They hired her and I swear for the next two days she smiled like….She was so happy and so it's kind of like a dream coming true. (LINCWorks planner)

The job-matching endeavours undertaken by WIL staff who liaised with work-life collaborators pairing learners with placements after assessing student needs and wishes represented another constructive way in which LINC attempted to bridge the school–labour market divide. Integrated or subsidized work placements within also provided those migrant learners who seemed "stuck" repeating the same CLB levels multiple times, an opportunity for a fresh start, the chance to establish community contacts, and to practice other skills. Such programs supplemented an awareness of the importance of structural supports in facilitating migrant employment if governmental aims, as well as educational goals, were to be met. Similarly, in the Finnish context, successful internships could work as bridge builders to the labour market and the Swedish-speaking community at large in providing opportunities to SFI students to improve their language and organisational skills, and expand their social networks:

> It is important for us to understand where they are going with a five-year interval, i.e., where this person wants to end up. And because we have so many work assignments, we take his background into account. One of the trainees worked with maintaining a register system, answered the phone, helped at events. Another has worked at a fair with market activities. My recommendation hits pretty high when I know lots of people and have a massive network. The students have realized it themselves, when they see which people move around here and who they meet. (CEO of a Swedish-speaking association)

The employers' commitment to devote their time to the students' needs and to incorporate them into the work culture was of utmost importance for a successful internship. This was also emphasized by Arbis staff who provided employers with instructions:

> Arbis advised us to give the student meaningful working tasks, but they also pointed out [that] the priority in the program was to provide the student with an opportunity to extend his social networks and be part of our coffee community. (Head of a Finnish-Swedish NGO)

Although finding internships for highly educated migrants proved difficult, the majority of the interviewed SFI students were satisfied with their practice placement even when these did not always match their previous education or work experience. The findings, however, also demonstrate that the curricular modules aiming at labour market inclusion generated their own unique inclusectionalities. LINCWorks, for example, was a top-down initiative with a curriculum described by teachers as inflexible and prescriptive. It embodied a distinct focus on personal change by emphasizing competences such as "soft skills," sweepingly defined as social and behavioural employment skills migrants seemingly lacked. Topics on discrimination and racism in working life, as well as how to confront and address these were conspicuous by their absence. A poignant example of the exclusionary outcomes of purportedly inclusionary measures was how students were selected for LINCWorks:

> Students were put into those classes. So, they didn't choose it, and there was some backlash, so we were instructed not to call it LINCWorks. Because students didn't want to think that they were put into the LINCWorks class, as there was a bit of a stigma….They deserve to know, and that's part of treating students with respect and not being so paternalistic. (LINCWorks teacher)

The "stigma" described above was rooted in students´ perceptions that a program funneling them into low-wage, entry-level work would stymie their language learning, deprive them of opportunities for advancement, and set them apart. Other concerns, however, were more fundamental in nature and questioned the neo-liberal ideology underpinning the increasing employment focus as potentially creating a migrant underclass:

> One of my concerns is that we are creating this underclass. We are saying, oh, come to Canada, we'll give you enough language that you can clean hotels for

> the rest of your life. Students have aspirations beyond that, and I think we do them a disservice if we don't realize that and facilitate their fuller integration into Canada….I really struggle with this. Are we saying that [paid] work is the only way to be a successful participant in our culture, our society? What kind of work are we preparing students for? Is it just to fill in those low-wage jobs nobody wants to do? (LINC teacher)

4.2. Background Matters

Another perhaps unintended side effect of the preoccupation with primarily job-related skills was that it failed to recognize the heterogeneity of student backgrounds, occupational aspirations, and personal or educational choices, thus paradoxically removing choice:

> How we approach work doesn't speak to a lot of women who've been working in traditional roles. It was very demotivating when we were talking about employment because in this class the women were either on the verge of becoming grandmothers who had worked hard to get their families here safe, or they were really young moms who are just like, yeah, I wanna work someday. Programs are focused on retail, cleaning, unskilled construction and none of those speak to where these groups of women are. (LINC teacher)

The above quote illustrates not only the exclusionary outcomes of the myopic focus on paid work which fails to validate the width and breadth of societal participation but also describes the liminal position of those migrant learners who do not fit the paid jobseeker profile. Lack of recognition of students' educational and social background was also characteristic of SFI classes. For example, an SFI teacher showed a list of "best jobs" based on open vacancies with an emphasis on low-skilled work. These were marketed as "easily accessible jobs" or "jobs to look for." Such rhetoric facilitates the devaluation of the existing skills, experiences, and diverse educational backgrounds of SFI students.

A tangential result of helping students "fit in" to meet labour market and employer needs was the discourse of "managing expectations" and "transferable skills" within working life-centred curricular modules. The subtext of exhorting students to adjust their expectations—to be "realistic"—in relation to future career plans and the choice of work internships sometimes served as a justification why their practice or employment wishes could not always be met:

> We get a lot of [complaint] calls. In one example, we asked a student who normally works with our seniors on recreation to help sweep up leaves because our groundskeeper was short someone, and the student said no, that's not what he's here to do. But we also have to work on coaching them a bit if they want that really good reference or move up in a career over time that they have to take on these additional responsibilities when asked. (LINC program planner)

What is interesting in the above quote is that instead of recognizing the student's agency in questioning the occupational boundaries of his job, the latter is essentially told to "go along to get along" because an employer's positive reference outweighs such concerns. Thus, those migrants who failed to "manage their expectations" following LINC and employer needs were consigned to the liminal position of being included within the labour market at the expense of their own initiative and aspirations. Also, in SFI internships, student needs were sometimes subordinated to those of employers by requiring migrant learners to work in jobs neither fitting their education nor motivation. For example, two SFI students worked alone in an archive during their entire internship, whereas another student with a background in law worked in a kindergarten. Interestingly though, employers stressed that they too lacked information about students' cultural, social, and political backgrounds. Given that some students had arrived as traumatized refugees from countries still plagued by war, this underlines the importance of majorities engaging with racialized minorities before subjecting them to fixed integration or employment regimes.

The rhetoric of "transferrable skills" followed a similar logic. It essentially propagated the necessity of reskilling students by telling them that maintaining their previous careers may be difficult due to differing employment standards, but that their skillset could be readjusted to conform to related occupations where labour market shortages existed. Although staff attempted to meet students' wishes by matching them with working life partners, they also admitted to coaxing them to select related alternatives:

> We try and help broaden that perspective and find ways for them to see that, "[if] I wanna be an administrative assistant so I'm gonna go volunteer at a non-profit and work at the reception desk." Maybe your title is not administrative assistant, but obviously you're getting experience on your resume to help you get there. We struggle a lot with students, for them to understand the concept of transferable skills and the fact that if you work in an office here, it'll help get you skills that will eventually lead to the career you want. (LINC planner)

These poignant examples from the LINC program reveal once again the impact of inclusectionalities and their resulting liminal positioning of migrant learners. While the predominant discourses of Western immigration regimes position employed migrants as successfully integrated—as included—it becomes apparent how migrant voices and competences are easily devalued and excluded within this narrative.

5. Discussion

To build an understanding of how LINC and SFI integration education facilitates the work-life inclusion of adult migrant learners, our study revealed a number of inclusectionalities and the attendant liminal spaces which situated students between belonging and othering. The theme of migrants "fitting in" to meet labour market needs, for example, illustrates the paradoxical nature of the double gestures of inclusion and exclusion (Popkewitz, 2009). While the pedagogical shift from predominantly language competence accruement to employability signals a recognition that social inclusion demanded more from integration programs, how employability was operationalized in neo-liberal terms simultaneously delimited migrant participation and agency.

Given the resource capacity, extensive institutional supports, and breadth of curricular choice within NorQuest LINC, it became apparent that organising working life modules was easier for larger programs than those in resource and personnel-strapped community-based educational providers like Arbis. NorQuest LINC's network of employers, social workers, counselors, and other career planning initiatives was unmatched and attested to social inclusion being seen as a multi-sectorial societal concern (Lindblad & Lundahl, 2020). The job-matching and labour market liaising done by WIL staff as well as a preparedness among employers extended empowering opportunities to students who were, for various reasons, not best served by classroom-based, language-centered pedagogies. At the same time, by framing employability within a narrative of personal responsibility and change, migrants both individually and as a group became the objects of specific efforts to ameliorate the "immigrant condition" (Hertzberg, 2015), thereby excluding their aspirations in order to "fit them into" the labour market (Hilt, 2015). Prescriptive curricula stressed adaptation while omitting discussions on discrimination, gender inequality, and occupational rights in presenting an idealized universal workplace culture (Y. Guo, 2013; Slade, 2015). The recruitment processes in LINCWorks where students were enrolled without their knowledge to conceal the course's "low-wage job funneling" stigma illustrated another exclusionary outcome of top-down employability schemes and the liminal position in which it placed migrant learners. SFI students could also benefit from a more targeted coordination of internships which fully involve them in the planning and implementation of their practice periods and reciprocally connect internship learning more closely to language and cultural study modules in class. Crucially, employers must extend students' greater opportunities to exercise their language skills and familiarize themselves with working cultures, while involving them in Swedish-speaking community networks.

Within the "fitting in to fill the domestic skills gap" discourse that included an emphasis on transferrable skills, managing expectations, and de-skilling there is a danger that employability goals become hegemonic tales in which migrants' prior work skills and qualifications are devalued (Webb, 2017). These fears are encapsulated in the LINC instructor's quote on the creation of an ethnic underclass as an inclusectional outcome of work-life integration modules where migrant subjectivities are constructed through their ability to negotiate and survive the "vicious cycle of skilling" (Masoud et al., 2020, p. 116). This cycle becomes a disempowering reskilling treadmill where, in order to meet labour market demands, students are compelled to interminably "re-educate" themselves while relinquishing their own career aspirations. Aydiner and Rider (2022) argue that the insecurities in the various stages of the migration and settlement process have the cumulative effect of compounding migrant vulnerabilities. There is also evidence that collaborations between employers and public organizations in providing internships followed the "fitting in" script (Diedrich & Omanović, 2023). At an elementary level, the LINC teacher's query if the only value students have is that of a worker for certain pre-selected occupations represents a crucial commentary on labour market inclusion efforts which equate successful integration with securing any sort of employment. This employability rhetoric was further pedagogically defined in the preeminence given to components in working life modules that positioned migrant students as neoliberal subjects who must become flexible lifelong learners and entrepreneurial subjects made responsible for their own employment outcomes (Haque, 2017, p. 107). These sustained a deficiency discourse while tacitly enabling discrimination by employers (Ertorer et al., 2020; Sakamoto et al., 2010). Moreover, it entrenched power hierarchies by exempting majorities from interrogating their own assumptions embedded in current labour market policies and integration regimes (Pötzsch, 2020).

Our findings are in line with previous studies showing that migrants' multiple subjectivities are often not taken into consideration in "pragmatic" curricular discourses around labour market participation. There is a danger that if student-centered, participatory approaches are replaced with a number of prescribed skills and normative behaviours migrants are to "perform" in occupational settings, one imposes not only whose knowledge is valued, but also nullifies the reciprocal bridging potential of such programs (Ennser-Kananen & Pettitt, 2017; Gibb, 2015; Sandwall, 2013; Webb, 2017). Evidence from NorQuest LINC's new labour market initiatives suggests that this was precisely what was happening under mounting governmental and administrative pressures to find employment for LINC learners. While labour market integration modules idealized employed migrants as successfully integrated—as included—it became apparent how migrant voices and competences are easily devalued and excluded within this narrative.

6. Conclusions

In our study, we explored the bridging potential of integration programs in facilitating the inclusion of adult migrant students within working life in Canada and Finland while highlighting the resulting inclusectionalities of such initiatives. It posits that despite the inclusive aims of shifting the education's integration focus from language competence to working life skills, the neoliberal framing of employability within LINC and SFI buttressed myopic nationalisms. While providing learners with opportunities for work-life engagement, labour market training modules also reinforced a native-migrant dichotomy that reified the view of the migrant other and simultaneously delimited their participation and agency. In the cycle of deskilling and reskilling that discourses of "fitting in" and "background matters" set in motion, it was expected that learners, as rational subjects, would accept the choices that had been made for them. This contradicts conceptualizations of critical social inclusion where migrants reconfigure the boundaries for social interactions with majorities based upon their own needs and interests. A transformational approach must therefore target both the policy and practice of labour market initiatives for adult migrants to foreground plural ways of belonging. It must engage migrant learners in educational partnerships starting at the curriculum planning stage premised upon promoting their existing skills in negotiations with work-life collaborators while unpacking the prevailing attitudes that lie at the root of deficiency discourses. This necessitates educating employers and program planners by alternatively exposing them to the "integration spotlight" where integration regimes make reciprocal demands on them. S. Guo (2015) advocates the creation of spaces for transformative learning where the qualifications, experiences, and transnational networks of migrants are validated by educators and employers. To achieve this, work-life participation's neo-liberal premises must be interrogated in a process of joint political agency where all program participants reimagine structures within and beyond institutions. After all, are you "integrated" as soon as you cross a poverty subsistence line? Attain an average wage? When you are no longer a visible social "problem" (as a group)? (Favell, 2019, pp. 5–6). An impediment to a transformative approach on this scale, however, lies in the very nature of integration education programs. These typically emphasize more apolitical incarnations of language and cultural learning aimed at the uncritical adoption of societal norms. As such, they extend limited opportunities for teachers and students to collectively utilize their critical agency in challenging the civic integrationist core of neo-liberal labour market measures.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

"The Door You Can Walk Through to Society": Social Inclusion and Belonging in Vocational Programmes for Immigrants

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Abstract
This article presents a qualitative, empirical study of two educational programmes for immigrants that integrate language instruction and vocational training. In the context of migration, social inclusion is often conceptualised as access to social capital. Proficiency in the national language is considered key for employment and fast integration into working life has become a primary goal in Swedish migration policies. This article examines the two programmes from the perspective of inclusion into an (imagined) future professional community of practice (CoP), focusing specifically on the participants' possibilities to invest in a professional linguistic repertoire. The article is dedicated to empirical analyses and positive factors, recognising the need for research. Data consists of interviews with students and teachers, observations, and video recordings of course activities. Organisational aspects of the courses, such as the teachers' backgrounds and the courses' proximity to future CoPs, as well as relational aspects of the learning environments, are considered essential for the participants' inclusion in a future professional CoP. Analyses of the programmes' content demonstrate that participants are assumed to lack context-specific, vocational knowledge, including professionally related vocabulary. The article contributes to knowledge on how inclusion can be managed in practice in educational settings for adult immigrants and promotes an understanding of how vocationally adapted courses can assist immigrants in becoming members of a future professional CoP.

Keywords
adult learning; community of practice; inclusion; migration; second language learning

Issue
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1. Introduction

Language learning is considered a strong marker of integration. Language competence plays a crucial role in EU migration policies (Wodak & Boukala, 2015) and political discourses construct language as key for employment, education, and welfare (Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2021). Sweden has a rather long tradition of immigration, with a notable peak during the years 2015 and 2016, when a large number of refugees sought asylum. The increasing number of newly arrived migrants has given adult education a more important role in the integration of migrants into the labour market (SOU, 2018, p. 71). Even if the number is expected to decrease due to stricter migration policies (Swedish Migration Agency, 2023), there is still a significant need for measures aimed at enhancing the integration of immigrants. Rapid integration into working life is the primary goal of state-sponsored language education for immigrants (Swedish for Immigrants). The shifting focus in migration policies, transitioning from an emphasis on citizenship and integration to prioritising swift entry into the job market, has resulted in a notable increase in vocationally tailored language courses for migrants. These include "fast tracks" and other specialized courses designed for specific professions (Ennerberg, 2022). However,

while these courses are considered rather successful in terms of improving employment rates, at least regarding well-educated migrants (Joyce, 2019), there are few qualitative research studies on this type of educational context. Knowledge is lacking regarding how language instruction is vocationally adapted in practice or how participants are supported regarding more social values, such as social inclusion into different professional communities. According to Osman et al. (2022), vocational institutions are the primary sites where the educational and professional experiences of foreign-born immigrants are recognised and they thus function as important arenas for social inclusion (or exclusion) of migrants and refugees. It is important that providers of educational programmes and other actors in the field are aware of social inclusion (or exclusion) and practices that encourage it.

This article presents an empirical study of two courses that aim to support participants in entering the Swedish job market: a vocationally adapted language course for medical doctors and other healthcare workers (referred to as the medical course) and a course aimed at integrating participants into a future career in outdoor maintenance (referred to as the green course). The study aims to examine these courses from the perspective of inclusion into an imagined future professional community of practice (CoP; Wenger, 1998) by analysing course content and the knowledge that participants are assumed to need in preparation for working life in Sweden. We also analyse what factors may be beneficial for participants' inclusion into the future professional CoPs, focusing particularly on investment in a professional linguistic repertoire. The article is devoted to empirical analyses and positive factors, recognising the need for research.

The article is structured as follows. First, we provide an overview of research studies on language courses for immigrants in relation to integration and inclusion (Section 2), followed by theoretical considerations regarding the social situatedness of second language (L2) learning, and the framework of CoP (Section 3). Next, we present the studied courses along with an overview of the collected data (Section 4). In the results section (Section 5), we examine the content of the two courses and analyse organisational aspects of the courses, such as the teachers' background and the courses' proximity to future CoPs, as well as relational aspects of the learning environments that may be beneficial for participants' inclusion into future CoPs. Finally, we summarise and discuss our findings (Section 6).

2. Previous Studies of Language Courses and Inclusion

The objectives of courses in Swedish for immigrants have varied between different, sometimes contradictory goals concerning integration and employment (see, for example, Carlson, 2002). As noted, the primary goal of today's courses is labour market integration (Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2021; Ennerberg, 2022; Joyce, 2019; Rydell, 2018). The employment rate among labour migrants is high (Joyce, 2019), which is to be expected since access to work is their primary motivation for migration. However, the process of labour market integration of refugees is rather slow, particularly for refugees with lower levels of education. A study by Joyce (2019) demonstrates that it is easier for migrants with higher education to find employment, but often below their qualification level, due to several obstacles such as lack of language skills, limited social networks, and discrimination. One group of migrants that experience these barriers consists of medical doctors who are educated outside the EU/EEA, who perceive that their education is being undervalued compared to medical doctors trained within Sweden (Sturesson et al., 2019).

Lack of language skills is considered an obstacle to employment even when a migrant has an academic education (cf. Joyce, 2019; Kerekes et al., 2013), and migrants themselves often describe skills in the language of the new country as a door or a key to society and further studies (Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2021). A similar, instrumental notion of inclusion is demonstrated to be present in a course type targeting migrants in the resident permit application process (known as Swedish From Day 1). Participants in these courses are constructed as lacking specific knowledge and skills necessary for the Swedish labour market, but also as having knowledge that must be improved to secure employment (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2017). Del Percio (2018, p. 239) argues that job-seeking migrants need to create a "desirable self," and that language proficiency has a high symbolic value in this creation. The strong focus on labour market integration positions citizens as responsible for their own employment, with less emphasis on structural inequalities in the labour market (cf. Fejes, 2010).

Previous studies have further demonstrated that language courses alone are not enough to support immigrants' entry into working life, and more tailored support is needed (Kehoe, 2017). An example consists of the increasing number of "fast track" courses, which lately have become rather successful in terms of employment from a (national) economic perspective (Joyce, 2019). However, regarding more social values the picture becomes more complex (cf. Ennerberg, 2022; Sturesson et al., 2019), and while vocationally adapted language courses appear to enhance employability prospects for immigrants, this does not necessarily equate to them feeling included as full members of that professional CoP, considering, for instance, the type of discrimination of foreign medical doctors reported by Sturesson et al. (2019).

From an individual perspective, migration often leads to questioning one's identity, including professional identity, and many immigrants feel that their previous experiences and knowledge have lost their value (Carlson, 2002; Sturesson et al., 2019; Wolanik Boström & Öhlander, 2012). There is a need for greater adaptation

in relation to the students' diverse backgrounds and needs (Swedish School Inspectorate, 2018, 2023), as well as a need for a greater understanding of the actual linguistic competence required. Lindberg and Sandwall (2012) argue that there is a risk that vocational-related language skills are prioritised at the expense of solid, basic general language skills required for participation in society, particularly if the courses focus primarily on vocabulary. Internships can decrease this risk, provided there are opportunities for interaction at the workplace and resonance between the language course and the workplace (Suni, 2017). However, these criteria are often lacking (Sandwall, 2013; Swedish School Inspectorate, 2018).

Other studies have reported that the courses for immigrants have social benefits in their own right, as they provide opportunities to meet others and receive support from both peers and the teacher (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020). Vocationally adapted language courses can further assist the participants in building networks and reflecting on previous knowledge (cf. Ennerberg, 2022) that may contribute to inclusion in a future professional community. Högberg et al. (2020) study language introduction programmes for newly arrived immigrants and report that teachers in this type of course often feel like they are doing something "other" and "more" than teachers in the regular school system. The differences are connected to the relational aspect, which includes acknowledging the students' situation and perspectives. Regarding the possibilities of achieving employment in the new country, Lønsmann (2022) observes how teachers have a key task in navigating participants between empowerment and marginalisation.

3. Inclusion Into a Community of Practice

Previously, much attention has been paid to individual factors in understanding language learning, such as age, learning strategies, language aptitude, attitudes, and motivation (Ellis, 1985; Gass & Selinker, 2001). Lately, more interest is paid to sociocultural factors, such as the opportunity to use the new language in working life. Language learning takes place through interaction (Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007), and, consequently, motivation to learn a new language is considered not only an individual phenomenon but also a social process that is created in interaction with others. Drawing on Bourdieu, Darvin and Norton (2017) argue that learners invest in an L2 because they hope that it provides a wider range of material and symbolic resources that will increase their social power. Likewise, if learners are marginalised, or feel marginalised, they may not invest in practising the language in these contexts, even though they are otherwise highly motivated. In this sense, motivation could be described as a reciprocal process that is created in interaction.

In an educational context, motivation is enhanced by inclusive education and authentic learning activities (García, 2009). Inclusive education could be defined as "actions and practices that embrace diversity and build a sense of belonging, rooted in the belief that every person has value and potential and should be respected" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 419). A teacher's ability to relate to the students, interact with them, and acknowledge them is creating a positive and inclusive learning environment (Cummins, 2000). Related to inclusive education is the adaptation of instruction to the students' preconditions, needs, and goals, which is considered crucial and stipulated in curricula and syllabi in Swedish educational contexts (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022). However, education for adult immigrants is often criticised for not being adequately adapted to students' needs and goals, making it less relevant to them (Swedish School Inspectorate, 2018, 2023).

Social inclusion has often been described as access to social capital, involving social networks and institutions that facilitate access to power and influence (Yates, 2011). Correspondingly, the role of vocational education and training for migrants, Osman et al. (2022, p. 192) argue, is to provide refugees and migrants with opportunities to access resources associated with the language and the logic of the vocation and the professional community. According to the social participation metaphor, however, inclusion is rather a process of being welcomed as a new member of society and being welcomed as a learner (Norton, 2000).

A theoretical framework focusing on the social situatedness of learning is Wenger's (1998) community of practice (CoP), which we use in this article to analyse how immigrant participants are learning together and engage in practices that are significant for their future working life. Significant for a CoP is that the members invest in a common interest or goal. A linguistic repertoire emerges within the community, consisting of a set of social practices shared by the members. To become a member, one must acquire that specific language, and to do so, a sense of belonging and identification as a member (by oneself and others) is crucial. The already-established members (called full members) contribute to the learning environment, and it is important they invite the new members (called legitimate peripheral members) to invest in the community (Wenger, 1998). Learning the language of the CoP is thus an investment in the process of becoming a full member. The participants in this study are not yet members of the professional CoPs they are aspiring to, but we analyse how they are involved in a process that prepares them to become a member and how the courses are supporting them in this process.

4. The Courses and the Collected Data

The two studied courses target different groups in terms of their previous education and future profession. The green course is a collaboration between the public employment service and a private company in the service sector, specially focusing on the maintenance

of public areas. The objective of this nine-month long course is to educate unemployed individuals in a profession that is currently facing a shortage of workers. Of the five participants, three are immigrants, and they are also enrolled in external Swedish language courses (Swedish for Immigrants) alongside the green course. At the end of our data collection, the participants worked extra hours for the company, which suggests that they are already in the process of becoming legitimate members in a professional CoP. Within the company, their responsibilities include tasks such as trimming lawns, pruning trees, and cleaning streets from leaves and snow.

The medical course is intended for healthcare professionals who have migrated to Sweden and hold degrees from non-EU/EEA countries but have not yet obtained a Swedish licence to practice. According to the Swedish Medical Association (2023), this licence can be acquired through three routes: (a) completion of a national test assessing theoretical and practical proficiency meeting the requirements for Swedish licensure, demonstration of proficiency in Swedish and Swedish constitution, and completion of practical service; (b) completion of a "fast track" complementary program intended for students who have passed the theoretical component of the national test alongside a higher level of Swedish language proficiency; and (c) Swedish medical training at a university (possibly with a shortened study duration after credit transfer). The medical course under study is intended for medical doctors aiming for the first route, or possibly the second route. It is also open for other healthcare professionals such as nurses or pharmacists. The objective of the one-year long course is to prepare participants for the national test. It encompasses both general Swedish and vocational-specific Swedish language training as well as internship, and shares as such similarities with vocational "fast track" complementary programmes, which have been studied in the Swedish context by, for example, Ennerberg (2022). However, the course is not organised by a higher education institution but is offered by a Swedish municipality in collaboration with a local hospital. Participants in the course have professional backgrounds in the healthcare sector in their respective home countries. Nevertheless, they could not be regarded as legitimate members of CoPs in Sweden as they have not yet gained a Swedish licensure to practice.

As mentioned above, highly educated individuals generally have good opportunities to secure employment after completing supplementary education, although often at a level below their qualifications, while immigrants with lower levels of education, such as the participants in the green course, more often encounter difficulties in finding employment (Joyce, 2019). Data regarding the participants' success rate in entering the job market after completing the courses is unfortunately unavailable. In the case of the green course though, course participants from previous years were offered employment by the company. The company also expressed interest in potentially employing two or three participants from the current course.

Our data consists of six semi-structured interviews with two participants from each course and three teachers. The interviews encompass topics such as the content of the courses, types of learning activities, the roles of the teachers, as well as the interviewees' experiences and views on the courses. The data also includes observations of four days for each course, video-recorded classroom activities, and outdoor activities in the green course showing participants' opportunities to invest in a professional register and vocational knowledge. However, this article does not cover observations of the internship (medical course), the extra work hours at the outdoor maintenance company, or the municipality's language courses that the participants attended alongside the vocationally adapted courses. Data collection took place during the years 2020 and 2021. The recordings were transcribed in broad transcription and analysed through a qualitative, inductive method (Bryman & Burgess, 1994), i.e., a detailed and iterative analysis where recurring themes and patterns related to our purpose were identified. The examples in the following sections were singled out because they are representative and illustrate patterns frequently observed in the data. A content-based translation is applied, which means that frequently occurring typical L2 structures are lost in translation. We combine analyses of observations and recorded classroom interaction with interview data to obtain a broad understanding of how the participants are provided opportunities for inclusion in future professional CoPs. The article thus belongs to the category of qualitative studies that focus on a variety of aspects influencing inclusion in working life and the role that education plays or could play (see Moreno Herrera et al., 2022).

5. Results

In the first two sections, we examine the content of the medical course (5.1) and the green course (5.2) with a focus on the knowledge that participants are assumed to lack in order to become members of future professional CoPs. The interviews serve as a starting point and we add examples from our observations. We continue by examining what aspects of the organisation of the courses (5.3), and the social and relational factors (5.4), that may be beneficial to the participants' sense of belonging and their process of becoming a member of future CoPs.

5.1. Vocational Knowledge for Inclusion: Medical Course

As noted, the medical course aims to prepare the participants for the national proficiency test which is required for obtaining a Swedish licence. In the interview, one of the participants simply states that "you learn Swedish healthcare" at the course and exemplifies with the need to learn policies for the prescription of medicine, particularly the comparably strict policies for the prescription of antibiotics. According to the two teachers, it is

first and foremost important that participants learn the organisational structures of Swedish healthcare, including primary care and specialised care, but also the system of clinics for different diseases and the comparably high medical expertise of ambulance healthcare. They also need to understand power relations within Swedish healthcare and the importance of teamwork between nurses and doctors. Power in relation to the patients is also discussed, and, as demonstrated in Excerpt 1, compared to doctor–patient relations in other countries. The example illustrates how participants, through their basic education and experiences abroad, are assumed to have a different understanding of how the relationship with the patient should be. This needs to be adjusted for them to function well in the Swedish context.

> Excerpt 1—Power relations in Swedish healthcare (interview)
>
> Teacher 1: In Sweden, people tend to be quite natural with each other, including doctors and patients, and this differs between countries, culturally. In other countries, doctors hold a position of power, and patients may feel intimidated and do as they are told. This is also a topic of discussion [in the course].

A recurring learning activity in the course is to read and talk about earlier questions from the national tests assessing theoretical and practical proficiency meeting the requirements for Swedish licensure. We observe how the teacher combines the reading test activity with vocabulary training and how to talk to patients, so they understand. Excerpt 2 demonstrates a sequence in which the teacher asks if the participants understand all the words in a test question, then gives a synonym for a medical term to use in interaction with patients.

> Excerpt 2—Words to use with patients (video recording of classroom interaction)
>
> Teacher 2: Do you understand all the examinations here? Computer tomography—x-ray is a better word to use with the patients. You slice up the body like a loaf of bread, just like we did with the sponge cake here, if you explain it to a patient. Sputum samples—in Swedish we call that an expectoration test: "I want you to spit in this cup."

As illustrated in Excerpt 2, the teacher highlights a phrase that patients might find difficult ("computer tomography") and gives a suggestion of a synonym ("x-ray") for the word to use with patients. The teacher is thereby preparing the participants for the test but also guiding them in the linguistic register of the future CoP and the everyday equivalents to use with patients. He further explains the actual procedure in everyday language ("you slice up the body like a loaf of bread"), and even compares the practice with the slicing of a sponge cake they just ate in class. The interviewed participants, in turn, refer to the two varieties as "medical Swedish" and "Swedish," or "academic Swedish" and "everyday Swedish." One of them admits that everyday Swedish can be quite difficult to understand. During their internship, he learned that older people especially "can speak with a strong dialect and use old words for diseases," which he says can be challenging to comprehend. Knowledge of everyday language is further framed as essential for informal conversations with colleagues during breaks, as described in Excerpt 3.

> Excerpt 3—"It's easy to talk about everything" (interview)
>
> Participant: Before the internship, I had difficulties speaking with other doctors about anything other than occupational therapy. Formal language use was easier. But after the internship, I noticed that it's easy to talk about everything.

The teachers have also observed these challenges, and to feel comfortable conversing in the lunchroom during an internship, students must speak Swedish at a rather high level before going out on internship, they claim. This indicates that the observed teachers are aware of the need for a broad linguistic repertoire to function in the Swedish healthcare system and to become a legitimate member of a future professional CoP. While the course aims to prepare participants for the national test, teachers also incorporate knowledge that can benefit participants in their future professional lives and help them feel comfortable at work. As such, the reading test activity is not only aimed at preparing participants for the test, which suggests a rather instrumentational notion of language learning, but also for inclusion into a future professional community and its vocabulary.

In sum, the learning activities at the medical course centres around earlier national proficiency tests, and the participants are introduced to the Swedish healthcare organisation, power relations between doctors and nurses, and the importance of teamwork, but also how to approach patients in a natural and informal manner. The Swedish alternative is directly or indirectly framed as positive or as having a high standard. Familiarity with similar values and attitudes characteristic of future professional CoPs are likely to be advantageous for the participants' integration into the Swedish job market over time.

5.2. Vocational Knowledge for Inclusion: Green Course

The green course is designed to teach participants how to create and maintain beautiful and functional outdoor environments. The teacher explains that she had the freedom to design and plan the course content and decided to base it on the requirements of the national certificate in green area maintenance that otherwise is provided by institutions for upper secondary education.

The participants primarily learn how to maintain and care for outdoor areas in public spaces, including lawns in parks, planted trees, and flowerbeds, as well as how to use necessary tools. They are also introduced to safety routines, which are treated as new knowledge to the participants. The routines are not presented as being specific to Sweden, but in practice, they comply with Swedish legislation. They learn during practice rather than through theory and the course is first and foremost spent outdoors. Learning activities are based on group work, and the teacher believes that language is best acquired via social activities and teamwork. In contrast to the healthcare workers, participants are not assumed to have any professional knowledge at the beginning of the course. However, they may have previous experience or interest in gardening or agriculture that was acquired outside of a professional CoP before migration.

Observations of the learning activities demonstrate that vocabulary for plants, specialised machines, and routines for outdoor maintenance is treated as unknown to the participants and something they must learn. Language-related questions pertain to nouns and the teacher employs pictures to explain their meaning, or uses embodied resources to indicate a flower or demonstrate how to use a machine. For example, "armoured grass" (referring to a type of grass reinforced with a bucking material) is explained with a picture and contextualised as in Excerpt 4. When explaining both the meaning of the phrase and how the surface should be maintained, she is adding vocational knowledge specific to a city maintenance worker.

> Excerpt 4—Armoured grass (fieldnotes of interaction)
>
> Teacher: There's armoured grass in this city district. Do you know what that is?
>
> Participants: (silence)
>
> Teacher: (shows picture of armoured grass via a power point projector) It's a surface that is mowed with a lawnmower. We often have it at edges with corners, where we place reinforcement in the grass.

Reading maps in Swedish is another necessary skill. This is indirectly trained in the course, as participants are expected to be able to identify different districts in the city, including their names and spatial extent. They also need to be able to communicate effectively with city residents, such as informing them about noise-making work. For this task, they need a broad linguistic repertoire, although limited to specific situations. However, everyday language use, including vocabulary, is not explicitly trained, nor is it treated as unknown to the participants in the course.

In sum, the participants learn through practical, hands-on experience rather than through theoretical instruction. There is no direct focus on test activities, but participants are assumed to lack knowledge on how to create and maintain beautiful and functional outdoor environments, and learning activities are designed as group work tasks. As individuals, they must be able to read maps and work instructions, communicate with colleagues, and sometimes also with inhabitants of the city. Only vocational skills and professional terms (mostly nouns) are treated as unknown to the participants. Very little of what needs to be learned is specific to Swedish society; instead, the focus is on seasons and climate, and the local company's routines. As such, participants are first and foremost trained for inclusion into professional CoPs of the local company, even though the acquired knowledge and skills are rather easily transferrable to other companies and CoPs within the profession of gardening and outdoor maintenance.

5.3. Structures Supporting Membership and Sense of Belonging

In this section, we examine organisational aspects of the courses that contribute to creating an authentic learning environment beneficial to the participants' sense of belonging to a future, professional CoP. Three themes are identified: the professional skills of the teachers; the proximity to a future professional CoP; and the teachers' adaptation of the courses to participants' preconditions and needs.

The professional skills and the vocational knowledge of the teachers provide both legitimacy and authenticity to the courses. The teacher of the green course is trained in green area maintenance and works side by side with the participants during the manual work. Similarly, the two teachers of the medical course work part-time as nurses at the hospital and are, in this sense, active full members of a professional CoP. This adds to their legitimacy, as they can easily keep themselves up to date with the professional language and changes in the profession. They can also easily recognise participants' vocational skills and adapt learning activities to their preconditions, needs, and goals. During a tree pruning activity in the green course, for example, the teacher asks a participant to help her, aware of his experience in pruning trees in his earlier homeland. When acknowledging his earlier skills as relevant to the profession, she invites him to invest in a professional social identity as a skilled maintenance worker in the Swedish context. The teachers in the medical course acknowledge that individualisation can be difficult in their course, as some of the participants are highly skilled professionals and are already full members of a professional CoP abroad. However, they are aware of the participants' different professional specialisations and we observe how they, for instance, ask detailed questions in class to a cardiologist, helping the participant to invest in the professional repertoire of his or her specialisation.

The proximity to members of an existing professional CoP further contributes to creating an authentic

learning environment. In the medical course, this proximity comes from the internship, when participants are positioned as legitimate members of a future CoP. They shadow full members and get to know professionals within their own specialisation. The clothes and the nametag that health workers wear indicate their roles as colleagues. The closeness to future CoPs is further enhanced by the location of the teaching premises at the hospital, which provides legitimacy and adds authenticity to the learning environments. The course's location means that the participants are welcomed inside the hospital as legitimate visitors to the building. In the green course, participants are even welcome as new members of a professional CoP, as they are invited to work extra hours at the company. They wear their work clothes also during theory lessons and, for an external observer, it is impossible to differentiate between the course participants and the full members of the CoP. Participants must "successively go out with others," the teacher of the green course claims, which indicates a gradient movement from being a course participant towards already becoming a new member of the CoP during the course. This process is indeed supported by the proximity to the company. They have their classroom next door to the lunchroom at the maintenance company and regularly meet other employees.

The courses have no formal learning objectives and our analyses show that this is a circumstance that enhances the teachers' ability to create an authentic learning environment. The teachers have designed the courses based on their vocational competences and the individuals' preconditions and needs. The teacher in the green course describes this process in the interview (see Excerpt 5), explaining how she designed the course based on a combination of work tasks that were needed to be done in a city area and the individuals' preconditions:

> Excerpt 5—"Fill in with what was there" (interview)
>
> Teacher: Then we had [city area 3] and it was quite neglected, so there was a lot to practise on. I sensed the capacity that the participants brought with them. Many, for example, have worked on their farms, which is a huge experience and interest. We just had to fill in with what was there.

The professional experiences and skills of the teachers enable this type of adaptation and flexibility. As full members of professional CoPs, teachers possess the necessary knowledge and skills to adapt course content and learning activities to available learning materials, participants' preconditions, and their goal of becoming a legitimate member of a professional CoP in the future.

To summarise, the combination of the organisational aspects analysed in this section provides a foundation for an authentic learning environment that provides opportunities for inclusion in future CoPs. In particular, the fact that the teachers are active professionals is highly beneficial from a CoP perspective, as they are proficient in the field and can encourage participants to invest in practices relevant to a future professional CoP, including a professional linguistic repertoire.

5.4. Building Social Relations for Inclusion

In this section, we analyse the courses from a social inclusion perspective. Specifically, we explore the informal aspects of the courses and analyse how they provide participants with opportunities for social inclusion into a professionally relevant social group during their education. We also consider whether the courses could be viewed as CoPs in their own right.

We start our analysis by presenting an example from an introduction round in the medical classroom. The participants are already acquainted, and the round is intended for us as observing researchers. During the round, a woman shares her name and profession and goes on to explain how the course has served as an eye-opener for her (Excerpt 6). Specifically, she now understands what type of knowledge and skills she needs to acquire to obtain a work licence in Sweden. Additionally, the course has given her access to a social group that provides her with positive energy to study.

> Excerpt 6—Positive energy (video recording of classroom interaction)
>
> Participant: I came here from [another city] and I studied a lot there, but I didn't know what to do. I received an assessment from the National Board of Health and Welfare, but I didn't know what to do. But [teacher's name] asked me, "how can I help you?" I said I want a plan for one year, what should I do this year? I now know that I have to study for the exam. I met other students who passed the test, so I got good energy and felt positive. I thought [the proficiency test] was impossible, that it was very difficult, but I saw other students who passed. I got a lot of positive energy; I want to study, I'm not alone, there are many of us. I come here every Friday and I just want to study and study.

The quote illustrates how motivation is not solely an internal drive or ability, but rather a result of the interplay between the individual and the social environment (cf. Darvin & Norton, 2017). It is evident that the vocational focus of the course provides participants with a shared goal, but the course also fosters a learning community by bringing together individuals with similar interests and needs. The similarities among the participants stem not only from a shared profession but also from a shared mindset. For example, a participant in the medical course mentions that the fast tempo of the course is appreciated, as all participants are used to studying hard for their medical studies. Similarly, the teacher in

the green course explains that several participants in her class are "doers" who are "used to putting in effort." The potential to invest in learning vocational skills and repertoire is thus based not only on a shared future professional identity but also on other similarities among the participants, which are visible during the course.

Another factor contributing to a positive learning environment is the growing friendship among the participants. This theme is highlighted by one of the interviewees from the green course, where participants are spending ample time working, socialising, and speaking Swedish together. Excerpt 7 demonstrates the parallel between the vocational focus of the course, the development of friendship, and the potential for investment in a specialised language adapted to the practical and social demands of a future CoP.

> Excerpt 7—"Before it was just trees" (interview)
>
> Interviewer: Do you learn Swedish in the programme?
>
> Participant: Absolutely. I have good friends. I learn very well.
>
> Interviewer: When?
>
> Participant: When we have a coffee break, when we talk. We work together and we talk. That word means this, and that word means that. We learn new words and names [of plants]. The tools I already know, but I learn about bushes and perennials. Before it was just trees, but now I know.

The role and position of teachers are crucial in the framework of inclusive education (Cummins, 2000). Teachers must interact with students as individual learners, building relationships with them and learning about their backgrounds and experiences. An interesting and somewhat surprising circumstance is that the green course teacher previously worked as a nurse. Her experiences from being a professional nurse have given her an understanding of human nature, including emotions and motivations, which she also finds useful in the vocationally oriented course. This indicates that personal characteristics, or even personality, also play a role, such as being able to show compassion or being eager to help.

As evidenced by prior studies (Högberg et al., 2020; Lønsmann, 2022), teachers in courses for immigrants take a position that extends beyond instruction and formal education. In both studied courses, the teachers offer guidance on matters that relate to life in Sweden more broadly, such as finding housing or managing bill payments. Furthermore, the teachers in the medical course frequently express solidarity with the participants' situation, criticising the proficiency test for being unnecessarily difficult, or complaining about the time-consuming process of obtaining a Swedish licence. Similar acts of solidarity led to reciprocity between the teacher and participants, where the latter were invited to take an equal position with the teacher. According to the teachers, they have made friends for life and still maintain contact with participants from earlier years. This type of relationship is possibly facilitated by the small size of the groups and the absence of formal exams and associated grading. In all, teachers are shifting between roles of being a colleague, a friend, and a compassionate teacher, but are also combining these roles to build meaningful relationships with the students as learners.

We conclude that the observed courses can be viewed as examples of CoPs in their own right. The participants come together for a shared goal and they can invest in a learner identity together with others. When being invited as legitimate members of the course community by the teachers and co-participants, they can also explore identities that go beyond the role of an L2 learner. Among these, the position of being a future colleague and/or a friend seems to be the most meaningful for investing in learning Swedish. As examples of CoPs in their own right, the courses are aligned with the participants' future CoPs in the landscape of communities, which obviously is beneficial for the formation of a community within the course format, but also for the participants' opportunities for inclusion in future professional CoP.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

In this article, we have examined two vocationally adapted courses for immigrants from the perspective of inclusion into future professional CoPs. We have devoted the article to empirical analyses and highlighted aspects that may benefit participants' inclusion into future CoPs, with a particular emphasis on the participants' possibilities to invest in a professional linguistic repertoire. The analyses show that several of the aspects that are positive for participants' inclusion, according to the theory of CoP and inclusive education, are apparent in both course contexts, despite their differences in terms of future professions. These similarities underline the significance of our findings and suggest that the beneficial factors have broader applicability.

The analysis of the courses' content demonstrated a focus on vocational knowledge and skills required within the national context of Sweden. The absence of formal learning objectives is rather uncommon in the Swedish education system, which is otherwise highly influenced by neoliberal discourses and measurement of educational outcomes. However, the absence of formal learning objectives appears to have enhanced the teachers' ability to create an authentic learning environment. It is the teachers' professional knowledge and experiences that serve as the foundation of the content and allow for an adaptation to the needs of both groups and individuals. Group characteristics and the duration of the courses are other factors crucial for

understanding the potential for adaptation: The teachers work with relatively homogenous and small groups for nine to 12 months, which gives them time and opportunities to get to know the participants and their specific needs. Swedish language courses offered by municipalities (Swedish for Immigrants) also have a fairly broad description of the central course content but have faced criticism for their lack of adaptation (Swedish School Inspectorate, 2018, 2023). A conclusion drawn is that the studied courses are likely to benefit from having a clear goal focus, i.e., obtaining Swedish licensure for practice within the healthcare sector or a Swedish certificate in green area maintenance. The goal focus appears to both limit and concretise the content of the courses. However, the absence of learning objectives can also entail disadvantages, as is the case in all educational settings. One such drawback is that the system becomes reliant on the commitment and expertise of individual teachers, which can pose a risk if the educational provider fails to recruit teachers who are members of relevant professional CoPs.

Focusing on inclusion, we have demonstrated that the courses offer opportunities for social inclusion and belonging. They provide tools for inclusion in future professional CoPs, but the courses also function as CoPs in their own right. Inclusion is a prerequisite for investing in language learning (Darvin & Norton, 2017) and the role of compensatory and complementary training for immigrants is to provide refugees and migrants with opportunities to access resources associated with the language and the logic of the vocation (Osman et al., 2022). Having teachers who are full members of a relevant professional CoP stands out as particularly advantageous in achieving this goal. The teachers' ability to design authentic learning activities, drawing from their professional experiences and understanding of the demands of the current profession, alongside their compassionate teaching style, must be considered positive for the participants' possibility to invest in a linguistic repertoire and become legitimate members of future professional CoPs. Furthermore, the proximity of teaching premises to professional CoPs, as well as internships or additional work opportunities, offers participants a connection to the working life and a valuable network that immigrants often lack (cf. Joyce, 2019; Sturesson et al., 2019). Internships or relevant work opportunities not only give the potential for investing in a professional linguistic repertoire but also acknowledge the professional experiences and identities of foreign-born immigrants outside the educational context (Osman et al., 2022).

An observed difference between the two courses is that the medical course places a stronger emphasis on language training, treating Swedish as an object that participants must acquire and learn to use in diverse situations and with various types of interactants. While there is a focus on vocabulary, our analyses of course content have demonstrated the significance of possessing a broad linguistic repertoire for functioning in both professional sectors, but especially the healthcare sector. This repertoire encompasses not only everyday language for communication with patients or city residents but also includes pronunciation and grammar as integral components. Writing within the future profession is notably absent in the courses, and reading is seldom trained in the green course. Participants are enrolled in Swedish for Immigrants courses to develop their proficiency in everyday Swedish. However, our study suggests that the studied courses could benefit from a higher resonance between the general courses and the vocationally adapted language course, a point also raised by Lindberg and Sandwall (2012). The numerous questions posed by participants, such as those related to bill payments, imply that they have yet to develop a broad linguistic repertoire for active participation in all areas of working life and society.

In conclusion, we have observed how the vocational focus of the language programmes benefits immigrant participants by bringing them together to pursue a shared goal, engage in authentic activities that are meaningful to them, and develop their learning identities in relation to their future working life, alongside individuals facing similar circumstances. Following the frameworks of inclusive education and CoP, we can assume that these factors contribute positively to the individuals' learning and inclusion. The overarching political objective of similar "fast track" complementary education programmes (cf. Ennerberg, 2022) is integration into the labour market, in the sense of getting employment, but vocationally adapted courses could themselves give participants values that are beneficial for social inclusion and a sense of belonging. The organisational aspects of the courses, including the teachers' backgrounds and the courses' proximity to future CoPs, as well as relational dynamics within the learning environments, emerge as particularly influential factors for inclusion. Nevertheless, our conclusion also highlights the need for more emphasis on explicit L2 instruction, including pronunciation and grammar, than what is currently observed in the two courses. A broad linguistic repertoire is necessary for navigating the future professional CoPs, but also beneficial for inclusion in broader society.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Adult Migrants' Language Training in Austria: The Role of Central and Eastern European Teachers

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Abstract
Language has gained increasing importance in immigration policies in Western European states, with a new model of citizenship, the *ius linguarum* (Fejes, 2019; Fortier, 2022), at its core. Accordingly, command of the (national) languages of host states operates both as a resource and as an ideological framework, legitimating the reproduction of inequalities among various migrant and non-migrant groups. In this article, we analyse the implications of such processes in the context of state-subsidised language teaching for refugees and migrants in Austria. Specifically, the article aims to explore labour migration, namely that of Central and Eastern European (CEE, including EU and non-EU citizen) professionals—mainly language teachers who enter the field of adult language teaching in Austria seeking a living and career prospects that they cannot find in the significantly underpaid educational sectors of CEE states. This article shows that the arrival of CEE professionals into these difficult and precarious jobs is enabled first by historical processes linking the CEE region to former political and economic power centres. Second, it is facilitated by legal, administrative, and symbolic processes that construct CEE citizens as second-order teachers in the field of migrant education in Austria. Our article, based on ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative interviews, highlights nuanced ways in which historically, economically, and politically embedded language geographies contribute to the reproduction of hierarchies of membership, inclusion, and exclusion in present-day immigration societies.

Keywords
adult education; Central and Eastern Europe; governing through language; imperial genealogies; language ideologies; language teaching; native speakerism; precarity; refugee and migrant services; segmented labour market

Issue
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1. Introduction

Many have described how language has gained importance within neoliberal governance systems in Western countries as part of broader processes wherein states increasingly perceive the "integration" of citizens and migrants as closely interlinked with education and employment (Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Fortier, 2022). Language in modern Western states operates as an unequally distributed resource (Heller, 2007): It not only contributes to the common good as a means of communication but, by depending on other resources and reflecting historically developed economic and political power structures, also plays a central role in reproducing such inequalities. Through processes of naturalisation and objectification, language becomes a central tool for the state and the market in legitimising these inequalities (Allan & McElhinny, 2017). In this vein, language learning is perceived as an individual achievement that is technical and neutral compared to culturalising

and racialising (and national, ethnic, religious, or citizenship) categorisations deemed more unjust, prejudiced, and discriminatory.

Language speaking and language acquisition, in this context, have largely become defined as the responsibility of individual immigrants or minorities (Ahlgren & Rydell, 2020; Del Percio, 2018; Lønsmann, 2020), in this way concealing mechanisms linked to societal forces of power and inequality, and furthering the legitimacy of the state or market-imposed constraints and penalties linked to perceived deficiencies in language acquisition.

The hierarchisation and self-responsibilisation of individuals and groups do not exclude, however, the operation of the "left-hand of the state" (Bourdieu, 1999). Administrative-social-educational apparatuses and institutions implement not only the classification, hierarchisation, and policing of individuals but also the delivery of care and support to such marginalised groups. Adult education, and within that, language training, is a significant component of such provisions: Backed by the state and EU subsidies, migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, as well as the unemployed, are offered language courses aimed at helping them acquire specific language proficiencies primarily in the national languages of the respective states and, to a lesser extent, in other "world languages" highly valued in the labour market (Rocca et al., 2020).

In the present article, we look at these kinds of publicly supported adult language training in Vienna, Austria, which focus on teaching German to migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers. According to our qualitative fieldwork, such language teaching institutions are in great proportion populated by German teachers from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries who learned German as a second language, later obtained higher education degrees and diplomas in German studies in their home countries, and after permanently moving or temporarily commuting became employed in these language teaching institutions in Austria.

The central research questions we pose are the following: What kind of inequalities ground the arrival of CEE German teachers, mainly women, into these adult language teaching institutions? How do such inequalities shape the provision of language learning for vulnerable population groups in Austria? What role does language play in concealing economic and historically politically formed power landscapes in these processes of governing through language?

These apparatuses, including the field of adult teaching and language training, demand a great amount of labour, the provision and management of which is also part of the broader field of state governance. Studies have already pointed out how the withdrawal of welfare provisions and decreasing state expenses occur following neoliberal logics by economising on the workforce involved in refugee and migrant services in Western states. Such logics imply poor work conditions: Lower wages, precarious work contracts, and a lack of long-term career prospects are coupled with long working hours, great demand for affective labour, and continuous stress and anxiety (Andersson & Muhrman, 2022; Fejes & Holmqvist, 2019; Kurki et al, 2018).

Researchers of migrant and refugee integration services have noted the state's reliance upon migrant workers in filling these precarious jobs. Mechanisms of labour market segmentation with a focus on migrants working in refugee and migrant services have been described in Canada, France, Germany, and also Austria (Amin, 2004; Bauder & Jayaraman, 2014; De Jong, 2019; Zakariás & Feischmidt, 2021). Related more specifically to language inequalities, a few studies thematise the "language work" stemming from the migration background of employees and volunteers that they have in common with refugee and migrant clients and students, where the language competence of workers serves as a non- or poorly remunerated means of translation and mediation, exploited by migrant and refugee provision institutions and organisations (De Jong, 2019; Hassemer, 2020; Scheibelhofer et al., 2021).

While our article, in line with the above-mentioned studies, also centres on the phenomenon of decreasing state expenses connected with migrant and refugee services and the consequences of this for the precarisation of migrant and refugee work, we present a different constellation of language landscapes behind such processes. Instead of examining the common cultural (linguistic, ethnic, national) background of workers and clients or students, we explore how the operation of historical imperial and power relations in conjunction with present-day processes of the differential inclusion (De Genova et al., 2015) of various migrant groups are at play in creating exploitative working conditions in the sphere of Austrian adult language teaching.

The question of multilingualism and related processes of hierarchisation among language teachers in migration contexts has attracted very little attention, with some exceptions in sociolinguistics (Barakos, 2019; Jenks & Lee, 2020; Panaligan & Curran, 2022). This article aims to take these explorations further. First, we show how social histories of various times and scales become layered upon each other in relation to CEE-citizen teachers teaching refugees and migrants in Austria. Historical geopolitical processes in Central and Eastern Europe and the historical legacy of modern empires of the region come together with more recent processes of neoliberalisation in the CEE region. Last but not least may be added to the mix the proliferation of neoliberal populist immigration policies in Austria.

The second empirical part of the article will show how language governance recreates hierarchies between citizens and non-citizens in Austria and, more specifically, among language teachers for migrants and refugees. The legal measures of immigration politics and the institutional-administrative measures governing education classify and categorise the former and objectify these categories; at the same time, language ideologies

produced by policies and institutional actors that circulate among everyday field participants legitimise such classifications in the symbolic domain. We conclude that, by creating second-order (German) language teachers, the state enhances the precarisation and exploitation of workers in the field of migrant services and adult migrant language teaching.

In the framework of this research, ethnographic fieldwork has been carried out since 2021, focusing on one major branch of a Viennese NGO specialising in German language teaching for refugees. Moreover, about 30 interviews were conducted with teachers and management staff working in this and numerous other NGOs and for-profit companies in Vienna, as well as students enrolled in state-subsidised language/integration courses, namely with people granted asylum or subsidiary protection.

The present article offers an introductory perspective on the topic of CEE citizens working in adult migrant language training in Austria, preparing interested readers for further analyses to be developed in later papers. Consequently, this article is mainly based on a state-of-the-art review of a broad palette of relevant scholarly literature, organisational documents, and the analysis of statistical data; in addition, it takes some initial steps towards exploring empirical data collected through qualitative fieldwork.

2. Migration Governance, Language Policies, and the Marketisation of Adult Education in Austria

As part of the process of the culturalisation of migration and belonging, language has played a central role in the development of integration policies in Austria (Gruber, 2018; Gruber & Rosenberger, 2018, 2023). Since the beginning of the early 2000s, laws and regulations have been promoted and implemented that imply that the residence, naturalisation, and entry of third-country residents to Austria are conditioned upon the acquisition of specific levels of competence in the German language within specified timeframes. Regulated, acquired, and tested, language has become a significant aim and legitimating tool of migration control in Austria (Flubacher, 2021; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2020). In contrast to religion standing for an unalterable Otherness, language acquisition and language competence have become a means of the personal responsibilisation of migrants (Del Percio, 2018; Lønsmann, 2020). Public political discourses have become infiltrated by concepts of penalisation by various exclusionary measures for those perceived as "unwilling to integrate" (Rheindorf, 2019; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2020).

These processes indicate how public spending from the state budget in Austria, as well as European Social Funds (ESF) subsidies since the early 2000s, have maintained supported forms of adult language teaching for various vulnerable populations, such as migrants, refugees, and the unemployed, under the control of public administration organisations like the Austrian Integration Fund (ÖIF), the Public Employment Service (AMS), and regional and municipal bodies.

A central characteristic of the development of adult (language) education has been, as elsewhere in Western countries (Bowl, 2017; Fejes & Holmqvist, 2019; Carlson & Jacobsson, 2019; Thériault & Mercier, 2023), a neoliberal organisational agenda (Lassnigg & Vogtenhuber, 2019). As described in other national contexts (Kurki et al., 2018), the EU also played a major role in fostering the economisation and marketisation of adult education in Austria. EU policies, and specifically the operation of the ESF, played a central role in introducing the vocabulary of human capital and the narrow goal of employment into the field of adult education, as opposed to more diverse social goals formulated by traditionally existing adult education policies and institutions in Austria. ESF-funded schemes also prescribed project planning and competitive tendering. This logic is in sharp contrast with those that drove earlier frameworks, which were based less on projects and more on the unconditional provision of lump sums to specific providers (Lassnigg & Vogtenhuber, 2019).

While the ideology of "lifelong learning" linked to adult education has been increasingly echoed in politics and policies in EU countries, since 2000, the realities of employment in the latter area have been associated with harsh working conditions, starkly contrasting with appraisals of this kind (Kreiml, 2007; Kukovetz & Sprung, 2014). A recent comparative study of present-day adult-education career prospects based on case studies from five EU countries, among them Austria, corroborated that contracts are predominantly insecure and career prospects almost entirely lacking, with the only advancement potential lying in acquiring managerial positions available to very few. The authors arrive at the sobering conclusion that in the adult education sector, "career progression means leaving teaching behind" (Clancy et al., 2023, p. 347).

3. The Place of German Language Teaching in Central and Eastern Europe: A Short Historical Overview

A central claim of this article is that adult education jobs, including language teaching for adult migrants, are increasingly carried out by foreign citizens under unfavourable conditions. Regarding their presence in Austria, Kukovetz and Sprung (2014) detected the substantial under-representation of migrant workers, despite looking at the first- and second-generation (im)migrant presence in the field. The post-2015 era, however, suggests a rapid increase in their proportion (See Supplementary File 1).

To understand these tendencies associated with language teaching for adult migrants, this article draws attention to the central importance of historical imperial genealogies in the domain. The German language has been a vital lingua franca in the geographical region of today's Central and Eastern Europe for centuries

(Darquennes & Nelde, 2006; Glück, 2014; Gross, 2015; Schröder, 2018). Concerning the promotion of the German language in Eastern and Central Europe, the Habsburg Empire and the German lands, most notably Prussia, were major actors in enforcing the control of public language use. Controlling the general language of teaching in elementary and secondary education became a central battleground in the respective (e.g., Czech, Polish, Hungarian, and Slovak) nation-building struggles during the nineteenth century, with the region's ethnic German nationalising minority communities playing a central role (Prokopovych et al., 2020). Following the demise of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the loss of power of Prussia after the First World War, and then again of Austria and Germany after WWII, the status and legal conditions for the public use of the German language became increasingly restricted in CEE states (Kamusella, 2009; Stevenson & Carl, 2010). Starting from the 1950s, the German language became tolerated again. Being the only language officially spoken both in the West and the socialist bloc (in the GDR), it became authorised in public as well as in higher education in numerous CEE countries (Jin & Cortazzi, 2013; Stevenson & Carl, 2010).

The transition has led to new developments regarding the position of the command of the German language in CEE countries. Legislation aimed at protecting minority languages in CEE states, including the use and education of German in cultural spaces, was implemented in numerous countries as part of negotiations for EU enlargement (Hughes & Sasse, 2003; Vermeersch, 2004). Importantly, the unleashed free-market expansion of German and Austrian companies towards the CEE region and the accompanying need for cheap labour possessing German language skills increased the labour market value of learning German (Tichy, 2015). Such market demands were also supported by policies and institutions founded and subsidised by the German and Austrian governments, suggesting the primary importance of these policies in the CEE region (Stevenson & Carl, 2010, pp. 45, 98). These foreign cultural policies blend references to national economic interests with the values and vocabulary of human rights, multilingualism, and intercultural communication that characterise EU-level language policies and enable, on the practical level, the promotion of German language education in CEE, explicitly or implicitly covering countries and geographical regions that reflect the borders of the former empire (Teichler et al., 2011, p. 185). Although the educational policies of the post-transition decades in the context of globalisation have brought about the clear primacy of English among foreign languages in the CEE region, these historical and recent social processes have led to the German language still being of central importance in CEE countries (see Supplementary File 2).

The study of German as a second or foreign language is associated with a historically established institutional infrastructure, which includes teacher training in tertiary education at colleges and universities. The multiplication of foreign languages and the penetration of English after the transition negatively impacted the popularity of higher-level studies in the German language and German teaching in CEE countries (Tichy, 2015). More broadly, the transition around 1989 was followed by the significant withdrawal of state-budgetary support for the welfare, health, and educational sectors (Polese et al., 2015). This resulted in the dramatic underfunding of public education in the majority of these countries associated with extremely low wages and salaries, incomparable either with wages offered at domestic market-based companies or with the remuneration offered in public education in Western European countries (European Commission et al., 2021; Tichy, 2015). This has not only led to a decrease in interest in entering higher education in the areas of languages and language teaching but also the outflow of language teachers from public education in CEE countries, either to the for-profit market segment of the labour market or—as we describe in our case study—their searching for and pursuing work abroad.

4. The Production of Second-Order Language Teachers in Adult Education Institutions in Vienna

In this section, we discuss the results of empirical fieldwork conducted with teachers, managers, and students enrolled in language courses specifically targeting people granted asylum or subsidiary protection or the unemployed, many of whom have a migrant background. We show, first, how the legal-administrative measures of regulating employment in adult and regular education and, second, more symbolic phenomena involving the language ideologies of "native speakerism" co-construct the specific position of second-order teachers in Austria. Third, we explore how this position is interiorised by CEE teachers in adult language education.

4.1. The Role of Legal-Administrative Measures

Based on labour market statistics (see Supplementary File 1), as well as our field research in numerous adult education institutions, the EU member states in the CEE region (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), as well as non-EU members, such as the new states of former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia) and post-Soviet countries (e.g., Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Georgia) are important sending countries of language teachers to Austria. Residence and labour rights may differ considerably in these two groups, with the division further complicated by refugee status and the subsidiary or temporary refugee protection granted to many during the numerous wars in the region in the last three decades, the Russian invasion of Ukraine being only the latest among these.

While third-country migrants without refugee status are heavily dependent on their employment positions

and jobs to preserve their residence and work permits in Austria, migrants with recognised refugee status and intra-EU migrants are subject to more relaxed regulations. However, there is a growing consensus among researchers that the free movement of EU citizens does not imply their access to similar socioeconomic positions as those occupied by local citizens. Downward mobility (Favell & Nebe, 2009) and de-qualification (Glorius et al., 2013) are widespread phenomena that structurally lead to labour market segmentation and marginalised positions in the labour market (Favell, 2018; Glorius et al., 2013). Regarding CEE intra-EU migrants in Austria, Reeger (2018) also points to regulatory difficulties related to the nostrification of degrees, de-qualification, lower wages, and longer working hours.

These well-studied phenomena of labour market segmentation, as implied by the legal regulations pertaining to residence and work that affect labour migrants in Western countries in numerous fields and segments, have their specific forms and features in the field of language education. The mainstream Austrian public education system, comprising primary and secondary level public schools, exercises a strong pull effect on adult language teachers. Job security based on open-ended contracts, stable government funding, and the very small proportion of project- and tender-based work makes the situation in the field of regular public education incomparable with the uncertainty and precarity that prevails in the area of adult education. Salaries in the former, fixed in collective contracts for full-time jobs (BABE, 2022; European Commission et al., 2022), and further, when calculated according to the expected number of in-class teaching hours, are significantly higher. All these factors, complemented with the amount of yearly paid vacation and differences in career prospects, provide grounds for existential contemplation for many who work in the area of adult education. According to our data, for the latter teachers and trainers who have the opportunity to access teaching jobs in public education, the potential to switch is always on the horizon.

However, regular teaching jobs, with much more favourable work conditions, are not equally accessible. Discrepant qualification-based conditionalities strictly filter adult educators considering this professional shift. While language-education institutions for adults in Austria accept teachers with a wide range of higher education degrees and certificates of German studies and Germanistics (Austrian Integration Fund, 2023), the teaching profession in both general and vocational secondary education in Austria is strictly regulated. The recognition procedure for teachers that determines whether an applicant's formal qualifications acquired in the EU/EEA are equivalent to the conditions that apply to teaching in Austria constitutes an obstacle for a significant proportion of adult educators. Depending on the type of educational institution and disciplinary area, the relevant federal or state-level governing body must examine the qualifications and work experience of the applicant formerly acquired in an EU/EEA country and decide—within four months—upon the further conditions of their employability in Austria on a case-by-case basis (Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research, 2023). According to our interviews with teachers aspiring for such a professional shift and a legal counsellor in this field, the studied disciplinary subjects, the theoretical and practical courses completed, and the length of teaching practice in a relevant institution are often deemed insufficient to allow direct access to teaching positions in regular public education. In many cases, applicants are recommended to enrol in further studies to make up for the missing elements, which may take several months or, in many cases, years. This is not a viable option for many: Those in worse financial-economic situations, who rely heavily upon full-time employment, and those with care duties are severely hindered in their labour market mobility.

4.2. Native Speakerism and CEE Language Teachers

Beyond the legal and administrative regulations, the structural phenomena of the symbolic domain also contribute to the hierarchic classification of language teachers within the broader educational field in Austria. The term "native speakerism" was coined by Holliday (2006) to assist in a critical examination of the normative tendency of English language teaching to reinforce culturalised hierarchies built upon the native/non-native divide. This ideology associates "native" speaking with an idealised modern, "Western" culture, as opposed to non-Western, "uncivilised" cultures, which has severe political implications for the governance of language use and language teaching in English-speaking contexts around the globe (Braine, 2004). While the majority of the linguistic research on native speakerism is focused on English language use, the phenomenon has also been explored in German-speaking contexts (Jessner et al., 2022; Thoma, 2022).

Although there is no scientific evidence that the quality of language teaching is related to the first spoken language of the teacher (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Sprung, 2013), the everyday realities of German teaching and learning have been and are still closely interwoven with nativist ideologies that claim the superiority of the "native German teacher" in educational contexts in Austria (Jessner et al., 2022; Sprung, 2013). Given the pervasiveness of monolingual linguistic regimes that prescribe and expect the proficient and exclusive use of German in administrative and educational contexts in Austria (Barakos, 2019; Scheibelhofer et al., 2021; Sprung, 2013), it is of great importance how teachers with foreign citizenship, present in great numbers in adult teaching institutions, are regarded and valued, both externally—by managers, colleagues, and students—and internally, by the CEE teachers themselves.

Based on our interviews, and remaining well aware of the critical attitude a dichotomous distinction requires, this section explores the native–non-native divide and investigates how relevant it is to students, teachers, and managers working in state-subsidised language training. At the end of the section, we also explore how such discourses affect how migrant teachers perceive themselves in this regard.

4.2.1. Perspective 1: Non-Native Speakers As More Qualified Teachers

Tala, a recognised refugee from Syria, and a former language teacher herself, offered to be interviewed at her home in Vienna. Shortly after beginning, the door rang, and her friend Jannan came for a surprise visit. She joined Tala in her narration about learning German in Austria; in a way, the process seemed to be a conversation between two friends sharing their experiences. Both women have strong opinions about the numerous German courses they have attended in their—at the time of interview—six years in Austria. They describe a pronounced dissatisfaction with the system of language teaching for adult migrants, especially with the language exams required for integration into the labour market in line with their educational qualifications. Tala and Jannan recounted anecdotes of teachers who, in their eyes, were not qualified and, in a more general way, described the difficulties they faced finding courses, learning German, and preparing for the exams required for vocational training or finding employment:

> T: The teacher, you ask her a question, and she goes on Google and does a search [for the answer].
>
> J: Right, the teachers are inexperienced; they are not qualified.
>
> T: I had a teacher; she was a bank employee; she used to do something else, then she changed jobs, and she applied [to work as a teacher]. They know German, but they cannot give you any information, they have no methods for teaching…
>
> J: Yes! Not necessarily. Me now, OK, I speak Arabic, but I am not good at Arabic grammar….You know what? The people who studied at university, *Ausländer* [foreigners] who come from Bulgaria or [other areas of] Eastern Europe and studied languages at [the] university, are more competent than the "real" Austrians who come to teach. You feel that they are qualified in their work as teachers.

While reflecting on the courses they took, Tala, who in her home country used to work as a language teacher herself, expressed her anger about teachers who, in her opinion, are unprepared for their job. Her statement that "they know German, but they cannot give you any information" illustrates her impression that native speakers have mastery of their language but may lack the skills required for teaching. For Jannan, the fact that teachers from CEE countries studied German independently, obtaining a university degree, is a positive asset:

> Once I had a teacher, two German [language] teachers really, they were much better than the teachers from Austria. They studied at a faculty of languages and were very good, better than [Austrian teachers]….I don't remember exactly where they were from; maybe Hungary? But really, they were very good teachers, very good. There was a teacher last year from Deutschland [Germany]; everything was *ganz einfach* [very simple] for him. "That is simple!" And he didn't do anything; it was all "simple" [for] him. But it is your [the teacher's] mother tongue!

Contrasting her description of her CEE teachers, she describes taking a class with a teacher of German nationality. In her record, he was little or not at all sympathetic about or comprehensive of the struggles of a person learning German but stated that everything they learned was "very simple." The fact that German was his first language was considered to be an obstacle to his understanding that, for Jannan, things were not just "very simple."

4.2.2. Perspective 2: Native Speakers as More Authentic and, Thus, More Qualified Teachers

Contrarily to Jannan, Lina, who had experienced learning under both migrant and native German-speaker teachers, took a position in favour of native speakers, contrasting their approach with an example of an explanation given by a teacher from Hungary:

> There are also people of Turkish origin who were born here, but German is not their mother tongue, they speak [it], but they also [sic] don't speak [it] properly. My teacher was Hungarian; I asked her: "Why do you say 'at the market' but 'I go to the supermarket?'" She said: "That's German." But the Austrian teacher told me that you can go *inside* the supermarket while you are *outside at* the market—she said that's the reason. You see, the teacher whose mother tongue [it was] was different from the one who had learned or studied the language on her own.

Be it either in favour of the first or the second perspective, similar views are held by language teachers, irrespective of their citizenship, and sometimes even by coordinators and managers of projects and programmes in these institutions. Professionals' opinions, when critical, are less explicit and essentialising than students' more conclusive and robust claims, as illustrated above. The former is rather constrained to puzzlement and dismay about the occasional experience of the low-quality

speaking and teaching skills of "non-native" teachers, consistently avoiding offering generalisations. However, such reports of professionals who also point out negative examples contribute to solidifying the figure of the "non-native," less competent teacher; thus, they maintain the discourse of "native speakerism."

4.3. Citizenship, Native Speakerism, and Teacher Subjectivities

Legal and administrative measures associated with working in Austria, specifically in education, in tandem with culturalising discourses of native speakerism, create categories that classify workers and orient them into different jobs and positions in the labour market. The legal constraints of residence and work in Austria (for citizens of third countries without refugee status) and the administrative barriers of the nostrification of language teaching degrees and diplomas (for all non-Austrian citizens) confine CEE language teachers to work in adult education jobs and hinder their shifting into more stable and better-paid fields of education in Austria. In the eyes of workers, such administrative barriers become legitimised and normalised through discourses of native speakerism, that is, through the idea that ties teaching competence and superiority to "nativeness."

To illustrate the production of such "second-order language teachers," we look at the life story of Ilona, a German teacher in her early forties, born in a small Slovakian village and now living and teaching in Vienna. Being interested in languages, she chose German studies and finished higher education in a college for humanities in a Slovakian city. After obtaining her diploma as a German teacher, she decided to further advance her command of the language by becoming an *au pair* for a Viennese family. After a few years working in customer services for a Hungarian company in Vienna, she decided to apply for one of the largest Austrian private adult education companies for the position of German teacher. This was still her workplace at the time of our encounter.

Just like almost all of our interviewed teachers, Ilona mainly reflected upon the increased emotional and physical workload and lower wages that she contrasted with those in public education jobs. She explained in great detail the detrimental effects of the insecurities associated with tenders and project-based work, all of which undermine, from time to time, both the mental states of workers and the workplace collegial community.

Despite these malaises, Ilona's central perspective on her job as a German teacher was still one of gratitude and loyalty. She expressed her insecurities and self-doubts throughout the interview: Whether in relation to finding any kind of formal official job in Austria, doing office work, or being employed as a language teacher, she evoked these with surprise, enthusiasm, and, most importantly, gratefulness:

> I applied to be a German language teacher, and then it worked out, thank God….I wouldn't have ever imagined that, in my life, I could be teaching German here. So, thank God, that's how I see it, because at that time I expected to always be working as a shop assistant or something, and that I would not have any better chances….But thank God, based on my qualifications, I succeeded.

She considers herself privileged and fortunate, if not even indebted for her "good fate" to her employers. All resentments concerning workload, low pay, and temporal insecurities are suppressed by the reiteration of her privileged position. A central element of such self-doubt is her perceived lack of native-German speech: Colleagues' remarks on misspellings, her accent, potential grammar mistakes, and related student feedback all become interiorised and fed into a questioned identity of being a competent German teacher:

> I was somehow nervous that I am not a native [German-speaker], [but I was] still allowed to teach German [laughs]….So the highest level I ever taught was B1. So B2-level teaching, possibly I would not take it on, I guess, because I think natives can give so much more [pauses]. Or maybe not. Because students [say] I can explain things much better than natives. I don't know; I just don't know….Because there are students—I heard from a lot of [colleagues] that there are students who want to test the teachers [laughs], so I really don't need that. I'm not saying I am not on that level, but a native is still a native.

It is not only Ilona who feels insecure about her teaching. Lamenting and (self)constraining their teaching competencies to a lower level are recurring themes in most of our interviews with CEE teachers. These insecurities, experiences, anticipations, and anecdotes in employees' and students' remarks are recurring elements in narratives about professional insufficiency. These insecurities tied to non-native teacher positions contribute significantly to the self-doubts and self-devaluing of their own work, relativising and ultimately undermining perceptions of the legitimacy of CEE teachers' desires for better jobs and working conditions.

5. Discussion and Conclusion: Hierarchies of Teachers, Hierarchies of Students

In this article, we have departed from discussing the recent phenomenon of migration politics in Western states that have strengthened the role of national languages in the control and governance of immigration. Since 2015, increasingly restrictive populist immigration policies have prevailed in Austria, including in relation to the language acquisition of migrants and refugees (Gruber, 2018; Gruber & Rosenberger, 2023; Rosenberger & Gruber, 2020). The increasing

conditioning of the residence, work, and social welfare of refugees and migrants on their acquisition of German and related governmental discourses of responsibilisation have gone together with contradictory and incoherent policy-making processes that destabilise the professional actors in the field of German teaching for immigrants, such as education institutions and professional and interest groups and organisations (Flubacher, 2021). Such processes that Flubacher (2021) describes as "governmental precarisation" are unfolding in the larger context of EU adult education policies that distribute European public funding through competitive tendering mechanisms. Restrictive populist policies layered upon broader logics of marketisation have resulted in already precarious and challenging work conditions, typical of adult learning environments, becoming even harsher. Low wages, long working hours, continuous insecurity, and a lack of perspectives imply that such jobs are hard to pursue for longer periods—at least for workers who have alternatives in the labour market.

This article explores the consequences of these processes and, more specifically, the arrival of foreign citizen workers into these educational institutions. In understanding how foreign citizens, and among them CEE language teachers, are increasingly filling these positions, we looked at various economic, political, and social processes on diverse historical timescales and geographies. First, imperial genealogies and the centuries-long institutionalisation of the German language in the CEE region were explained as founding elements of the labour pool, which, well supplied with linguistic resources, became instrumental in the governance of migrant language teaching in Austria.

Second, we described how the specifics of labour markets and welfare policies in the CEE region are core structural elements in fuelling the migratory processes of CEE workers towards Western European countries, among them Austria (Melegh, 2023). The dramatic deterioration of welfare services in the post-transition decades, including the relative decrease in budgetary support for education in post-socialist states, is a central driver that incentivises teachers and German studies degree holders to find German language teaching in Austria appealing (see Piore, 1986). Based on such geopolitical differences, CEE teachers conceive of adult education work in Austria as a definite advancement, despite its precarity and their eventual material difficulty. Moreover, economic mobility, built upon the official recognition of higher education diplomas in German studies, is considered professional mobility too, as one is exempt from the usual phenomena of de-qualification and status loss.

From the perspective of Austrian migration governance, CEE workers who take up these positions can be understood as a significant source of labour whose linguistic resources, deeply embedded in imperial histories, are channelled into labour market positions abandoned by Austrian-citizen workers. We also describe how governance mechanisms are in place that contribute to constructing and maintaining differences in labour market opportunities, confining foreign workers to such educational domains. These mechanisms are partly constructed through general residence- and work-related regulations, as widely explored in studies of segmented labour migration (Grimshaw et al., 2015). Furthermore, these are also constructed through institutional-administrative regulations in the field of education, allowing the inflow of CEE teachers into adult education domains while limiting their access to more stable and secure positions in regular public education.

Last but not least, the secondary position of CEE teachers is also reinforced through the symbolic domain by language ideologies of "native speakerism." Our interviews with managers, teachers, and students revealed that such ambivalent discourses involving measuring "native" and "non-native" teachers against each other, recurrent in teaching contexts, have destabilising potential. Irrespective of the stance of the speaker—whether conclusive and valuing "non-native"-ness positively or negatively—such discourses threaten the identity of foreign citizen teachers, often categorised as "non-natives," and provoke the self-questioning of their own competence and professional value as German teachers.

Citizenship discourses and legislation underline and reinforce greater recognition and deservingness for citizens as opposed to non-citizens, strongly interlinked with the respective legal and material resources. Among such discourses of deservingness linked to citizenship and successful labour market participation, finding and continuing work and employment become cornerstones not only of material survival but of subjective perceptions of membership and recognition (Streinzer & Tosic, 2022). These logics that unfold in the context of adult education and language learning tie foreign language teachers and, in great proportions, CEE citizens to specific positions. In contrast to typical segmented labour market contexts, the latter comprises formal and skilled jobs, offering the potential for economic and professional mobility compared to the low-paid and devalued language teaching in CEE countries. However, these positions are construed as less valued, financially and symbolically, compared to those in mainstream segments of the Austrian education sector. This draws the contours of a classification system and a strict hierarchy of language teaching opportunities for CEE language teachers.

Furthermore, the corresponding teacher hierarchies are closely intertwined with the general phenomenon of migrants becoming part of the secondary-order labour supply for host countries. Their ordering also closely reflects the classification and hierarchisation of student categories and groups. While there is no evidence that CEE teachers do objectively less "qualified" work than Austrian citizens, their administrative, financial, and symbolic devaluation reflects how policies and institutions regard adult students, among them adult migrants, as second-order individuals compared to those (in the majority, Austrian citizens) enrolled in the regular public

education system. These kinds of interlocking systems of classification and hierarchisation, and the relationships they foster between managers, teachers, and students in various positions deserve further scholarly attention. In this article, we have taken the initial step in this regard, and by focusing on governing through language, we have highlighted the nuanced ways in which historically, economically, and politically embedded language geographies contribute to the reproduction of hierarchies of membership, inclusion, and exclusion in present-day immigration societies.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material for this article is available online in the format provided by the authors (unedited).

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Article

No(r)way? Language Learning, Stereotypes, and Social Inclusion Among Poles in Norway

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Abstract
This study recognizes the diversity and heterogeneous nature of a migrant group that long has been portrayed and perceived in a limited way, for instance in Norwegian media, without considering the multifaceted nature of the group in question. Drawing on data from focus group interviews, we apply narrative analysis to shed light on the impact stereotypes surrounding Poles have on Polish adult migrants' striving for social inclusion and professional success in Norway. Being the largest migrant group in Norway, speaking a first language (L1) structurally different from Norwegian, and representing a former Eastern Bloc country, Poles constitute an important case to gain better knowledge of the interplay between language, labour, and social inclusion. Through our study, we aim to gain emic insights into parts of the process of settling in Norway. Our analysis centres on a case study of two focus group participants' reactions to stereotypical portrayals of Polish (professionals) in Norwegian media, experiences with language learning, and the advice they would give to newcomers, as well as the importance of a sense of community for gaining the "small talk" competence necessary to ease social inclusion. The analysis draws on the key concepts of agency, investment, and well-being. We show how the tension that occurs when second language (L2) participants are confronted with stereotypes may create a discursive space for empowerment and agency through the opportunity to contest and re-create (professional) expectancies. The study also demonstrates that there most likely are ways forward to more inclusive practices for Polish migrants in Norway.

Keywords
agency; investment; narratives; Norway; Polish work migrants; social inclusion; stereotypes; well-being

Issue
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1. Introduction

Migrants carry with them their own personal stories and a range of experiences and encounters with various actors and stakeholders that in different ways have contributed to secure or inhibit their sense of community and inclusion in a new society. The importance of (researchers') recognizing the migrants' own experiences and emotions while learning a second language has been highlighted for quite some time (e.g., Busch, 2017; Kramsch, 2009; Norton, 2013; Opsahl & Golden, 2023; Rydell, 2018), and in this article we aim to gain emic insights into the experiences of settling in Norway as Polish work migrants. Our analysis centres on experiences with stereotypes and how they may affect (professional) identities and investment in language learning, reflections on integrative practices, and the importance of "small talk" competence to ease social inclusion. We understand "social inclusion" in line with the EU Agency for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions as "a process that ensures citizens have the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live" (Eurofond, 2023).

Being the largest migrant group in Norway, speaking a first language (L1) in many ways structurally different from Norwegian, and representing a former Eastern Bloc country in Europe, Poles constitute an important case to gain better knowledge of the interplay between language, labour, and social inclusion. Despite the relative geographical proximity—you can reach Southern Norway from Poland in less than two hours—we assume that both the linguistic and socio-historical distance may influence the pace and success of social inclusion. Polish immigration to Norway has a relatively long history stretching back to the 1830s. No substantial migration patterns are traceable until the 1980s, though, when 2,000 political refugees arrived in Norway, many of whom were prominent intellectuals and artists who are well established within Norwegian society today (Friberg & Golden, 2014). However, it is only when we reach the phase of modern Polish Norwegian migration history that coincides with Poland's entry into the EU in 2004, that the Polish presence in Norway becomes particularly evident. Since 2006, the growth of Polish labour migrants to Norway was accompanied by family immigration, and in 2007, Poles became the largest group of immigrants to Norway, something which is still the case. In 2023, among Norway's approximately 5.4 million inhabitants, 877,227 were immigrants, and among these, 107,442 were from Poland according to Statistics Norway (2023). In the decades leading up to the EU expansion, Polish presence was primarily associated with short-term and circular migration. Bilateral agreements on temporary seasonal, agricultural work, where for instance students supplemented their income with work abroad, were typical during the 1990s. This followed the fall of communism, but scepticism toward Eastern Europe, with its communist past, continued to linger. Even though a small and multifaceted diaspora already existed in Norway, and many Polish work migrants received specialist work permits, an image of the (male) temporary manual worker was reinforced with the opening of the EEA labour market since many Polish work migrants were blue-collar workers within fields such as manufacturing and construction. This image is to some extent still prevalent and pertains to first-generation as well as second-generation migrants (Dyrlid, 2018; Obojska, 2018; Odden, 2020). According to Huang et al. (2016, p. 68), young Poles working in Norway have similar education levels to the Norwegian youth and appear to be better educated than the general population in Poland. Still, Przybyszewska (2021) shows how Polish migrants channel themselves into low-skilled employment, assuming it is "inevitable." In parallel, Friberg and Midtbøen (2018, p. 1472), in their paper with the telling title "Ethnicity as Skill: immigrant Employment Hierarchies in Norwegian Low-Wage Labour Markets," show how some Norwegian employers consider Poles and Lithuanians as being "the perfect manual workers." A tension between the level and type of educational background, and expectations of a certain work moral combined with expertise in manual labour, is present in our data as well. Hence, the de facto multifaceted aspects of the Polish-Norwegian community still seem affected by stereotypical images, echoing descriptions of EU (and post-Soviet) migrant experiences elsewhere in Europe (e.g., Kingumets & Sippola, 2022; Odden, 2020; Young, 2019).

Stereotypes play an important role in the present study. The term has been used broadly in research for more than 100 years, with a variety of definitions (cf. Kanahara, 2006). In this article, we adopt the simplest definition proposed by Kanahara (2006, p. 306), where stereotypes are "a belief about a group of individuals." With this definition, we recognize that stereotypes are not "truths": They are "ideas that circulate as truths" (Reyes, 2016, p. 312). Moreover, they are not inherently "good" or "bad," nor are they necessarily discriminatory or prejudicial (Creese & Blackledge, 2020, p. 422; Opsahl & Golden, 2023, p. 113). To tease out the different meanings of stereotypes, more judgmental and determinable adjectives can be attached when necessary, according to Kanahara (2006, p. 318), like "positive stereotype, inaccurate stereotype, cultural stereotype, ethnic stereotype, and gender stereotype." Reyes (2016, p. 310) further highlights the relational aspect of stereotypes by calling them a "widespread typification that links attributes to entities." Creese and Blackledge (2020, p. 422) build on Reyes (2009, p. 43) in their description of stereotypes being "typical features, approximate descriptors that individuals *need* to move about in the world." This last quote resembles what cognitive linguists would call "prototypes," needed in the conceptualization of artefacts as well as ideas as "same" or "different." Hence, stereotyping can be constructed both as an interactional resource in order to position oneself in a meaningful way, and as an oppressive practice (Reyes, 2009). A view of metapragmatic stereotypes as being "circulating resources that can be creatively recontextualized in interaction" (Reyes, 2009, p. 59) has been essential for our analysis.

This article reports from a larger study where we among other things explore to what extent the stereotypes and discrimination the migrants (directly or indirectly) have encountered, have reduced their potential for living the professional and/or social lives they imagined (cf. Olszewska, 2022; Opsahl & Golden, 2023). In the case study we present here, the participants give voice to "another way of seeing things" when confronted with stereotypes, while at the same time maintaining a sense of well-being. We discuss whether and in what ways the Polish migrants are affected by the stereotypes surrounding Poles in their striving for language learning, social inclusion, and success in the labour market. Moreover, we recognize the diversity and heterogeneous nature of a migrant group that long has been portrayed and perceived in a limited way, i.e., ignoring the multifaceted nature of the group in question (e.g., Sapieżyńska, 2022, p. 16).

2. Investment, Agency, and Well-Being

We base our analysis on three main theoretical constructs: the notions of agency (Ahearn, 2001), investment (Norton, 2013), and well-being (Mercer, 2021). In addition, we recognize the future-oriented nature of language learning in our analysis, seeing learning as an opportunity to gain access to resources linked to a future prospect of being part of an imagined community (Norton, 2013; cf. Anderson, 1983). The notion of agency, formulated by Ahearn (2001, p. 109) as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act," can help us to describe and understand the interplay between the abilities and opportunities available to the migrants in a given context (cf. De Fina, 2015), for instance, whether they are *assigned* or *enabled* to create a space for inclusive actions. In narratives, agency is also related to the "characters' reaction to troubles and difficulties" (Relaño Pastor & De Fina, 2005, p. 41). As agency is "defined on a continuum" it goes from "lack of reactions to conflicts" to "active attempts to solve problems" (Relaño Pastor & De Fina, 2005, p. 41). Such continua or agentive spaces are socioculturally mediated and interwoven in complex ecologies, highlighting an important discursive and relational dimension of agency that is of particular importance to us (cf. Reyes, 2016, p. 314). Certain agentive spaces may provide opportunities for increased agency, enabling better circumstances for investment in the new language. The concept of investment was initiated by Norton Peirce (1995) drawing on Bourdieu's power analysis (see also Darvin & Norton, 2023), and it is understood as the learners' relationship to the target language, a relationship that is socially and historically constructed. It includes the learners' often ambivalent desires to master the language in question and "seeks to make a meaningful connection between a learner's desire and commitment to acquire a language, and the language practices of the classroom or community" (Norton, 2013, p. 6). Learners' investment will depend on a variety of factors and it is dynamic. If learners feel marginalized in a community, for instance, due to being affected by negative stereotypes, they may not be invested in the available learning contexts, despite high levels of motivation: "Investment therefore signals the tension between agency and structure, the freedom of learners to choose, and the limitations of the choices made available to them" (Darvin & Norton, 2023, p. 31). It follows from this that both the migrants' agency and desire for investment will include power relations. Moreover, investment is a relational concept that is "discursively constructed, negotiated, and enacted" (Ennser-Kananen, 2019, p. 88). Our understanding of "well-being" is also relational and ecological, whereby the concept "can be seen as a sense of happiness, satisfaction and meaning which emerges from the dynamic interplay of personal characteristics and sociocontextual factors" (Mercer, 2021, p. 20). Hence, well-being is both individually and socially defined, "emerging from a person's subjective personal relationships with the affordances within their social ecologies," and the way an individual responds to these conditions (Mercer, 2021, p. 16). We see how an individual responds to the conditions and contexts of their lives as closely related to their agency and to agentive spaces characterized by the notion of well-being. Taken together, then, our theoretical point of departure underscores the interplay between personal abilities and sociocultural opportunities; that is, the processes underlying constructions and perceptions of social inclusion. Such relational processes have been shown to play a significant role in the conceptualization of the language competence of adult migrants, "on the challenges involved in learning a new language and how being recognized as a competent language user is a desired subject position shaped in intersubjective processes" (Rydell, 2018, p. 108).

3. Data and Methods

An attempt to depict the interplay between the migrants' abilities and opportunities across agentive spaces calls for a certain type of data that captures the specific time-space configurations associated with the lived experiences of the participants (Busch, 2017). This spatio-temporal dimension is also relevant to the relationship between language learning and investment, as pointed out by Ennser-Kananen (2019). As researchers, we must "consider language learners' multiple displays of investment at different times for different aspects of and beyond the language learning process" (Ennser-Kananen, 2019, p. 88). Narratives extracted from focus group interviews (Krueger & Casey, 2014) have proven to be suitable for this purpose, where the participants often readily share experiences and ideas "that are partial or incomplete, trying them out with various degrees of assertiveness and tentativeness" (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 10). According to Golden and Lanza (2013, p. 299), "this form of conversation is dynamic in that it enables the participants the possibility to react to one another, to be challenged by one another, to compare experiences and values, and to be reminded of similar or contrary experiences." When the participants speak in their second language (L2) and discuss sensitive topics, it is preferable with a smaller focus group, as it provides a safe space with less competition for occupying the floor and better conditions for participating and speaking freely. Narratives and small stories (Georgakopoulou, 2007) are co-constructed and unfold more easily, and the speakers typically reach for agreement (De Fina, 2009; Opsahl & Golden, 2023).

Our study is based on five focus group interviews collected during late 2020. The interviews were performed in the participants' L2 Norwegian at the Socio-Cognitive Laboratory at the University of Oslo, with one additional interview taking place on Zoom due to pandemic restrictions. The participants were all highly educated Poles who worked in places relevant to their level of education.

For the sake of preserving their anonymity, we cannot reveal more about their backgrounds. The focus groups consisted of two to three participants in addition to the authors, and the interviews followed the same procedure with a short interview guide to be able to check that the desired topics were covered in all the interviews. Participants were recruited through social media, through acquaintances, and through the "snowball method" whereby one participant led us to another. They were all notified about the goal of the project in an information letter before meeting with us. The interviews were videotaped, transcribed, and coded manually to identify the main themes that emerged during the interaction, with a special focus on narratives and small stories. The excerpts below are presented in English, using translations made by the authors. The analysis is primarily data-driven, but inevitably informed by our previous research experience and acquired theoretical understanding (cf. Smithson, 2010). The presence of majority language-speaking adult female researchers in the interactional co-construction of meaning is important to take into consideration, not only in the analysis but also in the interviews themselves (De Fina, 2009). We recognize the interplay between the different levels of the storytelling process: "the storytelling world" and "the story world" (De Fina, 2003). The storytelling world is the "here and now" when the story is told and includes all the participants in the focus group, as well as the time and place of the storytelling. The story world is the "there and then," and thus includes the time and place in the story that is being narrated and the people present within it. Reported speech, or constructed dialogue, as it is sometimes also referred to, serves as a particularly important resource to "accentuate the lived experience of language [and] bring reported experiences to life" (Rydell, 2018, p. 107; see also Lanza, 2012; Lanza & Golden, 2022).

As stereotypes surrounding a specific migrant group are a challenging and sensitive topic to approach, we chose to present this indirectly, starting by showing three short video clips. This way the participants could comment on the experiences of others rather than their own, and later expand to their own experiences when (or if) they felt comfortable. The selection of video clips was collected from Norwegian national television and concerned cases where Poles (and Norwegians) were portrayed in an exaggerated, stereotypical way: Poles mostly as male, low-skilled blue-collar workers with weak language skills and questionable degrees of law-abidingness. The videos were originally part of comedies or comedy shows and intended to be funny. As mentioned above, stereotypes are not inherently positive or negative, and previous research on migrants' narratives has shown that stereotypes may serve as a metapragmatic resource to negotiate identities in socially meaningful ways (Creese & Blackledge, 2020). The conversations were based on reactions to the video clips and continued to touch upon other issues related to Polish–Norwegian encounters at work and in the participants' personal lives, including experiences with learning Norwegian. We also paid attention to their feelings of belonging (or not), and how they dealt with comments made by Norwegians about their integrative success or about the behaviour of Poles in general. Since our study is concerned with emic perspectives and data suitable for exploring the lived experiences of our participants (e.g., De Fina, 2009; Obojska, 2020), we have chosen to concentrate on one case which highlights many of the recurring themes that emerge from the data set. In the analysis, we meet Jana and Marek (both pseudonyms), who know each other well, are both in their thirties and forties, hold higher education degrees, and have approximately eight years of residency in Norway.

4. Analysis

4.1. Addressing Stereotypes

We start with Jana and Marek's perception of how Poles are conceived in Norway, based on their reactions to the stereotypes they saw portrayed in the video clips. Their attention is especially drawn to one of the clips, which portrays a carpenter with what seems like an excellent work ethic and a "I fix everything" attitude, but who ignores laws and regulations and has a limited knowledge of Norwegian. Like many of the participants in our study, and in alignment with previous research, they highlight that Poles are presented rather one-dimensionally in the Norwegian media (Dyrlid, 2018; Obojska, 2020). Holding a higher education degree, for instance, a PhD, is not to be expected, and if you do, you are considered "a totally different kind of Pole," according to some of our participants (Opsahl & Golden, 2023). Marek does not like to be associated with manual workers just because he is Polish, and he shares stories of how he is often asked to help recruit plumbers and carpenters, something he considers "irritating." At one point in the conversation, he calls it prejudice: "It's prejudice if someone asks me if I know an electrician." He distinguishes clearly between more practically oriented and theoretically oriented occupations. Moreover, his experience of being associated with a "normality" different from the one he envisions himself as being part of, threatens his sense of well-being. The way Jana responds to these conditions is strikingly different concerning agency. She is not threatened by such questions. On the contrary, Jana states that "we are not the group that experiences a lot of prejudice," and despite not considering the image of the Poles in the video clips to be very positive, she does not dwell on this negative view, as we see in Excerpt 1 (see Table 1 for transcription conventions).

Excerpt 1—"I usually turn it around"

```
1   Jana   I have also been asked sometimes if I know any electricians or Poles. But….I
2          didn't really take it negatively. There is nothing (.) negative. I understand
3          where it comes from. And I know you might want people not to…associate Poland
4          ((where)) there are only jobs and only electricians and carpenters because
5          there are of course all kinds of different [people].
6   Marek                                                [Same as] in every country, right?
7   Jana   Yes, but I usually turn it around a bit (.) reverse it. That now lately there
8          were actually two people who asked me or talked about building something and
9          I just "yeah, yeah just use Poles they are good." And then like "Yes, I've
10         heard that, yes." So, it's like you can also turn it around perhaps in a
11         different way. [All]=
12  Marek                 [I don't]=
13  Jana   =use in fact,
14  Marek  =know. I don't bring it up myself because I actually thought it is a bit
15         annoying and that's how it is, everything (.) everything depends on the
16         situation and such, right?
```

Table 1. Transcription conventions.

(.)	short pause
[ ]	overlapping speech
=	latching
" "	(quotation mark) constructed dialogue
Word	(underscore) strong emphatic stress
[…]	indicates short segments removed in the transcription
,	(comma) continuing intonation
.	(full stop) falling intonation
((word))	uncertain transcription

Jana regards the "I fix everything" attitude as being a positive image, reporting that the Poles are considered "very efficient, work hard and fix everything fast." Unlike Marek, she is not offended by the Norwegians assuming that "all" Poles are manual workers. In claiming both to know *why* this is the common view of Poles (lines 2–3, "I understand where it comes from") and that she—when somebody was talking about construction work—says enthusiastically "yeah, yeah, just use Poles they are good" (l. 9), she portrays an empowered agency. In a way, she distances herself by using the 3rd person pronoun ("they") and she takes a position as a mediator. Jana even points to Marek's reluctance to be asked about manual workers (l. 1), but *her* self-image is not threatened by such questions. On the contrary, she uses this to turn the conversations about Polish workers around (l. 7) and reverses the image by highlighting the competence of Poles ("they are good"). In doing so, she claims to receive positive remarks back from her interlocutors in the story world: "Yes, I've heard that, yes" (lines 9–10). By using reported speech, Jana underscores the authenticity of the comment of others, we "hear" the Norwegians' voices, and, by consequence, Jana strengthens the impression of highly skilled Poles as a general fact. Jana positions herself in line with the (Norwegian) majority in their evaluation of Poles. This way, she positions herself as a member of a majority group, while at the same time alluding to inside knowledge about—and shared experience with—a minority group that possesses certain coveted skills. Regarding the image of Poles as not always being law-abiding and paying attention to rules and regulations, she comments on this in a swift and general way, claiming that the Norwegians just mentioned this as a general recommendation. Marek, who previously in the conversation has expressed strong opposition against the stereotype of the "perfect manual worker," is still a bit annoyed (l. 15), but he recapitulates somewhat, in agreeing that it all depends on the concrete situation at hand. This extract illustrates how perceptions of social inclusion are negotiated, constructed, and relational. Later in the conversation, the stereotypical image of the not-always-law-abiding Pole is revisited. Confronted with the question of where these stereotypes in the video clips come from, Jana replies (like Marek in Excerpt 3) that they come from "reality," and that she would not have been surprised if she had heard that some Poles had been caught stealing. However, she immediately elaborates, once again turning things around (cf. Excerpt 2, l. 4, "But").

Excerpt 2—"You can imagine the situation he is in"

```
1   Jana   But if you think about it as a profile for that person—that is a craftsman who
2          may have a rather low level of education (.) a lot of practical skills,
3   Marek  Except,
4   Jana   But yes (.) you can imagine a bit like what kind of situation he is in (.) why
5          he does what he does. Not to excuse him, but you ((may)) always work out where
6          it comes from. Maybe he has a superbad financial situation (.) and goes to the
7          country where he thinks…he will be doing so well. Much better financially and
8          thinking yes that,
9   Marek  Yeah, but it's not just that either, right? Because…being so negative towards
10         the rules in general and kind of the State and such (.) it's kind of typical
11         Polish.
```

Echoing Marek's claim that "everything depends on the situation" (Excerpt 1, lines 15–16), Jana expresses strong solidarity with a fellow human being in distress; she relates acts of stealing to people in desperate need of money, and not to the fact that they are Polish. Marek once again agrees and even expands the perspective a bit (l. 9, "but") by re-instating an aspect of "typical Polish": A tendency of being sceptical or negative towards rules and regulations is related to "the State and such" (l. 10), deeply rooted in the Polish collective memory of once being members of a totalitarian regime. The historical consciousness is something Marek turns to several times during the conversation. Mercer (2021) describes well-being as emerging from the dynamic interplay of personal characteristics and socio-contextual factors. In this case, we see how a sense of meaning emerges from the shared lived experiences and collective memory of a migrant group. In the story-telling world, i.e., the specific time-space configuration of the present, such experiences add additional layers of meaning to the notion of law-abidingness among Polish work migrants. The fact that stereotypes are ideas that circulate as truths, and not truths themselves (Reyes, 2016, p. 312), offers Marek and Jana an agentive space for elaborating on and challenging the notion of a lack of law-abidingness. A similar agentive space appears in Excerpt 3, where Jana elaborates further on the positive aspects of the stereotypical "I fix everything" attitude associated with Polish workers.

Excerpt 3—"He had a slice of bread in one hand, painting with the other"

```
1   Marek  I feel that it is rooted in reality. It's not just (.) yes (.) it's not just
2          that people say it and then deliver crap afterwards.
3   Jana   No no, [that]=
4   Marek             [Yes, some] of course as always, right, but most just "yes, yes, yes"
5   Jana   =finding solutions,
6   Marek  And then the job is done, right,
7   Jana   Absolutely, and I have experienced that many times here. That I have heard
8          from people that "no, Poles do it cheaper and faster and better." It is
9          actually very positive.
10  Anne   Is it positive then?
11  Jana   Yeah, yeah. It is positive.
11  Anne   It's because it's solution-oriented somehow?
12  Jana   Yes, efficient and I heard a (.) like a quote "yes he had a slice of bread in
13         one hand, painting with the other hand, didn't take a break to eat lunch once.
14         So efficient," and ((I'm)) just thinking: "yes how nice" (.) yes that people
15         get a positive impression that it is hard they work hard and do what they're
16         supposed to.
```

Here we see that Marek also highlights the realistic realm of the "I fix everything" attitude (l. 1) Polish workers deliver, and both Jana and Marek end up expressing that Polish male manual workers are effective and solution-oriented. In the first part of the excerpt, the pace of the conversation increases; both are engaged and they consecutively evaluate the positive aspects of a "typical Polish" work ethic, which is not only superficial, but real, and of high quality (lines 1–2). Jana once again turns to reported speech when underscoring Marek's claim about quality. In line 8, she says "no," answering to an unarticulated expectation of low quality, sometimes accompanying the stereotypical image of the Polish worker, portrayed in the video clips. It is not only cheaper and faster, but also better, Jana has heard, concluding that "it's actually very positive" (lines 8–9).

When challenged with a direct question about the true positive nature of this stereotype, Jana gives an immediate, positive response (l. 11), and when the interviewer wants her to elaborate through suggesting a candidate answer (l. 11, "solution-oriented somehow?"), Jana again provides a preferred response; immediate agreement, including a small story that illustrates the efficiency of the worker in an almost extreme way (lines 12–13, "he had a slice of bread in one hand, painting with the other"). The interplay between personal characteristics and socio-contextual factors is present also in this case. Jana turns to reported speech not only to portray the efficient painter but also when portraying her own reaction, as inner speech (l. 14, "just thinking 'yes how nice'"). Rydell (2018) connects a preference for other-attributed speech among language learners to a perceived limited agency in becoming a competent language user. Hence, Jana's self-attributed reported speech or thought (cf. also Excerpt 1) reflects her empowered agency. The way in which she positions herself in another time-space configuration allows her once again to choose the 3rd person pronoun "they" (l. 15). The oscillation between different subject positions offered in the narratives and in and through the act of narration makes it possible to create a context where the stereotypical notions of "typical Polish" is explained or re-interpreted in an alternative way, which includes a sense of pride and well-being.

4.2. Language Learning and the Importance of a Sense of Community

When it comes to learning the dominant language of a new country, many studies highlight the immigrants' own voices expressing how the understanding and use of this language is a sine qua non (cf. Simpson & Whiteside, 2015, p. 4) to succeed. Jana and Marek are no exceptions; they both emphasize the importance of learning Norwegian as a key factor for social inclusion. It is, in fact, the best advice to give newcomers, Marek claims: "That's the one sure thing, isn't it, for all countries, really." However, both Marek and Jana highlight the two-way relation between language learning and inclusion factors in underscoring the importance of a sense of community for language learning (cf. Excerpt 4).

Excerpt 4—"It is a key to society here"

1	Jana	Yes, but I think the most important thing is if there are some people who are
2		completely new and need networks eh, (.) so I would have recommended joining an
3		association or (.) because that's how one (.) I think it is such a key to
4		society here that you must have something in common (.) you can't (.) it is not
5		a country where you meet people [eh]=
6	Marek	[randomly]
7	Jana	=randomly at a bar or. People stick together. They must have something in
8		common. So if you're all alone, new in the country so sign up for whatever, is
9		it a Frisbee association or is it the Hiking Association (.) where you
10		actually meet [people. Do the]=
11	Marek	[In particular, particularly sports].
12	Jana	=same. Yeah (.) Yeah (.) preferably sports or chess or yes. Whatever. Because
13		people look at you, I think it's natural in a way too (.) that if you're just
14		a stranger it's kind of out. But if you are a stranger who is doing the same
15		thing then it is something else (.) completely different. I believe it's the
16		easiest ((way)) to feel included and just do something, find people to do
17		something with. Like activities or,

Jana highlights the need for a social network (l. 2) and the importance of people interacting as a remedy against suspicion. It is the "key to society" (lines 3–4), she claims, but society is also the key to language use. Jana's point is that learning Norwegian happens in a social context, with people doing the same thing (lines 10–12). This aligns well with the sociocultural approach to learning a new language, where the participants' search for meaning in a social context is key to learning. Jana also sees joint activities as a means to avoid the general suspicion towards the stranger (l. 14), and, importantly, it is the "easiest way to feel included" (l. 16). While reflecting on these processes, she alludes to critical voices, which she once again handles in an inclusive and acknowledgeable manner (l. 13, "it's natural in a way"), echoing her own "understanding where the negative stereotype comes from" (Excerpt 1).

Interestingly, it is not the language skills as such that are the "key to society" one may interpret from Excerpt 4; it is "that you must have something in common" (l. 4). A sense of community is in itself an important step towards social inclusion, maybe more important than language skills. If finding people "to do something with" (lines 16–17) is the easiest way to feel included, the process of learning the language may be the opposite, i.e., challenging. Jana and Marek both admit that it has been

hard work; it took time, and it was a difficult and stressful process. Jana remembers how demanding it was to be with friends and just listen to small talk in Norwegian at parties. Marek immediately recognizes the experience and supports the implicit evaluation of the small story (cf. Excerpt 5, l. 5).

Excerpt 5—"It was kind of demanding on the brain"

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1  Jana   No (.) it was kind of demanding on the brain when you suddenly had to sit at a
2         party because then I knew some, so they suddenly spoke Norwegian. (.) And it
3         was after two hours that I was completely exhausted from just listening to
4         [the language].
5  Marek  [You get] very tired of it.
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The interviewer Anne asks further about their experience with small talk compared to professional talk at work. Jana recognizes a specific feeling and elaborates on the cause (Excerpt 6):

Excerpt 6—"You are only supposed to talk about nothing"

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1   Jana  I think I can ((relate)) to this. It's easier. The more confident you are in
2         what you talk about, the easier it is to speak about (.) regardless of the
3         language. But if you have a pause and maybe are not so comfortable with people
4         and everyone else, you are the only foreigner, then you are supposed just to
5         talk about (.) nothing. So (.) yes, it can be a bit more demanding and there are
6         also lots of more such slang words that you may not know or abbreviations
7         or (.). So yes, if you don't know people well, it can be worse because then you
8         have to just (.) then you're just yourself, you're not a professional (.)
9         I don't know, researcher or doctor or. You are yourself and then it's a bit like
10        wow, it's a bit more pressure, maybe.
```

Talking in professional settings with colleagues, while sharing the same references and being familiar with the expected style, is less demanding. Such well-known situations scaffold language production. This relates to the different "selves" presented in psychology and further developed in connection to language learners by Kramsch (2009). The way we know ourselves is connected to the way we perceive, construct, and make sense of others. As we have different identities in different contexts, we also construct different selves. To talk about something you know well, like your work, carries less emotional load because it affects "the professional-self." But to talk about "nothing" is emotionally demanding, and Jana relates this to her identity, she feels that she unveils herself, she cannot hide behind her expertise ("her professional-self") or her experience ("her mature-self"). She is left with herself (l. 8), what we interpret as "her vulnerable-self" that is present in personal relationships. Small talk is a relational activity with the purpose of connecting people. Not responding, or responding in an awkward manner (lines 5–6), might make it difficult to connect to other people and get acquainted. Moreover, it is the opposite of well-being. "Talking about nothing" is the opposite of interacting in a club or association where people are doing things together (cf. Excerpt 4), and the opportunity to talk about *something*, like in the professional setting. When reflecting on her professional-self later in the conversation, Jana admits that she still is somewhat afraid of speaking in professional contexts too, and of making mistakes, but she relates this to her new job and her own expectations and demands on herself. But she feels that she is improving, she imagines herself progressing in the future, and this makes her work with—i.e., invest in—the language. She sees herself as a future confident speaker who can ask casually when she does not understand something and keeps assuring herself, again through self-attributed reported speech or thought: "It's going well, it's going to be fine."

5. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

In this study we met two well-educated Polish adults, Jana and Marek, who shared stories of their own and others' lived experiences as immigrants in Norway, and we have seen how stereotypes about what is considered "typical Polish" can be recontextualized creatively in interaction (cf. Reyes, 2009, p. 59). The participants have different reactions to and ideas on how to deal with stereotypical images such as Poles being "perfect manual workers." Marek is sometimes offended by being associated with plumbers and carpenters, as they do not share his level of education, and he considers it prejudiced. Jana, on the other hand, can "turn things around" (cf. Excerpt 1) to highlight the qualities of being

a hard-working person. As for another stereotype, the image of the "not-always-law-abiding-Pole," they both agree that it to a certain extent is rooted in "reality," but Jana again explores the agentive space made available in the story-telling world to turn this around, reflecting on the difficult financial situations some workers are in, and their imagined future in a new country. She manages to make Marek reflect further as well, leading to his claim that this is deeply rooted in the Polish collective memory of once being members of a totalitarian regime. It is the circumstances that have brought them there. In both cases, we see how Jana's strong degree of agency gives her the means not only to react but also respond and enact, by expanding the agentive space and envisioning an alternative subject position relevant for Polish professionals in Norway. Her actions resemble other migration accounts involving stereotypes or type-characters, for instance, described by Creese and Blackledge (2020, p. 437), as these contribute to "retained authorial control in the message they represented." Young (2019) points to similar effects in her study of Polish-born adolescents in the UK, who use their narratives to re-establish themselves as something other than passive victims: "As they do so, they appropriate other, more positive discourses which serve to reinforce their sense of themselves as agentive beings" (Young, 2019, p. 124).

When it comes to language learning, Jana and Marek agree that it is important, but Jana also admits that it has been, and still is, hard work. She points to the value of networks, to be part of something, both to deal with and hopefully lower the scepticism towards strangers, and to get opportunities to have something to talk about. This is the best path to inclusion. Following from this, and recognizing the interplay between the personal and social, it also makes perfect sense that the participants highlight language use in their professional lives as less demanding than informal social gatherings. Language use is a meaningful activity where human beings exercise their agency; hence, this should also be the case for language learning (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 164).

With reference to the title of this article—"No(r)way?"—we might say that Jana's ability to explore an agentive space and "turn things around" is a way of saying "No way!" while negotiating her social inclusion in Norway. She is not willing to give up on the ideas that circulate as "truths" about Poles. Rather, she reframes these ideas as something beneficial to her, and which involves a sense of pride. This speaks to her level of agency, but it does not reveal exactly *why* she is able to position herself as a successful immigrant who is not threatened by the negative stereotypes surrounding her. One answer may be related to gender; the images of Poles in the presented video clips (and in much of the media discourse on Poles in Norway) were all male. Another answer may be related to her employment, which matches her educational background and her imagined future where everything "is going to be fine." On the other hand, she seems able to turn things around also for Marek, who reconsiders some of his experiences as the conversation unfolds. The agency expressed by both of them, and especially by Jana, is instantiated in and through the act of narration, which opens up the path to investment. In turning things around, the desire to invest in the new language increases. Jana's professional experiences and sense of well-being connected to language use in a meaningful context seem important. Darvin and Norton (2023) remind us that learners need to negotiate their resources and assert their identities in order to invest in their learning. In our data, we see how Jana and Marek in and through the act of narration create a context where notions are re-interpreted or explained in an alternative way. Well-being emerges from the way a person makes sense of and interacts with their social contexts, and "any meaningful interventions for well-being must ideally promote individual development and personal strategies as well as systemic change and structural support" (Mercer, 2021, p. 16). In this intervention, both agency and investment are important components. We recognize the same need for promoting individual development and structural support in securing meaningful language learning and social inclusion for work migrants, and one step forward to more inclusive practices is—as banal as it might seem—doing something together.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Directing Paths Into Adulthood: Newly Arrived Students and the Intersection of Education and Migration Policy

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Abstract
This article is centred on the tendency to align education for newly arrived students with migration policy. Drawing on an in-depth analysis of interviews with four adult migrant students, we aim to investigate how the participants' experiences of studying and how they imagine their future intersect with their immigration status. The interviews were conducted when they were first studying a language introduction programme, and then three years later. We focus on the participants' narratives about transitions within the education system and later into the labour market. Using Sara Ahmed's approach to the orientation of subjects in time and space, the analysis shows that all students expressed a desire to "be in line," meaning finishing their studies and finding employment. Students with temporary and conditional residence permits were directed towards specific vocational tracks and sectors of the labour market. Migrant students are a heterogenous group and, based on the findings presented, we argue that immigration status constitutes a crucial part of this heterogeneity, influencing how students imagine their future in a new society.

Keywords
education and migration policy; immigration status; language introduction programmes; migrant students; Sweden; the Upper Secondary School Act

Issue
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1. Introduction

This article looks at the intersection of education and migration policy through the lens of migrant students' narratives of their learning experiences. Since 2016, Sweden has moved towards more restrictive migration policies (Elsrud et al., 2021), characterized by hastily implemented laws aimed at minimizing the number of asylum seekers, stricter demands put on migrants to be considered integrated into the country of reception, and an increased tendency to align education for migrants with migration policies (for similar tendencies in the UK see Khan, 2019; Simpson, 2019). These policy changes have had significant implications in the lives of newly arrived students, in the form of stress and uncertainty caused by a long asylum process and temporary and conditional residence permits. This article directs attention to newly arrived students' paths into adulthood and their hopes for the future during these turbulent times.

Empirically, the article draws on interviews with newly arrived students conducted on two separate occasions: when they were first enrolled in a language introduction programme (LIP) in upper secondary school, and then three years later. We examine migrant students' narratives about their learning experiences as well as their educational and occupational choices for the future.

LIPs prepare newly arrived students in their upper teens (between 16 and 19 years old) for studies at the upper secondary level. To become eligible for a national programme in upper secondary school, students need to pass a number of required subjects before they turn 20. For many students, this is a challenging task and a large proportion do not manage to meet the requirements (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). The students constitute a diverse group in terms of educational, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. In 2017, 77% of students enrolled in LIPs were male (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). Since then, as the number of students in such programmes has declined, the gender distribution has become more equal (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2021).

Previous studies on LIPs have mainly focused on students' social inclusion and experiences in studying introduction programmes, on the organizational structure of LIPs, and literacy education (e.g., Beach & Dovemark, 2019; Bunar & Juvonen, 2022; Hagström, 2018; Nuottaniemi, 2023; Winlund, 2021). There is scant research on what happens after completing a LIP or students' experiences of the transition to work. Other studies in related fields (e.g., Bernhardt et al., 2006; Liu & Guo, 2022) stress that navigating the complex path of transition from education to work is crucial for social inclusion. Liu and Guo (2022) argue that migrant students' experiences of their transition are shaped by intersectional barriers such as gender and social class, relegating them to socially marginalized positions. In political discourse, migrant students are often positioned as a "solution" to specific needs in the labour market (e.g., Nuottaniemi, 2023). Our aim in this article is to analyze how immigration status affects migrant students' educational experiences and vocational choices. Drawing on Ahmed (2006a, 2006b), we analyze how migrant students' paths into adulthood are directed in relation to their immigration status—that is, to what extent their stay in Sweden is conditioned.

2. A Turbulent Time

In 2015, approximately 160,000 asylum seekers arrived in Sweden, primarily from Syria and Afghanistan. They were first met with acts of solidarity in the form of initiatives by the state and civil society organizations (Elsrud et al., 2021), but by the end of 2015, Sweden had closed its borders. A temporary new law was implemented that marked a distinctive shift in Swedish migration policy (Elsrud et al., 2021; Milani et al., 2021). Temporary residence permits became the rule, the grounds on which to grant asylum were limited, and family reunification was restricted and conditioned by housing and income requirements in the urgently implemented legislation (Ministry of Justice, 2016). Whether asylum seekers had filed their application before or after 24 November 2015 became decisive for whether their application would be assessed with respect to the previous (more generous) migration policy or the new (more restrictive) law. The restrictive "temporary law" has now become permanent.

Between 2015 and 2019, around 100,000 children under 18 applied for asylum, approximately 40% of whom were unaccompanied minors (Bunar & Juvonen, 2022). The implementation of restrictive migration policies was followed by a discussion of how to determine which groups required exceptions. The Upper Secondary School Act (Sw. *gymnasielagen*), introduced in 2017 and supplemented in 2018, is one such example. Despite its name, this was not an act in its own right but consisted of paragraphs from temporary law 2016:752 (Ministry of Justice, 2016), providing a group of migrant students with an opportunity to stay in Sweden while finishing their studies (paragraph 16 f §, added to Law 2016:752 in 2018, is often called the "new Upper Secondary School Act"; this article uses the complete denomination "Upper Secondary School Act" to refer to this and other paragraphs granting migrant students temporary residence permits for studying at upper secondary level as well as to the law replacing these paragraphs when the temporary law expired).

Under its provisions, migrants studying in introductory programmes or at upper secondary level in upper secondary school or in adult education were given a temporary residence permit but needed to prove that they were active students by sending their study plans and grades to the Swedish Migration Agency. According to the Upper Secondary School Act from 2018, conditions for eligibility included that a migrant applied for asylum on 24 November 2015 or before that date, was registered as an unaccompanied minor, waited at least 15 months before receiving their first rejection, and reached the age of 18 by that point. Approximately 9,000 students were encompassed by the Upper Secondary School Act (Eriksson, 2020). After finishing their studies at upper secondary level these migrant students could apply for a permanent residence permit if they could prove at least two years' permanent or fixed-term employment and were financially self-supporting six months after graduating. The Upper Secondary School Act was implemented after a heated debate and was heavily criticized for its lack of transparency and for being hastily passed (Eriksson, 2020). The non-transparent nature of the act had consequences for those involved and it was subject to inconsistent interpretation by the migration courts (Roos, 2021). When the temporary law expired, its provisions were transferred over to a new act, also called the Upper Secondary Scool Act, that is expected to be phased out between 2023 and 2025 (Swedish Migration Agency, 2023).

Taken as a whole, the Upper Secondary School Act provided students with a chance to stay in the country, yet at the same time made it restrictive, arbitrary, and conditional. Another consequence was that the law shifted focus from a group of young asylum seekers' protection needs to their educational achievements (Roos, 2021).

3. Theoretical Framework

To analyze the students' narrated experiences, we draw on Ahmed's (2006a, 2006b, 2010a) phenomenological understanding of how bodies and subjects are oriented in time and space. As Ahmed (2006a, p. 3) maintains, orientations "shape not only how we inhabit space, but how we apprehend this world of shared inhabitance, as well as 'who' or 'what' we direct our energy and attention toward." Understood in such terms, migration is about direction, involving both disorientation and reorientation. Reorientation can be described as a "meaning-seeking process and as a site for change" (Wara & Munkejord, 2018, p. 13), shaped by the interplay between specific migrant bodies and the conditions in a given social and geographical space. Migration illustrates the way bodies arrive and get directed "as a condition of arrival" (Ahmed, 2006a, p. 10). Migrant students have quite different conditions of arrival, depending, inter alia, on their immigration status and educational and cultural backgrounds. Some students have migrated with families, others as unaccompanied minors. These varying conditions affect how students are oriented in spaces already socially arranged. Orientations have an impact on how bodies act and how certain objects appear within reach, towards which subjects direct their attention (Ahmed, 2006b). In other words, some directions seem more feasible than others. Following orientations based on established norms and conventions means, to adopt Ahmed's terminology, "being in line."

School is an institution that serves as an orientation device pointing out certain directions (Ahmed, 2010a; Hagström, 2018). Educational institutions are oriented towards the future, providing students with possibilities and occupational alternatives. For newly arrived students in their upper teens, the school can be seen as an important reorientation device in a new environment (Hagström, 2018). In the case of students enrolled in LIPs, becoming eligible for a national programme in upper secondary school and following a path towards a school diploma corresponds to being in line, and this is often a priority for them (Hagström, 2018; Nuottaniemi, 2023; Sharif, 2017). Drawing on Ahmed's work, Hagström (2018) describes LIPs both as an orientational line directed towards the future and as a separate temporal and spatial line (e.g., studying in separate buildings from Swedish peers). Education is often presented and perceived as the only path forwards, making it difficult for students who do not manage to follow the line (either by not passing the required subjects or having their asylum claim rejected) to see other possible lines (Hagström, 2018). In addition, the educational line is conditioned for newly arrived migrant students by the acquisition of a linguistic repertoire in Swedish that is recognized and valued by school assessment practices. Migrant students often express their willingness to learn Swedish but are constrained by not having access to Swedish-speaking social spaces either in LIPs or society at large (Nuottaniemi, 2023). In this vein, newly arrived migrant students can experience a sense of being physically in a space that is not perceived as fully available to them (Ahmed, 2010a; Nuottaniemi, 2023).

Orientations thus simultaneously have a spatial and a temporal dimension. They relate to the present as well as point to the future. At the same time, orientations are also about directions already taken (Ahmed, 2010b). What is more, being in line requires work that takes both time and energy (Ahmed, 2006a). The temporal aspect of being oriented is, in turn, part of an affective economy. According to Ahmed, affect is not merely a psychological phenomenon, but also a social one. From this perspective, emotions are not just something located "within" an individual, but rather mediate the relationship "between the individual and the collective" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 119). Hence, the narration of individually lived emotional experiences is also about social dimensions. For many students, LIPs are lived as a delay in relation to a desired line. For some students who do not pass the required subjects, or who turn 20 while still enrolled in a LIP, the educational site may also be experienced as a hindrance. For those who experience being delayed or stopped, there is quite a negative affective impact (Ahmed, 2006a). When bodies are stopped, inequalities structuring people's movements that linger in the background become visible. In this study, we specifically investigate how immigration status constitutes an important aspect of the students' conditions of arrival (Ahmed, 2006a) and how it intersects with the migrant students' orientations and learning experiences.

4. Method and Empirical Data

In this study, migrant students were interviewed on two occasions, in 2018 and 2021. The interviews focused on the students' backgrounds and experiences of studying, their work and life in Sweden, as well as their plans for the future. On the first occasion, we interviewed 74 students enrolled in LIPs, in five different schools. Three years later, we conducted 11 in-depth follow-up interviews. Much of the contact information provided to us in 2018 was no longer in use in 2021. Our second data collection is thus biased in the sense that those who were willing to participate were, to a large extent, those who had been able to stay in Sweden. The interviews were conducted in Swedish and lasted around 30–60 minutes. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and the (translated) quotations used in this study have been adjusted for the sake of readability. A significant difference between interviews 1 and 2 was the participants' proficiency in Swedish. Since they had developed their Swedish, the second round of interviews was generally both longer and more elaborated. The research project this article is based on has received ethical approval from the regional ethical borad at Linköping University (Ref. 2017/280–31). Participants gave their consent to participate after having been informed about the aims of

the study and how the research material would be used. All personal data have been pseudonymized.

The analysis was conducted in the following way. First, an initial qualitative thematic data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) of all interviews was carried out. The coding was inductive and the salient themes that emerged were: experiences of studying and transitions from LIPs, involuntary delays, educational and vocational choices, studying under uncertainty and stress, struggles involving periods of hopelessness, and desires to become included by means of completing education and finding an occupation. In the final step, Ahmed's (2006a, 2006b) framework was applied to approach students' narratives about their paths and how they make sense of their present location in Sweden in relation to the past as well as the future. In all steps, both interviews with each participant were analyzed in relation to each other to identify continuities as well as changes over time regarding past, present, and future narratives. In the analysis, we approach narratives as a mode of thought where subjects ascribe meaning to their experiences in time and place (Eastmond, 2007). Importantly, we understand narratives given in interviews as a meaning-making activity, not only reflecting participants' experiences but also constructing them. From this perspective, "past experience is always remembered and interpreted in the light of the present as well as by the way that the future is imagined" (Eastmond, 2007, p. 249). Interviews are an interactional achievement, where both researcher and participant are part of a co-construction of meaning (Talmy, 2011). This also means that participants' experience of the interview situation itself, including the researchers conducting the interviews, may have an impact on how they tell their stories.

To highlight contextualized individual trajectories in some detail, we present the findings based on individual narratives rather than according to recurrent themes. We have selected four participants (Table 1) whose narratives reflect patterns in the larger data and that exemplify different paths formed in relation to varying immigration status.

5. Findings

5.1. Parin's Story: A Crooked Road Through Adversity and Headwinds

When we met Parin for the first time he was 19 years old. He had arrived from Afghanistan two years before as an unaccompanied minor. He told us that he did not have a family in his home country and that he now lived with a Swedish family. In Afghanistan, he went to school for nine years. At our first encounter, he was in his second year of a LIP and said that he was enjoying it. At the same time, he expressed feelings of hopelessness. He had received a third decisive rejection of his asylum application. Further, he had recently signed a declaration of acceptance of deportation.

The day before we met Parin, he had received his deportation date. He decided not to share this information with his teachers and friends since "they cannot help me and they will just be sad. There is not so much left. There are only two weeks left." As he waited for the days to pass, Parin hoped for a miracle to happen. He seemed to have a clear vision of the future he imagined for himself: "to continue high school, to get an education, find a job, work, and enter into society." After he completed the LIP, he wanted to enroll in a building and construction programme that, according to him, did not demand too much of him in terms of the subjects he found difficult:

> There [the building and construction programme] you do not need so much math or physics and

Table 1. The four participants focused on in this study.

Name	Country of origin	Age at the time of interview 1	Time in Sweden during interview 1	Immigration status at the time of interview 1	Immigration status at the time of interview 2
Parin	Afghanistan	19	2 ½ years	Had signed a declaration of acceptance of deportation, after his claim for asylum had been rejected three times	Temporary residence permit
Sarwar	Afghanistan, but moved to Iran as a child	18	2 years	Had a temporary residence permit that expired when he turned 18 and had applied for a new temporary residence permit	Temporary residence permit
Sana	Syria	18	3 years	Had a permanent residence permit	Swedish citizenship
Giuliana	Spain	17	4 years	Swedish citizen from birth	Swedish citizen from birth

> chemistry. It was hard for me. There you do not need so much language to speak. If you want to become, for example, a doctor or a lawyer and you study law, it is too hard for us, refugees. For me, the easiest is construction, as I have chosen.

Three years later, Parin was still living in Sweden, working at a large industrial company as a machine operator, having enrolled in an industrial programme at his upper secondary school after completing his LIP. He explained that he had been encouraged to choose the industrial programme over building and construction as that would make it easier to get a job.

Reflecting on the preceding years, Parin described living under the uncertainty of not knowing whether he was entitled to stay in the country. We asked him if he thought it would have made any difference if he had known, when he was studying in the LIP, that he would be able to stay in Sweden:

> Yes, very much. Very much. Then maybe I could have the life that I have now, a permanent job and everything. I could have had it two years ago….It depends on you, how you feel. Sometimes you are sad, sometimes you are tired. Sometimes you feel okay and want to go to school. You cannot decide for yourself.

Looking back at the time he received the third decisive rejection of his asylum application, Parin told us that he was about to give up. He had no energy left for school. In this situation, the support of a friend was pivotal. This friend told him about a new law that might provide the opportunities he needed, stressing that he should keep fighting:

> Well, I have had three rejections. I have also signed the deportation decision that I would go back. They sent me to the embassy, I got a paper that was like a passport, you can go back and everything. I was so sick of everything, I just couldn't go to school and learn Swedish. Then a friend, who I had talked to, said to me: "You have to think positive and go to school and learn Swedish. There are new rules coming and then you will be able to stay in Sweden." This was at the last minute and I decided: "Okay, this is the last chance. I have to try." This was my second year [at the LIP]. I started to work really hard and I passed all the subjects.

The new law was the Upper Secondary School Act that had recently been implemented. It provided Parin with a sense of hope, not only to continue but also to complete his studies in the LIP and to stay in the country. He told us that these studies counted for a great deal, providing him with the basic language skills needed to manage everyday life in Sweden.

Parin described the first three months in his upper secondary school as tough: "Imagine that you are sitting in a classroom with 25–30 students, all Swedes, and it is just you who is an immigrant…everybody understands except you and you do not want to raise your hand to say 'I do not get it.'" Parin talked to a teacher and they agreed to meet regularly to discuss the issues Parin had in mind. In upper secondary school, there were opportunities for work-based learning at local industries, where he also worked during summer breaks and later found employment. When we met for the second time, he reflected on his life and years in Sweden: "Sometimes I think I've had my share of bad luck in life, but when I really think about it, I've met great people the whole time, in school, everywhere. Then I say: 'No, I have had a lot of luck.'"

At the time of our second encounter, Parin had recently applied for a permanent residence permit. He hoped to continue studying and eventually become a train driver.

5.2. Sarwar's Story: Leaving the Roaring Lion Behind

Sarwar was born in Afghanistan but moved to Iran at a young age, together with his family. There he attended a community-run school for Afghan children for eight years before coming to Sweden in 2015 as an unaccompanied minor. When we met him for the first time, he was 18 years old and living by himself. His temporary residence permit had just expired and he was still waiting for it to be renewed. Talking about his future, Sarwar said his main goal was to become eligible for a national programme in an upper secondary school, specifically in a building and construction programme. At the same time, he described the uncertainty of his life situation as difficult, affecting his ability to imagine the future: "It's hard to see the future when I don't know if I will be here or not.''

When we met Sarwar for the second time, he was living with a Swedish family, having received a temporary residence permit, and was now striving to receive a permanent one. He gave great credit to the Swedish family for the progress he had made in the Swedish language as well as for his general well-being. When asked to describe how living with a Swedish family had been important to him, he said:

> It means a great deal to me….In a way they have helped me a lot with the language….How should I say? I have learnt Swedish in a good way. In a way that they are here, how can I say….It is so important for a human being to feel…to feel that people like me, and that I mean something to someone.

However, reflecting on the LIP, he recalled it as marked by uncertainty and stress caused by not knowing whether he would be entitled to stay in the country. That made it hard to keep faith and motivation to engage in his studies. He described this experience as both an individual and a collective one, shared by many of his friends:

> You are so stressed the whole time. I have a friend who used to say: "I understand how much stress you are in the whole time." It feels like you have one, how can I say, a lion behind you all the time, it hunts you. It is like….Sometimes, when it is hard in school, it is easy to give in, so [you] say or you think: "But I do not know if I can stay or not, then I just [don't] give a damn." You do not care for the task and [you] want to do something fun instead so I feel better….[There are] many who…many friends that say: "We do not know if we will stay in Sweden or not, so it is really hard to focus on school."

When describing his experience in a LIP, Sarwar told us that his studies had been strongly affected by the Upper Secondary School Act and the conditions it entailed:

> We talked with the teacher and said that we wanted to know if we would pass this semester or not, or if we have to study more. She couldn't say as it was in the middle of the semester. We were sad and she saw that we were worried, we, the ones without residence permits. She comforted us and said: "But you have to keep struggling as you do, it is really good. I cannot say if you will make it until the semester is over, so you have to continue working like this and being as good as you are."

When we met Sarwar for the second time, he was about to finish an electricity and energy programme and was happy to report that he had recently secured employment at a solar panels company. Like Parin, he had also changed his choice of education and future work. When we later asked him about his considerations when deciding which programme to study, he told us:

> Yes, I thought a lot before I [chose], since the Migration Agency said that when you are finished with high school you need to find a job. Instantly, I thought that I have to pick a programme so I could find a job later on. And yes, that is the most important [thing] for me.

Sarwar thus described how his plans for the future had changed according to the requirements introduced by the Upper Secondary School Act. His main priority for the future was to finish his studies and then find a job as soon as possible. What kind of job and how it matched prior hopes for the future seemed to be of lower priority. In our second interview, Sarwar was happy with his job but did not think that he would cope with it for the rest of his working life, as he described it as hard work being on roofs most of the time. Therefore, he would like to continue studying and become an electrical engineer. Another dream is to write a book about his experiences and migration to Sweden.

5.3. Sana's Story: Being in Between

Sana was born in Syria to a Palestinian family. She migrated to Sweden in 2015 together with her mother and siblings. Her father had settled in Sweden before their arrival but had not yet obtained a permanent residence permit. During their settlement process in Sweden, the family lived in various locations. Sana had to enroll in a LIP in three different schools. At the time of our first interview, she was 18 years old and had not yet obtained all the grades needed to be eligible for a national programme in upper secondary school. Her childhood dream was to become a lawyer, but she had been told that that would be difficult to achieve and her plan was now to take the business and administration programme. In the future, she would like to become a social worker.

When we met Sana for the second time, she was about to finish her studies in the business and administration programme. She had a weekend job at a local amusement park. She failed English at her LIP, which meant that she had to retake a year and only study English for a few classes a week. "I cried all night when they told me this," she said, as "I don't want to lose a whole year because of this." After a couple of months, she managed to find an upper secondary school that gave her dispensation to start a business and administration programme while completing English. In retrospect, she described her LIP in quite positive terms, as providing "a good foundation," both in terms of being prepared for studies at upper secondary level and linguistically, to "dare to talk" in an "ordinary high school with Swedes."

At the time of our first interview, Sana had obtained a permanent residence permit. Thus, during most of her study time, she knew that she was entitled to stay in Sweden. When we asked her to reflect on whether it made any difference to her learning situation knowing that she had a permanent residence permit, she told us:

> If I were to stay, I would struggle more and more to prove to myself that I fit here in society, that I'm here, I do something, I'm not just here to live on social welfare or something that everybody thinks. I want to continue studying, so I can get a really good job that I like….Then, when I got my residence permit, I was so glad that I would be able to stay since I have so many friends that still do not know if they will stay or not. This affects them and they stop studying.

In Sana's retrospective reflection, knowing that she would be able to stay in Sweden was described as strongly motivating her to prove "that I really fit in this society, I'm here to do something, I am not just here to live on social welfare or something that others think." In this way, she confirmed that she really is in line with Swedish society, contributing to the common good by engaging in studies to get a job that she enjoys. At the same time, she positioned her own experience and hopes for the future in relation to friends

who did not know whether they would be granted asylum, destinies she found quite distressing. Her boyfriend was deported to France and two girls at her LIP were deported to Germany:

> I thought about it all the time, if they would be given the chance to stay or not. I thought about it a lot. I was really sad, because there were many who would have deserved to stay, but they were not allowed. So it made me really sad.

At the time of our second encounter, Sana was just about to finish upper secondary school. She had managed to pass all the subjects needed to be eligible for university, and could thus imagine a future for herself in undergraduate study with hopes of realizing her dream of becoming a social worker.

5.4. Giuliana's Story: Continuity and Unawareness

When we met Giuliana for the first time, she was 17 years old and had been in Sweden for four years. Her parents fled from Chile to Sweden, where they had lived for a long time. Giuliana was born in Sweden and is a Swedish citizen. However, moving with her mother to Spain when she was four years old meant that she forgot the Swedish language. Her father stayed in Sweden, and in seventh grade, her parents decided that it would be good for her to move back there. Family is very important to Giuliana and she spends a lot of time with hers. On arriving in Sweden, she started studying in an introductory class but was later transferred to a regular one. However, she did not pass her 9th-grade Swedish class. As a consequence, she had to start in a LIP instead of a national programme at the upper secondary school level. Further, she only had a couple of classes a week, since she had already passed most of the subjects taught in LIPs. In the first interview, Giuliana felt divided about her studies in a LIP. She described them as very rewarding, saying: "I've learned that it actually is fun to study," with teachers inspiring her. On the other hand, she felt different from the other students, as she was the only one who spoke Spanish. Further, girls were a minority in her class:

> All of the others speak Arabic, and I don't understand, they only talk to each other and I just stand here: "Why don't you speak Swedish with me?" Things like that. And then there are mostly guys who go to [the name of the school], and some don't respect me, in some way.

Giuliana has been enrolled in LIPs at several schools and she is particularly critical of one school where the class was organized in a separate building from the rest of the regular classes. That made it difficult to make Swedish-speaking friends, which in turn became an obstacle to learning Swedish:

> Those who studied at [my LIP] were in one building and those who went to normal school, so to speak, were in another building. That was not good. Because you could not get to know people who spoke Swedish.

At our first encounter, Giuliana was about to finish her LIP. She was very excited since she had applied for the arts programme in her upper secondary school and had just done an audition as a part of the admissions process.

When we met Giuliana three years later, she was in her last semester of the arts programme in upper secondary school and aiming to become a stage artist. She was quite happy with her educational choice, as she got to study theatre, singing, and acting, which she loved, together with subjects she needed for higher studies, such as maths. The choice also influenced her thoughts about the future since "this is something I really love….And now I realize that I might want to become a dance teacher in the future." She was living in the same city, with her family. When reflecting on her studies in the LIP, she still had mixed feelings. She did not feel at home as a female in a male-dominated class, but also due to the social climate among her classmates. When asked about having known, during her studies, that she was entitled to stay in Sweden permanently, she said:

> I have actually never thought about it. Now when you say it, I have never thought about the fact that I always knew that I could stay. I knew that I would stay, so for me, I just had to learn Swedish….As you said, I was hundred percent sure that I should stay because I didn't want to go back to Spain either [laughter]. Well, yes. It affected me in the way that I felt that I have to, I have to, I have to. I must speak as well as possible because I know that I'm going to stay here.

However, despite knowing that she was entitled to stay in Sweden, she struggled with her self-esteem in relation to speaking Swedish and reaching out to Swedes. She was at that time planning her graduation, after which she wanted to save money so she would be able to go to the US and become an *au pair*. Then she wanted to go to university to become a subject teacher in history, religion, and English.

6. Discussion

Through the lens of newly arrived students' narrations of their lived experiences, this article sheds light on a turbulent time marked by conflicts and accelerated migration laws that resulted in arbitrary boundaries with profound consequences in individuals' lives (e.g., Elsrud & Lalander, 2021; Flubacher, 2021; Simpson, 2019). The students' narratives are marked by significant others, frictions, delays, and turning points. For Parin and Sarwar, the implementation of the Upper Secondary School Act was described as an important turning point in their lives in the new country, instilling a sense of hope in them

with the possibility of continuing to follow the line they had started. Although the experiences of LIPs vary, all students experienced it as an involuntary delay (cf. Beach & Dovemark, 2019; Hagström, 2018). Still, in retrospect, they appreciated the opportunity to learn basic Swedish that LIPs provided. All the students expressed a strong desire to be "in line," become eligible for national programmes in their upper secondary schools, pursue studies at the higher education level, or find employment (cf. Hagström, 2018; Sharif, 2017). Nevertheless, staying "in line" has required hard work, associated in the narratives with hardship, prolonged stress, and periods of hopelessness. The transition from LIPs to a national programme in upper secondary school and, for some, to work was assigned great importance, both in terms of providing a sense of belonging and giving access to a Swedish-speaking context. In addition, for students impacted by the Upper Secondary School Act, employment emerged as a means of obtaining a permanent residence permit. However, as illustrated in Liu and Guo's (2022) study, students need to navigate their path of transition between education and work where educational and vocational choices are shaped and governed by racialized as well as gendered practices.

How subjects are oriented in time and space relates to their different starting points (Ahmed, 2006a). At the time of our first encounters with the students, they were all enrolled in LIPs, yet facing different conditions of arrival in the country and their educational space, with different educational and linguistic backgrounds as well as access to social networks, a caring family, as well as varying immigration status (see also Bunar & Juvonen, 2022; Hagström, 2018; Winlund, 2021). In particular, immigration status seems to have a decisive impact on how an individual's orientation is formed in the present, and into the future. For students whose asylum applications had received several rejections (such as Sarwar and Parin), the Upper Secondary School Act provided a second chance, instilling a sense of hope "that the lines we follow will take us somewhere" (Ahmed, 2006a, p. 18). This was in contrast to some of their peers, who were either deported or fled from Sweden to precarious life situations in other countries (Elsrud & Lalander, 2021). However, also verbalized along with the hope was the stress caused first by the uncertainty of not knowing whether one would be entitled to stay in the country or not, and then by prolonged uncertainty, as the second chance provided by the Upper Secondary School Act was highly conditional and performance-based. In the narratives, emotions are important in the students' meaning-making and interpretation of their experiences. Affect works to align bodies and objects and is also part of how subjects create meaning in their location and relation to an imagined national community (Ahmed, 2004). Being deported or facing a threat of deportation can be understood as an extreme case of being stopped and forced in a new direction (cf. Ahmed, 2010a). Arguably, the stressful uncertainty under which the students had previously lived provided a strong motivational effect for aligning themselves with the conditions set up by Upper Secondary School Act, since that provided them with a chance to stay in the country on a legal basis. Affect also works between subjects, binding them together (Ahmed, 2004). Sana's narrative illustrates how the destiny of her friends who had been deported from the country continued to distress her. At the same time, the knowledge that not all of those deserving to stay in Sweden had been given a chance to do so instilled in her a sense of joy when she reflected on her own situation of having a permanent residence permit.

All migrant students in our study describe their affective work to be seen as a recognized member of a new country. For students like Parin and Sarwar, this struggle was strongly influenced by their temporary residence permits and prolonged periods of uncertainty. Axelsson et al. (2017) discuss how immigration policies can create "spatio-temporal waiting zones" that delay access to certain rights and a sense of security. Being in such "waiting zones" (e.g., waiting for a permanent residence permit), migrants can accept certain conditions and choices as part of a long-term project, even though these conditions may be quite precarious and the choices made are not in line with initial hopes for the future. Students' actions in that present can thus be interpreted in the light of how they imagined their future. For those impacted by it, the Upper Secondary School Act became an "orientation device" (Ahmed, 2010b), directing the students into different specific educational as well as vocational paths. In this sense, orientations are not only about what is within reach for the individual but also what becomes significant. As illustrated in the participants' narratives, their varying immigration statuses informed not only their learning experiences in the present, but also their way of imagining their future, and the extent to which they allowed themselves to dream or construe it by means of instrumental needs. "Doing things," Ahmed (2006a, p. 109) maintains, "depends not so much on intrinsic capacity or even dispositions and habits, but on the ways in which the world is available as a space for action." While Sarwar describes his choice of study programme by ascribing agency to the Migration Agency, Giuliana's Swedish citizenship forms a materialized privilege, providing her with the right to stay in Sweden, so self-evident that it virtually disappears. For those whose priority was to become financially self-supporting as quickly as possible in order to qualify for a permanent residence permit, other dreams were put on hold, albeit still being present as possible opportunities in a more distant future. For these students, the Upper Secondary School Act served as a form of orientation device directing their attention to what appeared "near enough to be reached" in the imminent future (Ahmed, 2006a, p. 54), thus ultimately directing their paths into adulthood. The Upper Secondary School Act can be said to have a disciplinary function where migrant students are subjected to the Swedish labour market as well as to immigration policies

(cf. Anderson, 2010). In 2023, a landmark ruling from the Migration Court of Appeal made a stricter assessment of the requirements for obtaining a permanent residence permit. The arbitrary boundaries set up by the Upper Secondary School Act have thus continued to change and, for those concerned, breed a sense of uncertainty that continues to stretch out in time, forming the present as well as the future.

7. Conclusions

Education for newly arrived migrants is characterized by the diversity of the student group in terms of their cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds as well as their current life situations (Khalifa Aleghefi & Hunt, 2022). We argue that immigration status is a key aspect in the students' different conditions of arrival (Ahmed, 2006a) in an educational space, affecting newly arrived migrant students' learning experiences, occupational choices, and conceptions of their future. From this perspective, students are oriented towards different institutional lines partly depending on their immigration status. Some students are less free than others in imagining their future.

The narratives related by the four migrant students presented in this article illustrate changes in individual life situations but also provide insight into wider changes taking place in contemporary Sweden. Education here is, like other parts of the welfare system, increasingly intertwined with a more restrictive migration policy, where migrants need to qualify for access to social rights (Elsrud et al., 2021; Milani et al., 2021). These ongoing changes are, in turn, part of wider policy transformations and a rise of nationalism taking shape in Sweden as well as in other countries (Khan, 2019; Simpson, 2019). To capture the dynamics of these changes, individual experiences as told in migrants' narratives of their lives are of great importance, not least over time.

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Conflict of Interests

In this article, editorial decisions were undertaken by Ulf Hedetoft (University of Copenhagen, Denmark). The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

"Small Tragedies of Individuals' Lives": London's Migrant Division of Labour and Migrant Language Educational Settings

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Abstract
This article highlights the lived experience of migrants who have come to London to set up a new life and are learning English to facilitate this process. Drawing on my ethnographic research with a heterogenous group of adult migrants within and beyond the institutional boundaries of a migrant language educational setting in London, I tease out the often painful experiences and effects of deskilling my participants are confronted with as they are trying to make their lives in the city. Language proficiency is commonly seen as a key factor that accounts for migrants' disparities regarding their labour market participation and linguistic competence often acts as a crucial gatekeeping mechanism to social inclusion, which is additionally impeded by wider structural constraints. In this context, my research highlights the ways in which my interlocutors find themselves caught up in entrenched forms of intersecting inequalities, unequal power relations, and the dynamics and conditions of London's migrant division of labour. I shed light on how my participants deal with and navigate these complex processes whilst questing for the "right" linguistic competence to somehow propel their lives forward despite being aware that this might not necessarily come to fruition. I draw particular attention to the emotional cost of deskilling and being bumped down and show how this not only leaves an imprint on migrants themselves but also on those who are teaching them in order to increase migrants' employability and social mobility.

Keywords
adult migrants; critical pedagogy; deskilling; employability; global city; learning English; London; migrant division of labour

Issue
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1. Introduction

This article highlights the lived experience of migrants who have come to London to set up a new life and are learning English to facilitate this process. Language proficiency is commonly seen as a key factor that accounts for migrants' disparities regarding their labour market participation and linguistic competence often acts as a crucial gatekeeping mechanism to social inclusion, which is additionally impeded by wider structural constraints. This is particularly relevant in the context of London's evolution as a global city and postcolonial migrant metropolis, which has shaped the city's fabric profoundly and led to entrenched forms of social and economic disparity and a segregated labour market with a distinct migrant division of labour at the bottom (Back & Sinha, 2018; Sassen, 2001; Wills et al., 2010). Thus, although language barriers are often emphasized when discussing migrants' insertion into the labour market and their social inclusion, it is important to acknowledge that the picture is more complex, and wider exclusionary and hierarchising dynamics inherent to London's migrant division of labour need to be considered. How this "dual nexus" (Piller, 2012, p. 291) between an individual's language proficiency/constraints and wider structural constraints is experienced by migrants can differ greatly as their opportunities are shaped by nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, age, legal status, as well as individual personality, expectations, and prior experience (Wills et al., 2010).

In this context, I draw on my ethnographic research with a heterogenous group of adult migrants within

and beyond the institutional boundaries of a migrant language educational setting and tease out their often painful experiences of being exposed to and confronted with such unequal dynamics as they are trying to make their lives in the city. I shed light on how my participants deal with and navigate these complex processes whilst questing for the "right" linguistic competence to somehow propel their lives forward despite being aware that this might not necessarily come to fruition. I draw particular attention to the emotional cost of deskilling and being "bumped down" and show how this not only leaves an imprint on migrants themselves but also on those who are teaching them in order to increase migrants' employability and social mobility.

The dimensions and challenges discussed in this article became salient throughout my research, for example during interviews and conversations with both students and teachers, as well as on go-alongs in the city where the migrants at the centre of this research had come to set up a new life—many with the hope that London would provide more opportunities for them. My contribution is prompted by narratives of "small tragedies of individuals' lives" (Roberts, 2012) that my interlocutors were faced with in connection with being exposed to the dynamics and living with the conditions of London's migrant division of labour, which I found to crop up regularly during my research. Although I am not suggesting that the issues I discuss here were experienced in the same way by all the migrants who were part of the research and materialised in their lived experience in like manner, many of my research encounters revealed the impact these dynamics had on them. Unveiling such "small tragedies" is thus important, on the one hand, to understand these experiences better and to make the voice of those who are experiencing them and who often are among the most disadvantaged in society more audible. On the other hand, highlighting these experiences is paramount to increasing our understanding of wider inequitable relations and mechanisms as they can not only be seen as a matter of being experienced at the individual level but of accumulating into much larger issues of social inequality (Roberts, 2012). I will argue that migrant language educational settings are well positioned to play a role in finding ways of coping with as well as counteracting such experiences of inequality as migrant language students are often at the receiving end of such experiences. However, given the constraints of migrant language education and the difficult policy and practice environment the field operates within, which I will discuss in more detail later, there is a risk that migrant language educational spaces are hampered in playing this role and that instead of finding openings and pathways to counteract wider inequalities, they are reproduced within these settings.

This article unfolds as follows: I start by briefly discussing the conditions and dynamics of London as a global city and migrant metropolis, focusing on London's new migrant division of labour, before I highlight the role language plays as a gatekeeping mechanism as well as the connections between migrant language education, skills, and employability. I then give some insights into the ethnographic context and processes of knowledge-making in which the findings in the subsequent sections are embedded within. The finding sections elucidate both the experiences of migrant students as well as teachers at my field site, highlighting how the inequitable dynamics of being exposed to London's migrant division of labour come at a great emotional cost, weighing heavy on both. I conclude by proposing a more participatory approach to migrant language education to foreground its potential to provide a platform for not only paying attention to the "small tragedies of individuals' lives" but to also find ways for coping with and counteracting inequitable relations. Such an approach will further help to question and disrupt simplistic notions and understandings of the relationship between adult migrants' language learning, labour market participation, and social inclusion.

2. The Global City and Its Migrants

The experiences discussed in this article are embedded within the wider context of London as a global city and migrant metropolis with a significant migrant population. The diverse and multifaceted make-up of London's population is not only due to Britain's historical role as a colonial power with London as its imperial centre and distinct postcolonial migration dynamics but is also related to general events in international politics causing different migrant groups to arrive in the UK. It has been even further reinforced by London's rise to global city status (Sassen, 2001) denoting the city's role as a key junction or crossroads within the circuits of global neoliberal capitalism (Back & Sinha, 2018). London attracts large amounts of international migrants as it is one of the global economy's command and control points and has a particular significance as a production point of specialised financial and producer services that make the global economy run (Sassen, 2001).

Regarding its migrant population, it is important to note that global cities are responsible for creating different types of migrants, leading to the polarisation of social class divisions. On the one hand, there are privileged citizens, mainly highly skilled professionals brought by transnational corporations or drawn by the career opportunities the service industries in these cities afford them. On the other hand, the presence of these privileged citizens also requires and attracts less skilled and other service-giving people to serve London's low-wage labour market in order to make sure that all the demands of the global city are met (Sassen, 2001). As Wills et al. (2010, p. 1) observe, "London has become almost wholly reliant on foreign-born workers to do the city's 'bottom-end' jobs." Their research explicates the emergence of this new labour market, which they refer to as London's "new migrant division of labour," that is mediated by

nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, language, and migration status and, as such, highly hierarchised and stratified. The language proficiency of London's migrant population and how this affects their position in the labour market are diverse. Previous research, for example, indicates that the employment chances of non-white migrants in the UK were increased by about 22 percentage points by fluency in English, which was also associated with 18 to 20 percentage points higher earnings when holding constant other factors that influence employment and earnings such as education or age (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003).

Although not all migrants necessarily end up in London's low-wage economy, Sassen (2001) shows that the increasing inequalities in global cities are resulting directly from these distinct patterns of employment. Growth at the top end of the labour market fuels growth at the bottom and migrants from low-income countries are heavily over-represented at the bottom. Moreover, the continuous over-supply of low-skilled workers in London leading to a surplus to requirements means that there is a growing reserve army of largely foreign-born labour. This situation allows employers to apply further preferences, in particular adopting national and racialised stereotypes during recruitment processes, which leads to a racialised "hiring queue" (Model, 2002); once within a company's employment, this often determines the scope of migrants' upward mobility as well. This supply and demand imbalance also puts serious downward pressure on the terms and conditions of work resulting in increasing poverty and people needing to hold onto their job, regardless of the pay and working conditions. Research continues to show that employees from racially minoritised and migrant communities are more at risk of being in low-paid jobs and insecure employment, as well as being involuntarily on temporary contracts, and many social issues and inequitable relations facing the city are particularly likely to have an impact on them (see, for example, Tinson et al., 2017; Trust for London & WPI, 2020, 2022).

Those who end up in London's migrant division of labour are often acutely aware of their structural position, the low status of their work within society, and their limited options for upward social mobility. On the one hand, there are those, often categorised as "unskilled" or "low skilled," who have few formal qualifications, limited pre-migration education, or interrupted education trajectories. In the case of the latter, research with refugees for example has shown that they often find themselves forced to remain stuck in low-level jobs. Despite high aspirations to better their lives on arrival, barriers to accessing education, training, appropriate and sufficient language learning opportunities, as well as opportunities for developing knowledge and understanding of "how the system works" combined with immediate needs to earn a living meant they were hampered in their quest to progress and instead assimilated into a low wage economy of precarity and poverty (Morrice et al., 2020, 2021). On the other hand, many of those with higher levels of education and professional backgrounds are exposed to processes of "deskilling and delanguaging" (Garrido & Codó, 2017) which push them into "survival employment" (Creese & Wiebe, 2009) and have been "bumped down," i.e., as higher-skilled workers they were compelled to take up less-skilled jobs for a lack of alternatives because their qualifications are not recognised and/or due to language barriers (Morrice et al., 2021; Wills et al., 2010). It is important to highlight that how migrants experience these processes differs as the knowledge and skill of migrants are classed, gendered, and also racialised and materialised on the basis of ethnic and national origins (Guo, 2015). Thus, although language barriers are often emphasized when discussing migrants' (im)possibilities for employment, the picture is more complex, and wider exclusionary and hierarchising dynamics inherent to London's migrant division of labour need to be taken into account in these discussions. The following section will look at this "dual nexus" (Piller, 2012, p. 291) between an individual's language proficiency and existing classed, gendered, and racialised labour market segmentation in more detail.

3. Language as Gatekeeping Mechanism

Language and linguistic ability play an important role as a gatekeeping mechanism not only to the labour market but to the city and society more widely. As migration and successful settlement are often measured in economic terms, employment is seen as a key factor in terms of social inclusion as economic wellbeing without doubt significantly impacts all other dimensions of one's life. The importance of proficiency in English is often stressed as paramount in terms of migrants' experiences of employment and social inclusion, which is not surprising given the linguistic dimension of the reproduction of social inequalities. However, as some scholars of social justice point out, there is a danger to base considerations of how language mediates social inclusion on overtly simplistic assumptions which run the danger of reducing it to the level of individual responsibility (e.g., Piller, 2012, 2016).

Undoubtedly, language is of crucial importance for engagement with and accessing opportunities in one's surrounding. Yet, as language is related to social and political knowledge and access to power structures, successful social inclusion is about more than solely improving one's linguistic proficiency or instrumental use of language. When transitioning to a new economic environment, migrants are often subjected to a "linguistic penalty" (Roberts, 2012) which refers to experiences of being discriminated against, excluded, or not being able to access certain opportunities on the basis of language performance that falls outside of established societal norms and not because of a lack of communicative ability or language skills required for the job. Roberts (2012) refers to such experiences as "small tragedies of individuals' lives.''

Thus, although migrants' employment is heavily mediated by their proficiency in English, i.e., if a migrant's English competence does not match their skill level, they will be excluded from employment at their skill level, increased proficiency does not automatically result in better employment options. As Piller (2012, p. 288) asserts, "access to careers consistent with qualifications and experience…is mediated by a range of factors including accent, race and social networks." Migrants' real or perceived "lack of linguistic proficiency" can easily become a proxy for racial and ethnic discrimination which then also forces them into low-paid jobs. This creates a pool of people with limited employment options and with little possibility to escape or attaining the employment opportunities they seek despite gaining fluency in English (Piller, 2012).

4. Migrant Language Education, Skills, and Employability

To tackle the language barrier many migrants are faced with and its impact on social inclusion, countries that are receiving a significant number of new arrivals have put in place specific language programs which often put a heavy emphasis on work and employment. The scope and scale of these language programs differ considerably between countries. In England, the English language teaching for migrants who need the language in order to live in the country is usually referred to as ESOL (English for/to Speakers of Other Languages). ESOL has developed alongside the nation's history of inward migration and is heavily influenced by socio-political structures and decision-making processes that have been shaping its character, aims, objectives, and focus significantly over the years.

Growing out of an ad-hoc volunteer engagement in the post-war period, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the provision of ESOL became more organised. What is notable about this period was a central concern of the provision to actively enhance cultural and linguistic pluralism, anti-racism, equal opportunities, and social justice. This started to change in 2001 when ESOL was brought under centralized control and incorporated into the Skills for Life strategy (a policy aimed at reducing the number of adults with low levels of basic skills, literacy, and numeracy), which led to the ambiguous status of the field as an adult basic skill. This, in turn, fostered a perception of the field and students as being of "low status'' (Cooke & Simpson, 2009; Zschomler, 2021). In addition, as links in policy between learning in the adult education sector and business were strengthened, the orientation of ESOL moved towards "skills" and "employability" (Cooke & Simpson, 2009; Simpson & Whiteside, 2015). However, given the perception of ESOL as a basic skill and the overall low status of the field and its students, critical voices have pointed out that, as a result, students are at risk of being solely perceived as low-skills trainees who are being prepared for menial employment and low-paid work (Cooke & Simpson, 2009). This can come at the expense of focusing on skills and knowledge that students might require to navigate and build more sustainable futures and of creating tailored pathways for individuals to access suitable and fitting language and employment support in order to achieve their goals (Morrice et al., 2020, 2021). The foregrounding of skills and employability and moving away from a broader social justice agenda also has had an impact on the possibilities of the field to counteract its migrant students' often marginalised position in society.

Overall, in England, ESOL is poorly resourced and characterised by a "piece-meal and partial" (Simpson, 2019, p. 31) approach to funding. Eligibility criteria to receive government-funded ESOL provision have become more restrictive over the past decade in England (Foster & Bolton, 2018) and since 2011–2012 there is no funding for ESOL provided in the workplace. The underfunding and fragmentation of ESOL greatly limits provision and access, and the field's ability to provide the kind of comprehensive support that adult migrants are in need of. On the one hand, there is an acute lack of appropriate language classes; on the other hand, there is also a very little possibility for ESOL to work effectively towards minimising or counteracting the effects that wider social inequalities have on the lives of migrant students which as a result continue to be reproduced (Simpson & Hunter, 2023).

5. Ethnographic Context and Knowledge-Making

The insights presented in this article are based on ethnographic research into the lived experience of migrants who have come to London to set up a new life and are learning English to facilitate this process. I carried out fieldwork between the summer of 2017 and autumn of 2018, within and beyond the institutional setting of a further education college in London offering English classes for migrants. Over a period of about 15 months, I usually spent three to four days a week at the college as a participant observer in classes, meetings, training sessions, as well as on field trips and more general hanging around in the staff room and in areas where students usually gathered before and after classes. I also conducted four focus group discussions and ethnographic interviews with 39 of my student participants (22 female, 17 male, age range between 21 and 55) from 24 countries of origin, diverse backgrounds in terms of ethnicity, education, language, religion, socio-economic standing, and with complex migratory trajectories and different statuses including those seeking refuge and asylum, family reunion, as well as more economic-driven migration. Their length of time in the UK ranged from newly arrived to more than 12 years. My interlocutors attended English language classes ranging from Pre-Entry to Level 1, which is equivalent to pre-A1 (basic user) to B2 (independent user) as described by the Common European Framework (CEFR).

In order to venture more into the life worlds of my participants beyond the institutional setting, I included walking methods (O'Neill & Perivolaris, 2015) in the form of go-alongs during which I could accompany my interlocutors after their English classes as they were going to work or other engagements, others showed me around their communities or places that were important to them or invited me into their homes. This aided a more collaborative knowledge production focusing on inclusion and participation, to access the unsayable, i.e., by exploring difficult topics or experiences that interlocutors might otherwise keep to themselves or which might be difficult to retrieve through interviews. In addition, Kusenbach (2003, p. 472) observes that go-alongs can also "give clues as to how informants integrate memories of past events, and anticipations of the future, into the ongoing stream of their spatial experiences and activities." For example, in one of my go-alongs with Elira, a 29-year-old female student who was born in Albania but had lived several years in Greece before coming to the UK, she led me to a coffee shop which she described to me as her "refuge," a place where she would frequently go on her day off because, as she explained, "you can just sit, look out the window or read and be like everyone else because you not have to speak." Whilst we were having coffee there, she told me with tears in her eyes about a very upsetting voicemail she had received from her son's teacher with derogatory remarks regarding her English language skills. After some time, Elira pointed to an upmarket hair salon which was visible through the window, and started talking about how it was her dream to work there one day. She also shared with me the difficulties she was facing in her current employment situation and how this impacted her. At the time of my fieldwork, she was working as a housekeeper in a London hotel as her hair stylist qualifications were not accepted in the UK. My comprehensive approach further included ten interviews with managers and teachers at the college where I conducted my fieldwork.

Throughout the fieldwork, I took extensive field notes. The interviews, focus group discussions, and, if the situation allowed, the conversations from go-alongs were recorded and transcribed. In the pursuit of a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973), a prolonged engagement with my interlocutors and the triangulation of different types of rich data made it possible to "employ a macro approach to gain knowledge of the wider context of action, as well as maintaining a close eye on the various ways that social structures are taking effect within and through agents in the practice of daily life" (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 11). I took a grounded approach to data analysis, starting with open coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1964) to be able to capture something of the literal essence of the data. This was embedded into more of a "zigzag approach" (Rivas, 2012) between data gathering and data analysis, with the latter moving from preliminary thematic coding, to refined thematic coding to more refined categories.

6. The Emotional Cost of Being Slotted Into the Migrant Division of Labour in the Classroom

The dynamics and conditions of London's migrant division of labour were a constant and very tangible component of many of the conversations, interviews, and group discussions I had with my interlocutors and part of their everyday experiences and played out vividly in their narratives. Throughout the research, many of my interlocutors shared their often painful experiences of the outlined processes of racialisation, hierarchization, and hampered possibilities to be socially mobile with me. As one of my participants, who came from Iran to seek asylum in the UK and had experienced significant deskilling during his migratory trajectory with no success of even slightly reversing it after years of trying, put it: "You feel crushed. You don't really live."

Many also were very aware that whilst they were striving to improve their linguistic competence and proficiency to propel their lives forward, this might not necessarily come to fruition because of wider exclusionary and hierarchising mechanisms. For example, in one conversation I had with two students, about these issues and their experience of coming to college to learn English, one of them, Meserat, a 39-year-old female Eritrean student, struck a sombre tone and, looking down her body, remarked: "Look, what can I expect? Me, I'm just a black woman from Africa working as a cleaner and everyone can see." Meserat had come to the UK to seek asylum about eight years prior to my fieldwork and had limited pre-migration education. She was married with three children and acutely aware of her racialized position within the global city space of London, to which she alluded in other conversations and encounters I had with her. She told me how she had been really happy when she found work as a cleaner initially but had hoped that she would be able to improve her employment situation as she progressed with learning English—a hope that, at the time of my fieldwork, during which she attended an Entry 3 class (equivalent to B1 intermediate on the CEFR), she felt would most likely not materialise, something she explained to me during the above conversation and finds echo in her words: "What can I expect?"

What was striking during these encounters was how tangible the pain experienced by my interlocutors was—the emotional cost of being slotted into London's migrant division of labour, of being bumped down, of being discriminated against, of feeling stuck, crushed, and not "really living," with no or little hope to escape from the circumstances they found themselves in, was clearly weighing heavy on them. During lessons and in the context of the classroom, this strong emotional impact and the negative affects that are experienced by students at an individual level due to their circumstances were many times hidden. Yet, they were lurking in the background and coming to the surface in certain moments, which is not too surprising as the topic of work and employability was high on the institutional and departmental agenda

and thus featured regularly in lessons at all levels. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes from an Entry 3 class describes such an instance:

> I am participating in the [removed] class again. Everyone seems to be really happy and looking forward to today's lesson. As usual, the atmosphere is warm, friendly, and supportive. As the lesson starts and everyone is settling down, the teacher tells the students that she has a very exciting announcement for them. She projects a leaflet on the whiteboard from the borough. The large shopping center which is not too far from the college, is going to be expanded and there will be a recruitment fair in a few days. This had been on the agenda of the team meeting in the morning where all teachers were asked to promote the recruitment fair in their classes. The teacher thinks it would be a really good idea for the students to go there. The students ask some questions and we are all going through the flyer together. It becomes clear that this job fair is only for service-giving jobs, cleaners, security personnel, delivery drivers, and so forth. The excitement in the class goes down, most of the students are currently in employment and pretty much exactly in such kind of employment. So going to the job fair does not really provide an opportunity to move up, progress, or be socially mobile. The teacher keeps on encouraging everybody and repeats that this is really a great opportunity and they should go and have a look….Just as she is about to move on, Agnes comes in. She apologises for being late and the teacher uses the chance to ask Leo to tell Agnes about the job fair. When Agnes hears the word job fair, she gets excited but when Leo starts talking about the kind of jobs that will be recruited for at the job fair she sighs deeply and starts to talk about her experiences. She describes how difficult it often is for her to be faced with this reality that the only jobs on offer are "low jobs," as she refers to them. "It's so hard when you're background is different," she exclaims and almost starts crying. One of her classmates says some comforting words to her in Albanian but fails to cheer her up. Agnes continues to explain: "It's not easy….I mean, I was a designer for curtains in my country but now…" The hurt and pain are written all over her face and are palpable in the room. Many of the other students sympathise with her but two of her fellow classmates become quite invigorated and tell her that she just has to accept this situation. "You have to accept it and try your best." The gist of the advice was that she should go there, market herself, albeit undervalued, or for something different than her profession. "That's just how it is when you come to a new place, that's what you have to accept. Of course, you will go down, only if you're lucky you don't have to. You have to try." Their speech fails to encourage Agnes and makes her look even more in pain and hurt. She gets out a tissue as her eyes are filling with tears and just keeps on mumbling: "But, but it's not easy, it's not easy." The teacher seems to be uncomfortable and quickly gets today's lesson topic projected on the whiteboard and tells the class: "Okay, let's move on." The class continues and all the activities are mainly about exam practice as the exam is just around the corner. Agnes, who is usually quite bubbly and talkative, stays really quiet for the rest of the lesson, and after the class finishes she leaves quickly. Some of the students decide to go to the cafeteria to have a coffee together and practise a bit more for the exam. They are inviting me to come along.

When I had the chance to talk about this lesson with Agnes a while later, she emphasised how she was "really sorry" for "the problems she made," as she referred to it. She went on to explain: "It just come out of me that day—I don't know why." At the time she was working as a housekeeper/nanny and had tried to get some internship opportunities more related to her field of expertise but without success and felt strongly that there was just "no way" forward for her. What "kept her going" was the hope that there would be a better future in store for her (now teenage) son who had come to London together with her from Albania—a common strategy employed by my interlocutors to somehow make their own situation more bearable.

Although Agnes' outburst of negative feelings and pain did not cause "problems," it came rather unexpectedly, both to the teacher and the class (and myself as well) and the teacher tried to move on to the regular lesson topic quickly without engaging with it. In other (rare) instances, teachers engaged with such issues more "head-on" and opened up a space for discussion of the students' differing positionality within London's postcolonial and global city fabric including experiences of exclusion, marginality, discrimination, racialisation, racism, and so forth. However, not all the teachers were equally inclined to do so or indeed felt comfortable doing so. Some felt it might be better for them to "stick to what they know and are good at," i.e., teaching the language. Others did not feel adequately equipped to do so but would have liked more opportunities to develop this aspect of their practice more. Teachers also spoke about how they were not able to engage with these wider dynamics more critically as much as they would have liked to during the four hours of lessons that students were entitled to per week given the pressure they are under to get students through the curriculum and achieve high exam pass rates. The latter might have been on the mind of the teacher in the above example and the teacher's reaction to this situation might have been different had it not occurred during a lesson that was set aside for preparing the students intensively for the impending exam.

Furthermore, I noticed how important it was for students to highlight when they could avoid experiences of deskilling or being bumped down and thus

circumvent the emotional costs accompanying these processes, which was the case for some of my participants, as for example Arif, a 25-year-old male student. He had come to the UK to seek asylum about three years prior to my fieldwork from Eritrea where he had been trained as an upholsterer and carpet layer. At the time of the research, he had been able to find very similar work and was employed by a company specialising in interior decoration and carpet laying. He often emphasised that he was doing "the same job" as in his country, pointing out how happy this made him. On one occasion, his Entry 2 class (equivalent to pre-intermediate on the CEFR) was playing a board game and he landed on a square asking him to talk about his occupation, which prompted several of his classmates to point out how "lucky" he was.

7. Between Transmitting Harsh Realities and Raising Aspirations

Overall, the teachers were very much aware of "the small tragedies of individuals' lives" many of the students found themselves confronted with and how difficult this often was for them, particularly if students had to grapple with processes of deskilling and being bumped down. For example, in my interview with one of the teachers, Dan, he was very much aware of how, in his words, "annoying" these experiences are for students and described how he finds himself having to "transmit" these harsh realities to students. When I asked him what he thinks it means for his students to come to class, he remarked:

> Well, for some students, they approach their ESOL class as, aah, something annoying they have to do in order to get on with the rest of their lives [laughs]….I think some students have very unrealistic expectations of where they are and so one aspect of my job, which is not very much fun, is to try to give students an accurate understanding of where they are…and, aah, that's a difficult conversation, aah, to have and in some cases I have it every week with the same people…so if students, if students are…come to terms with why they are where they are…yeah…so, sometimes, erm, that's, that's an important thing for students to understand, erm, [and] sometimes they don't.

The difficulty of this "aspect of his job which is not very much fun" was apparent in the interview. As he rendered his explanation, he gradually lowered his voice and, after a pause, sighed and continued slowly, with a very low voice: "Sometimes it's really hard to transmit that." After this, he looked to the floor and stayed silent for a while. Teaching those who "carry the weight of the world" (Bourdieu, 1999), e.g., those who are inhibited by structures that bear down on them and undermine their aspirations, includes "transmitting" to them an "accurate understanding of where they are," which seemed to be weighing down on Dan as well.

Another teacher, Sharon, who referred to herself as being from a BAME (Black, Asian, and minority ethnic) background, often talked about these inhibiting structures. Initially only open to a quick interview/conversation about her experience of teaching English to migrants whilst she was sorting through worksheets and preparing materials for upcoming lessons with me sitting next to her desk, she became really engaged in our conversation. Proclaiming that it was "bringing out the political animal" in her, she started to share her own experiences of coming to the UK as a child from the Caribbean and how she had been faced with structural racism and inequalities all her life. She was very much aware of the conditions that "make it very hard for people like our ESOL learners." Referring to the predicament she found herself in as a teacher she remarked: "They need to have aspirations and you should give them some hope, but then how much will they be able to achieve?" A little later she continued: "I mean, you can tell them and help them to improve their English but that's only part of the picture—it's tricky, not easy." She subsequently approached me again and again as she kept on thinking about the issues we had discussed, which made her also reflect on her classroom practice and ways of engaging with different students. One example she brought up a few times was Haz, a 23-year-old male Iranian student, who had come to the UK to seek asylum and with the dream to study physics at Oxford University. Sharon told me that she thought "he needed to get a dose of reality and better look for a job at KFC," which she to some extent saw as the most likely progression for him from his current irregular work in a small local takeaway restaurant. She really could not envision his ambition and wish for the future to ever come to fruition. She juxtaposed this with an example of one of her previous students, a young Polish woman who, despite being a qualified teacher, was working as a housekeeper for a hotel in London. Sharon deemed that "more should be possible for her in London, at least as a teaching assistant" and continued to push the student to get all her certificates, required translations, references, and so forth, as she felt "it would be such a shame for her to give up on a better future." Haz and the young Polish woman were studying at the same level in their respective English classes, yet, how Sharon perceived their future possibilities differed immensely and her engagement with both was to some extent mediated by wider hierarchising dynamics and inequitable relations. Reflecting on these experiences, she explained how our conversations had made her compare and rethink how she related to these two students. She also stressed how teachers are hampered in their possibilities to engage more critically with issues of inequality, exclusion, and the realities of their students' lives given the bureaucratic burden and pressure they are under to achieve, for example, certain benchmarks funding is dependent on. Conveying a feeling that can be interpreted as pertaining almost to resignation, she concluded: "When you see these realities

as a teacher it can make you feel really bad, and the worst thing is that there is not really anything you can do about it."

8. Conclusions

The dimensions and challenges discussed in this article became salient throughout my research, for example during interviews and conversations with both students and teachers, as well as on go-alongs. However, having discussed these issues, I do not want to suggest that these dimensions materialised in the lived experiences of all of my interlocutors in the same way as I already pointed out earlier. Being slotted into London's migrant division of labour and being exposed to exclusionary, discriminatory, and hierarchising dynamics often took an immense toll on my interlocutors' emotional wellbeing as well as their overall feelings of respect and dignity. Sometimes their eyes filled up with tears and they found it difficult to talk further when these issues came up. The "small tragedies of individuals' lives" were frequently laid bare, albeit often rather unexpectedly, particularly as my fieldwork progressed and my interlocutors felt comfortable in their interactions with me and we had established a relationship of trust and mutual respect. Many times, my interlocutors remarked that it was the first time they were telling someone about how they felt, which they often found to have a healing effect. What became evident was that, many times, their experiences had made them feel as being locked up "into a shell of incompetence" (Park, 2015, p. 70) which came at a great emotional cost, echoing the "coming to terms with where you are" that Dan had identified as a painful process many of his students had to undergo in connection with their migratory trajectory. As we saw, this does not only leave an imprint on migrants themselves but also on those who are tasked with teaching them English in order to help them navigate the processes of setting up a new life and improve their prospects for the future.

Where does this leave the learning and teaching of English in the context of migration, processes of deskilling, and migrants' insertion into a segmented labour market? It is certainly true that, as Morrice et al. (2021) point out, fast-track language courses combined with vocational skills which would support faster access to employment commensurate with migrants' background and qualifications could make a significant difference to their experience, and there is certainly a lot of scope to improve the provision of ESOL in this regard. However, what I would like to highlight is that migrant language education has another role to play here that goes beyond increasing migrants' skills, employability, or human capital on an individual level. Regarding her students' lived experiences marked by inequitable relations, hierarchizing, and racialising dynamics, Sharon concluded that in the context of her work "there is not really anything you can do about it." Yet, considering the discussions in this article, I would like to propose a more hopeful outlook. There is certainly an argument to be made for the importance of English language classes for migrants to open up possibilities for listening to and sharing difficult experiences, for reflecting on uncomfortable issues, for making questions and experiences of inequality and the "small tragedies" that result from them a more central concern. Leveraging migrant language educational spaces in this way would place those attending the classes, their own immediate experiences, and the issues they are faced with more at the centre of what is being paid attention to, discussed, and dealt with in the language classroom, thus linking their language learning to the analysis of broader issues in their lives. This resonates well with a more participatory approach to teaching and learning that is anchored in critical pedagogy and concerned with developing a social conscience that can make a difference in this context. Encouraging students to question the realities of their lives allows for offering a platform to not only educate for individual success but to also foster an active and critical engagement with the often very unequal life worlds of migrant students (see also Heinemann & Monzó, 2021; Zschomler, 2019, 2021). There is, as I would argue, great potential for migrant language educational spaces to foster such active and critical engagement. This, in turn, can then also make it possible to question and disrupt simplistic notions and understandings of the relationship between adult migrants' language learning, labour market participation, and social inclusion.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Adult Migrants' Endeavours for a Life as Included

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Abstract
In many European countries, Sweden included, social inclusion of adult migrants has come to mean second language learning and labour market establishment. This understanding of social inclusion has been problematised by previous research as it reinforces a deficit discourse where migrants are depicted as lacking skills or incentives, and social inclusion is seen merely as a matter of adjusting to society. This study aims to examine migrants' positioning in relation to language learning and social inclusion. It is based on a longitudinal interview study with adult migrants, first when being enrolled in second language education, and later in the continuing process of making a life in a new country. We analyse five migrant narratives, drawing on the concepts of positioning, agency, rights, duties, and capital in relation to their past, present, and future aspirations. The results show that the position of the "good migrant" taking responsibility for language learning and job seeking is prominent. At the same time, positioning is also constructed in relation to individual aspirations and opportunities, depending on one's circumstance of life and capital, such as previous education or social networks. Thus, inclusion is closely related to being recognised, not primarily as a migrant, but as the person one strives to be, both professionally and personally.

Keywords
adult education; labour market; learning; migrants; narratives; positioning; recognition; social inclusion

Issue
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1. Introduction

In recent years, the debate about adult migrants' inclusion in society has intensified, and public discourses have come to focus on the individual migrant's responsibility to adjust to society in different ways, for example, by entering the labour market, becoming self-sufficient, developing democratic values, and learning the majority language (Abdulla, 2017; Blackledge, 2009; Fejes, 2010; Grip, 2019): In other words, to become "the good migrant" and "the good citizen" (Abdulla, 2017; B. Anderson, 2013). This study, based in Sweden, follows migrants taking part in state-regulated second language education—Swedish for Immigrants (SFI). It examines their experiences of making a life in a new country. Language education has been stated as a prerequisite for citizenship and employment, and previous studies have shown that migrants view SFI as crucial for their future life prospects (Rosén, 2014), but insufficient for meeting their own and others' expectations of necessary language skills (Ahlgren & Rydell, 2020).

Previous research has shown that the nation-state, as the foundation for securing individuals' welfare and rights, shapes specific patterns of inclusion and exclusion (B. Anderson, 2013; Sassen, 1996). Traditionally, Sweden has been depicted as a welfare state with a universalistic social policy and inclusionary migration policies (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2016; Schierup & Ålund, 2011). However, during recent decades, Sweden has moved towards an increasingly strict social support policy (Ferrarini et al., 2012) and migration policy (Andersson, 2014; Djampour, 2018; Khosravi, 2010). In 2015, an

increase in asylum seekers in Sweden (Swedish Migration Agency, 2023) was labelled "the refugee crisis" and stricter migration policies followed. For example, temporary residence permits were accorded instead of permanent residence permits (SFS, 2016), and certain conditions for permanent residence and family reunification have been issued, such as income requirements and a "well-behaved lifestyle" (SOU, 2021). Furthermore, the government is investigating the use of language skills tests and knowledge of Swedish society as a requirement for permanent residency and citizenship (SOU, 2023). The government proposes "a new model for welfare qualification," which further emphasises individual responsibility; for example, stricter activity requirements for migrants to participate in education or work to get income support (Government Offices of Sweden, n.d.). These changes reflect a stricter migration policy and a shift from citizens' welfare being secured by individuals' participation in the labour market, rather than social insurance systems, thus emphasising individual duties rather than rights (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2016). These changes sharpen the demands on migrants to become "the good migrant" (Jansson & Wernesjö, 2021). While employment and language learning are at the centre of migrants' strivings and individual plans (Norton, 2000), social inclusion is also a matter of being *let in* (cf. Grip, 2019). The stricter Swedish migration and welfare policies reflect a will to limit and select who is to be let in. Given these changes towards an even stronger emphasis on individual responsibility for inclusion, we argue that it is important to highlight migrants' experiences of establishment and inclusion. In this article, we aim to examine migrants' positioning in relation to language learning and social inclusion in the process of making a life in a new country, using positioning theory to analyse their narratives. How do migrants position themselves in narratives of language learning and establishment? Which beliefs about duties and rights are given meaning in their positioning?

2. Migrants' Learning and Identity Processes

Learning the majority language is seen as a form of respectability, and striving to develop one's language skills becomes a way of being accepted (Ahlgren & Rydell, 2020). Language learning can also be related to, e.g., parenthood and the ability to communicate with preschool, school, healthcare institutions, etc. Language abilities have been understood as resources that increase women's everyday power and enable them to meet their own expectations of motherhood (Carlson, 2002). Simultaneously, Norton (2000) suggests that being a mother can encourage migrants to use the language to speak to natives, giving them a position as "legitimate" speakers, and help them resist a given, marginalised position of a "migrant woman." Similarly, Miller (2010) shows how migrants spoke about themselves as active agents in the areas of language learning, immigration, and work. Even if their linguistic agency was restricted to specific areas, these areas were seen as meaningful arenas for identity formation.

Consequently, the negotiation of identity in migration processes is not separated from how migrants are construed in migration policy. Norton (2000) shows that the feeling of being inferior as a language user restricted migrants from speaking. Thunborg et al. (2021), who use a social and biographical perspective, show how asylum seekers learn either to be marginalised and disconnected or to co-participate in their local community, and in relation to Swedish society overall. Access to formal language studies appeared important for learning Swedish as well as for gaining legitimacy for participation in society, whereas access to many other various communities was crucial to experience a sense of belonging in society. Moreover, migrants' life aspirations were conditioned by their participation in the communities they belonged to and anchored in their biographical experiences, for example, being a good student or having an entrepreneurial approach to life (Thunborg et al., 2021).

Previous studies of adult education or labour market initiatives for migrants have problematised how these may support migrants in developing language and cultural awareness. At the same time, if shaped by a deficit discourse that construes them as lacking, migrants may be restricted from assuming previous identities or using capital accumulated through their biography (Carlson, 2002; Morrice, 2014). Migrant students in Swedish adult education who found themselves treated as "others" by Swedish students and teachers, responded by distinguishing themselves from the "other others," that is, migrants who were not adjusting to mainstream society. Broad categorisations of migrants, therefore, imply that heterogeneity and hierarchies among migrants (and non-migrants) based on ethnicity, race, gender, and class, become invisible (Hägerström, 2004).

3. Theoretical Frame

The migration process implies a detachment between migrants' past and present, which might cause migrants to rethink what they are and could be (Morrice, 2014). In this article, we use positioning theory as a frame for analysing how migrants, in interviews, position themselves. We understand this as identity formation, where identity is a nexus of different positions, which implies that even if there is a main position, other positions can be present within the same narrative.

Subject positions are assumed by individuals, even as they may be positioned in other ways by people around them (Davies & Harré, 1990). Positions are thus contingent and open for renegotiations in different settings (Darvin & Norton, 2014). One aspect of positioning is ideas about what we are entitled or obliged to do; rights and duties that are distributed differently, enabling different positions in different settings (Van Langenhove, 2022). The concept of positioning is thus closely linked to

how societal discourses provide different positions, but do not determine how one positions oneself. The concept of agency in narratives, moreover, can help us understand which discourses, beliefs, or ideas are relevant when positioning oneself and others (Deppermann, 2015). In this study, we focus on how participants describe themselves, as well as which normative and moral ideas of rights and duties are present in the positions taken (cf. K. T. Anderson, 2009; McVee, 2011).

We have chosen to complement positioning theory with Bourdieu's concepts of capital to highlight how different resources are given meaning as signs in migrants' positioning. It may seem contradictive to connect these two perspectives, discursive subject positioning, and production of social positions through societal distribution and valuation of resources. However, while the former helps us to understand migrants' social inclusion as discursive, the latter enables us to show how positioning interplays with resources. Positions are taken with the various resources the individual has accumulated and desires, as well as one's own and others' recognition of these resources. For example, we use educational qualifications, a form of institutionalised capital, and embodied cultural capital. Embodied capital is a system of dispositions, a base for how individuals think, act, and orientate themselves (Bourdieu, 1986). As such, and taking linguistic capital as an example, a legitimised way of speaking may be a necessity for being recognised in a social domain and also influence how one perceives one's own social worth (Bourdieu, 1991). The very same capital can be valued in one community while misrecognised in another. When being recognised and valued, capitals become symbolic (Bourdieu, 1998). Hence, we argue that the interplay between subject positioning and the meaning given to different capital is of particular interest when understanding the process of establishment and inclusion in a new country.

4. Context and Method

The data in this article are generated within a large longitudinal research project about migrants' trajectories of social inclusion and the meaning-making of these trajectories. The main material in this project comprises semi-structured interviews with migrants on two different occasions: first, when they were enrolled in different types of language education and then 1.5 to 2.5 years later. This article is based on interviews with migrants who participated in SFI. Unlike participants from other educational contexts in the project, they had all been granted a residence permit and were somewhat established in Sweden. In the first round, we interviewed 32 SFI students. In the second round, all of those we could reach, and who agreed to participate, were interviewed—it was a total of 17 participants (11 women and six men).

The first interviews were conducted face-to-face in two SFI schools in two Swedish municipalities. We included students from all three study tracks offered in SFI: study track 1 for students with low/no educational background, study track 2 and 3 for the ones with a medium and high educational background. The participants were also mixed in terms of age and mother tongue, and comprised both men and women, although the latter were in the majority. For the second interview, we used Zoom or telephone, since the participants were by then scattered across the country. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. The study has been through ethical vetting and is guided by ethical guidelines for research in social science and humanities. The participants were informed of the aims and procedures of the study and data handling, and that participation was voluntary and confidential. This information was given in Swedish, with few complex words and a personal address to facilitate understanding. The participants gave oral and written consent before taking part in the study.

The interviews were conducted in Swedish, but two of the follow-up interviews were performed with a licensed interpreter and, in one case, a grown-up daughter of the participant acted as a translator, since it was requested by the participant. We understand interviews as a mutual construct between participant and researcher (cf. Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009). Using an interpreter implies the risk of the interpreter adding their own understanding as a filter between the participants and the interviewer (Norlund Shaswar, 2021). To reduce this risk, we gave the interpreters detailed information about the purpose of the project and explained what we expected from the interviews. Since the participants understood and spoke some Swedish, the interpreters' translations were also confirmed by the participants repeating what the interpreters said or adding additional corresponding information in Swedish.

The focus in both rounds of interviews was the migrants' experiences of SFI education, language learning, and their everyday lives. We also asked about their actions, opportunities, and obstacles in making a life in Sweden. During the first interview, participants talked about their experiences from the perspective of currently being enrolled in SFI and their prospects. In the follow-up interview, they had either finished SFI or taken a break from it. We asked about what had happened since leaving SFI, their current life, dreams, and goals for the future, and what they felt they needed to get there.

In the analysis process, we read the interviews of the 17 participants overall to get an idea of how the migrants positioned themselves in relation to their experiences of language learning and establishment, dreams, and plans, which were given meaning in their narratives. In the second stage, we selected five participants' narratives that were analysed in more depth and a more holistic sense. This selection was made to capture the different positions we saw in the material as a whole. Where more than one participant accounted for a similar main position, we based our selection on participant differences

in terms of age, countries of origin, educational background, family situation, length of time in Sweden, and reasons for migrating. This was to reflect if, and how, different conditions interplayed with the positionings. Thus, two participants in our selection of five had no previous education when arriving in Sweden, another had studied for six years, a fourth had finished secondary school, and the fifth had studied at university. Two migrated to Sweden as asylum seekers, one for work, and the other two to join a Swedish partner or a family member.

The analysis of the selected participants' interviews was made from an empirical point of departure since we first wrote the narratives closely based on what the participants accounted for generally in their trajectory in Sweden. Then we re-wrote the narratives in relation to the participants' positioning when looking at SFI in retrospect, and what significance they gave to other issues for their present and future social inclusion. We illustrate each selected narrative with one main position found in our analysis, even if this position is intertwined with other positions. The quotations have been translated into English. The following questions have guided our presentations of the migrant narratives: What are the participant's dreams and goals? What actions has she taken to achieve these? And how does she describe her prospects in relation to personal history, present situation, and opportunities? In the analysis, we focus on the participants' positioning in their narratives of establishing themselves in Sweden, and how this is done concerning ideas of rights, duties, and capital.

5. Findings: Positioning in the (Re)Construction of Life in a New Country

Below we present our findings in terms of five different positions in the participants' narratives about learning the language and making a life in Sweden. Then we analyse these positions, focusing both on individual conditions and common features of positioning in their narratives of establishment and inclusion.

5.1. Emina: A Qualified Professional

Emina was 39 years old at the time of our first interview and had then been living in Sweden for three years. She moved from Serbia when her husband obtained employment in Sweden, and they set out to make a better living. Emina described herself as a well-educated, professional woman. In Serbia, she and her husband had qualified jobs and owned a house, which in her narrative are important aspects of her past as well as of her aspirations for the future.

Emina got a bachelor's degree in business administration from Serbia and wanted to continue her professional career in Sweden. At the time of the first interview, she was enrolled in SFI and undertaking an internship as a business administrator. She found the internship useful for learning specific legislation, rules, and concepts used within business administration in Sweden. Higher education and being a professional can, thus, be seen as cultural capital, but Emina needed to develop language skills for this capital to be recognised and useful to her in Sweden.

In the second interview, Emina described SFI as useful for developing everyday language skills, shopping, or paying a visit to the doctor. These basic language skills enabled her to continue studying and to develop her abilities to read and write in Swedish. Emina positioned herself as someone who strived to learn more than basic linguistic skills. After some time in Sweden, Emina's husband was unemployed, and life turned out differently than expected. For Emina, being a professional and having a job is about making a living, but also important for her to feel a sense of meaningfulness and purpose in life. Furthermore, employment offers an opportunity to save money, buy a house, and live a different kind of life. The family lived in a rental apartment in a residential area that she described as "not very good, but OK for a start." She missed socialising with her neighbours as they had done in Serbia and expressed a desire to recapture parts of her past life, such as being recognised as a skilled professional, living in a house, and having a meaningful social life.

Moreover, Emina positioned herself as someone actively striving towards her goals. She described how she took care of her well-being and health by doing exercise and creating meaningful spare time. She learned Swedish terms related to her profession and took part in different job-seeking activities. Emina positioned herself as different from "other migrants" in her neighbourhood, who she said did not want to work and had little understanding of her ambitions to do so. Emina described herself as "more like Swedes than other migrants" and positioned herself in relation to ideas about a good citizen in Sweden (cf. B. Anderson, 2013). Following this line, her willingness to work and make a living came across as a duty expected of her as a response to the opportunities she had been given: "I think like a Swede, I respect Sweden for accepting me and giving me an opportunity to develop in Sweden." Due to competition in the labour market and the importance of social networks providing informal knowledge about vacancies and recognising candidates for employment, Emina found this duty was not easily fulfilled:

> There are many migrants, and Swedes are the first ones to get the jobs, but that is normal. But I do hope that they [employers] will see that I am a business administrator, motivated, and that I have my diplomas.

Here, Emina acknowledges labour market structures where Swedes are prioritised for employment and hopes to be recognised as a professional and potential employee in the future. Swedes are positioned as the ones being prioritised in the employment market.

In Emina's narrative, language learning appears as a sign of her willingness and efforts to work but is not sufficient to get a job (cf. Ahlgren & Rydell, 2020). She described how lacking employment and a salary hindered her from buying a house in a more high-status Swedish-speaking neighbourhood. Buying a house, in turn, can enable the accumulation of social and symbolic capital needed to once again be recognised and valued as a well-educated and qualified professional.

5.2. Sarah: An Emerging Swede

Sarah was in her early 20s and moved to Sweden from the US with her Swedish boyfriend. She had finished high school in the US and had worked in a restaurant/shop and a library. In the first interview, Sarah was about to finish her last SFI course after six months of studies. In the follow-up interview, she had finished more advanced Swedish studies and was studying a course in the non-formal adult education system, which aimed to prepare students for complementary education or university. Sarah did not yet know what work she wanted to do in the future.

Sarah positioned herself as wanting to become a Swede. To her, this was both about feeling like a Swede and being acknowledged as such. To reach these goals she stressed how she had strived to learn the Swedish language and wanted to speak Swedish as fluently as her mother tongue. She found it easier to make friends and socialise when speaking Swedish, since not everyone knows English, or could be shy about speaking it. Speaking Swedish made her feel "a greater part of the society." Sarah positioned herself as a committed language student who had chosen to enroll SFI to learn the language adequately and as a keen language learner in other contexts by saying that she consistently spoke Swedish instead of English with her boyfriend's family and friends, her colleagues, and friends from school. She often watched or listened to Swedish TV and radio and read books in Swedish. She commented that she had come to feel more like a Swede since she had become more "prepared to speak Swedish" in different contexts, and sometimes thought in Swedish. Sarah, moreover, positions herself as someone who "adopted a lot of Swedish culture," consuming Swedish media and doing "common Swedish things" with native Swedes.

However, Sarah stated that the process of becoming a Swede didn't depend on her own efforts alone. In hindsight, SFI was described as a place where to practise Swedish without being afraid of making mistakes (cf. Puigdevall et al., 2022) and Sarah confirmed that SFI had helped her develop an understanding of what it meant to work in study groups and how teaching is conducted within adult education in Sweden. In this sense, it has led to the development of embodied, cultural capital. Moreover, she said that she was encouraged by her boyfriend's family and friends to use her Swedish. A significant person was her boyfriend's mother, with whom she "could take a coffee or a walk with." Also, when comparing herself to other migrants, Sarah commented that she had learned Swedish quicker than most. When positioning herself, she acknowledged her previous studies, the cultural capital, that had facilitated this process: "I know that I got an education from the US; that I have studied other languages before."

But despite the right to education, her social and cultural capital, and her efforts to learn the language, Sarah still positioned herself as an outsider. She talked about how people around her would discover that she was not one of them when she spoke Swedish: "If I don't talk, people think that I'm Swedish." Also, she wanted to gain formal Swedish citizenship:

> Sometimes when one is a migrant it feels like one is not [taken] seriously as a part of society….But to say that "yes, I'm a Swedish citizen"—then, I believe, you will be regarded in a different way, as if one is serious about being here and wants to be here and has one's life here, too.

As the quote illustrates, the right to become a formal citizen in Sweden could serve as evidence that Sarah intended to live in Sweden permanently and as a token of her willingness to enter Swedish society (cf. Grip, 2019). Consequently, formal citizenship was given a symbolic value in her sense of being a Swede and being recognised by others as such. As we have seen, duties, rights, and capital play a part in Sarah's narrative. Like Emina, she showed a willingness to perform her duties as a migrant by actively learning the new language and adjusting to Swedish culture (cf., e.g., Abdulla, 2017; Grip, 2019). At the same time, her social and cultural capital, and the right to language education and citizenship, were central conditions in her positioning as an emerging Swede.

5.3. Dawit: An Emerging Adult

Dawit was 20 years old at the time of our first interview. He came to Sweden with his family as a quota refugee from Eritrea in 2017. Before arriving in Sweden, he had studied for six years in school. In his narrative, Dawit positions himself as an emerging adult. When newly arrived in Sweden, Dawit studied the educational program Language Introduction, organised by his upper secondary school for people under the age of 20 to support them in becoming eligible for a national secondary program. When he turned 20, he was referred to SFI and studied at study track 2. Coming from Language Introduction to SFI, he was surprised to find that the other students were the age of his parents. This prompted him to finish SFI quickly to be able to take other courses in which he hoped to meet students his own age.

At the time of the second interview, Dawit had finished SFI and had both started and dropped out of the continuing formal Swedish as a Second Language course.

He worked in a factory and lived together with his mother and siblings. An important goal for Dawit was to move to a flat of his own: "I become an adult, almost 23 years old….I will study too, distant studies or something. Thus, I need to be at home by myself. Need accommodation." Previously, he also wished to live in a bigger city, buy an attractive car and a house, get married, and travel.

Future work is given significance in Dawit's positioning as becoming an adult. When still an SFI student, he talked about working as a car mechanic or a salesperson. He saw SFI as useful for learning Swedish, which, in turn, was crucial for getting a job. Work itself was also useful for learning more Swedish, to "enter Sweden." Later, when he started to work, he wanted to resume his studies in Swedish and go on to study other subjects, to start his own business—preferably a shop—or work as a mechanic or driver. He wanted a job where the noise level did not prevent him from talking with colleagues.

Consequently, language was viewed as a condition for work and interaction. Dawit expressed that the Swedish he had learned in SFI had been vital to getting his driver's license, getting his present employment, and communicating with others. He said that his Swedish was sufficient for communication in situations where he had a pre-understanding and could make use of body language, but he still wanted to develop it: "I do believe it's sufficient for [a] job or other, but I try to…know more. Because I live here. One must know." Further on, Dawit said that he needed to develop his Swedish to be able to make jokes with colleagues and friends.

Dawit gave value to his social capital, e.g., for developing linguistic capital. During the first interview, he played football and described this as an opportunity to speak Swedish and experience fellowship. Later, he stressed his Language Introduction course as crucial for accumulating social capital. There, he found other migrant friends to speak Swedish with. These social contacts were valuable: "We talk…we studied [together]. Now, again, we meet at work….Sometimes we recollect what we did in school or something that happened…another life." The quotation indicates that Dawit shared the processes of becoming an adult in a new country with friends, how it is to go from Language Introduction to work. Furthermore, his friends saw him as a good Swedish speaker:

> They believe I talk Swedish completely. Then, I become a bit happy [laughter]. In front of them, I'm a bit knowledgeable….And I help them…they become happy: "Oh, you have studied and know well."…"We wish to know as much as you do."

In this sense, Dawit presents himself as a role model in the circle of friends, other young adults about to establish themselves in a new country. Accordingly, he appears as the one who has advanced furthest in the process. It's reasonable to think that Dawit's access to his circle of friends and, previously, the football community, was essential to his sense of belonging in Sweden (cf. Thunborg et al., 2021).

Being young, Dawit is not only establishing himself in a new country but also as a grown-up. Thus, age appears as a crucial aspect of his positioning.

5.4. Dian: An Active and Able Learner

Dian was 21 years old at the time of the first interview. She came to Sweden with her father and daughter after fleeing from Afghanistan. Dian had no previous education when she was enrolled in SFI, and worried about learning a new language without knowing how to read or write in her mother tongue. This experience is crucial in Dian's positioning. She began by telling us about when she started SFI, and how her first teacher wanted her to write the letters of the alphabet:

> I just looked at him because I didn't know how to do it. During the coffee break, I told a friend: "I can't do it [read and write]; what am I to do?" My friend told me that the teacher had helped her and told me: "This is a good course—you can do it!" I thought OK. The next time the teacher took my hand and wanted me to write letters, I tried and after some time, I had learned how to read and write, and to speak Swedish.

Dian describes how the teacher's high expectations and the reassurance from her fellow students became a starting point for her to view herself as an able learner. When she learned to read and write and develop her skills in Swedish, Dian tells us she became more independent. She could read timetables to take the bus on her own and help her daughter with homework (cf. Carlson, 2002). By stating her confidence and motivation to learn, Dian positioned herself as different from some of her friends from SFI, who described her as a smart and fast-learning student. Dian stressed her willingness to learn, and the importance of positive thinking about oneself and one's ability: "You will learn, and it is important to believe in yourself. If you have a negative attitude, it gets difficult."

Dian positioned herself as a language learner both inside and outside school and gave several examples of her efforts, such as listening to Swedish radio and podcasts and watching the news and children's programs on TV. Moreover, she wanted to be a role model for her friends by encouraging them to learn and recommending different websites and podcasts.

In our first interview, Dian expressed that in the future she wanted to work as a childcare worker and develop her Swedish language to make a living and a good life for herself and her daughter. At the time of the second interview, Dian had moved towards this goal by taking more advanced second language studies and was enrolled in education to become a childcare worker. These studies had mostly been online, which implied less support from the teacher and difficulties in making new

friends among the other students. Friends were important to Dian. She wanted to meet friends who were studying to be—or working as—childminders. They could help her get a job and provide her with opportunities to speak Swedish. Her neighbours were not Swedes, but she tried to speak Swedish with them and with the teachers at her daughter's school. Thus, for Dian, social relations appear as useful social capital, both for professional and private reasons, to achieve a sense of belonging and to be able to fulfil her goals.

In Dian's narrative, language education appears as a right that enables fundamental learning and supports her own agency to continue her learning process. Simultaneously, however, she lacked the social networks needed to continue her language development and establish herself both in the labour market and with Swedish-speaking friends.

5.5. Hawa: A Responsible Mother

Hawa was 42 years old at the time of our second interview. She was from Somalia and had lived in Sweden for about 13 years. Like Dian, Hawa had not gone to school before she began SFI. In Somalia, she had been selling vegetables in a market stall. In Hawa's narrative, she primarily positions herself as a responsible mother, something that conditioned and guided her actions. When Hawa enrolled in SFI, she felt stressed and found it hard to study, since her son had been left in Somalia. Later, having three more children, her language studies were interrupted by parental leave. In the first interview, when she was in SFI, she said that she liked coming to class and was disappointed when she had to take time off to nurse her children when they were sick. In this sense, her motherhood made it difficult for her to study and learn Swedish. At the same time, Hawa's responsibility as a parent motivated her to learn Swedish: "The school—I've got to practise Swedish…only me. Strong mother, lonely mother." While in the first interview, learning the language appeared as a duty that she struggled to fulfil, in the second interview, she could see an improvement in her language skills:

> The teachers helped me. And I didn't know how to make sentences….A little thing I have learned is a little maths, and another example is to tell the time. I can help my children a bit, not much, but I can help them a little. When I receive an SMS, when I can speak, it's easier for me to understand. Before, I didn't understand anything.

The quote illustrates how Hawa positions herself as a mother when describing the value of learning Swedish. The basic non-linguistic skills that she learned in SFI, such as maths and telling time, are issues also found in the children's syllabus in school, and SFI helped her to communicate better in Swedish, which meant that she could talk to her children's teachers. In this sense, language learning helped her be the mother that she wanted to be (cf. Carlson, 2002). Hawa's motherhood was also visible in how she positioned herself as an active learner of Swedish. She took the opportunity to learn the language by watching children's TV programs and by talking Swedish with her children. Hawa's narrative indicates that, without the right to language education and her own efforts to learn Swedish, she would have difficulties in acquiring capital useful for fulfilling the parental role she desired.

During the second interview, Hawa had dropped out of SFI and was enrolled in a work-integrated education programme. This included a course about work life and a trainee job as a hall monitor in a lower secondary school. She walked the corridors because this was presumed to have a calming effect on students, many of whom also spoke Somali. When Hawa talked about this job, she said: "I only watch the children, but I get a salary anyway." When asked if there was something that she was happy about her job, she added: "Firstly, I'm content to have a job. Secondly, it's near my house. The school I work in is close to home, so it's easier for me to fetch and leave my children." Thus, Hawa's position as a mother was also present in her assessment of her employment situation.

Like the others, Hawa strived to learn the language and establish herself, but to a greater extent, she positioned herself as a responsible mother. Parenthood was a source of motivation, as it both restrained and provided her with opportunities to learn Swedish.

5.6. Positioning as Active, Adaptive, and Aspirational

All five positions reflect a strife to establishing oneself in relation to, e.g., work, education, parenting, independence, and Swedishness. A common feature is that the participants position themselves as subjects who take responsibility for reaching their goals by presenting themselves as active agents, giving different examples of how they actively practiced Swedish to improve their language skills, pursued education, and work, as well as took part in social settings. In these positions, duties are more prominent than rights. In the narratives, all participants use several examples of actions, approaches, and values to position themselves in line with the common social norms and expectations in Sweden. These positions can be understood as a response to discourses of the "good migrant and citizen" and show one's willingness to "enter" Swedish society (Abdulla, 2017; B. Anderson, 2013; Fejes, 2010; Grip, 2019; Jansson & Wernesjö, 2021). For example, language education is something that could be understood as a right, being offered and voluntary, but viewed in the narratives, as well as the current migration discourses, it is framed as a duty and a condition for inclusion (Dahlstedt et al., 2021). The emphasis on being a good migrant by fulfilling one's duties can, furthermore, be regarded as distancing oneself from "other migrants" who are depicted as less motivated and less active in fulfilling these expectations.

Even if the participants all had residence permits and had taken part in the SFI project, language development and striving for inclusion appeared as ongoing activities. As illustrated above, such actions can be interpreted as striving to live up to common expectations, as a sign of belonging (cf. Norton, 2000), and to take part in various social contexts. Language skills are important, e.g., to socialise and make friends, to get the kind of job one wants, and to help one's children in school. Moreover, by speaking Swedish, participants hoped to get recognised, for example as professionals or as Swedes, and, thus, resist being positioned as migrants (cf. Norton, 2000). This positioning can be understood as a negotiation of identity between discourses of the "good migrant" and one's individual past, present, and desires for the future (cf. Darvin & Norton, 2014; Davies & Harré, 1990).

In their positioning, the participants give examples of how they are perceived by others and what kind of expectations they experience from teachers, family, and friends. Both Dawit and Dian present themselves as role models for their friends in terms of language development and diligence in their studies, while Emina stresses that other migrants are surprised by her striving to get a job. In this sense, they use others' descriptions of themselves to strengthen their position, thus appearing as active, adaptive, and aspirational.

These positions were taken in relation to the participants' overall situation in life and the different kinds of capital they had or needed to acquire to reach their goals. Sarah arrived in Sweden with the social status of being an English-speaking American and having a Swedish boyfriend, secondary education, and some work-life experience. Emina had a higher education degree and a professional identity. Dawit had some education and was still a youth, which meant that his establishment had similarities with any youth striving for adulthood. Dian and Hawa both lacked previous education and employment. It is reasonable to assume that these differences affected their goals. In the process of forming an identity in Sweden, it was important for Emina to have her existing capital recognised, whereas for Sarah it was to feel like—and be recognised as—a Swede. In Dian's, Dawit's, and Hawa's narratives, recognition was emphasised less, while the accumulation of educational and social capital was more prominent and important for them to reach their goals. Consequently, these positionings reflect a negotiation between participants' past, present, and what they wanted to become and be recognised as (cf. Morrice, 2014). Considerations of material conditions, however, are also present in this negotiation, especially when it comes to what aspirations were regarded as possible.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this article has been to examine migrants' positioning in relation to language learning and social inclusion. We examine how migrants position themselves in narratives of language learning and establishment, and which beliefs about duties and rights are given meaning in their positioning. We have sought to picture the complexity of becoming established in a new country by taking a discursive perspective while, at the same time, taking material conditions into account. Due to this focus, other features emerge from the individual narratives—e.g., gender and literacy—that would be interesting to focus on in further studies on positioning. This could contribute to an intersectional understanding of migrants' inclusion.

The study has shown that positioning, partly, is made in relation to perceived duties to society. Being a "responsible migrant," in line with current discourses, is a prerequisite to being included in Sweden. The participants position themselves as active agents in terms of language learning and establishment (cf. Miller, 2010). They highlight how they had made use of language education and learning as opportunities to fulfil such duties, but also emphasise the need to develop their language for the sake of taking part in social settings and being recognised by others. Furthermore, the study shows that the participants' life situations, and what capital they had accumulated, played a role in how they made sense of social inclusion and what future they saw for themselves. For example, labour market establishment comes across both as a goal and as a tool for further inclusion, regardless of whether the goal is to be able to leave home, be a good parent, get a qualified professional position, etc. Thus, even if identities are construed in relation to the discourse and positions offered, there are other resources needed for establishment and inclusion; in other words, it is not enough to be "a good migrant."

Establishment and inclusion need to be understood as a question of recognition, as well as opportunities to work, obtain residence, and be able to combine language learning and work with parenthood (cf. Abdulla, 2017; B. Anderson, 2013; Grip, 2019). The "good migrant" discourse and a more restrictive migration policy, which focuses on individual responsibility as a key to inclusion, fail to provide a broader understanding of the various conditions that enable migrants to take part in, be let in, and be recognised by society.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Article

Constructing the "Good Citizen": Discourses of Social Inclusion in Swedish Civic Orientation

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Abstract
Sweden has long been described as a beacon of multiculturalism and generous access to citizenship, with integration policies that seek to offer free and equal access to the welfare state. In this article, we use the policy of Civic Orientation for Newly Arrived Migrants as a case with which to understand how migrants' inclusion is discursively articulated and constructed by the different constituencies involved in interpreting the policy and organising and teaching the course. We do this by employing Foucault's closely interrelated concepts of technology of self, political technology of individuals, and governmentality. With the help of critical discourse analysis, we illustrate how migrants' inclusion is framed around an opposition between an idealised "good citizen" and a "target population" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). In our analysis, we draw on individual interviews with 14 people involved in organising civic orientation and on classroom observations of six civic orientation courses. Firstly, we show how migrants are constructed as unknowing and in need of being fostered by the state. Secondly, we illustrate how social inclusion is presented as being dependent upon labour market participation, both in terms of finding work and in terms of behaving correctly in the workplace. Lastly, we show how migrant women are constructed as being problematically chained to the home and therefore needing to subject themselves to a specific political technology of self to be included.

Keywords
citizenship; civic orientation; critical discourse analysis; Foucault; migration

Issue
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1. Introduction

Recent decades have seen an increasing number of countries in the Global North introducing so-called civic integration programmes; this trend is often referred to as the "civic turn" (Joppke, 2017). These initiatives aim to integrate migrants into what is presented as the country of arrival's "culture," "values," and laws (Jensen et al., 2017). As such, it is expected that those who take part in these courses will internalise a loyalty towards "democratic and liberal values" (Mouritsen et al., 2019). While the programmes vary in form, there has been little empirical research on whether they actually have a direct effect on economic or social integration. An exception is a large comparative study by Goodman and Wright (2015) that clearly demonstrated that such programmes do not have a substantial impact on migrants' integration. At this juncture, we want to state upfront that we take some critical distance from the notion of "integration," which is something of a floating signifier that carries very different meanings. That being said, "integration" is what states use rhetorically in order to deal with a variety of issues related to migrants. It is then an empirical matter to understand what integration means in practice. This

can be done, inter alia, by studying how state initiatives that aim at enhancing "integration" such as civic orientation programmes are implemented.

In Sweden, these initiatives, called Civic Orientation for Newly Arrived Migrants (henceforth CO), have been held since 2010 (SFS, 2010) and comprise 100 hours of teaching. CO is part of the so-called Establishment Programme, which requires those defined as "newly arrived" to participate in a number of activities in order to receive benefits and social support. It is offered by the Swedish Employment Agency, and while there are economic incentives to participate, it is the migrants' responsibility to register, albeit with the help of the municipality of residence. Not registering leads to not receiving benefits. and registering and not attending when registered may lead to having to repay the financial aid. Although the programme is not mandatory, almost all newly arrived migrants end up registering due to financial support (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2022, pp. 22–23). It should be noted that this does not include everyone who migrates to Sweden, just asylum-seekers and refugees, as well as their relatives. Thus, CO is an initiative aimed at *some* migrants. However, a migrant in Sweden can choose to take part in the CO course but not sign up for the Establishment Programme. CO classes are offered in the migrants' "mother tongues" and, according to policy documents, should be based on dialogue and respect (SFS, 2010). As in other countries (cf. Blankvoort et al., 2021), one can only be part of the Establishment Programme for three years, but in the Swedish case, there are no additional penalties, such as fines, for not meeting certain requirements or not attending the courses. Whilst CO is not legally tied to obtaining citizenship (at the time of writing), there are discussions about introducing a citizenship test that will assess both language (Swedish) and civics (SOU, 2021; Tidö Agreement, 2022).

Because of this focus on dialogue, CO organisers are reluctant to view the courses as a form of education. Furthermore, throughout our extensive fieldwork and interviews, it was consistently claimed that CO was not formally an educational provision but rather a "study circle." In study circles, which are popular in Swedish adult education, the "focus is on the individual, and the teacher does not have a central position as is the case in much formal education" (P. Åberg, 2016, p. 413). They are "characterized by equality and learning is understood to be a collective effort where the experiences of the participants hold a central position" (P. Åberg, 2016, p. 413).

Notwithstanding what CO organisers say, previous research has demonstrated the educational aspect of CO and its role in contributing to changing the participants' views and behaviours (Abdulla & Risenfors, 2013; L. Åberg & Mäkitalo, 2017; Milani et al., 2021). Such discipline characterises all adult education in Sweden, which is "a site for the normalization of students, aiming at adapting individuals into what is deemed desirable in terms of how a citizen should be and act" (Fejes et al., 2018, p. 37). However, in the specific case of CO, the fostering of migrants is in direct tension with one of the expressed aims of CO: to give participants the "ability to shape not only their own lives, but to also take part in the shaping of Swedish society" (SOU, 2010, p. 14).

In this article, we take CO as an empirical case in point through which to engage with the focus of this thematic issue on language and inclusion in CO. By language, we mean "ways of representing aspects of the world" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). Analytically, this means that we view language as a set of resources through which people make sense of and create social reality. These representations are what we refer to as discursive constructions; that is, patterns of language use that are observable through their repetition across time by multiple people. To analyse inclusion and integration in CO, the discourses reveal how migrants are imagined and what it means to be included or integrated.

One key discursive construction that appears, both explicitly and implicitly, in our data in relation to inclusion is that of the "good citizen." Within migration research, the term "good citizen" is often used to describe the construction of an idealised individual that participates in society. Crucially, the word "citizen" here does not imply simply legal status but also ways of being and acting (cf. Milani et al., 2021), including "repertoires of possible acts and social roles that are deemed to be 'good'" (Pykett et al., 2010, p. 524). These acts and social roles are built on imaginations of "social beings shaped by national culture, national obligations, and national history" (Anderson, 2013, p. 178), but they also demarcate non-desirable and non-national acts and roles (Schinkel, 2010, p. 165). Therefore, the idealized "good citizen" is imagined as someone who acts in and has "loyalty towards society" (Schinkel, 2008, p. 19). Against this backdrop, the main research questions that frame this article are:

1. How is an ideal "good citizen" discursively articulated and constructed in CO by those who organise this educational provision and by those who teach it?
2. In opposition to whom is the "good citizen" constructed?

Before answering these questions with the help of a detailed analysis of relevant data, we first want to present the theoretical concepts that inform this article.

1.1. The Technology of Self and the Political Technology of Individuals

Foucault's work on governmentality is particularly relevant to understanding how the Swedish state seeks to influence migrants' views and behaviours, not so much through overt punishment, but through a more subtle overhauling *from within*. Foucault argued that, in modern times, power and governance have very specific

characteristics. When authorities like the church lost much of their influence, the exercise of power and governance became more individualised through what Foucault (1988a, p. 19; see also Rabinow, 1984) called "governmentality." This is a specific rationality of government that operates through indirect techniques of self-management, which become internalised and influence individuals' actions without them being conscious of it. However, whilst the state focuses on exercising power at the level of the individual, it also strives to construct, maintain, and uphold a governable collective. In practice, the state strives towards an "integration of the individuals in a community or in a totality [that] results from a constant correlation between an increasing individualization and the reinforcement of this totality" (Foucault, 1988b, pp. 161–162). The process of doing this is what Foucault called the "political technology of individuals" (Foucault, 1988b, pp. 161–162). In the context of our study, this process can be understood as discourses that work to promote, reinforce, and encourage a specific way of being a good Swedish citizen. In practice, the individual achieves this through technologies of the *self*, which can be described as how:

> Individuals…effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18)

Importantly, in using these terms, neither Foucault nor we imply a normative stance on whether these are, in and of themselves, good or bad. Instead, we see them as examples of the productive nature of power in creating "domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 205). In the analysis below, we follow how such "domains of objects and rituals of truth" are discursively constructed within the context of CO in Sweden.

1.2. Contextualising Integration in Sweden

The integration and migration literature has long heralded Sweden as a beacon of multiculturalism, with generous access to citizenship and voluntary integration policies organised through free and equal access to the welfare state (cf. Borevi, 2012). However, the accuracy of that characterisation is debatable (see, for example, Ålund & Schierup, 1991; Lundström & Hübinette, 2020). Moreover, the Swedish state has tightened its migration and integration policies over the last few decades (see, for example, Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019; Milani et al., 2021; Schierup & Scarpa, 2017; Vesterberg, 2017). Crucially, an ongoing weakening of the welfare state and support systems has disproportionately affected people with migration backgrounds due to racialised segregation (cf. Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019; Lundström & Hübinette, 2020; Schierup & Scarpa, 2017; Vesterberg, 2017). In addition to economic segregation, the construction of the migrant "other" has become increasingly salient in public and political discourse (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019, p. 122) as has the assertion of "duties overriding rights" (p. 125). In terms of inclusion, this has meant that integration has come to be primarily "evaluated and discussed in terms of measurable successes and failures, such as labour market participation rates, migrant access to housing, problems related to segregation, language acquisition, or use of social benefits" (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2019, p. 8). The response to this has been for migrants to "demonstrate that they are active citizens, who are in the process of becoming 'productive' citizens" (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2019, p. 19). In reading Foucault, one could argue that the political technology of individuals initially constructs migrants as not participating in or as being outside of society; the expected response is then for the migrants themselves to change and work their technologies of self to improve themselves and become integrated.

Understood in this way, integration is a zero-sum game that works to eliminate anomalies (Favell, 2022). In other words, the state articulates a political technology of individuals to construct a governable population in which these anomalies do not exist. This is not something completely new; as Foucault (1988b, p. 146) pointed out, modern societies have tended to constitute themselves "through the exclusion of some others: criminals, mad people, and," as we argue in this article, migrants. Hence, these "target populations" are not pre-existing givens but are the result of politically motivated projects of social imagination (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). Within this discursive process, migrants from places understood to be "dangerous, poor, and otherwise undesirable" (Rosenberg, 2022, p. 68) come to represent the "absolute other" (cf. de Beauvoir, 1949/1953) and therefore require a complete internal overhaul, which will optimise them (Foucault, 1988a).

Notably, this form of categorisation does not apply to all migrants but singles out some on the basis of colonial legacies and classifications (Favell, 2022; Rosenberg, 2022) and racial and classed positionalities within the international economic system (cf. Ahmed, 2012, p. 78; Bhabha, 1994, p. xiv; Manser-Egli, 2023, p. 10). Herein, it is important to note that while our analysis is generally about the construction of groups, these processes of governmentality occur at the level of the individual, and whether or not someone is classified as "integrated" by the state or others is presented as an "individual-level trait" (Schinkel, 2018, p. 3), which is achievable through internal processes of "self-improvement." Thus, the discursive construction of such target populations and the implementation of policies to generate inclusion are more about how migrants are believed to fail to fit the mould for "being included" than whether the policy goal is achievable in the first place (Ahmed, 2012). In other words, the policy "reveals more about those who articulate ideas about it and decide on integration

measures than it does about those who are the target of integration" (Manser-Egli, 2023, p. 2).

While these dynamics have been illustrated in previous studies (cf. Blankvoort et al., 2021, 2023), they have been based primarily on the analysis of policy documents and teaching materials. Such analyses are rich and have also provided important insights about Sweden (Milani et al., 2022; Silow Kallenberg & Sigvardsdotter 2019). However, textual analysis can only offer a partial view that does not account for what *happens* in the classrooms. For example, in our ethnographic fieldwork, the "official" textbook *Boken om Sverige* (*The Book About Sweden*) was only used in some of the courses, and the people leading and organising the courses had a larger influence on what was actually discussed (cf. Lipsky, 2010).

The remainder of this article presents how those organising CO discuss their role, the broader aims of CO, and the target population, in addition to ethnographic classroom observations that illustrate how these discourses are relayed to participating migrants. We start by outlining our research methodology and the data used in the analysis and then analyse the findings. We show how migrants are constructed as "unknowing" and in need of support in order to become "good citizens." We then illustrate how fitting into the labour market is intimately tied up with what it means to be a "good citizen" and show that CO is itself a disciplining agent that familiarises the participants with the welfare state and offers an embodied experience of what it means to take part in Swedish society. We also illustrate how "the migrant woman" plays a key role in the labour market discourse of social inclusion: She is constructed as someone who must submit herself to the state's political technology of individuals and leave the home in order to become a "good citizen.''

2. Methodology and Data

Our analysis takes inspiration from critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to trace and analyse the discursive construction of both the "good citizen" and the "target population" in CO. In practice, this means analysing multiple statements to uncover the logic, assumptions, and conditions for social inclusion in Sweden. We draw on two data sets: interviews and ethnographic classroom observations. In the winter of 2019–2020 we conducted 14 semi-structured interviews with civil servants involved in organising and implementing CO in three large Swedish municipalities, some of whom had responsibilities for entire regions. These organisers all held official positions in which they had to operationalise the national policy about CO and implement it after its ratification in 2010 (SFS, 2010). The interviews were coded thematically using NVivo to identify patterns of discourse about how these social actors understood CO, its purpose, and its strengths and weaknesses. We focused on public servants because, as recently argued in *Social Inclusion*, those working in welfare institutions play a key role in the lived experiences of migrants: "They set up boundaries concerning who belongs, how much they belong, and under which conditions" (Menke & Rumpel, 2022, p. 225). In other words, they are the long arm of the state enacting political technologies of individuals. In the analysis below, we refer to these public servants as "CO organisers."

To trace whether (and if so, how) these discourses were also present in the actual interactions between CO participants and communicators, we draw on ethnographic data from six different CO courses—three in English and four in Arabic—from three large Swedish municipalities. These courses took place over four months in the spring of 2020, around the time of the onset of Covid-19. Therefore, about a third of the data was generated in person and the rest online through Zoom and Skype. No interpreters were needed because the research team had members who were fluent in English and Arabic. We took the position of participant observers, meaning that whilst we did not interrupt the class, we spoke when asked to and actively participated in break times. The fieldnotes were taken by hand, we did not store any personal information, and the participants' names were immediately pseudonymised. In this article, we focus on the "communicators," who themselves have migration backgrounds and good knowledge of both the migrants' countries of origin and Sweden.

3. Data Analysis

Sweden has a long history of "interven[ing] in the social body" (Fejes et al., 2018, p. 11) through social engineering (Larsson et al., 2012). In other words, the political technology of individuals has historically affected everyone, not just migrants. Lately, the Swedish welfare state has moved away from macro-based social engineering through broad programmes and support networks towards individualised governance and test-based measures (cf. Larsson et al., 2012, pp. 8–9). We outlined above how the policy documents governing CO emphasises participation, dialogue, and reflection, but as Ahmed (2009, p. 29) convincingly argued, "commitment is not given by the document, but depends upon the work generated around the document." As one CO organiser put it: "We actually do not have any expected outcomes [laughing]. We only have the policy directives to conform to." So, if there are no expected outcomes, how do organisers articulate the purpose of CO? As we will see in the next section, it is possible to answer this question by understanding how the target population is constructed as unknowing and in need of fostering and disciplining. Against this backdrop, inclusion is defined through labour market participation, and migrant women are constructed as being most in need of the political technology of the individual.

3.1. Fostering and Disciplining the Unknowing Migrant

In our interviews, the organisers often expressed how those partaking in CO needed to be fostered into citizens

because they were believed to be completely unaware of how to function in society. As one organiser put it: "Well, for an…for a person who comes…who is new in a, in a society knows nothing, by definition…what are your rights and duties?" Here, they justify the need for CO as a political technology of self through the claim that those who take part in the course do not know anything. This statement constructs the migrant as some kind of tabula rasa that needs to be helped. Tabula rasa discourses have previously been identified in Spain and other contexts and function to construct migrants "as lacking in many aspects (training, health habits, nourishment, etc.) and thus, not as possible possessors of valuable (upper)middle-class capitals" (Garrido & Codó, 2017, pp. 45–46). As such, it is a technique that fails to account for migrants' previous experiences and routines. Because of its treatment of migrants as lacking knowledge, tabula rasa is a handy metaphor through which a state can manage migration, viewing migrants in need of internalizing new values in accordance with the desires of the state, and making such values their own (cf. Garrido & Codó, 2017). The expression "knowing nothing" is interesting and is certainly problematic because migrant adults have lived in other societies before and therefore have at least *some* prior knowledge of what it means to be part of a social context. The statement also reinforces the power relationship between those organising CO and the target population. Through CO, migrants can learn what their rights and duties are. Crucially, the rights and duties that migrants must learn are discursively defined through the teaching material used in CO classes (on how the material in CO is developed see L. Åberg, 2020). Later in the interview, the same organiser went on to say:

> If you are born or educated in a country, you get it [knowledge] through living and through education because it's part of the educational mission to foster [laughing] citizens….If you haven't gone through this education, who is going to foster you? Who will help you be a citizen, with all that comes with that?

Again, the target population is discursively constructed as unknowing and CO is presented explicitly as a form of fostering. Importantly, education as fostering is something that runs throughout Swedish education in general (cf. Fejes et al., 2018; Nuottaniemi, 2023), and part of the declared purpose of the educational system is to foster citizens (Skolverket, 2019, p. 7). However, it is clear in our material that fostering takes a particular form in CO, with adult migrants represented as blank slates that need to be filled (cf. Milani et al., 2021). In these examples, we see how CO is a political technology of individuals, which constructs the target population as ignorant and in need of help and helps discipline migrants to undergo an internal revision. Furthermore, the organiser positions themself and, by extension, CO as a whole, as responsible for the fostering of "good citizens." Whilst the notion of the "good citizen" is only implicitly assumed in this example, it was more overtly thematised in other interviews.

On one occasion, another organiser reflected on when a migrant could be considered integrated, stating: "If one comes…like this, comes in at the one end and then you are supposed to go down this assembly line, and what comes out? You know, what is the finished product?" They then critically reflected on the metaphor of the "assembly line," concluding that it was a "complicated issue." This quote illustrates how CO is portrayed as a machine into which participants must insert themselves. The migrants are dehumanised and imagined as docile bodies moving down an assembly line to become finished products, who may then be fitted into Swedish society. Here, taking part in CO means subjecting oneself to the technology of individuals and performing technologies of self to make oneself included, thus becoming a "good citizen." Significantly, it also illuminates how the tabula rasa metaphor (cf. Garrido & Codó, 2017) is operationalised and the participating migrants are expected to become "good citizens" through partaking in the course.

So, what does the assembly line look like in the classroom? When concluding a session on the importance of health, which covered such diverse topics as dental care, the importance of mental health, cancer screenings, and vaccinations, a communicator stated that: "It's important to write down everything….For you this is new!" (fieldnotes, April 2020). Here, the communicator positions themself as the authority and the participants as in need of help. The boundary between the two is drawn in terms of the knowledge that dental health is important, that cancer is dangerous, and that vaccinations are necessary. These assumptions are congruous with other observations in CO in which participants are disciplined and socialised into eating specific food such as rye bread (Milani et al., 2021). Importantly, however, the example above also highlights how CO works as an institutional agent. By participating in writing down information, the participants are disciplined into a social context that places a high value on literacy (Franker, 2004) and even has some of the highest demands on literacy in the world (Myrberg, 2001). In practice, these demands mean that people in physical and manual vocations are also required to textually document their labour and that the workers are required to interact with and interpret a large amount of text on a daily basis in order to function in the workplace (cf. Nikolaidou, 2014). However, these demands are also present in citizen/state communication and, from the moment they arrive, migrants are expected to digest and understand letters and texts from state agencies.

3.2. Social Inclusion or Labour Market Inclusion?

In addition to knowing *how to act* in order to be included, inclusion itself comes with an articulated duty to work. In Sweden, social inclusion for migrants has become increasingly synonymous with entry into the labour

market (Vesterberg, 2017, p. 141; see also Bucken-Knapp et al., 2019) and "an uncompromising duty to work at any price" (Schierup & Scarpa, 2017, p. 74). We can see an example of such an obsession when the "good citizen" is explicitly defined by another CO organiser as "citizens who are compliant, who are not a burden for the system…who contribute to development, and who contribute economically to strengthen the system." The organiser then reflected on how the "good citizen" is not something that is explicitly discussed within their organisation nor a guiding principle for how they plan and organise CO, yet the articulated "good citizen" still has a specific form that revolves around work and not being a burden to the state. Bearing this in mind, a discourse of the "uncompromising duty to work" keeps appearing in our interviews and classroom interactions. To give an example from our fieldnotes:

> [A participant] commented: "It is not the work that is difficult, finding the work is." [The communicator] then said that opportunities to work are available, and it is not difficult to find them. What is difficult is knowing what you, yourselves, really want. (Fieldnotes, March 2020)

Here, the communicator refutes the argument that there are no jobs and instead puts the responsibility on the participants. Again, it is argued that the difficulty lies in (not) knowing, and the migrants are encouraged to operate on and transform themselves (Foucault, 1988a, p. 17). This form of responsibilisation is repeated on a different occasion by the same communicator when responding to a statement regarding how some Swedish people have a negative perception of migrants: "It is the responsibility of newcomers to change this idea, if it is there. They should prove the opposite of this image through hard work and study" (fieldnotes, March 2020). Strikingly, the communicator here places the responsibility for changing people's views and racist assumptions on the migrants themselves. In this way, the communicator voices a discourse that "reinforces a neoliberal form of racialization that casts immigrants as responsible for overcoming their markedness through soft skills accumulation" (Allan, 2016, pp. 618–619). It also cements the boundary between those who are integrated or included—the "good citizen"—and those who are not.

Later in the course, the participants were also asked to include as much as possible in their CVs to prove that "you are sociable, hard-working, and not isolated, distracted, or a burden on the country" (fieldnotes, April 2020). Once again, we can see a dichotomy between the assumed "good" and "bad" citizens, and the participants were given the option to present themselves with the help of certain skills and actions. This is in line with research on similar courses in Europe. In one such course in Spain, "migrants learn to adapt themselves as an object of commodification to the needs and expectations of a potential buyer and to eventually raise the desirability of their labour power on specific economic markets" (Del Percio, 2018, p. 256). By the same token, CO in Sweden constructs and presents how the "good citizen" is not only meant to be performed but also, and perhaps more importantly, should be *achieved* by the migrants themselves.

However, inclusion is not just a matter of finding work and "contributing to society," but also of *how to behave* in the workplace. In the classroom, a communicator emphasised that "it is good also to ensure that the meals we take to the workplace are not very smelly because there are people who don't like or feel comfortable with smells, especially because Swedes don't open windows and doors a lot" (fieldnotes, May 2020). The association between migrants and foods that smell has been described before in the context of adult education in Sweden (Eriksson, 2010, p. 135), as has the disciplining of migrants into eating specific foods (Milani et al., 2021). This is an example of how assimilationist discourses about how to behave like Swedes are disguised as "workplace culture" (cf. Allan, 2016, p. 639), and how belonging is "contingent upon whether they are perceived to fit within arbitrary, pre-determined parameters" (Haw, 2021, p. 3175). Therefore, migrants are told not only to conform to certain behaviours connected with the job itself, but also to abstain from eating certain foods that might disturb Swedish olfactory norms.

One specific group is consistently constructed both as the furthest from the labour market and as the most in need of help: *the migrant woman*. It is to this discursive construction that we now turn.

3.3. "The Migrant Woman"

Throughout all the courses we followed, the topic of gender equality was approached by talking about women as a group. In this discourse, women—and especially migrant women—are tied closely to the home (see Mulinari, 2021), which paradoxically constructs them as both uniquely preconditioned for care and as representing repressive and patriarchal structures and thus as threats to society (Mulinari & Lundqvist, 2017, p. 129). Why "migrant women" are located in the home and not in education or at work was argued by one of the organisers as follows:

> You know, the reasons for women mostly may be, is the waiting time for childcare. It is being on parental leave. You are pregnant, and then you end up delaying the entire establishment process. That is to say, they do not attend SFI [language classes].

Another organiser reflected that, in the "Swedish context," for "people who come from a very rich background, it may be the case that the woman is at home a lot more in relation to the man, who is the breadwinner"; yet this is not seen as a problem. In these statements, migrant women are viewed as a problem because they

have children and therefore do not participate in the Establishment Programme laid out by the state. They do not subject themselves to the political technology of individuals and thus represent an anomaly, which is inherently a problem to the system. In contrast, if "Swedish" women are in the home, it is presented as being due to their social class position and not necessarily problematic. The intersection of class, gender, and ethnicity in discourses surrounding women is illustrative of how Swedish family policy is highly individualised, which is in contrast to other contexts where the family as a bounded unit is the target of such discourses and policies (cf. Bonjour & de Hart, 2013).

Returning to the positioning of the migrant woman in the home, which is discussed at length in the classrooms, a communicator argued that "problems [in patriarchal migrant relationships] may happen because the system in [Sweden] forces women to work and be active" (fieldnotes, April 2020). In some ways, this mirrors what Bonjour and Duyvendak (2018, p. 895) presented as the dual construction of "the lazy, parasitic and oppressive migrant man on the one hand, and the vulnerable, un-emancipated migrant woman secluded at home on the other hand" in European migration discourse and policy. However, a crucial difference that emerges in our data is that the migrant man is not constructed as lazy and parasitic, but as oppressive (cf. Bauer et al., 2023). When one of the participants suggested that some women may want to remain at home, the same communicator responded that "it is illegal to force women to be at home in Sweden" (fieldnotes, March 2020). The juxtaposition of these two examples highlights the political technology of individuals on both a conceptual and practical level. Whilst it is illegal for anyone to force someone to *remain* in the home, in Sweden, it is the role of the "system" to push migrant women *out* of the home and into work. As such, it mirrors a logic previously described by Mulinari (2021) in which it is the duty of the state to "save" migrant women from their homes. Importantly, however, in these examples, we see how these discursive constructions are articulated in direct dialogue with the target population and in their mother tongues. Even as the migrants resist the idea that women are only at home because they are forced to be, the communicators repeat that "it is illegal" and reaffirm the position of the Swedish state as the one exercising power (cf. Vesterberg, 2017, p. 151).

4. Conclusion

From the interviews with the CO organisers and the ethnographic data, we have developed a granular analysis of how discourse, as "ways of representing the world," characterizes the conditions of inclusion in CO in Sweden. Drawing on Foucault's conceptualisations of the political technology of individuals, the technology of self, and governmentality, we have shown how specific technologies of individuals are discursively articulated by the organisers and rearticulated within the classroom. By tracing these discourses, we have shown how the state constructs the target population and formulates its political technology of individuals. Using the metaphor of an assembly line, one of the organisers illustrated how CO works as an agent of governmentality. By shaping and changing the migrants, who are imagined as tabulae rasae, the programme can create "good citizens." Moreover, since the participants in CO are imagined as unknowing and in need of help, it is their duty to submit to the Swedish state's political technology of individuals in order to make themselves includable. This discursive construction was also visible vis-à-vis labour market participation; our analysis showed how migrants are disciplined in the classroom to take responsibility for changing the perception that migrants fail to contribute and are a burden on society. Beyond just finding work and being productive, they are also told (for example) not to bring "smelly food" to work because it will make their (Swedish) co-workers uncomfortable. In these subtle ways, the participants are continuously encouraged to undergo internal review and to adjust their behaviours to fit in.

We have also illuminated how, by directly intervening and locating the problem within the home, the meaning of belonging and inclusion mirrors what Ahmed (2013, p. 134) described in the context of the United Kingdom: "Migrants must become British even at home." However, in the discourse of the "migrant woman" presented in this article, she may become Swedish in the home *by the very act leaving it* and entering the labour market. It thereby mirrors similar trends in Canada wherein migrant women must "be at home at work. One's value in the economy of immaterial labour is thus intimately tied to effectively and affectively indexing and embodying Canadian core values" (Allan, 2016, p. 639). Thus, performing a "Swedish gender-equal woman" is presented as a privilege. Here, migrant women are "given the chance to display agency and pursue employment in the public sphere" (Clark et al., 2023, p. 10). This is not to say that migrants shall not and cannot find emancipation through labour market participation. The problem is that it is presented as a gift from the state and something that they would have never thought of themselves.

In this discourse, as we argued above, it is subjugation to the political technology of individuals that is the condition for inclusion; one that is explicitly directed towards migrants and not those perceived as "Swedish" or "good citizens." In the name of being a welcoming and gender-equal state, "migrant women" are singled out and subjected to special measures to *save them from themselves*. Over time, the effect of such discursive moves "is that one can become virtually xenophobic in order to protect or claim to protect one's own hospitality" (Derrida, 2000, p. 53). In an initiative like CO, with a stated purpose of inclusion through dialogue and reflection, the result is still a discourse that promotes one specific way of being a "good citizen." By assuming that migrants know nothing, by training them how to behave

to find and keep a job, and by seeking to intervene in the home to subjugate them to the political technology of individuals, CO is an agent of governmentality that encourage migrants—even tells them it is their duty—to undergo an internal review and "transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). Interestingly, a major difference from the Dutch case, which is the most widely researched, is that in the Netherlands the courses are taught firmly from the perspective of the Dutch state to the participating migrants (cf. Blankvoort et al., 2021) In the Swedish case, however, as the communicators themselves are migrants, state power is exercised from migrant to migrant. The communicators simultaneously represent the "good refugee citizen" and the Swedish state. Thus, the communicators embody an ideal example after which the participants can mould themselves. Here, the assumption by the state is that "immigrants and ethnic minorities should be able to become modern, civilised, fulfilled, and successful individuals, entirely equipped to live in highly diverse, ever-changing societies. And why on Earth should they not want to?" (Favell, 2022, p. 47).

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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Article

Migrants' Inclusion in Civil Societies: The Case of Language Cafés in Sweden

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Abstract
This article investigates the role of language cafés as venues where newly arrived migrants to Sweden can socialize and practice the target language. More specifically, we aim to explore how café organizers and volunteers orient to social inclusion as they are interviewed about the goals of the local café and engage in talk-in-interaction with the visitors during video-recorded café sessions. At the methodological level, we rely on ethnomethodologically informed ethnography and conversation analysis, through which we adopt an emic approach to data analysis by taking into account the members' interpretation of their social world and the actions they accomplish in it. Our analysis uncovers the organizers' and volunteers' conceptualization of social inclusion, which they articulate in terms of fostering a sense of belonging and empowerment; they also perceive the mutual benefits derived from the encounters with the migrants at the local café. Overall, the migrants' views dovetail with the concept of "everyday citizenship," which highlights the dimensions of belonging, rights, and access to resources for social participation as constitutive of social inclusion. These findings highlight the perceived role of language cafés as a way to act on the existing social reality to transform the local community into an inclusive, equal, and integrated society.

Keywords
civic activities; civil societies; emic perspective; language café; migration; social inclusion; Sweden

Issue
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1. Introduction

This study investigates the conceptualization of "social inclusion" that emerges in the views of organizers and volunteers in language cafés organized for migrants in Sweden and relates it to the framework of "everyday citizenship" proposed by Nedlund et al. (2019). The concept of social inclusion faces definitional inconsistency, which makes it difficult to survey and assess (Filia et al., 2018). Approaches to social inclusion have often centered partly on policy and politics, and partly on social practices. In this article, we align with the latter as we study how volunteers and café organizers orient to social inclusion in interviews and during café sessions, where the participants' views are topicalized in talk-in-interaction with the migrants.

Our analysis draws on ethnography, with a particular interest in ethnomethods (Eisenmann & Mitchell, 2022; for an ethnography of reasoning "in the wild" see also Livingston, 2017), and ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks, 1995). In our methodology, we adopt an emic (Pike, 1954) approach to data analysis; that is, the data are interpreted from a members' perspective (Garfinkel, 1967). This perspective explores how members of a social system understand their social world in practice and specifically focuses on how they

make sense of their social activities. Here we investigate how organizers and volunteers make sense of their engagement in language café activities and analyze how they understand social inclusion in the everyday practices of the language cafés they organize and attend. In this article, we maintain that the participants' views concerning the language cafés, as expressed in interviews and emerging in café sessions, illustrate their approach to the procedural work they (should) follow to make their communities, and society in general, more inclusive.

The emic focus on social inclusion adopted in the present study dovetails with the concept of everyday citizenship (Nedlund et al., 2019), which highlights how members of a community may understand and influence their position in the community. In this framework, citizenship is understood as a set of practices that are achieved by individuals in social situations (Nedlund et al., 2019); through those practices, the individual members of a community may display their awareness of their own position in the community and may attempt to influence it. Inclusion, in particular, is therefore reflected in those social practices that are co-constructed in and through social activities and social interactions.

The concept of everyday citizenship has been applied to the study of vulnerable populations—including people with special needs, minority groups, migrants, and asylum seekers—in various disciplines, such as social psychology (see, e.g., Hopkins, 2022) and policy in practice (e.g., Nedlund & Nordh, 2015). The core dimensions of the everyday citizenship framework are belonging and participation, as well as rights and access to resources for social participation. Depending on how these dimensions are realized in everyday life, individuals, as actors in their communities, find more or less opportunities to display their agency (Nedlund et al., 2019; see also the discussion on linguistic citizenship in Stroud, 2001; Williams et al., 2022). These dimensions—belonging, participation, rights, and access—could be investigated from policy and organizational perspectives or subjective and interpersonal/intersubjective perspectives. In this study, we embrace the latter in approaching the concept of social inclusion (and of social inclusion *as* everyday citizenship) as emically oriented to by the members of the receiving community as they talk about their involvement in local language cafés and topicalize their views in their interaction with the migrants. The definitions of social inclusion and the dimensions of everyday citizenship are therefore reflexively recognized and highlighted in the analysis of excerpts from the interviews and from talk-in-interaction in the language cafés.

2. Language Cafés and Civic Activities

The positive role of civic initiatives for the members of various communities, particularly migrants, has been highlighted in many studies (for a review see Kunitz, 2022). Some studies have shown that civil societies provide practical aid to migrants such as shelter, food, and medical care (e.g., Linde & Ideström, 2019). Other types of support have been observed in how civil societies arrange activities for migrants to help them socialize with other members of the community (Kunitz & Jansson, 2021) and advance in their educational and career development (see, e.g., Vandevoordt, 2019). In many of these studies (e.g., Alenius, 2016; Schmidtke, 2018), it has been emphasized that civil societies provide opportunities for informal learning by sharing information that is necessary for the migrants to access the resources and networks they need (see also Kunitz, 2022).

In this article, we focus on one civic initiative: language cafés for migrants. Before we continue, a terminological note is in order: Here we use "migrants" to refer to "anyone who is on the move" (Jansson, 2021b, p. 2), who is considered to belong to a minority in the receiving community, and who is often characterized by the feature of vulnerability. Language cafés in Sweden are social arenas organized by public libraries, churches, and the Red Cross. They are intended as (more or less transient) meeting places where migrants (or visitors) can establish social connections with members of the receiving community (L1 speakers of Swedish or L2 speakers of Swedish who have lived in Sweden for some time) while practicing the Swedish language and learning about the local culture (Kunitz & Majlesi, 2022). The language cafés that we have studied are hybrid environments that are neither fully institutionalized nor fully informal. That is, the café organizers may have a pedagogical agenda (such as the goal of providing information about societal issues and/or of improving the visitors' language skills); however, such agenda is not anchored in any documented curriculum. This means that language cafés are not framed as educational settings, although an orientation to learning/education and many education-relevant practices and exchanges have been observed there (Jansson, 2021a, 2021b; Kunitz, 2022; Kunitz & Majlesi, 2022; Majlesi, 2022; Polo-Pérez, 2022).

Previous studies on language cafés have focused on aspects of language training (Kunitz & Majlesi, 2022; Majlesi, 2022) and, specifically, on the participants' contingent orientation to local epistemic ecologies of knowledge distribution. It has also been observed how social interactional practices in language cafés, such as story-telling in small group sessions, may support positive aspects of the migrants' identity as valuable individuals that can legitimately be part of and contribute to Swedish society with their skills (Kunitz & Jansson, 2021). In a similar vein, Jansson (2021b), in a study of church professionals' engagement with migrants, uses the concept of "belonging" to describe the interactional work that is done in language cafés in order to "negotiate spaces in which one can experience social well-being and feel embraced by the community and empowered as an enabled citizen, as well as spaces in which one can form social relationships" (p. 4). In this article, we intend to add to the existing literature on language cafés

by focusing on the issue of social inclusion from the perspective of everyday citizenship.

3. Data and Methods

Our study is part of a larger project that involved extensive fieldwork and data collection. Overall, during our fieldwork, we visited eight church-based cafés, three library-based cafés, and three cafés organized by the Red Cross. We conducted approximately 160 visits in 14 cafés and collected video recordings of 81 café sessions in 12 cafés, for a total of ca. 130 hours of video data. Moreover, we conducted 62 interviews with language café organizers and volunteers, comprising ca. 30 hours of audio recordings. During the interviews, the participants were asked to comment on their perceived goals of the local café and to discuss their view of their own commitment to the café.

In terms of ethical procedures, the project started after being vetted by the Ethics Review Authority in Sweden. Once we received approval, we contacted and met with organizers and volunteers to present our project and explain what our fieldwork would entail. Then, once the organizers and volunteers had introduced us to the visitors, we started to attend various café sessions. In our fieldwork, we took great care in not influencing the agenda of the activities taking place in the cafés. During the café sessions, in some cases, we directly engaged in the café activities through participant observations, while in other cases we acted as co-present observers, without taking an active role.

When we deemed that the café visitors were familiar with our presence, we started to recruit participants for video recording. At this stage, we provided the visitors with more detailed information about the project, both orally and in writing, and addressed any questions they had before video recording the sessions. The project description and the consent form were available in Arabic, Persian/Dari, English, Spanish, and Swedish. On a few occasions, we also used volunteers who simultaneously interpreted our oral explanations in Spanish, Tigrinya, Somali, and Japanese. Video recording of the café sessions started only after the prospective participants (café organizers, volunteers, and migrants) had signed the informed consent forms; similarly, the interviews with organizers and volunteers were conducted only after receiving their written consent for participation in the study. The participants were informed on various occasions about the voluntary nature of their participation and about the possibility of withdrawing at any time without needing to provide any reason. The research team was very cautious about the integrity of the participants at every step of the fieldwork, for example by stopping the recording if the participants manifested any sign of discomfort.

As mentioned above, to explore how social inclusion is oriented to and conceptualized by organizers and volunteers in language cafés, we analyze the views they expressed in interviews and topicalized during café sessions. As a methodological principle, we adopt an emic (Pike, 1954) or member's perspective (Garfinkel, 1967) that minimizes the researcher's subjective experience and etic interpretative lens and instead provides a detailed description and interpretation of the data from within the dataset. This approach ensures that the descriptions produced in the analysis are recognizable as documenting the participants' understanding of the actions they (aim to) accomplish.

More specifically, our analytical procedure is informed by ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967) and conversation analysis (Sacks, 1995). An important element in this type of research is the "unique adequacy requirement" (Garfinkel, 1996; for a more recent discussion see Hofstetter, 2022), which involves acquiring membership knowledge from within the organization and the activity under investigation. Another element involves the discovery of various types of phenomena, specifically the identification of the emergence of particular actions and practices, through both direct observations (fieldwork) and indirect observations (in recorded materials). The themes in our study emerge from the participants' interviews and conversations. They are either directly and explicitly talked about—that is, literally uttered as such by the participants (e.g., belonging and rights)—or can commonsensically be inferred from the description that the participants provide in their talk (e.g., participation and access). Our direct observations, interviews, and recordings support our understanding of the talks and validate our interpretations.

By adopting an emic and data-driven empirical approach, our study does not promote any received version of social reality, and neither does it rely on any formal social theories to interpret that social reality. However, we discuss the themes emerging from the data with reference to the concept of everyday citizenship (Nedlund et al., 2019). Our analysis is based on a reflexive description of the empirical data, where we investigate how various dimensions of everyday citizenship become manifest in its everyday use and practical intelligibility as reported by the participants in our study.

The data presented here consist of excerpts from five interviews with the café organizers and volunteers that were active in three churches (anonymized as A, B, and C) and one library, and extracts from two sessions of the same library café. The interview excerpts exemplify the three main themes that were inductively and empirically identified in all interviews; that is, belonging (Jansson, 2021b, p. 8), empowerment, and mutual benefits. These excerpts were selected because they provide diverse, rich, and detailed information for a comprehensive understanding of the research topic, while at the same time being short enough to be included in this publication format.

In addition, we decided to complement the interview data (which represent self-report data) with excerpts from the café sessions to illustrate how the focal themes

did not only emerge in conversation with a researcher but also during the interaction with the migrants. For this part of our study, we focused on the library café mentioned above, as themes related to social inclusion and integration were frequently topicalized during the sessions of this café. In the examples presented here, the names of all participants are pseudonymized.

4. Examples From the Interviews: Spaces of Belonging, Empowerment, and Mutual Benefits

In this section, we focus on the volunteers' attitudes toward language cafés as venues for social inclusion. Due to space limits, we present only word-by-word translations of the interviews, which were conducted in Swedish; in double parentheses, we have made clarifying additions (for the transcription convention, see the Supplementary File).

In the interviews, the organizers describe the language café as an open meeting place for socializing, a welcoming environment where newly arrived migrants can experience a sense of connection and community. This illustrates an orientation to "belonging"; that is, to one of the core dimensions of social inclusion within the framework of everyday citizenship (Nedlund et al., 2019). This view is exemplified in Excerpt 1.

> Excerpt 1 (Maria, Church A):
>
> We want that everybody who come here shall feel embraced, an' that they may just be here and hang around if they wish. Some of us prefer to sit and teach e:::: an' like feel that "now I teach you Swedish," an' yeah. So it's very different. But of course, of course, we want everybody to feel at home: that's the kind of main goal.

Here, Maria describes the church café that she organizes as an environment where everybody "shall feel embraced" and can "feel at home." Therefore, despite the use of *we* versus *they*, which establishes a contrast between the long-standing members of the local community and the migrants, Maria maintains an affiliative attitude towards the latter. Maria's reasoning here is in line with the idea that civil societies and civic activities are meant to build social networks for the migrants; this goal is part of the process of creating equal access and opportunities so that the migrants can participate in the social and economic life of the receiving community (see also Hanhörster & Wessendorf, 2020). However, the café goal is not exclusively connected to social inclusion in terms of belonging. Specifically, Maria also mentions that some volunteers and organizers prefer to "sit and teach," thereby highlighting the significance of balancing comfort with educational benefits for the visitors. Similar associations between language cafés and the development of knowledge, skills, and language have been reported elsewhere (Polo-Pérez, 2022).

In Excerpts 2–4, it is evident how organizers not only highlight the issue of belonging but also the agency of the newly arrived migrants whose voice, they believe, could be given more space in the community. They define their suggestions in terms of empowering the newly arrived migrants through the provision of knowledge and information.

> Excerpt 2 (Stina, Church B):
>
> To help people in different ways in the language café is not just ((about)) language, because we answer questions from people ((about social life)) and help them to get things right and we also do this by having a project right now that we call the asylum project and they aim, as they say in the project statement, to empower the newly arrived.

Stina, the organizer of another church café, expresses her intention to provide visitors with more than just language support. She aims to create a space where visitors can receive help to settle and "get things right." She emphasizes the importance of empowering the newly arrived migrants with information and knowledge about social life in Sweden.

A similar goal is illustrated more explicitly in Excerpt 3, taken from an interview with Arif, the organizer of a library café.

> Excerpt 3 (Arif, Library A):
>
> I want to lift the library based on their ((the migrants')) needs; I want them to know what country they have ended up in, what their rights and obligations are.

Here, the concept of knowledge as power is expressed more clearly, together with a view of the migrants as social actors that need access to information about rights and obligations in order to become agentive citizens in their new community (for the importance of exercising one's civic rights see Bech et al., 2017). It should also be noted that Arif is a migrant himself, though he has lived in Sweden for a long time and considers himself a full-fledged member of Swedish society. In another part of the interview, he emphasizes how "feeling sorry" for the migrants is not a helpful attitude: What they need is not pity; rather, they should be empowered with the information they need in order to take an active role in the receiving community.

The examples above highlight an important aspect of social inclusion from an Everyday Citizenship approach; that is, the agency connected to the possibility of being heard and seen. Participation in social life includes a democratic dimension of group membership, which implies that members of a community strive for opportunities to be heard and seen as equal. This is emphasized in Excerpt 4, drawn from the interview with the organizer of another church café.

Excerpt 4 (Elin, Church C):

> You know that you should give people the power or the feeling that they can live more freely in this country in some way, and it's very much about the language, that you can move around here, that you can understand and not be kind of made fun of, but you have a way forward….It's true that the language is the cultural understanding and it's integration; all of that is very much related. But context, you come to a context, you meet others; something that is here like an institution, in a way, an organization where you meet these people…and they also meet the society and one gets more and more like integrated and understands and so on. So it is clearly one of the purposes as well, absolutely. At the same time, we have thought as a congregation here that we don't believe in assimilation, (([in those who)) want to say: "Come and do as we do; you are welcome but come and do as we do." ((We)) have thought on the contrary: "Come and challenge us." Like: "We'd like to see how you do, let's see" in a way, right? That you can be met and that ((you can be)) different is so exciting, and completely natural, right? And that we want to challenge both us and those who come as new and then we ((together)) can see how we are and how we do, and then one makes that encounter and they think: "Yes, it is integration."

In this part of the interview, Elin explicitly talks about the goal of language cafés in terms of giving power to the newly arrived. This idea is concretely exemplified in terms of helping people to feel "that they can live more freely in this country in some way" and it is related to language, which allows them to "move around," "understand" and "have a way forward" without being "made fun of." All these elements reveal Elin's interpretation of what empowerment entails; it is the interrelatedness of these aspects that constitutes the integration path. Elin then illustrates her view of the language café's mission: Besides empowerment, which is "clearly one of the purposes," she and the other organizers aim for integration rather than assimilation. In the interview, Elin actually presents assimilation policies as contradictory: "You are welcome but come and do as we do" (note the use of *but* here). That is, assimilation is depicted as a one-way process that involves the migrants' adaptation to and adoption of the habits and values of the receiving community. In contrast to this, Elin emphasizes the significance of following a two-way path in the intercultural encounter between locals and migrants. This involves not only providing the tools that allow the migrants to "understand," but also accepting the fact that the locals might be challenged by the newly arrived. This orientation can be understood through the lens of everyday citizenship (Nedlund et al., 2019), which emphasizes not solely offering access to resources and opportunities for participation in the society but also treating the visitors as equals who may challenge the views of the local community. Ultimately, as Elin suggests, integration entails the shared challenge of being together and together seeing "how we are and how we do." This attitude clearly promotes participation and agency. It is through empowerment and integration that a new sense of belonging, of being part of an inclusive *we*, can develop.

By highlighting the two-way aspect of the integration process (see also Kunitz, 2022), Excerpt 4 also touches on the third theme that recurs in the interviews; that is, the idea that participation in the language cafés brings mutual benefits to both the long-standing members of the receiving community and the newly arrived. This theme is more explicitly illustrated in Excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5 (Karola, Church C):

> Karola: We will never be done with this; the purpose is to kind of standing by ((the people)), meeting people in what ((context)) they find themselves, and if possible helping and supporting each other, getting a network. That's the whole purpose. It's very simple. We function as a community in everything, you could say; we share and we help each other; it's not that "now I'm going to help you down there who need it"; we try to have them, ((we)) try to meet (([them)) at eye level.
>
> Interviewer: As equals?
>
> Karola: Yes, but just to share. That's how we work….We get a lot back when we meet people with whom maybe we can share something that we as a community can do as individuals. So that's the whole thing; it's very simple really; it's very much needs-driven.

Here Karola emphasizes that the language café is not just a temporary initiative ("we will never be done with this"), but rather a long-term effort to support the migrants. She also reiterates that the purpose of language cafés is to stand by the newly arrived, regardless of their condition. Additionally, she highlights how language cafés can become a space where people support each other and build social networks to receive help. The organizer also mentions that the local volunteers strive for symmetry—on an equal footing—by not looking down on the visitors ("it is not that I am helping you down there"). She further clarifies this idea with the Swedish idiomatic expression of "meeting (([them)) at eye level," which the interviewer interprets as treating the migrants "as equals." Karola confirms this understanding and specifies that the purpose of this perceived equality is that of sharing; in other words, participating in the language café means sharing as equals. She then proceeds to state that the language café works as a two-way street in which the locals "get a lot back." She, therefore, presents the language café as a joint project that is beneficial to all the parties involved.

The examples have so far shown the reported attitudes of the organizers toward language cafés, which they conceptualize as a welcoming venue for the migrants who are also provided with opportunities to practice the local language and with knowledge about their rights and opportunities for participation in the local community as agentive actors. This kind of informal support aims to promote the migrants' sense of belonging and to empower them to find and use their voice in the receiving community. In this way, the organizers treat the language café as a space for mutual socialization and understanding.

5. Examples From the Café Sessions: Participation and Access

In what follows, we exemplify views on social inclusion that emerge from café sessions held in the library where Arif (see Excerpt 3) works. Arif is a librarian and the organization of the local language café is part of his job.

Excerpt 6 (divided into Excerpts 6a, 6b, and 6c) is extracted from a session where the participants talk about culture, cultural differences, and cultural adaptation. The latter topic, in particular, was brought up by Pablo, a newly arrived migrant who believes that "we must adapt ourselves to the Swedish culture" (our translation). A volunteer agrees with Pablo, though he maintains that the migrants should not forget their own culture. Similarly, Arif suggests that they cannot simply accept the culture of the receiving community; instead, they should keep a critical perspective. During the session, they also discuss gender roles in different cultures, with particular emphasis on gender equality in Sweden, where men and women are supposed to have the same rights and obligations.

We join the conversation toward the end of the session when Arif starts summarizing the main topics of the day (Excerpt 6a). He states that "culture is not constant" (line 1), as it keeps changing (line 3); he also brings up the example of a participant from Eritrea who had previously declared that, if her husband were to join her in Sweden, she would expect him to help her with house chores (lines 4–5). This example clearly shows that expectations concerning family roles and household rules may change if one is exposed to different cultural habits (lines 7–8).

Excerpt 6a:

```
1    ARIF:   kultur  ä:r inte konstant.
             culture i:s not  constant.
2            (1.0)
3    ARIF:   kultur  föräldrar sig.=
             culture changes.=
4            =den här damen (0.3) säger om hennes man  kommer hi:t,
             =this    lady  (0.3) says  if her husband comes he:re,
5            <MÄSTE HENNES MA:N JOBBA OCKSÅ.>
             <HER HUSBA:ND MUST ALSO  WORK.>
6            (0.4)
7    ARIF:   hon hade inte    den kulturen för- (0.6)
             she did not have this culture be- (0.6)
8            innan  hon kom  till sverige.
             before she came to   sweden.
9            (0.7)
10   PART?   ja:.
             yea:h.
11           (2.7)
```

After the delivery of this example, a pause ensues (line 11), until Pablo summons Arif and takes the floor (see Excerpt 6b, line 12). Here Pablo reformulates his idea about adaptation in terms of awareness (lines 12–13): awareness of the necessary "change" (line 15) to the "new thing(s)" (line 19) to which one is exposed. Although Pablo does not express himself articulately and accurately, his position is quite clear: Adjusting to the new culture and being aware of the necessary changes are indispensable parts of integration. At the same time, Pablo suggests the significance of striving for a "good life" (line 21), a "good society" (line 22). As he delivers this turn, Pablo draws a circle with his hand pointing to his coparticipants (line 22; see Figure 1). This gesture illustrates Pablo's understanding of society as an inclusive concept and his idea that a "good society" can be built through a collaborative effort.

Excerpt 6b:

```
12  PABLO:  arif. ja- ja: säger också kultur  (0.9) e: (1.3)
            arif. I-  I:  say   also  culture (0.9) u:h (1.3)
13          de er (0.4) e:::  vi måste ha::   medveten,
            it is       u:::h we must  ha::ve awareness,
14          (0.5)
15  PABLO:  medveten  e::  (0.9) att- a: byta.    att byta,
            awareness u::h (0.9) to-  u:h change. to change,
16          att byta::::   (0.8) nya:::: (.) nya::: (0.7)
            to  change:::: (0.8) new:::: (.) new::: (0.7)
17          nya (odlar).
            new (cultivates).
18  ARIF:   a.    a.
            yeah. yeah.
19  PABLO:  nya sak.
            new thing.
20  ARIF:   a.    a.
            yeah. yeah.
21  PABLO:  a::    att att ha:   e:n en bra  liv.
            yea::h to  to  ha:ve a:  a  good life.
22          *#(0.6) en bra:::* (0.5) sa:- samhälle¿
              (0.6) a goo:::d  (0.5) so:- society¿
    pablo   *draws a circle with right hand*
            #Fig.01
23  ARIF:   mh.
24          (0.6)
```

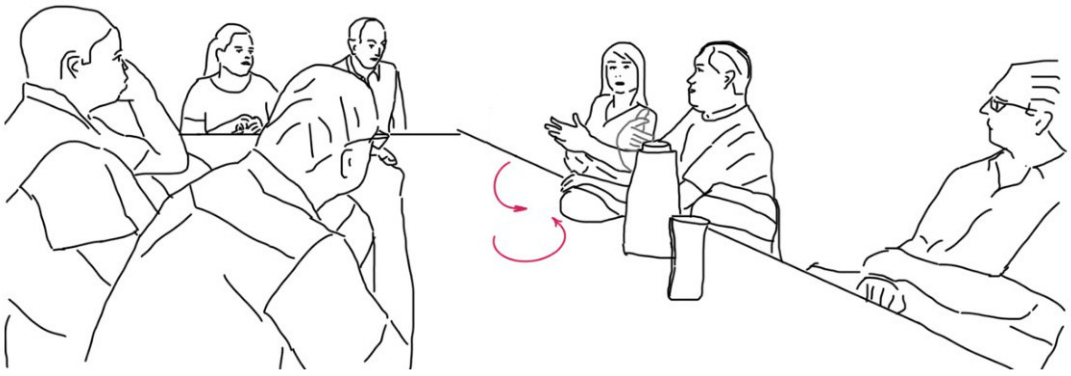

Figure 1. Pablo draws a circle in the air, pointing his hand toward the co-present participants.

Arif, who has been closely following Pablo's unfolding opinion (lines 18 and 20), elaborates on what Pablo said by reminding the participants of a point he had made earlier; that is, "it is we who make the culture" (Excerpt 6c, line 26). As he says this, he repeatedly makes a circular gesture toward the coparticipants (Figure 2), a gesture which emphasizes the inclusiveness of "we" (see also the emphasis on "we" in lines 28, 29, and 33).

Excerpt 6c:

```
25  ARIF:   >som jag har  sagt,
            >as  I   have said,
26          *kultur,< #de  e vi som fixar kulturen,*
            culture,<  it is we who make the culture,
    arif    *draws circle three times in front of his torso*
            #Fig.02
27  PART?   a:.
            yea:h.
28  ARIF:   de e  vi som fixar kulturen,
            it is we who make the culture,
29          de e  vi som skapar kulturen,
            it is we who create the culture,
30          (0.3)
31  PABLO:  [°skapar kulturen°]
              create the culture
32  PART?   [de e  vi so:m:, ]
             it is we who::,
33  ARIF:   VI som skapar kulturen.
            WE who create the culture.
```

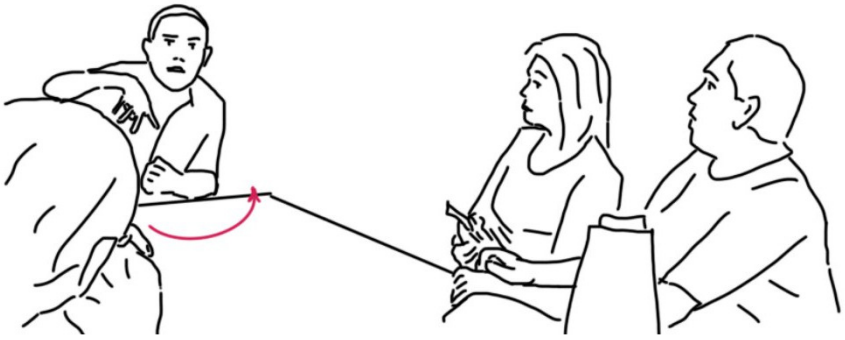

Figure 2. Arif draws circles in the air, pointing his hand toward the co-present participants.

By involving the newly arrived as part of the local community, Arif envisages a joint project in which everybody contributes to creating a shared culture within the community. From an everyday citizenship perspective, both Pablo and Arif position themselves as part of the local community. However, their views on the type of agency that is required seem to differ. Specifically, Pablo, a newly arrived migrant, mentions conscious adaptation and change as necessary elements to build a "good society"; that is, Pablo seems to highlight the effort that is required of the migrants. On the other hand, Arif, who has been in Sweden for a long time, emphasizes the agency exercised by all members belonging to the community, old and new, in the co-construction of a shared culture. This is in line with Arif's view of culture as an entity that constantly changes as it is being cultivated by the members of the local community (see Excerpt 6a).

Overall, the beliefs that are discussed in this café session by Arif align with the theme of belonging and participation emerged during the interviews. Furthermore, the importance he places on agency connects with his view of empowerment as knowledge of rights and obligations (see Excerpt 3), which is crucial for active participation in the local community.

Excerpt 7 (divided into Excerpts 7a and 7b) is extracted from a session where the participants discussed work-related matters. The discussion was prompted by Arif's choice of an article concerning a vocational course for train conductors. During the reading activity, Arif emphasized the high salary associated with this profession and concluded the activity by inviting the migrants to think about this line of work, which he characterizes as a "very fine job".

Excerpt 7a:

```
1   ARIF:  han säger, ((clears throat)) (2.1)
           he  says,
2          mtch- (0.4) e:h kan du  ge   exempel?
           mtch- (0.4) u:h can you give example?
3          (0.2)
4   ARIF:  till exempel vilke:n
           for  example whi:ch
5   JUAN:  till exempel en snickare:.
           for  example a  carpente:r.
6   ARIF:  [ a.]
           yeah.
7   JUAN:  [ do]m säjer att  de    e  en stor brist
             they say   that there is a  big  lack
8          i sverig[e. men] inte sant.
           in sweden.  but  not  true.
9   ARIF:  [ aha ]
             aha
10         (0.3)
11  JUAN:  för att/ə/ du  klart utbildning
           because    you done  education
12         du  e::  du  sitter   hemma å   arbetslöst.
           you u::h you sit   at home  and unemployed.
13         (0.2)
14  ARIF:  [°mh mh°.]
15  JUAN:  [de beror]  på m- många saker.
            it depends on m- many  things.
16  ARIF:  m:h.
17  JUAN:  att  du  e::  kan=e::  gå å   jobba.
           that you u::h can=u::h go and work.
18  ARIF:  a.
           yeah.
19         (0.2)
20  ARIF:  e:  (0.2) NÄR  de e-  när  de e  som han säjer,
           u:h (0.2) WHEN it is- when it is as  he  says,
21         (0.5)
22  ARIF:  e  de ofta  de e  språket      som  blir    hinder.
           uh it often it is the language that becomes obstacle.
23  (0.8)
24  ARIF:  °man får  inte       utbildning.°
           °one does not receive education.°
25  (0.9)
```

We join the discussion as one of the visitors, Juan, challenges the idea that it is easy to find a job in those fields for which there is great demand. Prompted by Arif (Excerpt 7a, lines 2–4), Juan exemplifies his reasoning by mentioning carpenters (line 5). He then reports what "they" say: "There is a big lack" of carpenters in Sweden (lines 7–8). However, this is "not true" (line 8). Juan accounts for his assessment by saying that, when one has completed the educational route to become a carpenter (line 11), one can nevertheless "sit at home and unemployed" (line 12). He then acknowledges that finding a job (line 17) "depends on many things" (line 15). At this point, Arif, who has been listening attentively so far (see the acknowledgement tokens and continuers in lines 6, 9, 14, and 16), aligns with Juan. Specifically, he states that finding a job is often hindered by linguistic issues (line 22), which in turn might affect the possibility of getting an education (line 24).

Arif supports his line of reasoning by citing the example of Iranians who are educated as teachers (see Excerpt 7b, lines 26–28). Despite the fact that they are "very smart" (line 32) and that they have been in Sweden for twenty years (line 30), they can write but they still "cannot speak" (line 35). This does not serve them well during job interviews (line 37), as the prospective employer immediately notices their difficulty with speaking (line 46) and "doesn't want to have that" (line 38).

Excerpt 7b:

```
26  ARIF:  de finns många iranier,
           there are many iranians,
27         (0.4)
28  ARIF:  som utbildar sej som lärare,
           who are training as teachers,
29         (0.6)
30  ARIF:  som kom  till sverige för tjugi år sen,
           who came to   sweden  twenty years ago,
31  (0.7)
32  ARIF:  dom har jätteduktiga,
           they are very smart,
33         dom utantill att gå tenta å tenta å hemtenta:,
           they by heart go exam and exam and take-home exa:m,
34         (0.3)
35  ARIF:  men dom kan inte prata.
           but they cannot speak.
36         (1.3)
37  ARIF:  å   sen  när  dom  går till intervju,
           and then when they go  to   interviews,
38         arbetsgivare vill inte ha         sånt.
           the employer doesn't want to have that.
39         (0.8)
40  ARIF:  dom  e   jätteduktiga.
           they are very smart.
41         (0.4)
42  ARIF:  men dom  har inte lärt sej språket.
           but they haven't learned   the language.
43         (0.5)
44  ARIF:  dom  kan skriva.
           they can write.
45         (0.9)
46  ARIF:  då   arbetsgivare märker  på en gång.
           then the employer notices immediately.
```

Thus, here Arif explicitly connects language skills and employability: To join the work force and become part of the professional community of the receiving society, migrants need to speak the local language. Though this is an important practice that can lead to social inclusion, there are other practices besides it, as shown in our dataset.

The examples from the café sessions reproduced above (Excerpts 6 and 7) illustrate the discussions held with the migrants, from general cultural themes to the concrete need of finding a job and learning the local language. In line with the importance that Arif attributes to empowerment (see also interviews depicting similar attitudes, e.g., Excerpts 2–5), he promotes the migrants' awareness of the values nurtured in the receiving community (e.g., gender equality), while also providing them with useful information about potential career paths and encouraging them to practice the target language.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

This study has developed an emic account of the café organizers' and volunteers' conceptualization of social inclusion. Such conceptualization emerges in interviews, when they state the goals of language cafés, and in video-recorded café sessions, when they topicalize aspects of social inclusion in their discussions with the visitors. In the interviews, organizers and volunteers articulate their reasoning in terms of fostering the migrants' sense of belonging and empowerment, while also acknowledging the mutual benefits that participation in the local café can bring to older and newer members of the receiving community. The participants in our study orient to the importance of belonging in terms of feeling welcome and being able to contribute to the local community. They also relate this to the dimension of having access to knowledge and information, which empowers the migrants to navigate and even bring changes to the community. In other words, they consider language cafés as arenas to provide informal support for the migrants, in order for them to experience a sense of inclusion and agency. However, through their own participation in the cafés, organizers and volunteers come to realize that they also benefit from socializing with the migrants (for instance, by invoking the sense of "togetherness" in constructing the culture *together*; see Excerpt 6).

More specifically, the organizers and volunteers that participated in our study conceptualize empowering

migrants in terms of providing them with resources to act in the existing community and shape it in the direction of a welcoming and collaborative society. This agentive process starts with the creation of the café as a welcoming space for visitors, where the comfort of a safe environment is complemented with access to information and opportunities for language practice (see also Polo-Pérez, 2022). This kind of space empowers newly arrived migrants to know "their rights and obligations" (see Excerpt 3) and to "have a way forward" (see Excerpt 4) as they increasingly get to "feel at home" (see Excerpt 1) through the new social networks they build (see Excerpt 5).

These observations warrant an emic understanding of what everyday citizenship means for the participants in this study. In particular, as it has emerged in the extracts from the library café sessions, it is emphasized how all members of the local community, old and new, can contribute to the collaborative construction of a dynamic culture, subject to constant change. While an effort is required, in terms of language learning and cultural adaptation, everybody can agentively shape the local culture. Overall, it seems that organizers and volunteers understand their position in the local community as social actors who can grow through encounters with migrants and who, in turn, can exercise their agency by organizing informal initiatives like language cafés, which aim to support the migrants and make sure that they gain agency and the ability to exercise it in the receiving community. Ultimately, the final goal appears to be the co-construction of a truly integrated society (see Excerpt 4) where everybody's voice can be heard, where everybody's agency can have an impact, and where members can challenge one another.

Overall, our study offers a view of inclusion as a social practice of togetherness that is accomplished in the mundane space of language cafés, where organizers and volunteers foster belonging and empower the migrants through access to information and language practice, as they promote participation and strive for symmetry in relations (see Excerpt 5 with the idea of meeting the migrants "at eye level"). This echoes the dimensions of Everyday Citizenship described in the introduction (i.e., belonging, rights, and access) that promote agency and the ability of individuals in participating in social life.

As Burkitt (2004, p. 212, as cited in Nedlund et al., 2019) explains:

> The production of daily reality does not occur somewhere beyond our reach in, say, the "higher" echelons of the state, and is then imposed upon us. Rather, the reality of everyday life—the sum total of all our relations—is built on the ground, in daily activities and transactions.

The daily activities and relations that develop in language cafés provide an arena for everyday citizenship where issues of settlement, inclusion, and integration are approached in encounters between old and new members of the local community. As envisioned by organizers and volunteers in our data, language cafés produce a daily reality that aims to create concrete steps toward an inclusive, equal, and integrated society.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material for this article is available online in the format provided by the author (unedited).

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Article

Social Inclusion Through Multilingual Assistants in Additional Language Learning

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Abstract
The aim of this study is to evaluate and explore the deployment of adult migrants' first languages (L1s) by multilingual assistants (MAs) in additional language (AL) learning for the opportunities they afford to include students. The context is Sweden's Swedish for Immigrants programme, in which a teacher team appointed MAs to support their students' efforts to learn Swedish. In this context, MAs are multilingual school personnel employed to support the students in their Swedish language development by, among other means, using the students' L1s. The ensuing research study set out to investigate and develop MA and teacher roles in promoting Swedish language development through L1 use. The quest to include the students permeated this investigation. Action research provided a framework for the teachers to study their classroom interaction with MAs as a basis for professional development. Group interviews complemented video data. Different dimensions of inclusion and Bakhtin's thinking about other-orientedness offer theoretical support. The results are presented as four cardinal contributions made by MAs with significant potential to include adult migrants in AL education. The teachers' conception of dialogic activity specifies inclusion as a transsubjective enterprise that, through instructional restraint and translingual space, allows students to explore language and achieve progressively coherent responsive understanding. The MAs' socioemotional work of reassuring, affirming, and imparting faith in student capabilities to communicate in and learn Swedish posits inclusion as an equilibrium between the demands of instructional situations and the psychological fortitude to manage them. MAs key role in contextualizing content illustrates the way inclusion can be realized by transferring language form and content to the students' personal experiences, extensive knowledge, and everyday communicative realities. The teacher's plan to entrust the MAs with the task of making their formative feedback accessible to students projects inclusion as increasing students' capacity to regulate their AL learning themselves.

Keywords
additional language; dialogue; inclusion; language use; multilingual assistants; second language learning

Issue
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1. Introduction

"I want to take everything into my own hands but I can't. I get so angry, but I can't." These words represent the crushed hopes of adult migrants who have mastered life in one or more environments but are debilitated by another. Because language plays a key role in experiences of (not) belonging and isolation, language teaching programmes are one of the first national resettlement priorities (Abdulla, 2017). Sweden's national state-funded Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) language programme aims to give adult migrants with another mother tongue than Swedish foundational, functional knowledge of the Swedish language (National Agency for Education, 2018). SFI comprises a three-entry level language educational system ranging from courses for students without formative school experience on study path 1 to a course package for students with academic backgrounds on study path 3. Study path 1 students who may lack literacy skills, study orientations, and the confidence to tackle educationally challenging tasks frequently struggle to learn an additional language

(AL; St John & Liubinienè, 2021). Moreover, the quality of SFI has been the target of sharp criticism for reasons such as a low level of individualized teaching, limited opportunity for students to influence course content and approaches, as well as insufficient pedagogical challenge (School Inspectorate, 2018).

Determined to improve their students' chances to succeed, a study path 1 teacher team decided to introduce "mother tongue" use into their beginner Swedish courses by appointing multilingual assistants (MAs). In this context, MAs are multilingual school personnel employed to support the students in their Swedish language development by, among other means, using the students' first languages (L1s). The MAs were fluent in the main L1s represented among their students, namely Arabic, Somali, and Dari. The teachers stressed that "one must understand to learn," that mother tongue use "is a way to express one's potential. One has so much in the language one thinks best in or thinks in" and that with an interpretation of mother tongue use newly arrived adults become visible whole persons in their own right rather than cutout AL learners. The teachers also recognized the severe limitations on their explanatory *reach* because of not being able to speak their students' L1s.

While the appointment of MAs was a constructive pedagogic response to a critical educational problem, the teacher action introduced its own set of professional challenges. There was a growing sense that, just as one teacher put it, "a good multilingual pedagogy does not simply involve the appointment of multilingual assistants." The fact that the MAs lacked formal pedagogic training, were not well-versed in the steering documents, and were unfamiliar with school talk was a situation the teachers maintained would make finding effective roles particularly challenging. Once the question of using the students' home language became pedagogically possible, how these different languages should be deployed vis-à-vis Swedish and what pedagogical competence was needed to realize an effective translanguaging pedagogy with MAs on board became burning issues.

This article focuses on the use of students' L1s in processes of AL learning and particularly on MAs as facilitating such use. In AL teaching–learning, the exclusive use of the target language as a pedagogical ideal has historically been a pivotal issue both embraced and contested by AL scholars and teachers (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). Since an application of this pedagogic persuasion risks denying AL learners primary sense-making capabilities both in and between learners, AL education is fundamentally about social inclusion. Indeed, an orientation to the research data suggested the fruitfulness of a study on L1 practices in AL instruction for untangling some aspects of inclusion. The aim of this study is therefore to explore the way the adult migrant students' L1s are used by the MAs to support the students in their AL learning and development. Subsequently, this study aims to describe what dimensions of inclusion an exploration of L1 use made by MAs in AL instruction makes visible.

2. Action Research

The investigation this article reports was conducted by teachers in partnership with a university researcher through a methodological design that aligns with action research. Inspired by action research's commitment to empowering teachers to tackle their own professional problems by researching their own practices, the participant teachers were engaged in studying their own work with MAs in the classroom to strengthen the likelihood of relevant results (Stenhouse, 1975). Action research envisages teachers as capable of taking systematic responsibility for improving their own practice in cooperation with researchers rather than relying on external sources of expertise for professional development. In this ethos, the participants in this study endeavoured to conduct classroom research together by taking active and complementary roles in planning and realizing the various phases of the action research (Bergmark et al., 2022).

Initially, the teachers video-filmed a series of MA-supported lessons to make visible current practices of role distribution, interactional patterns, and language use. They then analyzed this data by accounting for and critically evaluating the character and outcome of the recorded events, documenting their responses in teacher protocols. This reflective process led to several important observations that could be translated into pedagogical plans to improve teacher practice. For example, that communication in the classroom was one-way, that MA's orientation to student groups tended to be monologic, and that students were responding to instruction in Swedish and making contributions in their L1s that the teachers were not able to take up constructively (see Section 5). The teachers then implemented their action plans which generally gave the MAs more central roles and sought to maximize the advantages of their multilingual competences. Finally, the teachers conducted a second round of video-filming to observe and gauge the effects of their changed practice on the students' opportunities to participate in learning activities. Working together, researcher and teachers compared the learning environments documented in the two sets of video recordings to evaluate the pedagogic advantages of the new practices. The outcome was a locally relevant review of the teacher action plans and rich feedback on how they might be further improved in ongoing professional development (McNiff, 2013).

To capture a summative and meaningful picture of the teachers' views and evaluations, group interviews were conducted after the action research phases. The nine teachers were interviewed in three separate groups of three and the four MAs, from Iran, Kurdistan, and Somalia, in a fourth group. Each group interview lasted an hour and was sound recorded. In the interviews, the participants were invited to describe and discuss the pedagogical actions they took, their reasons for them, and their impact. Patton (2015) describes the process, common in qualitative analysis, whereby sense is made

of data by condensing substantial stretches of written material into a few elemental themes. Accordingly, the interview data was transcribed in its entirety as a basis for a coding of categories which were then collapsed into more general representative rubrics. These are presented as cardinal contributions made by the MAs that analysis foregrounded as decisive for student inclusion in this context.

3. Inclusion and Dialogue

The various ways in which inclusion is defined and analyzed afford a handle on the conditions that need to be fulfilled before the claim can be made that inclusion in any situation has been achieved. There is widespread agreement in the field of special education needs that an educational setting on its own is an inadequate definition of inclusion in that simply placing a pupil in need of special support in a regular class without providing such support will generate exclusion (Nilholm, 2019). This brings "pedagogic inclusion" (Ahlberg, 2013) into focus that may be realized by adapting the learning environment through, for example, adjusting teacher collaboration and providing the kind of pupil support that makes learning goals achievable (Dyson & Millward, 2000). "Cultural inclusion" is prevalent in discourses on norms, meaning-creation systems, prejudice, and stigmatization that are as applicable to schools as they are to societies. That the differences between children should be considered as *assets* rather than as *problems* is an ideal that some scholars have treated as an essential part of inclusion albeit difficult to realize (Göransson et al., 2011; Nilholm, 2006).

More recently, assessments of pupils' inner emotional states by using instruments such as the Perceptions of Inclusion Questionnaire as a way to measure the quality of inclusion have engaged researchers (DeVries et al., 2022). A student perspective has distinguished social inclusion, emotional well-being, and academic self-concept as central to the success of inclusive education (Zurbriggen et al., 2017). Social inclusion entails participating in social interaction in and outside the classroom as well as the competence to maintain relationships with peers. Emotional well-being refers to a sense of belonging to and feeling positive about school. Academic self-concept addresses the amount of trust pupils have in their ability to achieve academic tasks and goals.

Dialogism treats inclusion as other-orientation in that it assumes the notion of "self" and "other" as mutually constitutive (Bakhtin, 1981). Reframing inclusion *dialogically* entails the recognition that individuals do not develop or make sense of the world on their own but do so in response to and *interdependently* with others. All human action is a response to someone or something else (Bakhtin, 1986). In and through responding we are obliged to make sense of another's position by apprehending the meaning of the other, accounting for it, and bringing to bear our own perspective to influence and further the chain of communication. Indeed, Linell (2009, p. 186) maintains, "we become responsible, because we have to respond to other people."

The dynamics of responsivity cohere with the two fundamental aspects of other-orientation namely, "intersubjectivity" and "alterity" (Linell, 2009). To orient to shared assumptions, knowledge or convictions with others makes communication possible and describes communicative efforts to achieve intersubjectivity. It seeks communion for building relationships and inclusion. However, Bakhtin's thinking implies that a gravitation towards commonality is insufficient to sustain inclusion. A *transsubjective* realization of inclusion builds on alterity, the potentially disruptive but essentially educative and response-evoking counteraction of the other's perspective as always different from one's own. The transsubjective aspect of other-orientation, the meeting of two consciousnesses, affords "the principle advantages of outsidedness" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 141) and the opportunity to gain alternative views that can complement our limited perception of the world. Such contrasts are a source of insight for individuals with the prospects of a more holistic understanding of an inclusion that not only tolerates but thrives on human differences (Linell, 2009).

4. Multilingual Assistants

In studies on paraeducators, MAs are portrayed as practitioners with significant potential to include newly arrived youth and adults in the educative processes of their courses and classrooms (Dávila & Bunar, 2020; Kakos, 2022). However, while MA contributions are deemed educationally significant, MAs as practitioners are simultaneously marginalized because of poor pay, poorly defined national role guidelines, a lack of formal pedagogic training, and consequently low status (Dávila & Bunar, 2020; Fritzsche & Kakos, 2021; Kakos, 2022; St John, 2021). Moreover, a tendency among subject teachers and administrators to exclude MAs from pedagogic planning and cooperation because of their unqualified teaching status is seen by MAs as hindering the inclusion of newcomer students (Dávila, 2018; Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006). This paraprofessional support role coheres with asymmetrical power relationships between teachers and MAs both in planning pedagogic approaches and teaching materials (Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006) as well as teacher orchestration of turn-taking and tasks in the classroom (Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1996).

Despite the finding that while MA language support was valued their pedagogic competence was devalued (Dávila, 2018), studies show that these two aspects cannot easily be separated. MAs do inclusive pedagogic work because of their translingual capabilities. Studies in this field increasingly use the concept of "translanguaging" (García & Wei, 2014) to describe the way MAs use their multilingual skills strategically to support their students' AL or subject learning. Translanguaging has classroom

roots (C. Baker, 2011) and today implies both discursive and pedagogical practices (García, 2009; Juvonen & Källkvist, 2021). For example, Dávila and Bunar (2020) present MA perceptions of their translingual work as operationalizing the tasks of keying into students' prior subject knowledge as a basis for ongoing learning and promoting their emotional well-being. MAs perceived home languages and Swedish as equally important to their translanguaging ideology for supporting students, their inclusion in school, and their multilingual identities. St John (2021) reports that MAs choose students' home languages to illuminate Swedish-medium instruction, elicit students' personal experiences and ideas, raise metalinguistic awareness, and threshold successful student performance in Swedish. Kakos (2022) confirms research findings that translanguaging, drawing on features of, for example, both Arabic and English, is a regular discursive practice in the communication between MAs and their students for supporting learning and personalizing pedagogies with different individuals.

Furthermore, the special set of circumstances MAs bring to the classroom—their tension-filled vulnerabilities, their multilingual proficiency, their in-between teacher and student position—can generate unexpected educative opportunities for minority students (Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006). Driven by an existential need to carve out a significant role and counter exclusionary educational practices, MAs capitalize on their linguistic and cultural assets to develop novel pedagogic moves (St John, 2021) and contexts for transformation and inclusion. Kakos (2022) has used the concept of "third spaces" to describe the uniqueness of these discursive, pedagogical environments with the potential to empower students to pursue their learning projects independently. "Third spaces" are safe places for students in which a climate of trust and care can foster meaningful participation, risk-taking, and collaboration in the classroom (Rueda et al., 2004).

MAs do crucial inclusive "meta-instructional" work through student advocacy. Studies stress that MAs' support, operationalized by translingual work, goes far beyond linguistic and pedagogic support. Dávila and Bunar (2020) describe how MAs position themselves as advocates rather than as translators, an identity that springs from understanding students and knowing about their lives not simply understanding language. Such understanding is borne out of MAs' own life experiences of AL and culture learning (Ernst-Slavit & Wenger, 2006), of having worked through the system, so that they can promote the well-being of students, defend their rights to equality, and open doors for them into the school and local community (F. Baker, 2014).

5. The Contribution of Multilingual Assistants

How do MAs use adult migrant learners' L1s to support their efforts to learn an AL? What opportunities to include students does MA support illuminate? Four main aspects of their work are identified as central support strategies that promote the educational inclusion of adult migrants learning the majority language of their new home environments. These are dialogue, socioemotional work, contextualizing content, and making feedback accessible.

5.1. Dialogue

Initial video-filmed MA-mediated classroom interaction showed that communication was predominantly one-way from teacher through MAs to students as the target audience. This unidirectional current meant that students' voices and attempts to respond to the instruction in their L1s were not made communicatively available and were regularly marginalized. Data also documented that MAs did most of the talking in interaction with students and frequently supplied answers rather than creating opportunities for student response and meaningful engagement. A resounding response from the teachers to the question of language deployment was that students' primary languages should be used *dialogically*. Dialogue for the teachers meant engaging students in pedagogical encounters by creating space for their own explorative and responsive efforts to instructional initiative rather than doing thinking and communicative work for them. In the data, dialogue is described as instructional restraint that maintains two-way communication, valorizes the students' voices, and makes room for their own ways of coming to know. Extract 1 comes from an instructional session in which an MA (A) is engaged in making teacher feedback in Swedish on a student's own text accessible to the student (S) via her home language. The aspect the MA and student are discussing is the syntactic structure of a Swedish sentence when time is placed in the initial position (see Extract 1).

The extract documents the way the MA and student collaborate so that the student can reach a trouble spot in her utterance and self-regulate her formulation. This is made possible by the MA's pedagogical strategy of framing but not encroaching on the space in which the student can take charge of correcting her own language production. Her strategies in the context include inviting the student to construct a sentence (in which time comes in the initial position) rather than supplying an example for the student (line 2). The student rises to the occasion. Her example is flawed by the omission of a preposition between "go" and "school" (line 3). Rather than correcting the student, the MA uses words from the example and emphasis to take the student to the threshold of the trouble spot (line 4). Space is created for the student's own learning strategy which includes a spoken-aloud word search (line 5). By screening and eliminating candidate items, the student finds the answer on her own. While the MA locates what needs to be fixed, the student does the fixing and gets the praise she deserves (line 7). This is a dialogic activity in that the MA contests the student's utterance (albeit gently) and orients

Extract 1: To school

1 A: plats ett,
Place, one

2 A: طيب اذا تعطيني جملة كمان, انت كتبت كتير كويس بس اذا تعطيني جملة على تيد بو بلاتس ات
Okay, can you give me a sentence. You wrote well here, but give me a sentence with time in initial place

3 S: imorgon klockan halv nio går jag skolan
Tomorrow at half past nine I go school.

4 A: går jag—går jag—
I go— I go-

5 S: och, på, i skolan, nej till skolan
and, on, in school. No, to school

6 A: till skolan
to school

7 A: برافو اخر شي عدنا
Bravo! Just the last one to do.

towards her response. It achieves student engagement and is thus pedagogically inclusive.

Working dialogically is described by an MA as to "go round the answer. She [the student] must find the answer herself. The very last, last, last solution is to give the answer directly." This MA describes the pedagogic practice of circling round a troublesome feature in anticipation of student self-correction. Her pedagogic priority is to wait for students' responses so that they gain the time to think through and arrive at answers to educational questions through their own efforts. While the urge to fill interactional space is strong, "it is better to find the answer oneself because then it sticks in the mind, when…you figure it out for yourself, it sticks. But when others provide the answer, it sticks a little, but then disappears." Critical learning opportunity is at stake.

5.2. Socioemotional Work

Accounts of the MA's pedagogic support underscore and shed fresh light on the centrality of socioemotional well-being for adult participation and learning in the AL classroom. Their voices highlight the insecurities and anxiety emanating from many adult migrants' low self-esteem and poor self-image that hinder the students' willingness to tolerate communicative ambiguity and take communicative risks. The MAs describe three basic strategies through which they do inclusive socioemotional work aimed at boosting student confidence in their own ability to cope with classroom communication. The MAs use the students' L1s to reassure students of their presence, provide check-ups, and show informed confidence in the students' capacity to contribute to instructional interaction and their own language development.

5.2.1. Accompanying Students

One kind of socioemotional support MAs offer is to assure students that they are with them and will accompany them during tasks. The MAs describe a recurring difficulty they face in the classroom when students insist on an interpretation once the teacher has begun to give instructions in Swedish. The MAs managed this situation by telling the students: "I must listen too. Otherwise, I can't explain what the teacher has said to you. Can we listen together?" This answer not only solves a pragmatic dilemma for the MAs ("then the students become quieter") but encourages the students to persevere in their efforts to listen first and rely on their own sense-making strategies to grasp Swedish talk in the classroom. One MA explained: "I also want them to listen really carefully. If they listen to the teacher very carefully, I'm a hundred percent sure that they'll understand more, but some of them just don't do that."

In situations where students ask MAs to tell the teacher about their personal needs or requests from a lack of confidence about using Swedish for the task, an MA confided her revised response:

> When I started my work, I told the teacher on behalf of the students, but later I decided that it is better to say "go ahead! Try it yourself! If there are some words you find difficult, I can help you. I'll stand next to you and I'll help you. I will support you but please go ahead and try first with Swedish yourself."

5.2.2. Providing Check-Ups

Another kind of socioemotional work MAs do is to provide safe places for students to check in their L1 their linguistic understanding or construction of a Swedish sentence to encourage them to contribute to the classroom interaction. "Even when they know," maintained one MA, "they feel uncertain" and dare not speak or answer the teacher for fear of making mistakes. This account describes the self-defeating force of adult students' doubts about managing to express themselves successfully in Swedish. Knowing what the teacher has

been explaining is not in itself sufficient to overcome student insecurity about taking communicative initiatives in front of others in the classroom. However, in the safety of interaction with an L1-speaking MA, students can check their understanding or test Swedish formulations and gain the confirmation they need to respond to teacher questions or opportunities to participate. The MA continues: "But when they explain for us in their mother tongue and we confirm that what they say is correct, then they feel secure, and they can answer the teacher in Swedish."

5.2.3. Showing Confidence

A further aspect of socioemotional support is to "show students that they can" find their way to answers, respond to questions, and learn Swedish in the classroom. This strategy targets students' low sense of self-efficacy (academic self-concept) by affirming their potential capacities to perform and complete language tasks. "Show" (rather than tell) implies, among other things, the pedagogic commitment to collaborate and create the space students need to accomplish the task independently rather than to do it for them. Scaffolding (Stone, 1998) or thresholding (St John, 2021) demonstrates that the MAs' confidence in students' ability to meet the communicative demands of the AL classroom is genuine.

While the MAs testify to the power of instructor expectation, their discourse indicates that communicating confidence in student performance cannot be separated from the context of ongoing student support and must be in tune with a student's proximal level of progress. Concerning the former factor, an MA claimed:

> [Y]ou stand by them and say to them: "You can do it, you're good at this," even when they can't do it. [You] tell them: "You are able to do this. I'll lift you up. You can and you're clever. I can give you some words if you can't find them, if you have difficulty with words, but try first."

Those who seek to encourage adult AL learners can inspire them to persevere and not give up even against ability odds through an unswerving expression of belief in their capability to accomplish a task. However, generating confidence vicariously needs to be accompanied by supportive action that facilitates engagement with the task and makes it doable. Feeding learners words they cannot find so that they are successful confirms instructor confidence.

Regarding the second factor, another MA emphasizes the need for instructor expectations to be informed by the developmental nature of acquiring language competence:

> I always ask them to talk: "What's most important is not whether you speak correctly or incorrectly, but daring to speak, to try." If you don't get it right the first time, you'll get it right the second or third time. You learn when you make mistakes.

This pedagogic message offers a clear alternative to the stance on making communicative mistakes that can mute the voice of adult migrants in AL learning environments. It reverses the logic. It highlights trying *successively*, despite not getting it right the first time, as a reliable way of getting it *progressively* right. It suggests that, like all feedforward, an instructor's expectations should be sensitive to a student's current stage of development. The thrust of these two statements is that what MAs expect and mean when they show students that they *can* is that students *can try* and *try* again to achieve their communicative goals. Their encouragement rests on the conviction that, regarding AL learning, trying with sufficient support is within student reach and that communicative attempts generate the most valuable kind of feedback for development.

5.3. Contextualizing Content

Various strategies to link Swedish language to students' personal experiences, daily needs, and existing linguistic repertoires stand out in the data as prime pedagogic ways of leveraging AL learning. One contextualization scenario is linked to finding out what students understand about what the teacher has just been saying and serves to demonstrate student understanding, as the following describes:

> When I ask students to retell in their mother tongue what the teacher has said, they explain to me in their mother tongue. And when I know that they understand, then I can say to them: "Can you make or build a sentence and say it back to the teacher to show her that you have understood it?"

This account describes different ways of assessing student knowledge, first as an L1 version of teacher instruction for the MA and then as a student-formulated AL sentence that offers feedback on student understanding for the teacher. The two languages work in complementary sequence with L1 serving to declare (and even develop) student knowledge about the language and AL demonstrating (and even strengthening) it. Here, the ultimate proof of student understanding is in the speech performance that makes explanation of complex, abstract thinking unnecessary for the students or the MAs. At other times, the purpose of soliciting students to formulate their own sentences is to consolidate their learning (see Extract 1).

Another form of contextualization considered by a teacher as particularly valuable for student speaking is described as follows:

> She [an MA] urges the students to speak to me as the teacher. She says to the students: "Tell the teacher

> that you need to go to the toilet." "Oh, how interesting. Tell the teacher what you did over the weekend!" It seems as if she assesses the student's ability to….I think you can say this in Swedish and so she gives the student an extra nudge.

To relate one's own experience or real-life concerns in an AL to others in the classroom has long been heralded as an authentic and effective communicative learning activity (Swain, 1985). By encouraging students to tell the teacher in Swedish what they have already shared with the MA in their L1s, students can focus on strategically adapting and "pushing" their current AL competence to report content they know and own. This task provides an opportunity to root emergent AL knowledge in learners' lived experiences. The description makes clear that showing belief in the students' potential to manage the communicative task in Swedish is also an integral part of the threshold conditions that launch student AL performance.

At a group level, one logical application of the teachers' stance on the learning benefits of contextualization was the decision by a teacher constellation to gain student voices via the MAs about those everyday situations in which students need to talk about certain themes such as food but lack the linguistic ability to do so. The pedagogical idea was to use the information the students supplied as a basis for planning a series of language lessons. This strategy sprang from the students' difficulty in understanding the connection between the language teaching at SFI and the practical use of language in their daily lives. A teacher described the change of tactics in the following words:

> The students are somewhat confused by this opportunity to exert influence. It's not completely natural for [students] to grasp that what we do at SFI is something they own, something that they can use in another setting. On study path 1, we need to help them quite a lot to make the connection…and to think: "In which context can I use the exercises we're currently working on?"…Previously, we fished for words [that] would be useful to [them]. Now, we tried to elicit what the students experienced, or in which contexts they use language related to—in this case—the theme of food. In which context do they need to talk about food? "When have you felt that you were inadequate? When do you speak about food in your own language?" We wanted to identify contexts, not only words.

This citation is all about student influence over the learning content of their language education. The pedagogical shift from words to contexts is explained as a concerted effort to enable students to understand the communicative value of their coursework for situations beyond the classroom. Contexts are categorically more comprehensive than words with greater scope for students to help teachers identify and teach life-relevant language. An example of one of these critical contexts is local government offices and hospital settings, which make heavier communicative demands on speaker competence. A student elaborates (see Extract 2):

Extract 2: Difficulties in public offices

S: الصعوبة بس بالسكات مثل ماقال الاخ اهنا, بالسكات بالبنك بالدوائرالحكومية, بس نلقى صعوبة بالسوق لا نقدر نتسوق نخلص نحكي شوية ليتا ليتا بس بالدولئر شوية شفلات تصعب علينا

The difficulties are in the tax office as she just said. Tax offices, banks, government agencies. But we don't have difficulties in the town when we shop. We can manage ourselves and talk a little but it's only in the public offices where the conversations are difficult.

5.4. Making Feedback Accessible

In this study, initial action research confirmed the experience of one teacher constellation that study path 1 students struggled to make sense of the formative feedback the teachers provided on the students' written work. This feedback was delivered as a checklist of syntactic aspects such as word order and tenses used by the students in their texts with teacher assessment. Underlying the use of this tool was the rationale that when students become aware of what their needs are in relation to particular learning goals, they can more readily take charge of meeting these needs and attaining these goals (Dann, 2016). Without understanding the teachers' feedback, the value of their assessment was lost to the learners.

To enable students to understand and use the checklist evaluation, the teacher constellation decided to entrust the MAs with the task of making teacher feedback accessible to students. The teachers insisted that two conditions were necessary to ensure the success of this pedagogical task—that the MAs should be sufficiently prepared and that the task should be carried out dialogically. The first condition was addressed by an intensification of supervision in which the "why," "what," and "how" of the student checklists were specifically attended to. The second condition was realized in and through the students' L1s. The teachers were adamant that the use of the students' strongest languages was vital for enabling them to grasp the abstract thinking the checklist demanded and witnessed with wonder the way "a hindrance disappeared immediately, [the MAs and students] could communicate freely." For the teachers, dialogic activity was important because, as one of them explained, when one can respond verbally and interact

intelligibly with others, "there is a greater chance that things become *a part of my thinking*."

The following fragment illustrates some of the teachers' pedagogical ambitions and thinking. It is from a classroom event supporting a dialogue between a student and an MA about a teacher's feedback on the student's written production. The syntactic feature in focus is the function of capital letters and full stops in Swedish writing (see Extract 3 below).

The translingual interaction in this extract is characterized by shared turn-taking, questions (from the MA) with answers (from the student), and a sequence of utterances that build coherently on one another. The MA is encouraging the student to explain the occurrence and function of a capital letter and a full stop. Use of Arabic allows the student to explain these syntactic items in her own way (lines 1, 3, 5) and with considerable precision (lines 7, 9, 11). The MA's suggestion that the student uses Arabic (line 4) indicates that the MA wants to be sure of understanding what the student understands. A further observation is that these two interactants achieve greater clarity around the issues by thinking together and co-authoring the explanation. For example, the ambiguity of "at the beginning" in line 5 is made specific by the MA in line 6, which the student then builds on in line 7 to produce a correspondingly specific explanation of the way a sentence is ended. The MA's less-than-clear question in line 8 is clarified by the student (line 9) who, prompted to continue (line 10), provides a prospective description of what full stops mean (full stops bring writers to the thresholds of new sentences; line 11). These L1 interactional features are dialogic in that they engage MA and student in co-exploration and co-thinking about aspects of writing. They operationalize pedagogic inclusion. One participant is not more or less included in the action than the other.

Extract 3: Capital letter and full stop

1	S:	Star, bokstav يعني الحرف الكبير Big letter. It means capital letter
2	A:	طيب ايمت يكون عدنا حرف كبير Okay, when do we need a capital letter?
3	S:	Första, Första او بعد البونكت First, first. Or after the full stop
4	A:	يعني första قولي لي بالعربي Tell me in Arabic
5	S:	يعني بالاول لازم يكون حرف كبير في الاول At the beginning there needs to be a capital letter
6	A:	بدلية الجملة The beginning of the sentence
7	S:	بدلية الجملة واذا عملت مثلا خلصت الجملة حطيت بونكت احط ... The beginning of the sentence, and if I end the sentence, I put a full stop […]
8	A:	مو ضروري يكون اسم Not necessary that it should be a name?
9	S:	لا مو اسم يعني اي حرف لازم يكون كبير بعد النقطة No, not only names. I mean whichever letter must be capital after a full stop
10		بعد النقطة After the full stop
11	S:	اي بعد النقطة يعني كأنه انت في بداية السطر, لانه فصلتي Yes, after the full stop, you're almost on a new line. You're disengaged.

6. Discussion

All these four contributions appear to promote an experience of educational inclusion among adult migrant AL learners and are realized predominantly by the use of the students' L1s. In that they are seen to support students effectively in their AL learning processes, the deployment of students' L1s for these purposes—to develop dialogue, to do socioemotional work, to contextualize content, and to make feedback accessible—may be perceived as "cardinal includers." Together these contributions seek to make sure that adult migrant students do not miss out on their educational opportunities and rights. At the same time, they make visible different dimensions of inclusion.

6.1. Dialogic Inclusion

Dialogism clarifies that educational inclusion is jointly constructed by the instructor and instructee interactively, not something professional educators do for (adult) students. Inclusion is actualized in that the participants' turns at talk are mutually constitutive pedagogical

moves in and through, by example, question and answer pairs, participants building on each other's contributions and co-authoring explanations. For both teachers and MAs, working dialogically means exercising instructional restraint that allows adult migrant AL learners to explore language, reason collaboratively, and achieve progressively coherent responsive understanding so they can find their own way to answers. L1 is seen to be a cardinal educational includer because being able to speak and respond meaningfully with others feeds and (re)forms the very contours of consciousness and learning. A dialogic perspective on classroom data reveals that pedagogic inclusion is served by both intersubjective and transsubjective processes. The MAs invest in intersubjectivity by using the students' L1s to align with students' socioemotional states, understand what students understand, give them their voices, and affirm shared ground as a prompt to go further. They also use students' L1s to contest student speech performance enabling students to reflect on and remedy insufficient performance independently. Crucially, L1 use is a cardinal includer because, with the opportunities it affords adult migrant students to respond meaningfully to others and become responsible for their AL learning, it is a fundamentally humanizing medium.

From a dialogic perspective, inclusion does not simply mean instructional accommodation. If it did, poor grades would always be the teacher's fault. Dialogism casts inclusion as essentially a mutually constitutive, transsubjective enterprise that offers both parties the opportunity to respond constructively and venture creatively in relation to ways of attaining learning goals. While participants expect forthcoming responses and even orient their utterances towards certain kinds of response, inclusion is also envisaged as an open-ended affair that offers choices and novel courses of action rather than ready-made and finalized answers. A relational perspective on inclusion must be rescued from interpretations that highlight instructor responsibilities over and above the responsivity and responsibility of the instructee. Dialogism also contests a categorical perspective because it tends to sideline pedagogic possibilities and the voice of the categorized.

6.2. Socioemotional Inclusion

According to the MAs, the socioemotional needs of adult AL learners with limited schooling regularly prevent their participation in AL instruction. Much of the MAs' advocacy work, accomplished in students' L1s, revolves around reassuring students by accompanying them, confirming students' initial attempts to use target language independently, seeking to boost students' self-esteem, and alleviating their anxiety about making mistakes. This evidence aligns with the research into the subjective aspects of inclusion (DeVries et al., 2022). For example, the MAs' strategy of accompanying students in their attempts to use Swedish promotes their social inclusion by facilitating their participation in classroom interaction. In seeking to launch student speech performance in Swedish by first certifying the quality of their Swedish sentences is to boost students' academic self-concept. The MAs' socioemotional work in this study also relates to the research concept of "third spaces" (Kakos, 2022). The "third spaces" of the participating MAs are pockets of intuitive pedagogic action borne out of the MA's unique personal qualities in which students can gain the psychological fortitude they need to manage the demands of instructional situations. They are places of safety and encouragement for students, made possible by MA command of their students' L1s. These "third spaces" appear to be important means of enabling students to transition from talking about the AL in their home language to talking the AL, that is, transitioning from declarative knowledge to procedural performance. An emphasis on socioemotional work illuminates inclusion as an inner subjective experience, a private perception of belongingness, impacted by an array of psychological factors within an individual. It foregrounds the importance of seeking the student's assessment of their socioemotional states and affirms that unless a student *feels* included, other kinds of claims that inclusion is occurring collapse.

6.3. Contextual Inclusion

Contextualizing language in the lives of the learners bears the power to include students in classroom activities because it makes AL learning more meaningful and increases student motivation to engage with it. In this study, MA use of the students' L1s facilitates several contextualizing scenarios for assessing student understanding, encouraging student AL speech performance, and enhancing the relevance of instructional content. Such practice is inclusive because it makes learning tasks and goals achievable. Concerning student AL communication, to root language use in the personal interests and situations of the students is pedagogically strategic because it breaks down the activity from the demand to engage with a cluster of questions (why? what? how?) to more simply: "How can I say this in Swedish?" Moreover, contextualizing content can strengthen the connection between what is new or emerging linguistically with what is already meaningful and known. The teacher-initiated, L1-operationalized, strategy of identifying language to study that relates directly to the AL learners' everyday lived experience draws in student collaboration and influence at a relatively early stage of their study and learning paths. Self-determination generates motivation among students to persist in their learning (Deci & Ryan, 1985) because they become stakeholders of the classroom work and see a strong correspondence between lesson focus and their communicative needs in the community. Contextual inclusion beams up inclusion as a pedagogical commitment to making the learning environment accessible, meaningful, and worth investing in.

6.4. Formative Inclusion

Providing students with knowledge about how they can take greater responsibility for self-regulating their learning, in this case with the use of their L1s, is an act of educational empowerment and inclusion. The checklist feedback that the MAs made accessible to students in their L1s was based on the assumption that emergent adult bilinguals have significant reserves of L1 metalinguistic awareness which can be activated and transferred to promote autonomous AL learning. The MAs used the students' L1s to point out which syntactic aspects of their L1 grammars were transferable to the AL and which were not. In the quest to include adult migrants, the pedagogical practice of using what students already have, whether personal experience, prior knowledge, or metalinguistic awareness, stands out as vital. Here MAs have translingual capabilities to draw forth such personal assets and abilities so that they can be used by students to take greater charge of their AL learning. A prerequisite of this inclusive action is the recognition of the adult AL student as not simply a learner without AL knowledge but as a knowledgeable and resourceful language user with a repertoire of semiotic resources that can be harnessed for AL learning. Dávila and Bunar (2020) report the view that teachers can make it difficult for multilingual students to feel comfortable with the fact that learning a new language takes time. Making teacher formative feedback intelligible and challenging through collaboration with MAs is not exercising "power over" learners but offering them the "power to" accelerate and strengthen their development autonomously. It can also encourage students to persevere with AL learning and perceive the resources they have as advantages for self-directing their progress. Generating formative knowledge with students projects inclusion as increasing students' capacities to regulate their AL learning themselves.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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About the Author

Oliver St John (PhD) is a senior lecturer, teacher educator, and researcher at Örebro University, Sweden. He has taught and initiated research within the fields of second language acquisition and pedagogy with an orientation to the use of the students' mother tongues as an asset for learning additional language. His research also focuses on parent–school relationships and the various collaborative strategies schools develop to build trust with parents and to include them in the schooling of their children.

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