

Who knows what?

The Teaching of Knowledge and Knowers in a Fifth
Grade Danish as a Second Language Classroom

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English abstract

The overarching focus of the thesis is to investigate why minority students, offered instruction labelled as *Danish as a second language* as a means of academic support, nonetheless seem to have more difficulty attaining school success than their majority peers. Based on a theoretically informed position that classroom discourse plays an important role in both student learning and the shaping of their consciousness (Bernstein, 2000; Christie, 2007; Maton, 2010), the research has investigated the implementation of the school subject Danish as a Second Language in History instruction through the analysis of teacher-student interactions with different teachers and at various points in the progression of an observed 5th grade unit of study about Denmark in the early 1900's. Collected video observations and later transcriptions of teacher-student interactions served as the main source of data, supplemented by screen shots of the multi-media teaching materials used for the unit and teacher interviews. Using linguistic tools of analysis known as exchange structure analysis and based on Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics, as well as sociological tools of analysis based on Bernstein's code theory, namely Legitimation Code Theory's (Maton, forthcoming) tools of Semantics and Specialization analysis, the research explores connections between learning, language, knowledge and knowers in the observed classroom practice. The research findings are presented in four articles, which together provide insight into the importance and complexity of classroom discourse for shaping students' understandings of the content being learned, and ultimately of the shaping of their consciousness in terms of what is and is not considered legitimate knowledge in the classroom.

Dansk abstract

Det overordnede fokus for afhandlingen er at undersøge hvorfor minoritetsbørn, som får støtte i form af dansk som andetsprogsundervisning i Folkeskolen, ikke desto mindre tilsyneladende har svært ved at opnå samme akademiske niveau som deres etnisk danske medelever. Med udgangspunkt i en teoretisk position, hvor klasserumsdiskurs spiller en afgørende rolle i udviklingen af elevers læring og bevidsthed (Bernstein 2000; Christie 2007; Maton 2010), undersøges implementeringen af skolefaget dansk som andetsprog som dimension i historieundervisningen ved at analysere lærer-elev interaktioner med forskellige lærere og fra forskellige tidspunkter fra et observeret undervisningsforløb i en 5. klasse omhandlende Danmark omkring århundredskiftet (1900-tallet). Det indsamlede videomateriale og senere transskriptioner af lærer-elev interaktioner herfra dannede hovedparten af forskningens data, og blev suppleret af 'screen shots' af det multimediemateriale som undervisningen baserede sig på. Derudover blev datasættet også suppleret af efterfølgende lærerinterview med de pågældende lærere. Ved hjælp af lingvistiske analyser gennemført via den såkaldte udvekslingsstrukturanalyse (exchange structure analysis) som baserer sig på Hallidays systemisk funktionelle lingvistik, samt uddannelsessociologiske analyser via grebene Semantik og Specialisering fra Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, forthcoming) baseret på Bernsteins kodeteori, udforsker forskningen forbindelser mellem læring, sprog, viden og *knowers* i den observerede klasserumspraksis. Forskningens fund præsenteres i afhandlingens fire artikler, som samlet set giver indblik i vigtigheden og kompleksiteten af klasserumsdiskursen for udviklingen af elevernes begrebsverden i forhold til forståelser af hvad der læres, og i sidste ende for udviklingen af deres bevidsthed i forhold til hvad der ses som legitim viden i klasserummet.

Language is our cultural tool – we use it to share experience and so to collectively, jointly, make sense of it ... Language is therefore not just a means by which individuals can formulate ideas and communicate them, it is also a means for people to think and learn together.

(Mercer, 1995)

Introductory Chapter

Prologue

Fifth grade students are working in groups, spread out around the classroom in the first lesson of an interdisciplinary History and Danish as a Second Language (DSL) unit of study. They are working on filling out the first column of a graphic organizer known as the KWL-chart. The school's DSL-coordinator has been invited to guest-teach part of the History unit with two of the class-teachers.

As DSL-coordinator and guest teacher, Bonny's aim is to give the class-teachers ideas on how to incorporate materials and techniques which are aimed at helping the many DSL students in the school. The KWL-chart is one of these techniques, meant for noting and organizing in three columns respectively: what students know (K), what they would like to learn (W), and what they have Learned (L) during a unit of study. Today they are working on filling out the first two columns while the three teachers circulate amongst them, listening to what students are saying and offering help as needed.

One of the boys asks Adam, the History teacher, for help in making his KWL-chart. As they talk, Adam and the boy look at his paper which he holds horizontally. Sarah, the Danish teacher is standing nearby. She sees them talking and comes over, interrupting, "Isn't it supposed to be the other way?" referring to orienting the page vertically. Adam continues talking to the boy holding the page horizontally, telling him where to make the columns, pointing to the paper, saying "You just fold it...". Sarah interrupts him again, adding, "it might be smart if it is that way, but then the letters are turned". In the meantime, Bonny, who has been standing nearby, turns around to join the conversation. All three teachers are now involved in discussing how this student should orient his KWL-chart while the student himself stands by, quietly listening.

Bonny takes the page from Adam, holding it horizontally in one hand while at the same time holding up another paper in her other hand vertically. She asks the boy, "look here. Which way can you write the most?"

The boy points to the horizontal paper, looking at Bonny.

"That one? ... you think so?" she replies, "When it's in your folder?"

The boy smiles and looks at her. Again, he points to the horizontal page.

Bonny shakes the horizontal page as she continues, "So you like to work on that the most."

The boy nods again.

As Bonny goes to hand the page back, Sarah interrupts to point out, yet again, that if he orients the page horizontally, his letters will not be at the top of each column. Bonny and she talk back and forth, but end up agreeing that this is true and that he will have to rewrite his three letters.

They smile to each other as Bonny returns the page to the boy, who, without saying anything, goes back to his group and sits down. The three other boys in the group have already started writing on their horizontally oriented papers. The boy looks at his paper (oriented horizontally) for a bit and is about to start writing. But then he turns it, orienting it vertically, before he writes the three letters at the top of the page.

In many ways, the interaction described above exemplifies what subsequent analysis will show: that what seems to be predominant in the pedagogy of this fifth grade classroom is being the 'right kind of student' and that doing things 'the right way' seems to be more important than the History or Danish language knowledge students are presented with. How this is communicated to the students, however, is often vague, despite the many discussions teachers have amongst themselves and with the students throughout the observed unit of study. The observed unit of study, therefore, presents issues of both what counts as 'knowledge' and what are the characteristics of the implied 'knowers'. The choices teachers make in the balance of these two aspects and how this affects students' learning is the focal point of the following thesis.

Introduction

Within education, the issue of how to ensure that all children have access to teaching which will maximize their opportunity to achieve scholastic success is a critical one. It is an issue which prompts fierce debate in all of the world's developed countries and on all levels; including teachers, educational and linguistic researchers, parents, and politicians. At the same time, students with minority or 'foreign' backgrounds are seen as being particularly at risk because of their different cultural and linguistic prerequisites. In Denmark, how to deal with this group of students institutionally has been an area of dispute for several decades (Kristjánsdóttir , 2006).

The lower results achieved by minority students to attain school success seems to become particularly visible during the middle school years (4th – 6th grade) and has been referred to as 'the fourth grade slump' (e.g. Chall *et al.* 1990; Gitz-Johansen 2006; Møller *et al.* 2012; Thomas & Collier

1999). Research suggests that the nature of school texts in conjunction with increased expectations towards abstraction and reflection are at the foundation for this 'falling behind' of minority students (Christie 2006; Christie & Derewianka 2008; Gibbons 2009; Hvenekilde & Engen 1996; Hvenekilde *et al.* 1996; Loona 2009; Schleppegrell 2004; Wedin 2004).

Denmark is and has been a fairly homogenous society, when compared to most other countries. However, because of the economic situation in the 70's and the lack of available manpower, Denmark opened its borders to migrant workers. These workers were seen as temporary 'visitors', however, contrary to expectation, many migrant workers made use of family reunification laws, bringing their families and settling in Denmark. This meant that Danish schools started to see a new group of students who did not have the expected cultural or linguistic background.

The Danish public school system – collectively known as Folkeskolen – has a long tradition of so-called student-centered and equity-based educational approaches in both the primary and lower secondary schools. These approaches are seen as being highly sensitive to the needs of the individual student, and are in fact believed to be so sensitive that over time, Folkeskolen will succeed in educating and providing equity for not only diverse socio-economic groups, but also for ethnically and linguistically diverse students. In a background study to an OECD review on the educational system of Denmark this ideal of equity is put across in the following way:

In Denmark, [...] the policy is that all children and youths shall have equal access to education and that the obstacles that individuals may have to conquer to gain the experience and knowledge that is required will be removed. It was first seen as important to establish equality between young people coming from different regions, then between the gender groups and between different socio-economic groups and most recently between groups with different ethnical backgrounds. (Ekholm 2004:13)

In keeping with their growing numbers, however, public official and unofficial concern has grown regarding this population. Various studies, reports and national tests show that there is a significant statistical discrepancy between educational successes attained by the minority students, as compared to ethnically Danish students (Egelund *et al.* 2007; Egelund *et al.* 2009). This is seen as a significant problem for Danish society in general. In many contexts their poor(er) ability to manage in school has been equated with an inability to integrate into Danish society both as youths and later as adults. Since integration into Danish society both culturally and linguistically remains a major public and political concern, how to deal with and help minority students remains a substantial area of public and political debate, as seen by the creation of the "bilingual taskforce" under the Ministry of Education, various surveys and initiatives by the National School Council (Andersen *et al.* 2012) as

well as reports and tests done in continuation of OECDs PISA studies (Egelund *et al.* 2007; Egelund *et al.* 2009).

Because of a high level of autonomy within the school systems and lacking official guidelines, how to deal with minority students was often left up to individual schools. Often, minority students were placed in remedial classes or offered compensatory instruction (Kristjánsdóttir 2006). In most cases, though, these classes were aimed at students with special needs rather than for providing second language support. Until as recently as 1995, official pedagogic guidelines were almost non-existent, leaving the implementation of second language pedagogy largely up to individual teachers with highly varying professional backgrounds and theoretical convictions.

As a result, the development of second language pedagogy into the school subject known as Danish as a second language (DSL) has been relatively recent and quick. Specifically, DSL is aimed at those students who ‘speak one or more languages in their homes, often encountering Danish for the first time when they enter Danish institutions’ such as public day care or Folkeskolen (Undervisningsministeriet 2005, 2009). These students are classified as ‘bilingual students’ officially, often simply referred to as ‘bilinguals’ regardless of the student’s actual ability to speak more than one language.

The Danish Evaluation Institute (EVA) and The Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI) have recently completed a study of specific focus areas for bilingual children in Folkeskolen (Andersen *et al.* 2012). The results seem to indicate that many bilingual children do not receive the Danish language support of which they are in need. At the same time, the study criticizes the prevalent pedagogic practice of “pulling out” bilingual students from mainstream classes, reinforcing the current trend towards teaching DSL as an integrated element in other subject areas:

En undersøgelse af særlige indsatser for tosprogede elever, som EVA har gennemført sammen med SFI, viser imidlertid, at kun en fjerdedel af lærerne i 9. klasse altid eller ofte har fokus på at inddrage dansk som andetsprog, når de underviser i klasser med tosprogede elever. Der er derfor grund til at antage, at tosprogede elever ikke altid får den sproglige støtte i undervisningen, som de har behov for. Samtidig bliver tosprogede elever på fire ud af fem skoler taget ud af klassen og tilbudt supplerende undervisning i dansk som andetsprog. Det betyder, at de tosprogede elever går glip af den undervisning, som deres klassekammerater modtager. Det er ærgerligt, når vi ved, at det netop er ved at deltage i undervisningen, at elever lærer de begreber, der knytter til sig til fagene, og at det er i takt med progressionen i fagene, at elevernes begrebsverden udvikler sig.¹

¹ Translation: An evaluation of particular endeavors for bilingual children, which EVA completed in cooperation with SFI, shows that only one fourth of all teachers in the 9th grade always or often have focus on

(Thorsen & Pedersen 2012)

While both International and Nordic research seems to suggest that an integration of (second) language education into the school's subject areas is helpful to second language development and school success more generally (Axelsson *et al.* 2002; e.g. Brisk 2006; Cummins 2000; García & Kleifgen 2010; Holmen 2002, 2008; Smyth 2003; Øzker 2003), educational linguists centered around the Sydney School in particular warn that this integration of language education must provide specific linguistic instruction in order to be successful (Christie 2006; Christie & Martin 2007; Dreyfus *et al.* 2011; Gibbons 2006; Rose *et al.* 2008; Schleppegrell 2004).

Focus of this study

This research investigates the implications of incorporating the school subject Danish as a second language into the school subject History by observing pedagogic practices in a fifth grade History unit where the majority of students are seen as in need of DSL-support. This is done by investigating teacher-student interactions in whole-class and individual or small-group discussions. The research contributes to an understanding of some of the possible reasons for why minority (i.e. DSL) students are less likely to succeed in school than their Danish peers by identifying patterns in teacher-student talk that seem to suggest miscommunication. How and what teachers focus on when talking with students and how students respond to the teachers indicates different foci and gives an impression of each participant's interpretation of the subject matter being studied, thus suggesting each of their positions within an educational and intellectual field.

This research makes its contributions based on the corpus of video-data from the observed unit of study; the qualitative study of a limited number of texts from this case permits in-depth analysis, and enables a rich description which itself generates new data-born questions. The application of the chosen theoretical framework in the context of Danish as a second language education in Folkeskolen is hitherto unknown, making the research both data- and theory-driven. With this central aim, this research provides a launching point for future research into the connections between teaching, learning, knowledge and language, and a point of comparison for research into other academic disciplines, educational, linguistic or otherwise.

including DSL when teaching classes with bilingual students. There is therefore reason to believe that bilingual students do not always receive the language support in instruction of which they are in need. At the same time, in 4 out of 5 schools bilingual students are pulled out of instruction and offered supplemental DSL instruction. This means bilingual students miss out on instruction which their classroom peers receive. This is a shame when we know that participating in instruction in particular is when students learn the notions and vocabulary which is part of the school's subjects, and that it is together with the development of subjects that students' conceptual univers develops.

Context of this study

This study is situated in a public school (grade K-9) outside of Copenhagen, Denmark where the overwhelming majority of students is officially and unofficially perceived as 'bilingual'. It takes as its focus the fifth grade and their teachers who, led by the school's DSL-coordinator, work through a unit of study concentrating on Denmark at the turn of the last century (around 1900).

At the time of observation (spring, 2009), the school had an overwhelming majority of bilingual students, and the school had chosen to deal with this perceived problem by focusing in particular on implementing DSL into as many subject areas as possible at each grade level. Because of this focus, the school had a self-perception of being a flag-ship school with engaged teachers where DSL-instruction 'works'.

Contributions

This article-based PhD thesis makes its contributions focusing on the connections between language, learning, knowledge and power; and on how an understanding of these connections can shed light on some of the issues of why minority students seem to have more difficulty 'keeping up' in the middle school years, attaining scholastic success and subsequently (perceived) socioeconomic security and integration into Danish society.

This research contributes to the understanding of equity in education by investigating pedagogic practices from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007) and Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) (Maton 2007, 2010, forthcoming). It demonstrates their application in the context of Danish as a Second Language education when integrated in the subject History during the middle years (a period of schooling which is often perceived of as seminal for the scholastic success of a student) and thus contributes to an understanding of second language education and educational practice more broadly by making underlying and heretofore invisible values and structures visible.

The research also makes an interdisciplinary contribution building on the long and fruitful dialogue between educational linguistics and the tradition of code theory from the sociology of education which began with discussions between Halliday and Bernstein in the early 1960's and continues into the present day (Christie & Martin, 2007; Christie & Maton, 2011). The investigation of interactions between teachers and students contributes to the field of educational discourse analysis in Denmark in particular by introducing an analytical framework known as exchange structure analysis (Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007) to the Danish context, and by elucidating the importance of teacher-student interactions for potential student learning. It tests out this existing model of exchange structure analysis by applying it to new empirical data within the Danish context of Folkeskolen. The

research also applies frameworks for the analysis of knowledge and knowers, drawing attention to the requirements placed on students in regard to scholastic success. It challenges teachers and educational researchers to further investigate the valued ways of knowing and participating in the educational setting, and to then consider how the required skills may be introduced to students.

Research questions

This research was initially motivated by an overarching concern for why minority, so-called bilingual students, statistically are less likely to achieve scholastic success than their Danish as a native language peers. Having obtained a Bachelor of Science in Bilingual and ESL Education (Boston University, 2000) and having worked as an ESL teacher in and outside of Boston, Massachusetts on the North-East coast of the United States, I was struck after my move to Denmark by the apparently different predominant understandings of and approaches to second language education in Denmark and the USA. This marked the start of my research-interest and was the focus of my master's thesis completed at the University of Copenhagen, in which I conducted a Bernsteinian-inspired analysis of the official pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 1977, 1990, 2000) describing the school subject DSL as presented in the curriculum guidelines (Meidell 2007). This analysis of the curriculum guidelines raised questions as to how teachers would understand the relatively new subject and how (if at all) they could use this understanding to inform their teaching of minority students in need of DSL support. The present study, therefore, is motivated by a desire to contribute to the still new and growing field Danish as a Second Language, exploring how DSL manifests as a school subject and how it is implemented 'in real life'.

With knowledge of 'the fourth grade slump' (referred to in the introduction) and because the prevalent official pedagogic discourse (as presented in curriculum guidelines and academic research and studies) encourages the integration of DSL into the other subject areas of Folkeskolen, and because it is yet unexplored how this can successfully be done within the subject of History, the motivating question then became:

- How is Danish as a second language integrated as an element of a middle school year History unit, and how does this affect the teaching and learning of both the Danish language and the subject knowledge students are expected to learn?

The first two articles² of the thesis address more specifically the question of:

- How do teacher-student interactions either support or reduce the potential for bilingual students' learning of the Danish language and the History knowledge in focus for the unit of study?

In these articles, discourse-semantic linguistic analyses (Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007) of examples of teacher-student interactions raise questions regarding the implications of the observed teacher-student talk, which then is further explored by posing the following two research questions:

- How are DSL students expected (by teachers and by the teaching materials) to express the knowledge learned in the unit of study in a legitimate manner (i.e. through institutionally privileged values)?
- How are institutionally privileged values taught, and how does the instruction seem to allow DSL students to demonstrate access to these legitimate ways of knowing?

Answers to these two questions are sought in the third and the fourth articles of the study³, where further examples of teacher-student interactions are analyzed and supplemented with text-samples from the teaching materials. This analysis is based in a sociological framework informed by Code Theory (Bernstein 1974, 1995, 1996, 2000; Moore 2004; Moore *et al.* 2006; Moore & Young 2001; Muller *et al.* 2004; Singh *et al.* 2010) and more specifically, Legitimation Code Theory (Maton 2007, 2010, forthcoming).

Approach

This thesis takes its point of departure in discourse analysis as an approach, drawing on theories of educational linguistics and the tradition of code theory in order to describe the shared classroom language that occurs between teacher and students. In this way, shared classroom discourse is examined in terms of how it constructs understandings of knowledge and language in specific

² Article 1 is titled: *"Hvad skal jeg skrive?" – "Det må du selv vide...": om hvordan fokus på hhv. handling og viden i lærer-elev samtaler kan skabe misforståelser.*

Article 2 is titled: *Who Has the Knowledge if not the Primary Knower - Using exchange structure analysis to cast light on particular pedagogic practices in teaching Danish as a Second Language and History.*

³ Article 3 is titled: *Who learns what? Teaching democracy with social relations in Danish as a Second Language embedded in a 5th grade History unit.*

Article 4 is titled: *Semantisk tyngde og Semantisk tæthed i Demokratibegrebet: en analyse af undervisning i et dansk som andetsprog og historieforløb i en 5. klasse.*

contexts and in particular ways. Analyses of classroom practices enable the social context of second language education to be studied at the local level of classroom interaction, and implications to be drawn for more global understandings of theories of language, literacy and pedagogy.

Inspired by research in first and second language and literacy development carried out in the SFL tradition (Halliday, Painter, Dare, Gibbons, Hammond, Christie), a major theoretical principle for this study is that language development interacts dynamically with the sociocultural contexts in which it occurs and cannot be analyzed or understood apart from its situational and cultural context. By employing a qualitative approach, the research seeks to address language in its situational and cultural context, and offers “an alternative to mainstream SLA [Second Language Acquisition, ed.] research in viewing acquisition not only as a mental individualistic process, but one that is also embedded in the sociocultural contexts in which it occurs” (Davis 1995, p. 432 in Gibbons, 2006, p. 81). As such, the study of what actually happens in classrooms is an important dimension of the thesis.

The approach in this study is to observe and interpret the participants (teachers and DSL students) and their interactions within the context of the Danish public school, Folkeskolen. As such, the approach is driven by a semiotic understanding, and therefore interpretive: what is important are the participants (the teachers and the students) understood as social actors, i.e. in terms of their social purpose. An ethnographic approach offers a method for accommodating this, in that “such research is able to bring to consciousness previously unnoticed, unremarked and routinized behaviour, it provides the means for this behaviour to be questioned. In the classroom, what is usually routinized and goes unnoticed are the discourse patterns and responses teachers commonly employ” (Gibbons, 2006, p. 82). By focusing on the social purpose of the pedagogic discourse observed in the classroom and (when possible) relating these observations to the official pedagogic discourse of the curriculum guidelines, the study aims to shed light on the subject, its goals and its implementation. In this way, the intention is to identify institutionally privileged values, and how these are communicated to second language learners, when second language learning occurs in ‘regular’ (mainstream) classes, in this case within the subject History.

The research presents a case study of one example of how DSL is incorporated in a fifth grade History unit, employing methods of qualitative analysis and an ethnographic approach to data collection. Data in the form of video-recorded classroom lessons, observation notes, photocopies of students' written texts, screen-shots of the multi-media teaching materials, and voice-recorded interviews with the teachers have been collected. This data forms the basis for the documentation and analyses of classroom practices that are discussed in the four articles of the thesis.

Literature Review

Since each of the articles presents a relevant literature review section for each of their individual contributions, the function of this section is to collect those, giving a broader picture of the contributions of this study within Scandinavian and International contexts of second language education research. The section briefly examines Scandinavian second language education research, followed by a review of linguistic analyses of classroom interaction and discourse. Finally, the relevance of these is outlined as compared to each of the articles and the following sections in this chapter.

Danish second language education research

Most recently, classroom research on minority and second language students in Denmark has focused on examining differences in cultural identity between ethnic minority students and ethnic majority students and teachers, and how this creates ethnic and gendered patterns in privileges, discipline and problematization in relation to which children experience and construct their identity (Gilliam 2009), as well as problematizing the invisibility of pedagogic practices prevalent in the Danish school system (Gitz-Johansen 2006). Other studies have focused more generally on studying how ethnic differences in education contribute to diverging prospects for minority students in Denmark and other EU countries (Moldenhawer *et al.* 2009). This body of work is useful in identifying tendencies in educational inequality, but for the present purpose they under-prioritize a more specific focus on the role language plays in the learning of both a subject area and a second language.

Second language education research in Denmark has had a tendency of focusing either on the Danish as a second language acquisition of adults (e.g. Holm (2004); Holmen (1990); Lund (1997)) or, as more recently, on the so-called area of 'language stimulation' and evaluation of second language development in early childhood (e.g. Bleses og Højten (2009); Karrebæk (2009)). Other studies such as Krogh *et al.* (2009) have been aimed more generally at increasing (majority and minority, high-school aged) students' literacy and more specifically, their writing skills.

Second language education research on language and literacy development of school-aged children is less prevalent, though some older studies in Denmark do exist (see for example Gimbel 1992; Gimbel 1994; Holmen 1990, 1997; Holmen & Jørgensen 1995; Holmen & Lund 1999). Some newer studies have taken a broadly informed social perspective of language and language learning in Denmark (such as Holmen 2002; Holmen 2008; Laursen 1999, 2010; Laursen & Daugaard 2008; Laursen & Østergaard 2010) and in Scandinavia more broadly (for example Haglund 2007; Laursen & Østergaard 2010; Quist & Svendsen 2010). However none of these have been specifically interested

in exploring what a language-based theory of learning as informed by Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics can offer in terms of understanding teacher-student interactions in conjunction with a sociolinguistic theory of legitimation when it comes to understanding the problematic typically connected with minority students' language and subject knowledge learning in Folkeskolen.

Studying classrooms by way of sociology

In the following, relevant literature is reviewed in terms of the contributions of sociology to the study of education and to the understanding of educational institutions as potentially (and often) reproductive of social structure around them.

A key scholar in the field of sociology of education is Pierre Bourdieu, whose voluminous analyses of varied arenas of social practice have shown the structuring effects of social fields on the beliefs, dispositions, and practices of their members. By taking as a point of departure a Durkheimian analysis of social change due to increasing division of labor, Bourdieu's studies brought forward the understanding of society as comprising a series of overlapping social fields of activity, which enables a sophisticated analysis of social positioning (Bourdieu 1994). His approach refines sociological conceptions of social space and culture. Actors (in this case, teachers and students) are seen as being located within a *field* or social space. This idea is supplemented with the notions of *habitus* and *capital* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1989, in Maton 2008); Each actor is relationally positioned within a field, with this position determining his or her situated viewpoint of the activities of this and other fields; he or she is not defined only by social class membership, but by every kind of capital he or she can articulate through social relations.

Bourdieu showed that capital includes the value of social networks, which could be used to produce or reproduce inequality in society. From this perspective, society's educational institutions are seen as reproductive 'battle grounds' where struggles for power play out. Educational institutions serve as sites where different social classes, especially the ruling and intellectual classes, actually preserve their social privileges across generations, despite the myth that contemporary society provides equal opportunities for all students (including minority or otherwise 'disadvantaged' students) and high social mobility through formal education. While helpful in understanding the mechanisms of educational institutions in terms of preserving social positioning, Bourdieu's theories, however, provide mostly 'black box' concepts, such as the ones mentioned here, without giving a description of how these can be 'translated' from empirical sources to the theory (Maton, personal communication). For this purpose, the research and theories of Basil Bernstein have proven to be more powerful.

Early research by Bernstein grew out of his concern for the many students of working-class background who failed in England's schools. Inspired by Bourdieu's view of the symbolic struggles for power in society, he saw that different material conditions of life in upbringing shaped actors' ways of thinking and being. Wanting to explain why students with a middle-class background tend to be more successful in school, he focused on language use, exploring differences in what he called 'coding orientations' between working and middle class children and how they are met by schools as social institutions. As such, his theory of pedagogic discourse differs from that of Bourdieu in that it provides tools for 'coding' and thereby understanding the underlying principles of habitus and capital.

Bernstein's is a social semiotic theory that describes how systems of meaning are reproduced and transformed across generations. The main difference between his theory and that of Bourdieu is that it provides tools for explaining not only that the educational institution reproduces social structures, but how and why. It builds on the analysis of the pedagogic practices of educational fields of reproduction (1977), develops to give an account of the construction of educational knowledge (1990), and finally interprets these in the study of the intellectual fields of production from which educational knowledge is selected and recontextualized (1999).

Bernstein (2000) observed that education is not simply concerned with instruction in a collection of subject areas, but also, and perhaps more importantly, it is a process of the regulation of mental dispositions or consciousnesses (Hasan 2005). With the concepts of *educational knowledge codes*, *the pedagogic device* and *knowledge structures*, respectively, Bernstein showed how actors and discourses are specialized in ways that shape social relations, institutional organization, disciplinary and curricular change, identity, consciousness and habitus (Singh 2002, Moore 2004), contributing to the field of sociolinguistics. His well-established theory of educational knowledge codes has been acclaimed for its descriptive, explanatory, diagnostic, predictive and transferability potential (Morais & Neves, 2001; Morais, 2002), as well as for its power to analyze the structuring of knowledge and social relations at macro, meso and micro levels (Singh, 2002). It provides a useful perspective on educational institutions as sites of social practices, allowing investigation of the reasons for why certain students are more likely to achieve academic success over others.

Linguistic analysis of classroom interaction and discourse

The rise of sociolinguistics in the late 1960's brought about the documentation and examination of relationships among speakers and contexts within educational settings. Since then, an increased interest in classroom discourse has grown with the recognition of the importance of language to

learning, with its value as evidence of how relationships and meanings are organized (Edwards & Westgate 1987).

Early studies in classroom observation included categorizing observed teacher-talk into (preconceived) tables or matrices to keep track of and tally the presence and absence of so-called verbal interaction categories (e.g. Flanders 1970 in Macnaught, 2011). Moving beyond surface level observation, sociolinguists using ethnographic research methods focused on issues like the impact of students' cultural backgrounds and home environments on classroom talk patterns and school achievement (see, for example, Heath 1978, 1983; Hymes 1977). Other approaches drew more from sociology than linguistics, and contributed to the analysis of dominant patterns of talk in classroom discourse (for example, Mehan 1979a, 1979b).

Further variations in approaches to classroom discourse analysis involved descriptive observations from teachers and other educators. For example, the influential work of Barnes *et al.* (1969) critiqued talk patterns, such as the 'pseudo-open questions' of teachers, but without clear definitions for the categories of talk they described and critiqued. As Stubbs (1984, p. 220, cited in Edwards & Westgate 1987:54) points out, though, the 'insightful' observations of researchers, like Barnes, are indeed interesting, however, they provide "no method or guiding principle for those of us who are not so sensitive". It is perhaps this last point, about the need for a principled approach with defined, recognizable and replicable categories which drives the linguistic analysis of classroom discourse.

Other early linguistic studies of classroom discourse, such as the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) were initially interested in describing a comprehensive and transferrable system of discourse analysis. Drawing on Halliday's early theories about the stratification of language, they suggested a hierarchy in units of analysis. However, as pointed out by Martin (1992) this approach lacks the different perspectives on text structure such as provided by Halliday's metafunctional perspective on multiple and simultaneous layering of meaning. Macnaught (forthcoming) explains this with the following example: a marker such as '*good*', may offer both an explicit evaluation and an encouragement, while at the textual level of organizing discourse, it may provide a terminal move to close an exchange and to move on to another.

Such broader interest in the hierarchy of discourse highlights Christie's (2002, p. 3) observation that "one fundamental theme", which "runs through all the work in Classroom Discourse Analysis, is the recognition it gives to behavior, including language behavior as a *structured experience*". In

particular, the structure of question and answer cycles in the classroom has generated universal interest.

Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) identification of the dominant tripartite *Initiation-Response-Feedback* (IRF) sequence and Mehan's (1979) *Initiation-Response-Evaluation* (IRE) sequence in teacher-student talk has been highly influential to more detailed analysis of educational exchanges. While the analysis of these type of sequences have generated significant interest and debate, Christie (2002:5) points out that

Ironically, a great deal of classroom discourse analysis has had a lot to say about the structuring of talk in terms of the IRE and related moves, but it has often neglected to look at the nature of the meanings in construction, the relative roles and responsibilities of teachers and students at the time of structuring those meanings, and the placement of such patterns in the overall larger cycle of classroom work.

Notable exceptions are contributions by Berry, who, following the linguistic analysis of Sinclair and Coulthard, explores situations where the third move in the IRF sequence may be obligatory or optional (1981), and argues that the social roles in each of these moves are relevant (1979). In doing so, she devised a way to code the 'structure potential' of exchanges (Macnaught forthcoming), arguing that when a hierarchy of roles and a knowledge differential exists between participants in the classroom, then there are predictable patterns in discourse. For example, a knowledge exchange is distinguishable as such because one speaker ultimately has more authority to verify knowledge than the other. In this way, Berry makes visible the social roles' importance in the IRF sequence. The significance of Berry's framework is that it introduces appreciation of the synoptic or principal structure of moves in relation to roles in classroom interactions, which paves the way for both incorporating a participant's authority as wells as considering more dynamic interaction and longer speaker turns than that which the more traditional IRF structure allows.

Summary of literature review

The above sections have reviewed different types of research and contributions to the study of education, first in terms of research done in the field of second language education in Scandinavia, followed by a brief overview of educational research from the perspective of sociology and finally by giving a review of studies concerned specifically with linguistic analyses of classroom interaction and discourse. This, together with the literature review sections presented in each of the four articles, situates the research in this study in terms of both theoretical and empirical research, in Scandinavia and Internationally and highlights the research gap in terms of how the research in this thesis contributes to the fields of second language education, educational linguistics and the tradition of

code theory in educational sociology. Some of these contributions are explored further in their relevance to establishing the theoretical framework for the study in the following section.

Theoretical Framework – Schooling, Learning and Language

This section outlines the theoretical framework and concepts from which the subsequent analytical tools have been chosen. Firstly, the section gives an overview of Code Theory and which perspectives this lends to understanding classrooms in terms of power and control of knowledge distribution. This is followed by an overview of relevant theories of how learning is understood from a sociocultural point of view. Finally, the section briefly explores the meaning of a social view of language inspired by systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and how this understanding of language complements the earlier two sections.

Code Theory: identifying power and control in classrooms

The theoretical perspective in this research takes its point of departure in Bernstein's (2000) notions of distribution and recontextualisation of knowledge within the school-system and his recognition of *codes* as ways of operationalizing the differentiation by which individuals from different social groups gain access to different knowledge structures or logics of knowing. These different knowledge structures can, in turn, be considered more or less institutionally privileged⁴. Hasan (1999:19) points out that different codes, ie. specific means of semiotic mediation, are not a neutral and innocent process; "it is socio-logically sensitive to social phenomena and creates socially differentiated individual minds". In other words, different knowledge structures are communicated through pedagogic discourse, including classroom discourse and practices in a classroom and in the school/institution more broadly. Bernstein explains this differentiation in terms of *codes*. He argues that:

... forms of socialization orient the child towards speech codes which control access to *relatively context-tied or relatively context-independent meanings*. Thus I shall argue that elaborated codes orient their users towards *universalistic meanings*, whereas restricted codes orientate, sensitize, their users to *particularistic meanings*: that the linguistic realization of the two orders are different, and so are the social relationships which realize them. (Bernstein 2003:176; italics added)

⁴ Institutionally privileged values and knowledge structures are those with more powerful (social) possibilities than less privileged ones, typically afforded students of the upper and middle classes, whereas less privileged values are those to which students from underprivileged classes, socially strained and/or ethnically diverse backgrounds have access.

The universalistic meanings of the elaborated codes, he saw as language which is less context dependent and used to describe, reflect over and argue the ways of the world, while the particularistic meanings of restricted codes are seen in the use of a 'here and now' language. These posits have been confirmed by many other studies since then, including those done by e.g. Hasan (1984), Williams (2001), and align with others informed by differing theoretical backgrounds such as, for example, Hymes (1977), Heath (1983), Rampton (2005), Blommaert (2008), as well as sociolinguists in Denmark such as Jørgensen (2010); Madsen (2008); Møller (2009); Møller og Jørgensen (2011). By arguing that the different nature of elaborated and restricted codes are realized in different language usage, Bernstein's analyses open to the importance of analyzing classroom discourse in order to show *how* it positions and shapes students, privileging certain knowledge structures over others.

Within this framework, teacher-student relationships play an important role in "creating the pedagogic arena, game or specific practice" (Bernstein 2000, p. 180) of the legitimation of knowledge. Distribution of knowledge within the school system is understood to be differentiated and based on a distributive principle, by which different social groups are recipients of different types of knowledge structures. This has implications for these groups' possibilities with regards to attaining 'school success' in that "this distribution of knowledges and possibilities is not based on neutral differences in knowledge but on a distribution of knowledge which carries unequal value, power and potential" (ibid. p. xxi). In other words, certain knowledge structures are seen as institutionally privileged and with more powerful possibilities than less privileged ones.

According to Bernstein (2000), classroom communication reveals the nature of what he calls *the pedagogic device*, which describes the nature of pedagogic transmission (which knowledge structures are transmitted to whom and how). Through the notion of *recontextualisation*, the pedagogic device follows its own rules rather than merely reproducing those of other social categories such as gender, class etc. The pedagogic device is one of Bernstein's major contributions towards developing a detailed language for describing and analyzing the social implications of pedagogic transmission of different knowledge structures, and has been useful for many researchers of western schooling systems (e.g. Arnot & Reay 2007; Moore *et al.* 2006; Moore & Muller 1999; Morais & Neves 2001; Muller 2000; Muller *et al.* 2004; Sadovnik 1995). Central to these are Bernstein's descriptive and analytical concepts of *classification* and *framing* (1974; 1977's; 1990), which he developed for comparing different types of pedagogic discourse with respect to each other. The concepts are useful to understanding the means by which the *what* and the *how* of pedagogic discourse is created and maintained in the educational institution.

Classification, here, does not refer to what is classified, but to the *relationships* between contents. Classification refers to the nature of the differentiation between contents. Where classification is strong, contents are well insulated from each other by strong boundaries. Where classification is weak, there is reduced insulation between contents, for the boundaries between contents are weak or blurred. Classification thus refers to the degree of boundary maintenance between contents. Classification focuses our attention upon boundary strength as the critical distinguishing feature of the division of labour of educational knowledge. It gives us, as I hope to show, the basic structure of the message system, curriculum. (Bernstein 1975:88; original italics)

Classification (C) is seen as the relative strength of boundaries *between different categories or content areas*. In older years of school, for example, content areas are typically more strongly classified (C+) than in earlier years of schooling, which is seen in the way older classes more strictly follow individual subjects (e.g. History, Math, English etc.) as opposed to the younger years, where teaching more often follows a 'unit of study' combining different content areas, making the boundaries between these less distinct (C-).

Framing (F), meanwhile, has to do with how the contents can (and cannot) be transmitted within pedagogic relations:

The concept, frame, is used to determine the structure of the message system, pedagogy. Frame refers to the form of the *context* in which knowledge is transmitted and received. Frame refers to the specific pedagogical relationship of teacher and taught. In the same way as classification does not refer to contents, so frame does not refer to the contents of the pedagogy. Frame refers to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted, in the pedagogical relationship. Where framing is strong, there is a sharp boundary, where framing is weak, a blurred boundary, between what may and may not be transmitted. Frame refers to the range of options available to teacher and taught in the control of what is transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationship. Strong framing entails reduced options; weak framing entails a range of options. *Thus frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship.* (Bernstein 1975:88-89; original italics)

Classrooms with higher levels of student autonomy, therefore, can be seen as exhibiting relatively weak framing (F-), while more authoritative classroom contexts would be characterized as exhibiting stronger framing (F+). With the help of classification and framing, Bernstein's theory exposes the means of constructing different knowledge structures and pedagogies.

The notions of classification and framing of knowledge in a classroom bring forth the principles of *visible* and *invisible* pedagogies. Weak classification and framing (C-F-) characterize what Bernstein (1975) calls an invisible pedagogy (such as that associated with progressive education). In contrast, strong classification and framing (C+F+) characterize a visible pedagogy (such as that associated with traditional education). In a visible pedagogy the strength of boundaries between subject areas is high and options (to teachers and pupils) are reduced. In this context knowledge structures are more clearly defined and separated. The opposite holds true for an invisible pedagogy, where boundaries are weak and where students and teachers have a wide range of options.

Martin og Rose (2005:252-253, original bolding) explain the categorization of the underlying principles of these two pedagogies in the following way:

a **visible** pedagogy is created by

- explicit hierarchy
- explicit sequencing rules
- explicit and specific criteria

the underlying rule is:

‘Things must be kept apart’

an **invisible** pedagogy is created by

- implicit hierarchy
- implicit sequencing rules
- implicit criteria

the underlying rule is:

‘Things must be put together’

Hierarchy establishes the rules of conduct for the teacher and students; sequencing rules regulate the progression of teaching and the rate of learning; criteria relate to evaluative criteria distributed to students concerning what knowledge and behavior is valued. The concepts of classification and framing, therefore, are useful to analyzing classroom practice in terms of knowledge structures and to which degree these are bounded and controlled. This focus “makes it difficult to fully understand fields where knowledge is less explicit” (Maton 2009:160). For example, in Bernstein’s analysis of educational knowledge codes (1977), the identities of actors and basis for measuring achievement are said either to reside in the possession of subject knowledge as in a visible pedagogy, or to be less certain and require constant negotiation as in an invisible pedagogy. In other words, Bernstein’s code theory, as is, cannot effectively analyze classrooms where the strength of boundaries and options are weak: ie. classrooms where the pedagogy is invisible. It is for the analysis of these types of classrooms, that Legitimation Code Theory (Maton 2000, 2007, forthcoming) presents useful and significant extensions to Bernstein’s Code Theory.

Legitimation Code Theory (LCT)

Maton (2007) argues that knowledge itself specializes identity, consciousness and relations. By adding the notion of *knower structure* to that of Bernstein's *knowledge structure*, Maton builds upon and expands Bernstein's theory, seeing knowledge practices in terms of *legitimation*:

Thus by conceiving of knowledge practices in terms of 'legitimation', an awareness of the structured and positioned nature of strategic position-takings within a field can be brought together with an emphasis upon the structuring and non-arbitrary nature of potentially legitimate knowledge claims; i.e. embracing 'relations to' and 'relations within' analyses within a realist approach. (Maton forthcoming)

Legitimation Code Theory (henceforth, LCT) subsumes Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing by recognizing the existence of 'knower structures' which can be similarly perceived of, in terms of the classification and framing of *knowers*. Thus, LCT "enables both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the underlying principles structuring curriculum guidelines, teaching practices, pupils' perceptions, school organisation and so forth in a manner enabling systematic comparisons within and between these contexts..." (Maton 2007:104). This can be done with one of (so far) five dimensions of LCT: Specialization, Autonomy, Density, Semantics, Temporality, which together are seen as organizing principles of the *legitimation device* (an extension of Bernstein's pedagogic device). This research builds on analyses done with the dimensions of Specialization and Semantics, which are described in more detail below.

Specialization

One key extension of Bernstein's code theory by Maton (2000, 2007, forthcoming) is the concept of *Specialization*: i.e. what makes something or someone special, worthy of distinction or privileged in a context. This can be made visible through an examination of knowledge relations. Any knowledge claim is always about something, i.e. *epistemic relations* (ER) to knowledge; and always made by someone, i.e. *social relations* (SR) to knowledge. This distinction is useful to understanding the underlying principles of the pedagogy being enacted in the discourse observed.

A relative strengthening of the social relations (SR+) involves a strengthening of both the classification (C+) and framing (F+) of the (social) relations between the knowledge and the subject. In other words, strengthening the social relations entails increasing the power and control of the *subject* in relation to the knowledge. Similarly, a relative strengthening of the epistemic relations (ER+) involves a strengthening of both the classification and framing (C+F+) of the epistemic relations between the knowledge and the object of study, increasing power and control over the *content* of the knowledge. In other words, the relations can be relatively strong or relatively weak (ER±; SR±).

The strengths of these two relations may vary independently of each other; knowledge structures and knower structures can independently play a stronger or weaker role in specializing actors and discourses.

The question usually asked in a Specialization analysis is: which relation (ER or SR) is emphasized or dominant? The aim of Specialization analysis is to make visible the basis of legitimation, measure of achievement or the specialization codes that are often encoded within a practice, thus making visible the legitimizing practices in classrooms characterized by an invisible pedagogy, hitherto made difficult to bring forth with Bernstein's tools alone.

There are four possible Specialization codes:

- **knowledge codes:** These refer to situations or curriculum types where possession of specialized knowledge and its procedures are emphasized or are dominant as the basis of legitimacy or measure of achievement, while the dispositions/attributes of actors are viewed as less significant (ER+,SR-).
- **knower codes:** These refer to situations or curriculum types where the dispositions or attributes of actors as knowers are emphasized as the basis of achievement, while specialist knowledge of content and its procedures are downplayed (ER-,SR+).
- **élite codes:** These refer to situations or curriculum types where both the possession of specialized disciplinary content knowledge, specialized disciplinary skills, as well as disposition is emphasized (ER+,SR+).
- **relativist codes:** these refer to situations or curriculum types where neither specialized content knowledge and its skills, nor dispositions or attributes are strongly controlled (ER-,SR-): where legitimate identity and insight is ostensibly determined by neither knowledge nor dispositions – i.e. thoroughgoing relativism.

A relative strengthening of social relations (SR+) involves a strengthening of the (social) relations between the knowledge and the subject. In other words, strengthened SR entails increasing the power and control of the 'who' in determining the basis of legitimacy. Similarly, a relative strengthening of the epistemic relations (ER+) involves a strengthening of the epistemic relations between the knowledge and the object of study, increasing power and control over the content of the knowledge. Both the social relations and the epistemic relations can be understood in terms of relative strengthening and weakening, but can also be seen in terms of an overall tendency as relatively either strong or weak.

Specialization analysis in this study is explained in further detail in article 3, where exemplification is provided of how the notions of epistemic relations and social relations have been operationalized in terms of the data collected, and how these can be used to cast light on how the students as knowers compare to what the ideal knower in this pedagogy would seem to be.

Semantics

The most recent development in LCT is the dimension of Semantics, which “constructs social fields of practice as semantic structures whose organizing principles are conceptualized as semantic codes, comprising strengths of *semantic gravity* and *semantic density*” (Maton 2013:5). Semantics developed from studies using Specialization where issues of context-dependence and condensation of meaning were critical, yet not fully explainable with Specialization analysis alone. Building further on Bernstein’s notions of restricted and elaborated codes (see above), these studies reiterated the need for further development of Bernstein’s foundational framework (Maton 2013). The concepts of semantic gravity and semantic density rose primarily from a series of collaborative studies with systemic functional linguists, which raised questions of how linguistic features such as ‘grammatical metaphor’⁵ were expressed in knowledge practices. As such, Semantic analysis offers insight into another set of organizing principles of knowledge practices – different but related to Specialization – and enables the analysis of change over time.

Semantic gravity (SG) refers to the degree to which meaning relates to its context. Like the concepts of classification and framing, or the concepts of epistemic relations and social relations, semantic gravity may be relatively stronger (+) or weaker (-) along a continuum of strengths. The stronger the semantic gravity (SG+), the more meaning is dependent on its context; the weaker the semantic gravity (SG-), the less dependent meaning is on its context. Maton explains that:

All meanings relate to a context of some kind; semantic gravity conceptualizes how much they depend on that context to make sense. [...] How strengths of semantic gravity are realized empirically depends on the specific object of study (Maton 2013). Nonetheless, to give a simple example: the meaning of the name for a specific plant in Biology or a specific event in History embodies stronger semantic gravity than that for a species of plant or a kind of historical event, which in turn embodies stronger semantic gravity than processes such as photosynthesis or theories of historical causation. Semantic gravity thus traces a continuum of strengths with infinite capacity for gradation. (Maton, in press)

⁵ The term grammatical metaphor was introduced by Halliday (see, for example, Halliday, 1994; or Halliday and Mathiessen, 2004) as a way of showing incongruence between different strata (such as of Lexicogrammar and Semantics) and is based on the variation between something common, standard or default (i.e. a process realized as a clause – *Jack wrote a letter*) and something which is extended from that (i.e. a process realized by some other form, e.g. a noun phrase – *Jack’s constant letter writing* was a disruption and an annoyance).

By comparing semantic gravity at different points in time (or different points in a text), it is additionally possible to describe processes of *weakening* semantic gravity, such as moving from the concrete particulars towards generalizations and abstractions whose meanings are less dependent on that context; and *strengthening* semantic gravity, such as moving from abstract ideas towards concrete and delimited examples (ibid.).

Semantic density (SD) refers to the degree of condensation of meaning within sociocultural practices, and can be seen in e.g. symbols, terms, concepts, phrases, expressions, gestures, clothing, etc. Semantic density may be relatively stronger (+) or weaker (-) along a continuum of strengths. The stronger the semantic density (SD+), the more meanings are condensed within practices; the weaker the semantic density (SD-), the less meanings are condensed.

In this study, the dimension of Semantics is used to examine knowledge within classroom practice of the observed unit of study as described in the 4th article, where the above terms are translated into Danish. The article also provides examples of these; for example, strong semantic density is shown as an example of how many different kinds of meaning can be condensed into one word (such as democracy), which students are asked to explain or use in a sentence. Examples of semantic gravity are also explained with reference to both theory and the collected data. Semantic analysis, therefore, provides a powerful tool for exposing the way in which students are expected to demonstrate knowledge, while at the same time showing how that knowledge is presented by the chosen teaching materials and teachers respectively.

Summary of the chosen analytical tools from LCT

As shown above, LCT builds on the work of educational sociologists, drawing mainly on Bernstein's code theory / theory of pedagogic discourse, and situates within social realism (Maton, 2011). It focuses on the sociology of knowledge, and in particular, the manifestation of knowledge practices in education. LCT enables a dialogue between the overarching theory and its investigation in specific empirical problematics, providing explanatory power for interpreting real life data and identifying organizational principles. It generates ideas to think with and a tool kit for gathering, measuring and comparing data (also across contexts).

In particular, LCT focuses on knowledge as an object of study (Maton & Moore, 2010) in education research, thereby enabling the investigation of knowledge being built, developed and/or changed over time. Of its five dimensions, this research draws on the two dimensions of LCT, known as Specialization, and Semantics. Both of these are in ongoing development, and are being used in a range of studies as part of the interdisciplinary dialogue between social realism and SFL (see, for

example, Chen *et al.* 2011; Christie & Martin 2007; Hood 2011; Macnaught *et al.* 2013; Martin 2012; Martin 2011, 2013; Matruglio *et al.* 2013).

With reference to this study, Specialization and Semantics provide tools for defining DSL students in terms of knowers and for defining which knowledge structures they encounter in the pedagogy of the observed classroom. As described above, this is done in the last two articles of the thesis, articles 3 and 4. An understanding of a sociocultural view of learning and its connection to language in the following sections puts the above theories and analytical tools into perspective in terms of the choices made regarding linguistic analytical tools as well.

A sociocultural view of learning

Much work has been done on examining the role of classroom discourse in students' learning (see, for example, Cazden 1988; Edwards & Mercer 1987; Edwards & Westgate 1987; Hammond & Gibbons 2005; Mercer). Heavily inspired by Vygotsky, who proposed "that there is a close relationship between the use of language as a cultural tool in social interaction and the use of language as a psychological tool providing the resources for individual thinking" (in Gibbons 2006:21), this sociocultural view of learning sees the relationship of language, learning and the social situations in which learning occurs as central. In this view, learning is about situated meaning-making.

Vygotsky's concept of internalization (1978) which rests on his observations of children developing from displaying 'inner speech' to 'social speech' provides a useful way of understanding the development of mental processes and therefore learning. He argues that talk is not merely a mirror of a child's inner thought processes, but more importantly it actually constructs and shapes thinking. This perspective on learning differs from e.g. Piaget's (1970) view, in which higher mental functions are understood to develop in predetermined stages as a result of intellectual maturation, supplemented by interactions with the environment. Instead, from the sociocultural view of learning, learning depends on the use of the culturally created semiotic tools which occur in the experience of shared activity with more experienced members of the culture (Wells 2000).

This perspective emphasizes the importance of teacher-student interactions in guiding and shaping students' consciousness in a school environment, and has been particularly influential on what is now known as the Sydney School of pedagogy, in which a genre approach builds upon a language-based theory of learning (Halliday 1975, 1993, 2004; Painter 1984, 1993). Within an educational context, the importance of teacher-student interactions to learning is further supported by Bruner (1960, 1996), who believed that for learning to take place, appropriate social interactional frameworks must be provided.

Literacy educators working with both second language learners and learners from low socio-economic backgrounds have long recognized the importance of teacher-student collaboration in text production (Cazden 1996; Gibbons 2002; in Humphrey & Macnaught 2011). One conceptualization of the strategic support that such learners need, has frequently being referred to as 'scaffolding', a term first introduced by Bruner (e.g. Bruner 1975; Wood *et al.* 1976). As Hammond og Gibbons (2001:3) describe, the metaphor of scaffolding "refers to support that is designed to provide the assistance necessary to enable learners to accomplish tasks and develop understandings that they would not quite be able to manage on their own" and stems from Vygotsky's theory that "development is intrinsically social rather than individualistic" (Gibbons, 2002, p. 8). From this point of departure – where 'collision' with one's external environment, or 'contextual pressure' is a mechanism for development (Williams & Lukin 2006) - scaffolding can also be described as "the kind and quality of cognitive support which an adult can provide for a child's learning, which anticipates the child's own internalisation of mental functions" (Mercer 1994:96).

Bruner (1978) argues that the central and powerful role language takes in these interactions is important for the increased ability to deal with abstract concepts. As a result, language can be seen as the key to understanding the world while at the same time providing the means of shaping this understanding: Language can code stimuli and free an individual from the constraints of dealing only with appearances, to provide a more complex yet flexible cognition (*ibid.*).

Not only is Vygotsky's social orientation to language development central to the concept of scaffolding, but also to the belief that all learning is mediated through language: children are seen as "simultaneously" engaging "in *learning language* and *learning through language*" (Halliday, 1993, p. 93). As Halliday suggests, "the ontogenesis of language is at the same time the ontogenesis of learning" (*ibid.*, p. 93). Halliday suggests that language is 'a theory of human experience', arguing that children learn as they enact their culture, and that understanding language better, "can help us understand how this learning happens. [...] Systemic Functional Linguistics highlights the ways linguistic choices contribute to the realization of social contexts" (Schleppegrell 2004:17-18).

Language as a social semiotic

Broadly compatible with the social theory of learning presented above, is the social semiotic approach to language development built on Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Within this model for analyzing classroom discourse, the linguistic component of the sociolinguistic focus is more prominent than in the more traditional interactional sociolinguistic paradigm, and meaning is seen as intrinsic to the grammar (rather than external). Language is still seen as a resource which simultaneously reflects and actively creates reality, but such reality is 'construed' in

lexicogrammatical choices (grammar and lexis in Halliday's model operate interdependently) and in discourse semantic choices, to achieve social purposes according to three metafunctional principles: the textual, the experiential and the interpersonal. SFL, therefore, is a social theory of language and meaning making that has been applied to a diverse range of language, linguistic and educational studies. Initially developed by Michael Halliday on the Chinese language, SFL has been used to describe numerous other languages, including English and Danish (for SFL-based descriptions of Danish see for example Hestbæk Andersen & Smedegaard 2005; Mulvad 2009).

Halliday's enunciation in the book *Language as Social Semiotic*, for example, is also recoverable in Basil Bernstein's many years of research into the social basis of educational failure:

Language is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve in people's lives; it is to be expected that linguistic structures could be understood in functional terms. But in order to understand them in this way we have to proceed from the outside inwards, interpreting language by reference to its place in the social process. (Halliday, 1978:4)

From this perspective, language is seen as social semiotic, and provides a system of choices which speakers have access to and select from according to the context they are in. Meaningful stretches of language, either spoken or written, are referred to as 'text'. Each text is seen as representing one particular instantiation of the resources of language.

The perspective of language as a social semiotic offers advantages to a classroom research perspective as well. Gibbons (2006, p. 39) argues that by understanding language as system, language can be studied as evidence of social processes and structures. This enables the researcher "to see the direct relationship between isolated surface features of language and particular teaching strategies, between, for example, the number of closed questions a teacher uses and their teaching style." As such, this perspective is unlike theories of language which ignore its social context, i.e. philosophical grammars such as Chomsky's transformational grammar (where language is studied as an idealized abstraction and in terms of rules). She argues that such theories are of limited help to the analysis of educational talk, pointing out that, "rather, any discussion of features of classroom discourse needs to be related to general sociolinguistic principles of language behavior which are drawn from observations of language in use in other settings" (ibid.).

In addition, studying classroom discourse from a text-based, rather than a sentence-based model of language, enables a better understanding of the often extended sequences of discourse that take place over a unit of study and in a classroom. By exploring how classroom talk is sequentially organized, SFL provides a powerful tool for studying how topics are introduced, how teachers and students contribute to understandings, how some items of knowledge are more privileged than

others and how teachers and students (co-)construct educational knowledge. In conclusion, linguistic analysis of instantiations using a social semiotic model of language provides a means of articulating pedagogic practices and their underlying principles.

Units of analysis in classroom discourse

Within the model of language as a social semiotic outlined above, several options exist for choosing appropriate units of analysis, all of which aim at looking at 'meaningful stretches of text' (Gibbons 2006). The perspective taken is that in order to demonstrate how pedagogic discourse works it is necessary to study long-sustained sequences of lessons, for example, a whole unit of study within the classroom. In her book, *Classroom Discourse Analysis*, Frances Christie (2002:24) describes "how classroom genre unfolds, through its various elements of structure and phases", introducing several useful units for analysis, including those of *genre*, *stage* and *phase*.

The notion of *phase* in particular, is useful when choosing stretches of text from the many hours of classroom talk making up a unit of study. Christie adopts the notion from Gregory (1985), who suggests that there are a number of possible shifts in meaning that signal a shift in phase, defining it as, "those stretches of text in which there is a significant measure of consistency in what is being selected ideationally, interpersonally, and textually" (ibid., p. 127). In reference to Gregory's definition, Macken-Horarik (2003) points out that it is a semantic rather than a formal unit of analysis which enables researchers to "chunk" text according to specifiable criteria. She also notes, however, that the 'specifiable criteria' are not, in fact, specified by Gregory except to say that shifts in one or more of the functional components distinguish one phase from the next.

Rose (2006) redefines Gregory's notion of phase, distinguishing it more clearly in a rank scale in the discourse semantic stratum (Martin 1992), where phase is defined as, "more variable segments within each stage, carrying pulses of field and tenor" (Rose 2006:187). He defines *phase* as an intermediate in scale between *stage* (defined from the perspective of genre as highly predictable segments) and *message* (defined from the perspective of grammar as non-dependent non-projected clauses, together with their associated dependent and projected clauses) (cf. Martin 1992). Each stage consists of one or more phases, and each phase consists of one or more messages. Together, these layers of structure comprise a so-called *rank scale* of the discourse semantic stratum, as follows:

genre:	minimal unit of text – in macrogenres such as textbooks, novels or conversation
stage:	highly predictable segments in each genre
phase:	more variable segments within each stage, carrying pulses of field and tenor
message:	non-dependent, non-projected clause, together with associated dependent and projected clauses

(after Rose, 2006:187)

Because stage is a larger unit of analysis than phase, it is presented above phase in the table below, while message is a smaller unit, and therefore placed below.

Exchange Structure Analysis

As described in both of the first articles in this thesis, and reiterated in the above section on language as a social semiotic, Exchange Structure Analysis (ESA) has significant advantages over other options within (critical) discourse analysis, because it builds on SFL's understanding of instances of language in use as choices from within a system. It is an analytical tool for looking at the management of spoken roles in language from the perspective of meaning negotiation, allowing for the perspective of unequal expertise between participants at the level of text. Halliday argues that the process of dialogue itself is seen as a shared potential and described in terms of the network of choices made by speakers, so that the exchange of meanings is an ongoing process of contextualized choice (Halliday 1991, cited in Gibbons, 2006).

Within this framework language and context are both accounted for in that *genre* and *stage* are seen as a stratification of context (Martin, 1992). Martin develops Halliday's theory by adding the level of *discourse semantics* as more abstract pattern which is encoded by lexico-grammatical choices (at the next strata down). ESA, thus, represents an analytical tool for describing the negotiation of meaning in spoken language at the level of *stage* and *phase* from the perspective of the interpersonal metafunction. The main advantage of this type of analysis, then, is that it brings forth aspects of power and authority in the actual observed interactions between teachers and students.

As described in both articles 1 and 2, ESA is used to describe the negotiation of co-construction of meaning in spoken language, by distinguishing between three parameters:

1. what is being negotiated: *knowledge* (i.e. information) or *action* (i.e. goods and services)
2. whether it is *offered* or *demanded*, and
3. whether the participant *initiates* or *responds*

(Martin & Rose, 2007)

This approach builds on work by (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975), mentioned earlier, expanding the tripartite structure further to include in all 5 synoptic moves (Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007).

In ESA, *moves* correspond to speech functions (Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007), which arise from the cross-classification of good & services or information and questions and statements based on speech functions (see, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) focusing specifically on their organization with respect to each other. As such, they can either be classified as *knowledge moves* (K) or *action moves* (A), being made by either a *primary* (1) or *secondary* (2) participant in the conversation (following Berry 1981).

Exchanges have been described as made up of moves following an orbital structure of moves with a single nucleus made by a primary participant (either as a knower move or an action move, as indicated above). The structure of the knowledge exchange potential can be illustrated as follows:

$$((Dk1) \wedge K2) \wedge K1 \wedge (K2f \wedge (K1f))^6$$

(Martin & Rose, 2007)

Where D means a 'delayed' move, parentheses denote optional moves, ^ means 'followed by' and f indicates a follow-up move. An example of an exchange with all of the above moves could look like this (hypothetical):

Dk1	Teacher:	What is the capital of Sweden?	I
K2	Student:	Stockholm	R
K1	Teacher:	yes, it's Stockholm	F
K2f	Student:	yay	
K1f	Teacher:	good job	

⁶ As noted in both articles 1 and 2, exchanges can take longer in reaching resolution, as the synoptic moves can be interrupted with so-called *dynamic* moves whose function serves either to track or challenge what was said in the previous move (see Martin (1992); Martin and Rose (2007)). An in-depth understanding of these types of moves, however, is not necessary to understand the points being made in the research, which is why no more explanation of these will be given here.

In the above (hypothetical) exchange, the teacher initiates by asking a question to which she knows the answer (an initiate move, according to the IRF tripartite discussed earlier). As such, she is delaying giving her knowledge to the student in a so-called delayed knower move (Dk1). This allows the student to demonstrate his knowledge in the K2 move (response). Because the teacher has the authority to evaluate the student's answer (which she does in her K1 move) she is the primary participant (1), while the student is the secondary participant (2). If the student had guessed, "Oslo" instead of Stockholm in his K2 move, the teacher would most likely say something along the lines of, "No, that's the capital of Norway. The capital of Sweden is Stockholm", providing both an evaluation and an expansion of the student's understanding in her K1 move (a move, Sinclair and Coulthard would have termed the *feedback* move). In the above example, the student follows up with (an optional) K2f move, expressing his happiness at getting the right answer ("yay"), and the teacher follows that with (another optional move,) a K1f, providing a more explicit evaluation (in this case, "good job").

Article 1 provides more in-depth description of the different types of moves shown here from the perspective of ESA, as well as examples of the different types of moves making up exchanges, both in the theory section of the article, where examples are translated from Martin 1992, and subsequently through analyzing the collected data.

ESA provides a nuanced analysis of three aspects of meaning construction in spoken language, as pointed out above and in the first two articles. Classifying participants in the conversation as a primary or secondary participant introduces the perspective of authority and power into the structural analysis of classroom discourse, not visible with other discourse analytical options. This allows for the exploration of how teachers use questioning as a teaching tool, and which options students have within these exchanges. Furthermore, by differentiating between *knowledge* and *action* moves, in the observed conversations, analysis of teacher-student talk has the potential to uncover some of the miscommunications teachers and students encounter when trying to negotiate meaning.

Summary of theory and analytical tools

The motivating interest of exploring how DSL is integrated as an element of a fifth grade History unit and how teaching and learning of both Danish language and History subject knowledge which students are expected to learn, lends certain theoretical perspectives as more useful than others. This theoretical framework section, together with each of the theory sections in the four articles of this research, present the analytical tools used in the study as a whole, and explain both why these

particular tools were chosen and how they were applied. Answering the research questions of the study necessitates choosing a pallet of analytical tools from different but compatible theories.

An approach building on the well-established fields of SFL and Code Theory has significant advantages for looking at DSL within the context of the classroom in that the combination of the two theories enables an understanding of the observed linguistic interactions of teachers and students as instances of pedagogic practices in a broader cultural perspective. "SFL theory is a linguistic model that has the advantage for interdisciplinary studies in that its conception of language necessarily implicates issues of social and cognitive development in any consideration of [...] language development" (Painter 2000 , p. 65).

ESA provides the analytical linguistic tools necessary for understanding the interactions of teachers and students in terms of interpersonal roles during the co-construction of meaning, while LCT's provide the analytical tools connecting the linguistic analyses with a broader pedagogical perspective. With LCT's dimensions of Specialization and Semantics, focus is brought to the role of knowledge and knowers, thus making the nature of the pedagogic device and the institutionally privileged values visible in the interactions of the classroom.

Background – Danish as a Second Language in Folkeskolen

In this section, DSL is briefly examined on the basis of its historical development into a school subject, followed by a description of its official pedagogic discourse as presented in the curriculum guidelines (Undervisningsministeriet 2005) that were in place at the time of data collection. The official pedagogic discourse in the curriculum guidelines creates a framework and explicates goals and milestones for the teaching practices and pedagogic discourses throughout the educational institution (including schools and classrooms).

Compared to second language education internationally, Danish as a Second Language (DSL) is a relatively new subject in the Danish public school (grades K – 9/10) known as Folkeskolen, appearing for the first time as an official term in the Education Act of 1993. An understanding of the subject's historical development and its curriculum guidelines gives an understanding of the framework within which the focus of this study lies: the actual pedagogic practices in a fifth grade classroom made up of a substantial majority of DSL students.

Historical development of the school subject Danish as a Second Language

As presented in the introduction, an influx of immigrants starting in the 1960's led to a growing number of children with Danish as a non-native language in the Danish public school system. This

influx of minority students brought on an increasing concern with their 'otherness' and focus on how schools should deal with their presence. The question of how schools best could counteract these students' perceived problems in particular their lack of Danish language skills and knowledge of Danish culture became – and remains – an intense topic of discussion, as suggested in the introduction. It is this specific sociopolitical context that the research is placed and from which the data is collected, and which substantiates an overview of the historical development of DSL in Folkeskolen.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the number of minority students continued to grow. In an effort to quantify their proportion, different terms were introduced such as 'foreign children', 'guest workers' children', 'foreign language learners' and migrant students'. The work of actually identifying who these students were was left up to the individual schools and their staff, and was often dependent on the students' degree of diversity or 'foreign-ness' (Kristjánsdóttir, 2006, p 144). Despite their growing numbers, the 1970's and 1980's was a period in time which has been described as exhibiting "a lack of interest for minority pupils and students in the educational system" (Holmen, 1997, p 22). Guidelines for teachers of the so-called 'foreign language' students in the 1970s and the early 1980s were only a few. The first formal guidelines from the Ministry of Education came in 1970 in the form of a short single-page circular titled "The education of foreign children", and provided public school teachers only nebulous guidelines such as the following:

Udenlandske børn bør placeres i de klasser, hvor de under hensyn til deres alder og hidtidige skoleforløb må formodes at trives bedst og have størst udbytte af undervisningen. (...) Det vil være af vigtighed, at skolens lærere medvirker til, at de udenlandske elever falder til i skolens miljø, og tilskynder kammeraterne i klassen til at lege med dem i frikvartererne, hvorved de som oftest hurtigt lærer at klare sig på dansk.⁷ (Kristjánsdóttir in Thomsen, 2004)

The focus was on placing children in age-appropriate classes and otherwise encouraging them to learn Danish as quickly as possible through social, 'play-ground' interaction with ethnically Danish students. Reference is made to an understanding that the Danish language is learned best through recess and play, and clearly reflects what is commonly known as the 'sink or swim' method where the 'foreign students' are 'submerged' in majority culture schools, or "thrown into the deep and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons" (Baker 2006:126), - and by virtue of the overwhelming majority cultural environment - are

⁷ Translation: Foreign children should be placed in the classes taking their age and prior schooling into account so they are most likely to thrive and benefit from the teaching. (...) It is important that the school's teachers contribute to help the foreign students become acquainted with the school environment, and encourage classmates to play with them during breaks, by which they often quickly learn to manage in Danish.

expected to adapt its language and cultural skills. This approach does not take into account students' native-language skills, since the focus is exclusively on quickly acquiring the Danish language. This point of view mainly sees minority students as lacking (in linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills), and teaching them was therefore conceived from a predominantly compensatory perspective.

The renewal of the Education Act in 1975 marked the first mention of the Danish public school's obligation to provide specific (Danish) language teaching for the so-called "foreign language" students. This led to the first executive order for the teaching of foreign language students, which mostly accounted for organizational and administrative guidelines for aspects such as class size, numbers of teaching hours etc. (Kristjánsdóttir 2006). Actual educational guidelines, however, did not appear until 1979, leaving teachers to fend for themselves in the meantime.

The publication of the official pedagogic guidelines for teaching Danish to foreign-language students in 1979 was however significantly different from the official guidelines of other subject areas, and lacked proper content, purpose and aims. The guidelines applied mostly to organizational issues of compulsory enrollment in the public school, with references to 'particular language teaching', supplementary subject teaching and special education. In terms of so-called particular language teaching, the guidelines stated that the language teaching first ought to concentrate on teaching the children to understand and speak Danish, and then to read and write in Danish (Thomsen , 2004), without specifying how this could be done. Once again, teachers working with foreign-language students were left without educational or didactic guidelines, relying on personal experience and help from special education colleagues such as speech pathologists and reading consultants. Teachers working with Danish as a foreign-language in the Danish public schools were understandably frustrated by the lacking content knowledge and varying degrees of professional competency in the field, while the numbers of both students and teachers affected continued to grow.

In 1984 a revision of the Education Act included for the first time direct reference to "...specifically organized Danish instruction, in as much as this is necessary" (Kristjánsdóttir 2003:13). This formulation of necessity is still applied in the current Education Act and other related literature.

In 1993, the change from a center-right wing government to a more left-wing coalition marked some significant changes in terms of how foreign-language students were perceived within the public school sphere. A new Education Act included an obligation to "provide, in as much as is necessary, instruction in Danish as a Second Language for bilingual students in grades Kindergarten – 10". By changing the terminology from Danish as a foreign-language to Danish as a second language, the

official perception of the children involved may have started changing from seeing them as students 'without language' to students with different linguistic and cultural prerequisites than the 'typical' Danish student. The new Education Act also mandated official curriculum and pedagogic guidelines for each of the public school's 42 subject areas, all following the same outline and structure. As a result, the first official curriculum guidelines for Danish as a Second Language and instruction of so-called bilingual students were published in 1995, followed by a more detailed 'organizational guide' in 1998 which clarified the rules on public school instruction in Danish as a second language including only limited pedagogical considerations.

The official legal definition of 'bilingual' students remains the same today:

Ved tosprogede børn forstås børn, der har et andet modersmål end dansk, og først ved kontakt med det omgivende samfund, eventuelt gennem skolens undervisning, lærer dansk.⁸

("Bekendtgørelse om folkeskolens undervisning i dansk som andetsprog" Kap. 1, §1, stk.2)

After DSL was recognized as a school subject within Folkeskolen, several years passed before it became an independent subject offered at the level of teacher education in Denmark's teaching colleges. In 2001 it was introduced as a temporary 'trail' subject, and finally in 2005 it was accepted as one of the minor subject areas for students of pre-service teacher training. Its life as a teacher-college subject, however, has been short lived. In 2012 the Danish Government agreed to introduce a reform of teacher-education which will come into effect in the summer of 2013. As a result, DSL will now be taught as part of the new subject area '*Grundfaglighed*' (general education) which will cover elements from the earlier subjects of general pedagogy, didactics, KLM (Christianity, life enlightenment and citizenship), special education and the instruction of bilingual students (DSL). Which consequences this will have on the subject of DSL in Folkeskolen is yet unknown, although researchers and experts in DSL express serious concerns for how this reform will affect second language pedagogy in practice (Frank 2012).

Summary

This section has provided a brief overview of the development of Danish as a Second Language as a school subject from an unofficial area of expertise driven by largely isolated individuals to an official school subject over the course of no more than roughly 30 years. Presenting this development here is relevant for subsequent considerations of how DSL as an area of knowledge (for both teachers and students) is presented in various instances and how these participants are dealt with institutionally.

⁸ Translation: Bilingual children are understood as children who speak a different mother tongue than Danish, and who do not learn Danish until they make contact with the surrounding society, possibly for the first time through the school's instruction.

The following section presents the curriculum guidelines for DSL that were in effect at the time of observation.

Official curriculum guidelines for Danish as a second language

This section provides an orientation to what the curriculum guidelines in the DSL Fælles Mål (The Common Objectives), booklet 19 includes and gives an indication of how the subject is presented from the perspective of the official pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 2000). The previous section on the development of the subject puts in to perspective examples of wordings in some of the definitions and guidelines highlighted here, providing some background knowledge for DSL in the subsequent sections in this chapter as well as in the articles of the thesis.

The Curriculum Guidelines for DSL, also known as Booklet 19⁹, follow the same template as the rest of the school's subjects with three organizing parts: the Introduction, The Curriculum and a Teaching Plan. The introduction for each booklet is the same for all subjects, explicating the purpose of the public school according to the current legislature and the purpose of the curriculum guidelines more generally. This is followed by the curriculum for the subject more specifically.

The Curriculum section of Booklet 19 provides an aim for DSL instruction:

Formålet med undervisningen i dansk som andetsprog er, at tosprogede elever på baggrund af deres samlede sproglige og kulturelle forudsætninger tilegner sig færdigheder i at forstå og anvende talt og skrevet dansk. Undervisningen skal styrke elevernes lyst til at bruge dansk, og den skal udvikle deres bevidsthed om sprog og sprogtilegnelse og om dansk kultur. Undervisningen skal knyttes tæt til skolens øvrige fag.¹⁰

Stk. 2. Undervisningen skal fremme den enkelte elevs personlige og sproglige udvikling og forståelse af samspillet mellem dansk sprog og kultur og elevens sproglige og kulturelle baggrund. Undervisningen skal herved bidrage til, at eleven udvikler forudsætninger for en aktiv og ligeværdig deltagelse i skole og samfund.¹¹ Undervisningsministeriet (2005)

These aims are followed by the Central Proficiency and Skills (Centrale Kundskabs- og Færdighedsområder – CKF) for DSL which are divided under four headings: 1. Communicative skills

⁹ In all, there are 42 booklets, providing curriculum guidelines for all of Folkeskolen's subjects and subject areas.

¹⁰ Translation: The aim of Danish as a Second Language instruction is that students, on the basis of their linguistic and cultural prerequisites, acquire skills in understanding and using spoken and written Danish. Instruction must promote the students' desire to use Danish, and it must develop their awareness of Danish culture, language and language-use as well as language acquisition.

¹¹ Part 2. The instruction must promote the individual students' personal and linguistic development and understanding of the interaction between Danish language and culture, and the student's mother tongue and cultural background. The instruction must thereby contribute to the student's development of the prerequisites for active and equal participation in school, education and society.

(spoken and written), 2. Language and language use, 3. Knowledge about language learning and own learning, and 4. Language, culture and social studies.

Milestones and End Goals are provided for each of the four CKFs. The End Goals are a description of what students should have achieved upon completing 9th or 10th grade of DSL and are 'compulsory', meaning schools are expected to attain these goals for their DSL students¹². The Milestones on the other hand are suggestive and describe with several years intervals what students should be able to do upon completion of that grade level. Because DSL is both a subject for newcomers arriving in Folkeskolen at any age level and for 'bilingual' students starting school in the year 0, different Milestones and End Goals are provided for each of these types of DSL instruction: i.e. when taught to newcomers and when taught in conjunction with a standard progression through the years of Folkeskolen.

The Curriculum section also provides a suggestive description of an instructional guide which shows development towards meeting the End Goals. Although the provided instructional guide is not binding as is, schools must provide their municipalities / school districts with an instructional guide, specifying how instruction in the school works towards achieving the Milestones and End Goals for DSL, which the municipality then approves. This is intended as an accountability measure for DSL-instructors and schools.

Implementation of DSL in Folkeskolen

By following the same template as the other subject area descriptions, DSL achieves through its Booklet 19 Curriculum Guidelines, the appearance of a 'real' subject, on par with the rest of Folkeskolen's subjects. And while the original publication of the curriculum guidelines in 1995 did serve as a form of recognition of the 'grass-roots' movement (described above) as an official subject area, several factors still remain, which serve to keep DSL as a marginalized subject area within the institution. Some of the most prevalent factors and their consequences for DSL in practice are briefly touched upon below.

Within the Danish public school system, i.e. Folkeskolen, how subjects are implemented including the actual number of teaching hours allotted for each subject area is ultimately decided by each school board. The Ministry of Education (Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning, also known as UVM) provides general guidelines for a minimum number of hours for three so-called 'subject blocks' (fagblokke), where subjects are grouped together. The three subject blocks are the humanities block,

¹² One of the issues with the Curriculum guidelines criticized by both teachers and researchers is the lack of official monitoring to see if schools actually adhere to the ambitious (and often unrealistic) End Goals (see, for example, Kristjánsdóttir 2010; Saarup *et al.* 2004; Thomsen 2004).

the natural sciences block and the practical/musical block. In addition a number of 'homeroom' hours (klassens tid) are specified. According to the guidelines from 2010/2011, the Humanities subject block, which includes the subjects Danish, English, German or French, History, Christianity and Social Studies, must constitute a minimum of 1015 hours over the course of the 4th, the 5th and the 6th grades in total. To put this into perspective, History as a subject must cover a minimum of 180 hours of lessons over the course of 4th, 5th, and sixth grade, or a suggested 60 hours of History during the 5th grade. In comparison, Danish is recommended to cover 180 hours of instruction in the 5th grade (Undervisningsministeriet 2010). DSL as a subject stands in sharp contrast to these guidelines because it is not considered an obligatory subject and therefore is not part of any of the subject blocks. With no required or even suggested minimum number of hours for DSL, each school board must determine individually how DSL is to be implemented in their school. As a result, DSL as a subject can find itself in competition with the Folkeskolen's other subjects in terms of resources and allotted hours (Kristjánsdóttir 2010).

Another factor affecting the status and perceptions surrounding DSL is connected to increased focus on evaluation and standardized testing within Folkeskolen. At the end of 9th grade, all students must take 7 standardized national tests. These serve to document how well each student lives up to the goals and standards of each subject, while providing an impartial evaluation:

Formålet med folkeskolens afgangsprøver er at dokumentere, i hvilken grad eleven opfylder de mål og krav, der er fastsat for det enkelte fag. Prøverne skal samtidig sikre, at alle elever får en uvildig afsluttende evaluering efter 9. og 10. klasse.¹³ (Ministeriet 2013)

Five of these are the same for all students, covering: Danish written (reading, writing and orthography), Danish oral, mathematics, English and physics/chemistry. In addition, students are allotted at random one exam from the remaining subjects of the humanities block and one exam from the remaining subjects of the natural sciences block. In addition to this, they can choose to take a national exam in one subject of the practical/musical block.

Standards in the form of both curriculum guidelines and national final exams described above have been introduced as a way of regulating implementations and providing accountability in terms of legal and executive frameworks. Danish schools, however, have a long History of decentralized schooling in the form of autonomy at the individual district, school and teacher levels. An evaluation of DSL in Folkeskolen (Saarup *et al.* 2004) suggests that this dilemma between national guidelines

¹³ Translation: The aim of Folkeskolen's final exams is to document how well students live up to the aims and requirements determined for each subject. The exams also ensure that all students receive an impartial final evaluation after 9th and 10th grade.

and decentralized implementation results in underfunding of DSL and other initiatives that otherwise could help minority students. In other words, funding earmarked for increasing resources for DSL teachers and students is distributed to the districts and schools, but individual school boards and management have the ultimate responsibility of appropriating these in the schools, often prioritizing other initiatives.

Summary of DSL in Folkeskolen

This section has given an overview of the historical development of DSL and by giving a brief description of the official curriculum guidelines; it also gives the reader an impression of what teachers have to work with in terms of second language development and education of bilingual students within Folkeskolen. A brief discussion of the factors keeping DSL as a perceived marginalized subject area helps to nuance the impressions of 'the reality of DSL' as it manifests in schools.

As suggested at various points above, discrepancies exist between the way in which the subject DSL is described by the official documents and the way in which the subject can be realized in actual pedagogic practices in Folkeskolen. In many ways, DSL is seen as a marginalized subject: it lacks resources such as well-educated teachers that have an education in second language pedagogy (as either pre-service or in-service teacher-training courses) and specifications and requirements for teaching-hours in schools. Inadequacy of official monitoring with regards to whether or not DSL students actually achieve the goals set out in the curriculum guidelines does nothing to minimize this marginalized perspective. Combined with increased expectations of mainstreaming as opposed to pull-out support, this poses serious challenges to how individual schools and teachers can implement DSL, and often has negative effects on the actual DSL-support provided for those entitled minority students (as seen in, e.g., Eva 2007; Saarup *et al.* 2004). The above, therefore, serves also to present some of the most prevalent dilemmas in opportunities of implementation of DSL, thus informing the context of the study and the analyses done in each of the four articles, while also providing a ballast for the conclusions and implications for this and future research.

Data: Background, Procedure and Method

This section expands on the data description sections of the four articles. Firstly, a more in-depth description of the context for the collected material is given, including descriptions of the school visited, the teachers and students observed, the unit of study chosen for observation and the materials used during the observed History unit. This is followed by a section which presents the data collection procedure and includes a description of the final dataset used for subsequent

analysis. The section is concluded with a discussion of the process of selecting phases for closer analysis. Together, these give an indication of the richness of the data collected, and provide a significantly more detailed description of the collected dataset than what is possible within the constraints of publishable articles.

Data background – the school, the class, the unit and the materials

This section provides a more detailed account of the background to the data collected than what is possible within the constraints of any of the four articles. Firstly the S school is presented, followed by the fifth grade, and each of the teachers observed. Subsequently, the observed unit of study is presented. Finally, the chosen materials, *Sat Ud*, are generally detailed in order to supplement each of the brief presentations given in the thesis articles.

The S School

The school visited during this project is an elementary school (grades K - 9) about 20km outside of Copenhagen, in an area with a high population of families with culturally diverse backgrounds. The area is often referred to by media and politicians as an area of concern because of its low socioeconomic status and because of the high percentage of non-ethnically Danish inhabitants. 85-90% of all children at the school are considered bilingual, and many are additionally from socially and economically strained backgrounds. Because of this, the school has chosen to focus on DSL as a particular focus area. As such, the school has a part time DSL coordinator for all grades and each grade level has at least one teacher responsible for DSL, together making up the DSL-team for the school.

The DSL-team has been responsible for writing up a set of DSL goals and pedagogic guidelines for the school as a whole as a way of increasing awareness of DSL and how it can be incorporated as an element in the rest of the school's subject areas. As part of their continuing teacher education program, the principal of the S School encourages the teachers to become certified in DSL in addition to their other subject areas (usually 4, one of which is Danish or Mathematics), and has prioritised hiring new teachers who have the DSL-minor. At the time of observation, many of the teachers had either completed, or were in the process of completing the 300 hour in-service course in DSL and second language education offered by the University Colleges (legislated by the Ministry of Education).

Most grade levels at the S School have between 30 and 40 students, usually split into two classes or homerooms with 15-18 children per class. As is common in many Folkeskoler, the S school allows for continuation of teacher-student groupings by having the team of teachers that starts with a kindergarten class to continue with them throughout their 9 years in the school whenever possible.

At the time of observation, the S school was undergoing major reconstruction in order to improve the educational usefulness, comfort and appearance of the otherwise out of date group of buildings that made up the school. The old buildings were still in use at the time for most of the school's grade levels including the fifth grade, which hosted the observed unit of study.

The Fifth Grade at the time of observation

The fifth grade where the observed unit of study took place was made up of two classes or homerooms, here called the Suns and the Moons. There were about 30 children in the whole fifth grade (the teachers mentioned that several students had recently left the school as a result of moves or for other reasons). Of those only 4 were from an ethnically Danish background: the vast majority of the students would therefore have been classified as bilingual, and most of the students did, in fact, speak at least one language other than Danish in their homes.

The grade had 4 full-time teachers on the teaching team, one of whom was a DSL teacher, as well as several part time youth workers¹⁴ who help during the day. As is normal in Denmark, all the teachers had majors in 3-4 different school subjects from their teacher education degrees; they were each responsible for one or more subject areas for this grade level, most of which fit with their degrees, although this could not always be the case. The team worked together as a whole planning the progression of the subjects for the class and often taught together in smaller teams. When possible, the teachers planned this progression in interdisciplinary units, covering a unit of study through several subjects. In this way, this team of teachers is similar to what is considered normal in Folkeskolen.

The fifth grade teaching team had, however, experienced quite a bit of shuffling around since their students started in kindergarten four and a half years ago. In the year of observation alone, several teachers had left (because of e.g. maternity leave) part way through the year, bringing semi-permanent substitutes and then more permanent new teachers onto the team. As a result, the interviewed teachers expressed that it had been a hectic year for teachers and students alike, and that this had had a negative effect on the students.

Articles 1, 3 and 4 describe the make-up of the History-group, as it came to be known, such as it was during the unit observed. Most of the students in the History-group were from the Moons homeroom, however after a pilot run in an earlier unit of study, the teachers decided to rearrange the students slightly for the observed unit.

¹⁴ 'youth workers' is my translation of the term 'pædagoger', who in this case are other adults in the school, and who work with social activities during and after school, sometimes in a supporting role for the teachers.

Introductory Chapter

The fifth grade at the time of observation had its home in three classrooms on one side of a small corridor, in the X building. This building also housed the fourth and the sixth grades. All three fifth-grade classrooms were next to each other on one side of the corridor, while the three classrooms on the other side were occupied by the sixth grade. The corridor was lined with cubbies where the 5th and 6th grade student kept their school work, materials and supplies. The first two fifth grade classrooms were slightly smaller than the last one and both of these classrooms contain desks and chairs placed in groups of 4-5.

The workshop classroom was the fifth grade's largest classroom, and usually used as a gathering place for the whole fifth grade, or for lessons when both the Suns and the Moons were together. The room had several (10-12) desks and chairs spread around the edges of the classroom and a sofa area in one corner of the room by the windows. This was the room used for morning meetings, when students were gathered, where roll was taken, messages distributed and students told what the agenda for the day was. When gathered as a group, students usually sat on upside down, tall, colourful buckets, in the middle of the classroom. When gathered as a class, students were expected to sit on their bucket, placed on a circle drawn on the floor containing the student's name.

The Teachers

At the time of observation, Bonny was the S school's DSL-coordinator. This was a 60% (part-time) position. To complete her full-time employment, she also worked the remaining 40% of her schedule as a fourth grade teacher in the subject area of Danish. As DSL-coordinator, she led the school's DSL team in creating visible DSL initiatives in the S School, including writing up the DSL guidelines and pedagogic suggestions mentioned earlier. In addition, the DSL-coordinator position had her helping the rest of the school's DSL teachers when needed, and acting as a counsellor and coach for other subject area teachers. As part of her DSL-coordinator role, Bonny could take time to guide and inspire subject area teachers at the S School in how to make their teaching better aimed at meeting the particular needs of 'bilingual' students. This was usually done upon request, however could also be, as was the case in the project observed in this study, by Bonny approaching teachers in a grade's teaching team with a suggestion for activities or units (see below, "Being a child 100 years ago – the observed unit").

Adam was the teacher on the fifth grade teaching team responsible for the History curriculum (one of his 4 subject areas). This was Adam's first year working as a teacher after completing his teaching degree. At the time of observation, he did not have any training in DSL except the daily experience

he had from working in the school. However, he expressed interest in this group of students and seemed eager to make a difference in their lives.

Sarah was on the fifth grade teaching team as well, and responsible for the subject Danish. At the time of observation, she had been teaching for almost 10 years, however, this was her first year teaching at the S school. Before working at the S school she had worked at a school which had mostly ethnically Danish students in a more affluent suburb of Copenhagen. Because of a desire for a change of venue and a wish to work with 'bilingual' children, Sarah quit her job with the more affluent school to come work at the S School. During the research conducted, Sarah was completing her in-service training to become a DSL certified teacher as well.

History in the Moon class

As a pilot observation, I followed a brief History unit on the German occupation of Denmark during WWII, taught by Sarah and Adam. The unit was covered in three double lessons (3 x 90 minutes) in the course of two days: one double lesson Thursday afternoon, and two consecutive double lessons the following Friday morning. Observing this introductory unit allowed for ironing out technical issues with the recording devices, and functioned to acclimate the students and teachers to the presence of an observer in their class.

The second unit observed was based on the theme of "being a child 100 years ago" but ended up being called Sat Ud (Evicted) by both the teachers and the students. Sat Ud is the name of the online materials published by the text book publisher, Alinea, which Bonny chose to base the unit around. Both the materials and the unit were chosen by Bonny as a way of inspiring and guiding Adam and Sarah toward making their teaching better suited for bilingual students. Bonny led the first three lessons with Adam and Sarah in secondary teacher roles. After this, Bonny saw her role as guide as completed, and Adam and Sarah took over and led the remaining three lessons in the unit, giving the students the opportunity to work all the way through the online materials.

"Being a Child 100 years ago" – the observed unit

The observed History unit was taught in six sessions over four weeks: three lessons during the first week (Monday, Tuesday, Friday) a week's break from History, a lesson in the third week (Monday), and the last two lessons in the fourth week (Wednesday, Thursday). Each lesson lasted about 90 minutes, with the exception of the last lesson which lasted nearly two hours. All lessons except the last one were observed in their entirety and video-recorded on both a handheld mobile camera and a stationary camera set up on a tripod in the corner of the room. In this way, specific language interactions between teachers and students were recorded under both group work and teacher-led instruction.

Bonny had planned for the unit to last one week, with five double-lessons of 1.5 hours every day of the week. However, when I arrived on Monday, she told me that because of other obligations and scheduling conflicts, she would only be able to be there for three days that week (Monday, Tuesday and Friday). Finding other dates for Bonny to complete the unit that worked with the fifth grade schedule turned out to be difficult, but Adam and Sarah decided they would continue with the materials / unit after Bonny's week was over. The resulting unit ended up lasting over a span of four weeks with six lessons spread out over the first, third and fourth weeks of the unit. Of the six lessons in the unit, all but the second to last lessons (lesson 5¹⁵) were observed.

A more detailed description of the observed unit can be read in Appendix 1, where each lesson is described with a general description of the lesson, more detailed notes on the observed activities, who leads them and how long they take.

Sat Ud – a description of the online multi-media material used

Sat Ud is an online, multimedia task or question-based material, which is designed for students in the middle years of Folkeskolen (grades 5-7). The materials take the students on 'a virtual journey through time' by presenting them with an image of the famous Danish painting of the same name (Sat Ud), painted by Erik Henningsen in 1892. They listen to a narrated story, told by the ghost of the little girl in the painting (named Alma in the material). By focusing in on different characters in the painting, students listen to the girl's story of what is going on in the painting and what life for a working class family in Copenhagen was like at the turn of the previous century.

Students listen to short pieces of narration (with the same text appearing in print in a black area on the left of the computer screen), and are then asked a question or posed a task on a clipboard which shows up when this is the case. Upon answering the question or completing the task, students can 'click' on an arrow to proceed to the next bit of narrated text. There are a total of 20 tasks for students to work through in order to get through the materials. These are divided into 6 sections labelled: *Velkommen, Det mystiske hus/museum, Det gamle maleri, Den lille lejlighed, Det hårde arbejde, Den strenge barndom*¹⁶. Some of the tasks require students to discuss, draw, write dialogue or collect photos, while others (and most) of them require a paper and pencil or a word document for students to write their answers down.

¹⁵ Lesson 5 was not originally planned for, but because students were taking longer to work through the materials than expected, Sarah and Adam suggested they set aside this time for the students to allow them to catch up before the last lesson. Because this was done with very short notice, however, it was not possible to come observe and record this lesson as well.

¹⁶ Translation: Welcome, The strange house/museum (in the guide, it's labelled as 'house' while the online version calls it 'museum'), the old painting, the small apartment, hard work and the strict childhood.

In addition, the materials assume that students have access to a dictionary in order to look up unfamiliar vocabulary. The progression through the material is linear; however, students can go back or jump to another screen at any time and rehear/reread any previously watched scene/question/task.

Sat Ud – a description of the teacher-guide for the online material

The teacher-guide published with the Sat Ud material is a 54 page long PDF document, teachers can download when they gain access to the Sat Ud material and its so-called “online universe” (Alinea, 2007). The guide is divided into 8 chapters, where the first three make up an introduction to the materials, the next three provide a description of the materials and how teachers can work with these, and the last two chapters provide a list of resources and references.

The three introductory chapters provide 1. an overview of the online material, followed by 2. a practical guide for accessing the material on line and a general description of the make-up of the material. This is followed by 3. a description of the aims and target audience for the materials.

The third chapter on aims and target audience starts with a description of the target students:

Målgruppen er elever på 4.-7. klassetrin, herunder klasser med tosprogede elever. SAT UD forløbet kan også anvendes i slutningen af opholdet i modtagelsesklasser og på holdundervisning i den supplerende undervisning, hvor dansk som andetsprog er en dimension i historieundervisningen¹⁷. (Clausen 2007:8)

This description is followed by an outline of which milestones and end-goals from the following subject areas the material can be used to meet: History, DSL, Danish, Art (billedkunst). To give an indication of the kind of information the publisher included in this guide, a closer description of each of these is given below.

History: The picture is chosen because it provides a good opportunity for sympathetic insight or empathy with the situation of working class Copenhageners around 1900 (Clausen 2007). This period is seen as significant because of migration from country to city, early industrialization and the struggle for democracy. Furthermore, ‘The Battle of the Common’ is part of the History cannon. The guide continues to describe several places for outings that could be used to supplement the unit, including “Arbejdermuseet, Københavns Bymuseum, Nationalmuseets Klunkehjem” as well as art museums such as “Statens Museum for Kunst og Ordrup-gård” (*Ibid.*:8).

¹⁷ Translation: “The target audience is students between grade-levels 4 and 7, including classes with bilingual children. The SAT UD unit can also be used towards the end of the stay in a newcomers’ class as well as in group instruction in supplemental instruction where DSL is a dimension in History instruction.”

This is followed by a list of 11 milestones after 6.th grade History, taken from the National History Curriculum, which the publisher maintains the materials can be used to meet. Some examples of these are that the instruction should result in students being able to:

- fortælle om forandringsprocesser fra Danmarks historie, som knytter sig til kongemagt, kirke, landbrug og industri.
- beskrive magtforhold mellem samfundsborgere og magthavere reguleret gennem lovgivning, forhandling og revolution.
- gengive hovedindholdet af en historisk fremstilling og præcisere de vigtigste budskaber.
- anvende relevante informationskilder fra filmklip, Internettet og avisartikler.

DSL: The sections starts with a statement about the difficulties of learning a second language in congruence with an academically complex content area – in this case History – claiming that this is one of the biggest challenges Folkeskolen faces in terms of bilingual students. It states that by using pictures as a starting point ”er det muligt at formidle et indhold på dansk, om dansk kultur og historie, som sprogligt vil være komplekst, og i tekst alene, vanskeligt at tilegne sig”¹⁸ (Clausen 2007:9). The tasks have been created based on the picture while focusing on communicative skills of reading and writing, as well as listening / understanding /speaking tasks through e.g. dialogue-groups and class discussions. Vocabulary development related to the historical period is emphasized (*Ibid.*).

Booklet 19 offers milestones after 5. grade for DSL, from which the teaching guide lists nine as being attainable through following the materials:

- udnytte bånd- og billedstøtte i forbindelse med læsning.
- søge og udtrage informationer af forskellige informationskilder.
- skrive sammenhængende faglige og ikke-faglige tekster på grundlag af et kendt indhold.
- deltage i procesorienterede skriveforløb.
- anvende tekstbehandling ved skrivning af tekster.
- anvende dansk sætningsbygning nogenlunde hensigtsmæssigt og kende regler for sammensætninger.
- læse med forskellige formål og kende til forskellige læseteknikker såsom fokuseret læsning og skimming.
- benytte lettilgængelige ordbøger, håndbøger og elektroniske hjælpemidler.
- indgå i par- og gruppearbejde.¹⁹

¹⁸ Translation: It is possible to recount a content in Danish, about Danish culture and History which would be linguistically complex and difficult to learn through text alone.

¹⁹ Translation: Make use of audio and picture support during reading; seek and extract information from different information sources; write coherent academic and non-academic texts on the basis of known content;

Danish: Focus has been placed on "forforståelse, meddigtning, drama, at søge information og procesorienterede skriveforløb"²⁰. Six milestones after 6th grade are listed which the material can meet, including: "skrive sammenhængende om oplevelser, erfaring, fantasi, viden og følelser i en kronologisk form"²¹

Similarly, goals are described from the subject Art, however, because this aspect was not focused on by the teachers, it has been excluded here. This chapter ends with a paragraph describing how the material also meets the goals of integrating IT in instruction.

Chapter four, *Undervisningen med opgaveeksempler*, is the largest chapter in the teacher-guide, and contains ideas for activities which can be used to teach alongside the materials. The chapter is divided into 5 sections with the following headings: læseforståelse – af tekster i historiefaget, skriftlighed, mundtlighed, ordforrådsarbejde, arbejde med billeder²². These sections provide descriptions of various activities teachers can choose to use in their instruction when working with Sat Ud.

Chapter 5 provides copy-sheets of tasks which students can work on, some of which are identical to the tasks in the online materials (the suggestion being that these tasks can be skipped if the online materials were completed). Chapter 6 provides a two-page explanation of using the Internet in searches and the importance of students being able to be critical of sources ("kildekritik"). It mentions that searching the Internet can be particularly difficult for bilingual students because of requiring the ability of employing various reading techniques including skimming and finding key words; "Eleverne mangler ofte forståelse af sammenhængen, de kan sætte informationerne ind i, derfor har de også svært ved at finde nøgleord"²³ (Clausen 2007:43). After giving a list of potential problem areas for bilingual students with this kind of work, the final section of the chapter refers back to the previous chapter for how to deal with issues.

participate in process oriented writing; use word-processing during text writing; use Danish sentence structure reasonably appropriately and know rules for composition; read with different purposes and know about different reading techniques such as focused reading and skimming; use easily accessible dictionaries, handbooks/manuals and IT-tools; participate in pair and group work.

²⁰ Translation: pre-understanding,co-narration, drama, finding information and process writing.

²¹ Translation: Write cohesively about adventures, experiences, fantasy, knowledge and feelings in a chronological form.

²² Translation: reading comprehension – of texts in the subject History, literacy, oracy, vocabulary work, work with pictures

²³ Translation: The [bilingual] students often lack understanding of the context surrounding the information, which is why they also will have a hard time finding key words.

In casual conversation with the teachers during the unit, all the teachers mentioned that they, because of time constraints mainly, did nothing more than skim through the teacher-guide. Some pages from the teacher-guide have been included in Appendix 6 for reference, however because of the lack of emphasis on the guide from the teachers, no more description is provided here.

Data collection procedure

Initially, I was invited by the S School's DSL coordinator to make observations at the S School in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades. A pilot data-collection run was done in each of these grades following (as much as possible) a unit of study. The fourth grade was unable to provide a History unit, so the pilot unit observed was in the subject area of Danish with the DSL-coordinator in the role of Danish teacher as well. However, because of the other teacher's becoming ill during the observation period, this data-set was abandoned for the purposes of this study.

In the sixth grade, the pilot run started in a History unit, but was abandoned after two lessons because the teacher felt the presence of an observer in her class was too disruptive for the students.

In the fifth grade, the pilot run covered a History unit over the course of three double-lessons (3 x 90 minutes) on two consecutive days. This unit was on the occupation of Denmark during World War Two and was taught by Adam, the class' History teacher and Sarah, the class' Danish teacher. During these two days the teachers and the students became accustomed to the presence of an observer in the classroom, and acclimated to the cameras.

The fifth grade teachers, Adam and Sarah agreed to a second data-collection, where the DSL-coordinator offered to act as primary teacher to provide inspiration to DSL-specific techniques. This unit of study provided the final data-set collected, and is described in more detail below, as well as in each of the four articles of the thesis.

All in all, the final data-set used for analysis is comprised of 10 hours and 30 minutes (630 minutes total) of video-recordings from the two cameras, from 6 hours and 45 minutes (405 minutes) of observed lessons. Because two cameras were used at the same time during the 405 minutes of observed lessons, one would expect the number of hours of video-recordings available for analysis to be double that. The discrepancy between these two numbers, however, can be explained by technical difficulties, mostly because of expired batteries on the hand-held camera. When this occurred, the stationary camera was taken into hand-held use.

From the teaching materials, Sat Ud, digital screen shots were collected as well as a PDF document containing the teaching guide (see a more detailed description of these materials below).

Upon completing the last lesson of the unit, the teachers were recorded in two separate interviews, the first with the DSL-coordinator, Bonny, lasting 84 minutes, and the second with Adam and Sarah in an interview together (group interview), lasting 96 minutes. For both of these interviews a hand-held (MP3) audio-recording device was used. The recorded files were reviewed several times and surveyed for relevant sections for transcription. However, because of the nature of the teachers' responses in these, small, selected quotes were used and only as corroboration or explication of the analyses done on the other data-types (see below).

In addition to these, every observation was followed by personal notes written in a diary. These, however, did not add to the actual data collected, other than to act as a potential preliminary analytical filter and are therefore not described further here.

Video observations

Since teacher-student interactions are of interest, these were observed and recorded with video cameras. Two types of video recordings were used in order to catch as many teacher-student interactions during the observed unit of study: recordings from a handheld camera and recordings from a stationary camera.

A stationary camera was set up during all the observed periods, usually in one of the corners of the classroom giving a whole-class perspective. This included different classroom activities, including whole class instruction as well as group and individual work activities. The video recordings from this camera were used as a reference in order to examine how the teachers' attentions are distributed among the students within the whole class setting, and as a kind of back up, i.e. a second recorded source for unexpected situations in case the quality of handheld camera's recordings were inadequate.

In order to focus on individual interactions between the teachers and students, a mobile handheld camera was also used. The handheld camera was outfitted with a more sensitive (directional) microphone than the handheld camera. The focus of the recordings on this camera was to capture individual interactions between teacher(s) and students during group work, individual work and class work. The video recordings from this camera make up the bulk of the transcribable data used.

Student text examples

Examples of student texts produced during the unit were sporadic, and only very few of the students in the class actually handed in their written texts (by placing them in the History folder, as asked by their teachers). As a result the texts gathered were too few to use as a meaningful source of data, and have therefore been excluded from the final data-set.

Teaching materials

Because the observed unit was so heavily based on the multimodal on-line teaching material chosen by the DSL-coordinator, this became a supplementary source of data in the research. Accessing the material requires a login and password each time (which schools can purchase from the publisher). Screen shots were collected of each of the screens the material progresses through (93 total). Because all narration / spoken text are also presented in written form in the materials, these screen shots are seen as an adequate representation for the purpose of the research. The material is described in more detail in the Data Background section, above, and examples of several screen shots can be seen in Appendix 5.

In addition to the screen-shots, the teacher-guide, which is available as a PDF-file, was saved. This guide contains 54 electronic pages with a description of the materials and suggestions for ways in which teachers can work with and supplement the materials in their instruction. Examples of pages from the teacher guide, including the table of contents, can be seen in Appendix 6.

Teacher interviews

Since one of the major assumptions in this study is that teachers who are able to include 'how language works' into their teaching will be (more) successful in promoting DSL development in their DSL students, some way of determining which aspects of the subject language the teacher deems important and how this is taught when incorporating DSL as an element in regular classes must be considered. One of the ways of approaching this has been through interviewing the teachers afterwards.

Because the two fifth grade class teachers have operated as a team throughout the year, and because they expressed a desire to, they were interviewed together, while the DSL-coordinator was interviewed separately.

Teacher interviews were recorded with an audio recorder and conducted as semi-structured interviews. In both interviews, the teachers were shown several video clips of parts of their interactions with students and asked to reflect on these in terms of their own linguistic and pedagogic awareness during these clips. The interviews, however, did little to elucidate the teachers' reflections in these terms. Instead, the teachers seemed preoccupied by describing the many frustrations they have experienced with this class over the course of the year. Some of these included describing how many changes the teaching team has seen since the start of the year and the number of students that have moved away, describing the apparently increasing number of interpersonal dramas between groups of students and individual students in the class, a seemingly endless need for classroom management, and difficulties in engaging parents in their children's

academic lives. It was very difficult, despite many attempts and various question types, to focus teacher responses on their reflections regarding their teaching and their aims with regards to lessons in the unit. When shown clips from the videos and asked about what language or History goals they were trying to help students achieve, their answers focused instead on the students' 'problems' exhibited in the clip, quickly becoming commentary on the issues related to the students and class more generally. As a result, the teacher interviews were used more as anecdotal correlates rather than as an actual data source (see, for example, the analysis and conclusions of articles 1, 3 and 4).

Selecting examples for analysis

After completing observation of the unit and completing interviews with the involved teachers, the raw data needed to be reworked. Because there were many instances of 'doubles' in that two cameras often were recording at the same time, these needed to be correlated and the video materials related to each other. Selecting samples for analysis became possible after these initial correlations.

Making sense of the collected raw data took several steps. All of the recorded material, both video recordings from the observed classes and the audio recordings from the interviews, were reviewed several times, annotated and passages of interest loosely transcribed (ie. without necessarily capturing as much detail as was possible from the video recording). In this way, certain passages were flagged as interesting, either because they seemed exemplary for a type of interactions teachers and students engaged in, or for the opposite reason: because they were unusual. This resulted in a general description and initial interpretation of the data, ie. a 'rough' transcription with initial analytical notes along the way (see Appendix 3). These served as an initial filter for choosing passages for closer analysis.

Because the approach taken here is text-based and holistic, selections for closer linguistic analysis were made from the start and the end of the unit observed, as well as from several stages spaced throughout the unit. In this way, the data described and analyzed in the four articles, gives an impression of the progression (of knowledge and pedagogy, knowers and expectations of them) throughout the unit observed. Specifically, linguistic analysis was done from phases in lessons 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6.

In order to distinguish the boundaries for the start and the end of a passage for close linguistic analysis, the notion of phase was used (see above). The distinguishers for these boundaries were shifts in field (see footnote 6 in article 2 for an example of why a phase was demarcated as it was). The same phases chosen for linguistic analysis were later also analyzed using LCT.

Summing up the collected data

One of the challenges of classroom research is an adequate representation of the 'reality' of classroom practice in terms of collectable and analyzable data. For this reason, the research design included several different types of data to be collected including ministerial documents describing DSL and History, video observations (resulting in 7 transcribed phases), teaching materials and teacher interviews.

Because the main interest of the research was focusing on actual pedagogic practice when DSL is incorporated as a dimension of instruction in other subjects, the video recordings were seen as the primary data-source both prior to collection and afterwards. Video recordings of classroom practice enable answering questions such as, "How effective is it? How can we improve it? What kind of world is the classroom? ... How differently can it turn out in different circumstances?" (Van Lier 1988:9). While working with (video) recordings from classrooms is inherently fraught with technical difficulties and limitations (Gibbons, 2006), such as background noise, limited viewpoints etc., the ethnographic approach chosen has none-the-less significant advantages such as articulating intuitive behavior of teachers and what learning environment teachers in conjunction with teaching materials create for their students.

While designing the research, student texts were expected to constitute an important and significant data-source in terms of documenting student progress and understanding through the course of the unit. However, because text-productions played a relatively small role in the actual unit observed, and because teachers were inconsistent in enforcing students to keep track of their written answers throughout the unit, it became difficult gathering the kinds of texts imagined prior to the observed unit.

Similarly, teacher interviews were imagined to be a significant secondary source of data at the outset of the project, in that these were supposed to provide insight into the types of language and subject area goals the teachers had for the students, as well as provide information about their reflections in terms of implementation. Having this type of conversation was, however, more difficult than anticipated, as described above. The resulting interviews with the teachers provided overwhelming evidence of the teachers' perceptions surrounding the students and the problems students presented in the class in general (both as individuals and collectively). As a result the interviews played a significantly smaller role than initially expected.

Data Analysis: An Overview of the Findings in the Thesis Articles

The following provides an overview of the analysis done in the project as a whole, followed by an extended abstract for each of the four submitted articles focusing on the findings of each. A summary of the findings and conclusions for each article provides the basis for the last section in this introductory chapter in which these conclusions are drawn together to form a more complete picture of the observed pedagogy and which consequences it seems to have for the DSL-students' learning potential.

The theoretical framework described above offers a wide range of analytical tools, each affording specific areas of focus and depth of perspective. The analysis of data involved several reviews of the entire collected video and audio recordings followed by the selection of sections of teacher-student interactions (phases) for analysis. These selections were then submitted for ESA and LCT analysis. While many of the options have the potential of revealing relevant information to answering aspects of the research questions, the analyses in this study were first done at the level of the discourse semantic stratum, ie. through ESA (see above).

The linguistic analyses using ESA from SFL raised questions regarding a more macroscopic perspective, for which the dimensions of Specialization and Semantics from LCT were used (Maton 2010, forthcoming). The combination of these approaches allows linguistic analysis to inform a broader sociological perspective on the pedagogy being enacted. When useful, these analyses have been supplemented by information gathered from the official curriculum documents, examples of texts collected throughout the course of the observed unit including some of the few student texts collected, examples of text presented in the teaching materials, as well as excerpts from the teacher interviews conducted.

The data analysis is presented in the four articles of this thesis. The articles are numbered in chronological order according to when each first draft was completed. Therefore, the following also provides an insight into the analytic development of this study. Articles 1 and 3 are written in Danish, submitted to Danish peer-reviewed journals, while articles 2 and 4 are in English, and also submitted to peer-review. The name of the journal to which the article has been submitted, and its current stage in the publication process, is included for each of the four articles below.

Articles 1 and 2 base their findings on linguistic analyses of chosen data-examples informed by ESA, while articles 3 and 4 build upon the findings from the first two articles and explore the same data supplemented with further examples from the perspective of LCT's notions of Specialization and Semantics.

Article 1: "What should I write?" – "You should know that for yourself" : about how focus on respectively *knowledge* and *action* in teacher-student conversations leads to obscurity in instruction

Danish title: "*Hvad skal jeg skrive nu? - Det må du selv vide...*" – *udvekslingsstrukturanalyse af samtaler mellem lærere og elever i undervisningen af dansk som andetsprog og historie.*

This article is to be published in NORDAND 8(1), expected in June, 2013, after peer reviewers suggested minor revisions. The version included is after peer-review and prior to the final printed draft.

By translating relevant theoretical aspects into Danish and using these to analyze data collected from a Danish classroom, this article introduces ESA to a Danish context as a way of giving a more nuanced perspective on some of the interpersonal issues surrounding the teaching of minority students in Folkeskolen. Analysis of teacher-student interactions suggests the issue may be more a result of the general pedagogy of the classroom rather than because of the students' lacking resources, as is more typically assumed.

Based on ESA analysis of 2 phases from the observed unit of study, the article argues that teachers seem to focus their attention on *knowledge* moves, while students are more focused on *action* moves. The article gives several examples of exchanges that seem unsuccessful because of this mismatch, with teachers making knowledge-moves and students responding with action moves. In this way, the analysis suggests a potential explanation for some of the conversational problems with the prevalent progressivist (invisible) pedagogy of the classroom. By appreciating both interpersonal relations of the participants in the analysis, and by highlighting an apparent knowledge/action schism, the article analysis suggests some of the dangers of the observed pedagogy where implicit hierarchy, implicit sequencing and implicit criteria seem to be dominant, suggesting a partial explanation for why the DSL students in this classroom 'lag behind'.

Article 2: Who Has the Knowledge if not the Primary Knower? - Using exchange structure analysis to cast light on particular pedagogic practices in teaching Danish as a Second Language and History

This article was published in 2012 in online edited proceedings following the 39th *International Systemic Functional Congress* (downloadable from http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/Conferences/ISFC39_2012_proceedings.pdf) where the content was

also presented as a paper-presentation in July, 2012. The article passed double-blind peer review, and was suggested published without revision. The version included is the same as the version available in the proceedings.

In this article ESA makes visible certain types of potential areas of misunderstanding between teachers and students which occur in patterns of classroom discourse reminiscent of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) IRF tripartite. The article focuses on exchanges started by the teacher with the so-called Dk1-move. These are exchanges in which the teachers 'initiates' or poses questions to students, delaying the presentation of knowledge s/he possesses (or has the authority to evaluate), apparently in attempts to lead discussions towards building students' understandings. According to ESA theory, the K1-move is the only obligatory move in a successful *knowledge exchange* (Martin, 1992), yet the analysis shows that this move is often ambiguous or missing in the teachers' 'feedback' to students 'responses'.

The linguistic analysis using ESA, therefore, lends a perspective on the pedagogic discourse, which initially seems to suggest unfocused teaching: the K1-moves made by the teacher, the person who has the authority to establish the knowledge being taught (Berry 1981), are unclear. Nodding and smiling, asking different students to participate, and allowing three varying definitions of the word 'evicted' as equally correct suggest there is more to the picture than what ESA alone can reveal. This raises questions of a more general pedagogic nature drawing on Legitimation Code Theory's notion of a 'knower code' (Maton, 2000a, forthcoming). Perhaps, more subtly, the teacher's strategies are a reflection of her understanding of what learning is and, therefore, of the specialization code present in this classroom.

ESA shows that when adopting the role of the primary knower, the teacher's input lacks refinement and direction, thus neglecting to focus on expanding students' knowledge-base and understanding of what the word she is trying to explain (evicted) means. As such, the epistemic relations displayed are quite weak; at the same time, the social relations play a significantly more important role in that the participants partake in a, for them, common and recognisable pattern of interaction where the teacher asks a question to which she already knows the answer and students readily offer their guesses.

Although traditionally this type of pedagogic interaction is used to check student knowledge, in this case the interaction seems to serve a different purpose: to condition students to the type of interaction valued in the classroom setting, while the knowledge and language needed is

deprioritised. The result is a knower code, where it would seem students are expected to teach themselves, and where the ideal knower is (already) Danish, ie. Speaks Danish and has an understanding of Danish culture and is able to 'behave' the way Danish teachers expect Danish students to behave in a school setting. The students in this study are thus left floundering from an epistemic and (second) language perspective with hardly a chance of being seen as legitimate within the school context.

Despite the insights offered by the linguistic analysis using ESA, the findings in this paper clearly point to the need for further, complementary sociological analysis using LCT to shed light on the underlying pedagogical issues at stake in such classrooms as the one observed.

Article 3: Who learns what? Teaching Democracy through Social Relations – when Danish as a Second Language is embedded in a History Unit

This article has been sent to *The British Journal of Sociology of Education* for review, and is currently awaiting response.

Drawing on LCT's dimension of Specialization, aspects of which knowledge students are expected to gain in the observed unit are raised. Analysis of teacher-student interactions shows some of the challenges minority students meet when DSL is taught as an element of another subject such as History. Exploring examples from the unit of study observed in terms of epistemic relations and social relations shows that in trying to help students to understand key notions from the unit of study, all the teachers rely heavily on social relations rather than epistemic relations to the object of study. This clearly suggests a *knower code* where a particular kind of knower is seen as legitimate. This ideal knower would seem to be a student who is able to gather knowledge pertaining to the development of democracy in Denmark during the 1900 from an interdisciplinary multimedia set of materials, understand what the implications of democracy are for a working class family 100 years ago and, as a result, how their lives were different to her own family's life in the present. At the same time, the ideal student is able to empathise with people who do not live in a democratic welfare state (whether currently in other countries or in Denmark 100 years ago).

The analysis also shows that the help teachers attempt to provide students often relies on social relations (i.e. being able to empathise with what life for a working class child 100 years ago was like), rather than on epistemic relations (such as understanding what a poor house is and which function it served in society 100 years ago). Students seem to know they are being offered help, but have

trouble knowing how to translate the help they are getting from teachers to concrete action in terms of completing the tasks set out by the materials, Sat Ud.

For the knowledge from this unit of study to be accessible, therefore, students would have to have a previous knowledge about Danish History and Danish culture to draw upon. In effect, the ideal knower is already Danish.

Article 4: Semantic gravity and semantic density in democracy – an analysis of a Danish as a second language and History topic in a 5th grade class

Danish title: Semantisk tyngde og semantisk tæthed i demokratibegrebet – analyse af undervisning i et dansk som andetsprog og historieforløb i en 5. klasse

This article has been sent in for peer review to Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift and is currently awaiting response.

This article draws on LCT's dimensions of Semantics, exploring issues of knowledge as presented in the observed unit of study by the teaching materials chosen and by the teachers in teacher-student conversations respectively. The analyses in this article show how students actually demonstrate related knowledge which teachers potentially could use as a launching pad for building more complex understandings of abstract ideas such as *democracy*. The article draws on the LCT conclusions from the previous three articles in the concluding section, suggesting, however, that teachers exhibit difficulties in building bridges from the students' commonsense, everyday knowledge structures to those of a more academic nature required for demonstrating adequate understanding of the materials and in whole-class conversations with the teachers.

By focusing on semantic gravity and semantic density of several key terms ('hard words') which both the materials and teachers highlight as important in understanding the unit, the article shows through analysis of examples of teacher-student interactions together with analysis of the teaching materials, that the teachers seem unprepared in terms of how best to create a scaffold around the knowledge they wish their students to attain through the unit. In this way, the article argues that the observed pedagogy only partially takes into account which epistemic relations to the object of study are necessary to build this understanding from the starting point of the students.

Epilogue

Having presented the general findings from the four articles in the previous section, this section provides an interlude: it revisits the classroom observations, presenting a brief episode from last lesson of the unit of study. It serves as a reminder of the context of the research, and bridges to the conclusions and implications which will be made in the subsequent section.

Today is the last day the students in the History group are gathered together to finish the History unit they've been covering over the past few weeks. Their teacher, Adam started the class off by writing the plan for the lesson up on the blackboard. The lesson is a kind of recap of the whole unit covered, and the teachers have chosen to focus on several items which the students seemed to have difficulty with. One of the points on the blackboard is to explain, as a class, the three 'hard' words from the online-materials' task number 15:

“Why was the father fired?

What was the father fighting for?

What do the hard words Alma's mother said mean: politics, labor union and democracy? Look the words up if you are not sure. You could make word-cards for each of them.

Write your answers down on a piece of paper.

You could also try contacting a labor union to find out what a labor union does.

Click on the arrow when the task is completed.

As usual for a teacher-led, whole-class activity in this classroom, the students are gathered in the center of the room, each child sitting on his or her colorful upside-down bucket. The buckets are placed, more or less, on circles drawn on the floor, where each circle contains the name of a child. The two teachers, Sarah and Adam are near the front of the room. Sarah is sitting on a chair off to the side, while Adam writes on the large paper flip-over chart next to the blackboard.

Having completed a kind of brainstorm activity for the word 'politics', Adam turns to a new blank page on the flip-over chart and writes the word *fagforening* (labor union) in the middle. Several boys put up their fingers, wanting Adam to call on them, before he even turns around.

While Adam writes, most of the students are talking amongst themselves. Several are engaging the other teacher, Sarah, in a discussion, asking her questions along the lines of how much longer the lesson will last, and why they have to do this. Because of the ambient noise in the room it is unclear what the students are saying, but Sarah's responses are audible:

Sarah: Shhhh!

Sarah: Because you have to tell us what a union is.

Sarah: You don't understand any of this?

Adal, one of the boys in the class, sitting near the front and off to the left must have said that he does not understand. Sarah seems surprised and unsure of how to answer. She turns to Adam:

Sarah: Adal doesn't understand any of this

Adam: Of what?

Sarah: Of what we're doing.

The teachers exchange a look with raised eyebrows. Are they surprised or is this to be expected from Adal? Adal looks at them, and brings his feet up on the stool, so he is sitting hunched together while he waits. Adam answers:

Adam: Adal, we're working on explaining the words that are written here [indicating the three words (democracy, union, politics) on the blackboard]

Adal: I still don't understand it.

Sarah: Don't you understand that what we're standing here, talking about what the words mean?

Adal: It's just (strange)

Sarah: [looks at Adam] Well then!

Adam: You really ought to ask if there's something you aren't sure about.

Adal puts his head down on his knees. While Adam continues with the lesson in much the same manner as before: the boys in the front of the room eagerly guess all kinds of things, they think might be connected to 'labor unions', the girls in the back whisper and giggle amongst themselves, Adam and Sarah try to manage the class to remain quiet and attentive so everyone can hear, and Adal sits with his head on his knees, apparently resigned to waiting out the last hour before lunch without knowing why they're doing what they're doing.

This brief episode during the last lesson of the unit exemplifies in many ways the frustrations experienced by both teachers and students in this classroom. Above, Adal clearly expresses frustration over not knowing what the goal of the classroom discussion is. Both of the teachers seem completely surprised by this. In the interview with Adam and Sarah, after the completed unit, they commented that Adal generally is 'a good kid', but a very meticulous kind of student. This they seem to see as being to his own detriment, because he has a hard time 'going with the flow'. Adam's response to Adal's attempt to ask for help (by stating that he doesn't understand) is that he should

ask if he's in doubt. Yet when Adal maintains that he doesn't understand, and thereby in fact *does* ask what the point of an exercise is, he is simply told "working on explaining the words that are written here". What the connection these words have to the unit they've been covering, the ghost girl Alma, or the K-W-L chart remain unspecified, leaving Adal to figure out for himself what they're doing and why.

In the following, the analyses from the four articles is brought together to form more general conclusions and implications of the research, raising potential explanations for why minority students in Folkeskolen, like Adal, are less likely to achieve academic success despite support such as that given by the school subject DSL.

Combining the findings: conclusions and implications

The overarching focus of the research has been to investigate why minority students, offered DSL as a means for academic support, nonetheless seem to have more difficulty attaining school success than their majority peers. Based on a theoretically informed position that classroom discourse plays an important role in both student learning and the shaping of their consciousness (Bernstein 2000; Christie 2007; Maton 2010), the research has investigated the implementation of the school subject Danish as a Second Language in History instruction through the analysis of teacher-student interactions with different teachers and at various points in the progression of an observed 5th grade unit of study about Denmark in the early 1900's. While video observations and later transcriptions of teacher-student interactions served as the main source of data, these were supplemented by screen shots of the multi-media teaching materials used for the unit and teacher interviews after the completed unit. Through the findings presented in each of the four articles, the research has provided insight into the importance and complexity of classroom discourse for shaping students' understandings of the content being learned and ultimately of their consciousness in terms of what is and is not considered legitimate knowledge in the classroom.

The students in the observed class give many examples of showing willingness to learn, but the teachers are often unable, or unwilling, to give students the help they request: either because the teachers seem to not understand the request, or because they seem to think the students' ought to be able to figure these things out on their own. Linguistic analysis of teacher-student interactions brought to the forefront an apparent miscommunication between teachers and students in that the teachers seem to be more preoccupied with *knowledge* aspects in both their own and students' answers, while students seem to be more focused on *action*, or what they should do in order to get approval.

In the group interview, the teachers Adam and Sarah, express frustrations over the students always wanting to be told what to do, and for wanting each exercise checked by a teacher: Adam states: “det er jo det med orden i sine ting”²⁴ (Adam, 49 minutes), which Sarah immediately follows up on: “Men det er jo generelt at de skal understøttes i helt vildt meget, altså bare det der med at skrive noget. Altså bare også det der med når de får en lille bitte opgave, og ø hvordan. Ja nu har jeg snart vænnet mig til at ikke gide se deres ting før end at de er færdige med at lave det! Det er lige som om det bliver meget kontrol og ’er det godt nok?’, ’er det godt nok?’, ’er det godt nok?’ og SÅ kan de gå videre, når læreren har sagt ’det er godt nok, iih hvor er du dygtig...’”²⁵. The quotes suggest that the students seek confirmation and affirmation from the teachers, which the analyses above confirm. However, Sarah’s comment here also supports what perhaps can be seen as a more general expression of the sort of pedagogy students are expected to participate in: being autonomous in completing individual and group tasks, being able to reflect on the knowledge being learned and critical of how teachers and materials present knowledge so as to build ‘their own’ understanding and perception of the world. In this way students are expected to grow into mature democratic citizens that are active in supporting Danish society in adulthood. The way the observed students act, constantly seeking confirmation from teachers, seems to be frowned upon, and the interviews reveal that the teachers see this as a sign of a ‘weak’ or ‘heavy’ student, commenting on how frustrating it is for them that the students don’t trust their own judgment: “de kan jo slet ikke reflektere!”²⁶ (Sarah, 28 minutes). At the same time the analyses in the research show that the students are given very little support in *how* to do this: connections between contexts of the materials, student lives, the past and the present are all highly implicit and often clouded by mixed genres, ‘interesting’ embellishments and narratives; and neither teachers nor the teaching materials make explicit the purpose of an activity or a task, or even the unit of study more generally speaking.

Analysis of teacher-student interactions has shown that teachers are often more *reactive* rather than *proactive* in their instruction techniques; rather than providing help to students by explaining what they see as central notions and key terms (for example by providing definitions, reading and selecting from the teacher-guide or relating to goals set forth in the Curriculum Guidelines), teachers react to the problems students exhibit in class by attempting to guide them to an understanding via

²⁴ Translation: it’s about being organized.

²⁵ Translation: but it’s generally speaking that they [the students] need support in many different things, even just writing something down. And even just when they have one little tiny task, um, how. Well now I’ve just gotten used to that I don’t even want to see their things until they’re done with them. It’s like it’s too much control and ‘is this good enough?’ ‘is this good enough?’ ‘is this good enough?’ and THEN they can move on after the teacher says ‘that’s good enough, iiii you’re so clever...’

²⁶ Translation: they can’t even reflect (on anything).

questioning. The questions teachers often employ rely on asking students to empathize with situations that are unknown or foreign to the students rather than unpacking complex and abstract notions and connections. The research shows too, that students are not supported in how to make these connections: not in terms of language skills, organizational skills, nor the critical thinking skills the teachers seem to want the students to have.

In this context, the theme of democracy and a democratic welfare state seems to be of particular importance to all three teachers involved in the observed unit of study, reflecting the position taken in both the teacher-guide and the curriculum guidelines. The amount of attention devoted to explaining concepts of democracy and politics in the last lesson of the observed unit suggests that the teachers consider these topics of particularly importance for their group of 'bilingual' students, which also becomes evident through the teacher interviews. This is not an uncommon perception of what these students in particular should be learning, and connects with assumptions about how their cultural backgrounds differ from the Danish national culture. These are then drawn upon in Danish progressive pedagogy as a way of making explicit the social norms of Danish schools and Danish society more generally (Bissenbakker Frederiksen 2009; Saarup et al. 2004; Øland 2011). The teachers' comments above and the pedagogy observed throughout the unit (with its strong emphasis on social relations based on understanding Danish History, customs and ideas especially via school experiences and empathy) aligns with such conclusions.

One of the hallmarks of Danish pedagogy is the claim that it takes its point of departure in the students as individuals with unique and varying abilities (Ekholm 2004) through 'homogenizing' and erasing social differences as a 'democratising' project (Herrlitz & Van de Ven 2007, in Frydensbjerg Elf & Kaspersen 2012:245). Teaching through questions in a Socratic approach seems to be integral to the didactic approach in Danish pedagogy (Hetmar 2011), making the analysis of teacher-student interactions in DSL instruction in this research relevant. Linguistic analyses of the common teacher-student interactions often referred to in other classroom research as the IRF or IRE tripartite was explored using the analytical tool of exchange structure analysis from the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics. With its focus on the interpersonal dimension of classroom discourse, these analyses brought to the forefront power relations between teachers and students, and how these affect the co-construction of meaning. By showing that teachers often are vague or elusive in their feedback to students, the research shows that students are often left to 'find out for themselves' what it is they are meant to learn. The research also shows that that this is something students have difficulty doing, meaning they in fact are left unsupported in their learning process,

and ultimately unable to participate in the kind of 'democratic' and critical interactions that are privileged in Folkeskolen and Danish society.

The combination of the many kinds of sorting, prioritizing and recontextualising of different pieces of knowledge from an interdisciplinary multimedia material source and teachers' questions and answers during teacher-student conversations and whole-class discussions was shown to be a difficult task for the students in that they seem to struggle to give teachers the kind of answers the teachers are looking for. In addition, the research shows that the difference between which answers teachers value and which are seen as incorrect, is not made explicit by the teachers, leaving students to try to figure out on their own what constitutes legitimate knowledge and how to demonstrate this. The difficulty students demonstrate in communicating their knowledge and understandings suggests, therefore, that they are positioned as the wrong kind of knowers for gaining success in this classroom. Conclusions from these analyses, therefore, suggest unfocused teaching with only vague reference to hierarchy and criteria, in other words, a highly implicit form of pedagogy.

Because of the overarching implicitness of the pedagogy observed, tools from LCT were used to explore the nature of "the organising principle" (Bernstein, 2000) of this classroom with the understanding that if the organising principle is not epistemic, it must be social (Maton, forthcoming). Specialization analysis combined with Semantics analysis give an indication of why the kind of tasks, students are presented with in both the teaching materials and by the teachers appears to be so difficult for them. An appreciation of the semantic density and semantic gravity of key words at different points in the unit lends an explanation for why it is hard for students to repeat 'in their own words' what the abstract concepts (such as *politics* and *democracy*) which they are meant to learn mean.

At the same time, the teachers seem to exhibit difficulty or unwillingness in giving students credit for what they actually do know, as shown by the vague or missing feedback teachers provide in their interactions with students. This understanding is supported by the LCT analyses done, by showing that social relations whose focus is students' personal experiences (such as Samyra relating a story about gypsies) are generally ignored or dismissed as incorrect by the teachers. At best, such answers can be seen as partially correct, and only if the student somehow manages to include appropriate terminology. This brings forth a paradox, when the intention of teachers (and the curriculum guidelines) is for the instruction to take its point of departure in 'where students are'. Thus, the research suggests that if teachers were to approach students' answers with more care, or with more attention, they may improve their chances of becoming aware of the many meanings students

actually do bring to the classroom discourse that are relevant to what the unit of study is focusing on.

By presenting a case of DSL integrated in History instruction as taught in one particular unit at one particular school, and holding this up against the wider context of the official pedagogic discourse of DSL (through the curriculum guidelines and the teacher-guide in the teaching materials), the research has explored issues of implementation of this subject in actual pedagogic practice. The analyses presented in the four articles, however, suggest more general pedagogic questions regarding equity and access to knowledge through a pedagogy which is difficult to classify as particularly DSL-related. When asked about how (her) instruction in particular can provide DSL-support, the DSL-coordinator, Bonny, suggests working with vocabulary and graphic organizers such as Brainstorms and KWL-charts. These are common suggestions also present in the Curriculum Guidelines and in the teacher-guide of the Sat Ud materials. And while they may seem concrete, these suggestions present a kind of blanket statement that does not actually make explicit *how* this type of work could connect back to theories of learning, knowledge, language learning or second language development more specifically. One could argue, therefore, that the tools for making legitimation codes available to children of a non-majority background are not made explicit to the teachers working with these students, leaving them (much like the students) to do the best they can with limited resources and under difficult conditions.

While the research has aimed to explore issues of language and knowledge surrounding the perceived difficulties minority students have in Folkeskolen, it is also important to point out that this thesis only presents a relatively small data set from one unit of study, in one fifth grade class in one of the many hundreds of public schools in the greater Copenhagen area. As such, there are limitations to what claims can be made on the basis of this research. The analytical tools chosen, however, allow for comparing the implications made here with research from other often very different contexts such as much current work being done in other parts of the world (see, for example, Dreyfus *et al.* 2011; Howard & Maton 2011; Lilliedahl in press, 2013; Macnaught forthcoming; Macnaught *et al.* 2013; Martin 2012; Martin 2013; Martin & Rose 2005; Maton 2013; Matruglio *et al.* 2013; Rose 2004, 2011; Rose *et al.* 2008). Understanding the research as a contribution in this direction helps to make clear the powerful role of classroom discourse and teachers' talk in making knowledge and scholastic success available to all students, including Folkeskolen's 'bilingual' students such as Hussain, Samyra, Fahrads, Jonathan and Adal.

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Articles

In the following section the four thesis articles are reprinted in their most current version (see Data Analysis section in the Introductory Chapter for a description of each of the article's most recent version). In a few instances formatting changes have been made and all endnotes in the submitted articles have been reformatted as footnotes to ease reading.

Article 1: "Hvad skal jeg så skrive?" – "Det må du selv vide..." : Udvekslingsstrukturanalyse af samtaler mellem lærere og elever i dansk som andetsprog- og historieundervisning

Abstract:

Ved hjælp af en socialemiotisk tilgang belyses der, hvilke betydningsdannelser synes at gøre sig gældende når lærere og elever taler sammen omkring en multimedieopgave, eleverne skal løse mens lærerne agerer hjælpere. På baggrund af et forskningsprojekt om dansk som andetsprog i folkeskolen sættes der fokus på den sproglige interaktion mellem lærere og elever. I det observerede forløb bruger lærere (og elever) megen energi på at gøre sig forståelige overfor den anden part, dog tilsyneladende uden en fælles forståelsesramme. Ved hjælp af det teoretiske analyseapparat, exchange structure analysis (Martin 1990), som er en måde at beskrive talt sprog ud fra det interpersonelle perspektiv analyseres tre dataklip for at vise hvordan den observerede talen-forbi-hinanden kan forklares. Netop denne misforståelse mellem lærere og elever, som i forskning omkring multikulturelle skolesammenhænge ofte tilskrives elevernes anden etniske baggrund, kan med de fremskrevne analyser kvalificeres, og derved synliggøre en del af den 'tosprogede problematik'.

Nøgleord: dansk som andetsprog, exchange structure analysis, SFL, lærer-elev interaktion, klasserumssamtale, tosprogede elever

Introduktion

I de senere år har der i medierne og politisk været megen fokus på hvordan tosprogede elever klarer sig i folkeskolen. Problemerne er efter sigende talrige og kan være af bl.a. social, kulturel, faglig eller sproglig karakter, eller endda en blanding af disse. Skolernes og lærernes udfordringer ved at hjælpe denne elevgruppe er indviklede og mange, men noget må der gøres:

Alt for mange tosprogede elever i folkeskolen forlader skolen uden de nødvendige færdigheder til at kunne klare en ungdomsuddannelse efterfølgende. Det viser blandt andet resultaterne af PISA Etnisk 2009. [...] ” det er meget vanskeligt at skabe gode resultater på skoler, hvor andelen af tosprogede elever er meget høj. [...]” siger børne- og undervisningsminister Christine Antorini.

(Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning 2011)

Dansk som andetsprog er et relativt nyt fag i folkeskolen, der netop har som mål at rette op på sproglige, kulturelle og faglige problemer, bl.a. ved at give tosprogede elever – herefter betegnet DSA-elever²⁷ – tilstrækkelige dansksproglige færdigheder, så de på lige fod med dansk-som-modersmålstalende elever kan deltage i undervisningen (Undervisningsministeriet 2009).

I det følgende redegøres der for en del af problematikken ved at undersøge nærmere nogle forekommende mønstre i lærer-elev samtaler i observeret DSA-undervisning af en femte klasse, som umiddelbart vækker undren, da begge parter gør sig store anstrengelser for at gøre sig forståelige over for den anden, men ender tilsyneladende alligevel med at tale forbi hinanden. Analysen af lærer-elev samtaler i undervisningen viser at problematikken måske nærmere ligger i det almenpædagogiske domæne, fremfor i de problemer der typisk tilskrives DSA-elevens kulturel baggrund eller manglende sprogfærdigheder.

Forskning i 'the fourth grade slump' og dansk som andetsprog

I udenlandsk forskning er et af kendetegnene ved børn med andet modersmål i skolen en problematik kendt som 'the fourth grade slump' (Chall *et al.* 1990), hvor eleverne fra ca. 4. klasse klarer sig dårligere end øvrige elever i standardiserede test og i skolen mere generelt. Denne problematik er især kendt fra læseforskningen i USA, afdækket af bl.a. Cummins (2000); Thomas og Collier (1999), men er også kendt i Norden (Hvenekilde *et al.* 1996; Loona 2009; Øzerk 2003). Forskningen viser at der omkring 4. klasse sker en ændring i kravene til eleverne især i forbindelse med skriftsproget (Christie 2006; Christie & Derewianka 2008; Schleppegrell 2004), således at elevens sproglige og kognitive færdigheder bliver de vigtigste indikatorer for deres læsefærdigheder og muligheder for at klare sig i skolen, og har især betydning for elever der skal lære på andetsproget (Gibbons 2006, 2009; Wedin 2004). Samtidigt får undervisningen mere systematisk og

²⁷ Omdrejningspunktet i denne artikel er en elevgruppe som til daglig ofte kaldes ”de tosprogede”. Her har jeg dog valgt at kalde elevgruppen i fokus for ”DSA-elever” eller elever/børn med dansk som andetsprog. Det gør jeg bevidst – ikke for at besværliggøre den måde vi kommunikerer om emnet, men for at flytte opmærksomheden fra det ellers oplagte begreb, ”tosprogede”, som desværre har udviklet sig til at have en umiddelbart negativ klang for de fleste. Ved at centrere det følgende omkring elever der lærer dansk som andetsprog flyttes fokus til at anerkende at disse børn har et andet modersmål end dansk, og først ved mødet med samfundet og især skolen begynder at lære dansk som deres andet (eller tredje, eller fjerde) sprog.

formel karakter, inddelt i mere traditionelle fagområder til forskel fra tidligere undervisning hvor der i højere grad bliver opdelt i emner, hvilket også afspejles i skolens tekster (Hvenekilde & Engen 1996; Hvenekilde *et al.* 1996). Problematikken genkendes også af lærere i Danmark, hvor den i dansk forskning beskrives af bl.a. (Gitz-Johansen 2006), der i sit feltarbejde på danske skoler observerer undervisning på mellemtrinnet og interviewer lærerne. I den danske kontekst kommer problemet ifølge lærernes udsagn til udtryk ved at elevernes kendskab til og beherskelse af såkaldte førfaglige udtryk og forforståelse er mangelfuld i forhold til at kunne klare sig i skolen (*Ibid.*).

En forståelse af læring som et socialt og kulturelt fænomen gør det muligt at orientere sig inden for den faglige forskning og debat der foregår på det andetsprogspædagogiske område. I Norden søges området belyst gennem forskellige indsatser (Haglund 2007; Laursen & Østergaard 2010; Quist & Svendsen 2010). I Danmark søges problematikken belyst bl.a. af forskere som et spørgsmål om forskelle mellem kulturer (Gilliam 2009; Horst & Gitz-Johansen 2010) eller med fokus på sammenhængen mellem sprog og fag (Laursen 2011, 2010; Laursen & Daugaard 2008). Den ovenfor omtalte danske forskning rummer dog ikke en mere detaljeret undersøgelse af hvilken betydning sprog og den sproglige interaktion har for hvilke læringsbetingelser der skabes for elever med dansk som andetsprog. Denne artikel søger at tydeliggøre en del af problematikken ved at kaste et nærmere blik på den sproglige interaktion mellem lærere og elever ud fra et socialsemiotisk perspektiv.

Hensigten med artiklen er at vise hvordan man ved at betragte samtalerne mellem lærerne og eleverne ved brugen af udvekslingsstrukturanalyse (*exchange structure analysis*) (Dreyfus 2006; Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007) kan nuancere den observerede talen-forbi hinanden mellem eleverne og lærerne. Udvekslingsstruktur-analysens væsentlige fordel er, at der ekspliciteres hvilke magtrelationer gør sig gældende i samtalen. Og fordi udvekslingsstrukturanalyse gør det muligt bl.a. at se på om samtalen drejer sig om udveksling af viden eller handling, kan nogle af de betydningsdannelser som bliver skabt i samtalen mellem lærere og elever nuanceres for bedre at forstå hvad der sker, når lærere og elever tilsyneladende taler forbi hinanden.

Artiklens struktur

Det valgte begrebsapparat er relativt nyt inden for det socialsemiotiske paradigme og er endnu ikke beskrevet fuldt ud på dansk. Nærværende artikel har derfor to formål: at introducere læseren til grundstrukturen i udvekslingsstrukturanalyse samtidig med at der gøres rede for nogle af de problematikker der kan ligge bag *the fourth grade slump* i en dansk kontekst og dermed den tilsyneladende uoverensstemmelse mellem skolens dominerende koder og DSA-elevernes sproglige kapital. Dette gøres ved først at introducere til datagrundlaget under overskriften *Data Baggrund: S-*

skolen, historiegruppen og 'Sat Ud' og ved at gengive det første af artiklens tre eksempler på samtaler mellem lærere og elever. Eksemplet beskrives ud fra et almenpædagogisk perspektiv for at tegne et billede af et eksempel på den virkelighed hvor DSA undervises som del af skolens øvrige fagundervisning. Under overskriften *Samtale som forhandling – teoretisk baggrund for udvekslingsstrukturanalyse* gives den teoretiske ramme som udvekslingsstrukturanalysen bygger på, hvorefter udvekslingsstrukturanalysen introduceres med henvisning til mere dybdegående beskrivelser af teorien. I afsnittet *Når viden og handlen støder sammen – analyse af to eksempler på lærer-elev samtaler* analyseres artiklens øvrige to dataeksempler vha. udvekslingsstrukturanalysens træk. Analysen diskuteres undervejs med henvisning til teorien og den tidligere beskrevne forskning. Derved dannes grundlaget for konklusionen i det sidste afsnit *"Goddag mand, økseskaft" – en konklusion*.

Data baggrund: S-Skolen, historiegruppen og 'Sat Ud'

Til projektet blev data samlet på S-skolen, en folkeskole hvor op mod 85 procent af eleverne har anden etnisk baggrund end dansk. Jeg fulgte et historieforløb i en femteklasse med tre lærere: Bonny, Adam og Sarah²⁸. Bonny er DSA vejleder på skolen og ansvarlig for bl.a. at vejlede og hjælpe skolens øvrige lærere med at tilrettelægge undervisningen²⁹. Bonny valgte emnet med udgangspunkt materialet "Sat Ud – et tværfagligt online multimediemateriale" udgivet af forlaget Alinea (2007) – til et sådant forløb i Adam og Sarahs historieundervisning, og var selv ansvarlig for at igangsætte forløbet ved at stå for undervisningen de første tre lektioner. Herefter overtog Adam og Sarah undervisningen, som i alt fordelte sig på seks lektioner over 4 uger. Emnet blev gennemført for 'historiegruppen', en sammensætning af ca. 15 elever fra klassens to hold, hvoraf kun to af børnene har dansk som modersmål.

Materialet Sat Ud er et online opgavebaseret materiale hvor eleverne bliver præsenteret for det berømte danske maleri af samme navn, malet af Erik Henningsen i 1892. De lytter til en historie, hvorefter der stilles et spørgsmål eller en opgave som skal besvares inden de kan gå videre i historien og materialet. Ifølge forfatterne er Sat Ud særligt velegnet for tosprogede elever da opgaverne i forbindelse med billedet er udviklet med vægt på kommunikative færdigheder både

²⁸ Alle navne er anonymiserede. Adam er historielærer og nyuddannet. Dette er hans første år som lærer. Sarah er klassens dansklærer, og på det tidspunkt hvor datasættet blev samlet var hun i gang med en videreuddannelse til Dansk som Andetsproglærer.

²⁹ Dette krav om at indarbejde dansk som andetsprog som dimension i den øvrige undervisning kommer fra Undervisningsministeriet / Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning og er en voksende trend, som bl.a. ses ved at der i januar 2012 kom et forslag om at nedlægge faget Dansk som andetsprog på læreruddannelsen. Argumentationen er at faget skal rummes og indarbejdes i den øvrige læreruddannelse. Om dette bliver vedtaget afventes stadig.

inden for læsning, skrivning og det mundtlige sprog, fx ved dialog, gruppe- og klassesamtaler (Clausen 2007).

Fra daglejer til fattiggård – et eksempel på lærer-elev samtale i undervisningen

I det følgende introduceres det første af tre eksempler fra de indsamlede data: en samtale mellem historielæreren Adam og eleverne Samyra og Saima i et gruppearbejde. Eksemplet er et klip på ca. 17 minutters interaktion taget fra den tredje lektion i emneforløbet. Transskriptionen af samtalen deles op undervejs med referat af hvad der sker mellem klippene for således at gengive nogle af de umiddelbare iagttagelser fra klasserumskonteksten.

Eleverne sidder alle sammen med en makker og en bærbar computer (pr. par), og er i gang med at arbejde sig igennem Sat Ud materialet mens de tre lærere cirkulerer for at tilbyde hjælp. Samyra og Saima sidder sammen ved klassens dør med en af de røde skoleordbøger fra hylden. De er i gang med materialets opgave nummer 7: *”Hvad betyder følgende ord fra dialogen, svigermor, arbejdsløs, fattiggård og daglejere. Slå ordene op i ordbogen, hvis du er i tvivl. Skriv en sætning på et stykke papir, hvor du bruger et eller flere af ordene. Klik på pilen når opgaven er løst”* (Alinea 2007). I spørgsmålets formulering antages det at eleverne har adgang til en f.eks. fysisk ordbog hvor de kan slå ukendte ord op. Men da det konkrete ord mangler i klassens ordbog, kalder pigerne på Adam for at bede om hjælp. Adam kommer hen og tager ordbogen fra dem og sætter sig på reolen ved siden af for selv at slå ordet op.

Mens Adam søger i ordbogen dæmper Samyra stemmen og fortæller Saima om noget helt u-relateret. Da Adam heller ikke kan finde ordet, lukker han ordbogen og sætter sig på hug ved siden af Saima. Pigerne retter opmærksomheden mod ham for at fortælle at de alligevel selv fandt ud af et af de andre ord i opgaven, nemlig fattiggård. Adam forfølger dette sammen med pigerne ved at bede dem om at prøve at forklare ”med nogle andre ord” hvad fattiggård betyder, og derefter ved at bede dem referere hvordan de hørte ordet brugt i Sat Ud materialet. Især Samyra prøver sig frem, men efter lidt tid hvor Adam ikke har svaret bekræftende på flere af Samyras forsøg, spørger hun ham, ”Ved du det egentlig?” hvortil han svarer ” Ja, jeg ved godt hvad det er ... Men det er ikke bare en gård hvor der bor en fattig bondemand.” Han forsøger igen at få Samyra til at gengive hvordan ordet blev brugt i materialet. Hun prøver at referere hvad hun husker fra dialogen mellem politimanden og faderen på billedet³⁰:

³⁰ Til mine data bruger jeg transkriptionskonventioner, baseret på “Transcription conventions” oversat fra (Eggins & Slade 2005:5). Se Appendiks 1 for en oversigt.

- Samyra: De aaah - han sagde I kan bare gå i fattiggården og så kan din ø barn også din svigermor bo der [peger på computerskærmen] og så sagde han hvad med min kone og dem? Og så kan jeg ikke huske mer'.
- Adam: OK, så de kan gå hen og bo i en fattiggård?
- Samyra: Ja?
- Adam: Hvad er det så for et sted?
- Samyra: Så de kan hjælpe, det ved jeg ik', han sagde bare sådan.
- Adam: Hvad tror I det er for et sted hvis man bor der?
- Samyra: (****)
- Adam: Der kan komme folk hen og bo der når de er fattige

På det tidspunkt ser det ud til at Samyra har forstået noget, og hun bryder ind: "Ligesom hoteeel!", til hvilket Adam svarer "Som et hotel?!". Hans intonation og ansigtsudtryk viser at han ikke mener dette er en rigtig sammenligning, hvilket pigerne også fanger idet de fniser og griner. Adam prøver at få Samyra til at indse at hendes bud ikke var rigtigt ved at stille spørgsmål til hvordan hoteller er og hvad man laver der, og så bede hende tænke på hvordan fattiggården blev omtalt i materialet. Samyra forsøger videre, men bevæger sig ud ad en tangent i nogle minutter, hvorefter Adam genopretter samtalen om fattiggården ved at bede pigerne beskrive hvordan de forestiller sig maden var på en fattiggård og hvordan man boede der. Han spørger også til om pigerne tror det var populært at bo på en fattiggård. Pigerne kan godt gætte at svaret er nej: "I hvert fald ikke" svarer Samyra. Adam virker som om han mener de nu er på et spor der kan give pote, og han fortsætter:

- Adam: Hvorfor, hvorfor? nej hvorfor? .. Prøv at hør, den gang – hvorfor ville man ikke bo der?
- Samyra: Det var øø det var ik' så luksus. [Peger på skærmen] (som i) deres eget hus
- Adam: Hvad tror I folk synes om òn når man bor der?
- Samyra: (***)
- Saima: Ligesom sigøjnere
- Samyra: De tror de er sigøjnere
- Adam: Hvordan er det sigøjnere er?
- Samyra: Jeg ved det ikke. Der er daaa ... – de kommer altid i Tyrkiet. De sælger alle mulige dyre (***)
- Hussain*: [gående forbi] Ad, sigøjnere!
- Samyra: Ja, og de laver sådan de har alle mulige huller i tøjene. Det har de bare (**)
- * Hussain er en af drengene i klassen

Det er tydeligt at sigøjnere er noget Samyra har en mening om, og hun fortæller ivrigt videre til Saima om en sigøjner der prøvede at sælge en bog til hendes bror. Imens tager Adam ordbogen op igen og sætter sig tilbage på reolen, "Der står ikke fattiggården i den der bog her? Det er I sikre på?" Pigerne ser ud til at forstå at Adam ikke er interesseret i at høre om sigøjnere. Samyra vender sig mod Saima mens hun hurtigt og lavt fortæller videre, og Saima fniser og lytter med. Da Adam kigger i ordbogen, har han ikke mulighed for at høre hvilke ideer Samyra giver udtryk for at have om sigøjnere, og hvordan disse evt. kunne være relaterede til det emne han forsøger at uddybe for dem. Men ud fra det jeg kan fange af hendes fortælling, giver Samyra udtryk for at sigøjnere er fattige, at de er mennesker man ikke kan lide, altså en temmelig unuanceret men alligevel relevant holdning til

hvordan en marginaliseret gruppe i samfundet såsom sigøjnere eller fattige mennesker betragtes. Således bliver hendes forforståelse ikke anerkendt eller knyttet til den forklaring Adam giver lidt senere. Efter at han har konstateret at "fattiggård" rent faktisk ikke findes i ordbogen, kommer Adam med sin forklaring på hvad en fattiggård er – et ord som pigerne selv mente at forstå. Den del af samtalen vender jeg tilbage til senere.

Samtale som forhandling – teorien bag og om udvekslingsstrukturanalyse

For bedre at forstå nuancerne og evt. misforståelser i samtaler mellem lærere og elever, skal jeg her præsentere de greb der gør det muligt at analysere en dialog gennem en såkaldt udvekslingsstrukturanalyse³¹. Denne beskrivelse af samtaler har to væsentlige fordele i relation til andre diskursanalytiske retninger som f.eks. konversationsanalyse eller andre typer af interaktionel lingvistik: For det første beror modellen på en integreret, omfattende og systemisk sprogmodel – den systemisk funktionelle lingvistik (SFL) – som gør det muligt at beskrive og kvantificere samtalemønstre på forskellige niveauer og med varierende detaljeringsgrader. For det andet bliver forbindelsen mellem sprog og den sociale proces teoretiseret, hvorved samtaler kan forstås som en måde socialt liv udføres på. For at forstå udvekslingsstrukturanalysen gengives ganske kortfattet hvilket teoretisk grundlag den bygger på under overskriften *Analyse af det talte sprog*. Dette skaber grundlaget for den efterfølgende beskrivelse af de konkrete begreber som bliver brugt i artiklens analysedel under overskriften *Udvekslinger og træk*. De relevante træk opsummeres til sidst inden analysen under overskriften *Opsummering*, og kan også findes beskrevet i appendiks 2.

Analyse af det talte sprog

Til forskel fra skriftlige tekster kan samtaler ses som en samkonstrueret tekst der består af bidrag fra to (eller flere) deltagere, som tager sig ture (turns) for at komme til orde. Et væsentligt bidrag til at forstå samtaler har været konversationsanalysen som også teoretiserer begrebet (Coffin *et al.* 2009), udvikler forståelsen af samtaler og sætter fokus på hvordan deltagere skiftes til at tage ordet bl.a. ved at introducere begrebet ytringspar (adjacency pairs)³² – at ture kan grupperes i par der betydningsmæssigt hænger sammen som f.eks. spørgsmål og svar. Denne diskursanalytiske retning er blevet udbygget i en pædagogisk sammenhæng af bl.a. Sinclair og Coulthard (1975) med

³¹ Af pladshensyn gives her kun en kort oversigt over de dele af teorien som er nødvendige for at forstå de efterfølgende analyser. De beskrevne træk kan også ses i artiklens Appendiks 1 med den tilsvarende oprindelige engelske term. For en mere udførlig beskrivelse af hvordan samtaler teoretiseres henvises der til (Eggins & Slade 2005; Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007), og for en fremstilling af dialoger med dette teoretiske perspektiv i en pædagogisk sammenhæng henvises til (Hunt 1991) og (Dreyfus *et al.* 2011).

³² Fra konversationsanalysen – kendt som CA (*conversation analysis*) – var en af de banebrydende iagttagelser at samtaler kan ses som opbygget af ytringspar (*adjacency pairs*). Denne forskning påpeges af Martin (1992) og Eggins & Slade (2005), som begge henviser til arbejde udført af bl.a. Schegloff & Sacks.

anerkendelsen af at samtaler ikke altid kan opdeles i betydningsmæssige par af ture. I klasserumsundersøgelser lagde de mærke til et ofte forekommende mønster af tre sammenhængende ture initieret af læreren, bestående af lærerens spørgsmål, en elevs svar og derefter en opfølgning fra læreren – den såkaldte IRF model (Initiation, Response, Feedback). For bedre at håndtere muligheden for flere sekvenser af sammenhængende ture introducerer de begrebet *udvekslinger* i stedet for ytringspar. I deres arbejde udvider de yderligere forståelsen af samtale ved at erstatte CAs mindste analysestørrelse (den såkaldte TCU, turn constructional units) med den bedre grammatiskdefinerbare størrelse, *træk*. Martin (1992) og Martin og Rose (2007) tager i deres beskrivelse af udvekslingsstrukturanalyse højde for arbejder af bl.a. Ventola (1987), og bygger videre på Berry (1979, 1981) der oprindeligt satte Sinclair og Coultharts diskursanalytiske forslag om at betragte samtale ud fra udvekslinger bestående af træk, ind i SFL-paradigmet.

SFL muliggør en beskrivelse af forholdet mellem sprog, kontekst og sociale processer inklusivt alle betydninger i sprogbrugen. Dette kommer til udtryk i teorien gennem begrebet metafunktioner, hvoraf der er tre: Den *interpersonelle* metafunktion, som handler om de ressourcer i sproget der bruges til at etablere relationer til andre mennesker (dvs. *hvem* der kommunikerer med hvem og med hvilket formål); Den *ideationelle* metafunktion, som handler om de ressourcer i sproget, der bruges til at videregive informationer og erfaringer med (dvs. spørgsmålet om, *hvad* der kommunikeres om); og den *tekstuelle* metafunktion, som betegner sprogets funktion til diskursivt at organisere de to andre metafunktioners betydning (dvs. spørgsmålet om, *hvordan* der kommunikeres) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Hestbæk Andersen & Smedegaard 2005; Martin 1992).

Udvekslingsstrukturanalyse er en SFL-model, der bruges til at beskrive forhandling af betydningsdannelse i det talte sprog – altså i samtaler. I dette perspektiv ses udvekslinger som det grundlæggende i al social interaktion (Dreyfus 2006; Ventola 1987). Hver udveksling undersøges ud fra tre parametre:

- hvad der forhandles: altså om der forhandles *information* eller *handling*
- om det *tilbydes* eller *forlanges*
- og om taleren *initierer* eller *responderer* (Martin & Rose 2007)

Med udgangspunkt i systemet for Forhandling som befinder sig inden for den *interpersonelle* metafunktion viser udvekslingsstrukturanalyse hvilket formål taleren har med sit træk (dvs. om udvekslingen i samtalen er en forhandling om information/viden, eller om den snarere drejer omkring handling / ting og tjenesteydelser). Samtidigt, ved at se på om det tilbydes eller forlanges og om taleren initierer eller responderer afsløres hvilke relationerne og magtforhold der er mellem deltagerne i samtalen. Ligeledes tager udvekslingsstrukturanalyse højde for, hvilken funktion et træk

har i forbindelse med dets ytringsfunktion. For eksempel kan udsagnet ”Der er koldt” både fungere som en konstatering og som en anmodning om handling (f.eks. om at lukke en dør), selv om realiseringen forbliver den samme. Hvordan trækkes kodes afhænger af om der f.eks. svares ”ja, superkoldt!” eller ”så tag en jakke på”.

Udvekslinger og træk

En samtale består af udvekslinger som igen består af (sekventielle) træk (Martin 1992). Træk defineres ud fra om der forhandles *viden* (knowledge) eller *handling* (action) – altså om der forhandles hhv. information eller ting og tjenesteydelser (Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007). Derudover kan træk klassificeres ud fra om der er tale om en *primær* (primary) eller *sekundær* (secondary) deltager³³, hvilket uddybes med eksempler nedenfor.

Med udvekslingsstrukturanalysen gøres der rede for sekvenser af træk som samlet set udgør de *udvekslinger* der igen udgør samtalen. Martin (1992) bygger på Berry (1979, 1981) for at definere i alt 5 mulige træk som skematisk kan fremstilles på følgende måde:

$$((Ux1) \wedge x2) \wedge x1 \wedge ((x2f) \wedge x1f)$$

Parenteser betegner her valgfrie træk hvor x kan være enten V eller H (hhv. videns- eller handletræk), ”^” betyder efterfulgt af, og tallene 1 og 2 angiver hhv. primær og sekundær deltager. Som skemaet viser, er det eneste obligatoriske træk i en vellykket udveksling x1 at levere information, hvis det er et primært videnstræk (V1), eller at udføre en handling, hvis det er et primært handletræk (H1). En udveksling kan derudover indeholde op til fire valgfrie træk (Ux1, x2, x2f og x1f), hvor U står for udskudt, og f for opfølgning.

Udvekslinger kan altså starte på en af tre måder (med Ux1, x2, eller x1 som det initierende træk) og kan enten være vidensudvekslinger hvor der forhandles information (V), eller handleudvekslinger hvor der forhandles ting og tjenesteydelser (H). Dette kan bedre forstås ved hjælp af følgende eksempler:

Information (Viden)

Uv1 Hvad er det?
V2 - Et interval.
V1 - Rigtigt.

Ting & Tjenesteydelser (Handling)

Uh1 Kan jeg byde på en øl?
H2 - Ja tak.
H1 - Værsgo’.

³³ På engelsk benævnes træk efter hvilken form for deltager taleren kan være, f.eks. ”a primary knower move” eller ”secondary actor move”. Af sproglige hensyn har jeg valgt at oversætte disse til hhv. *primært videnstræk* og *sekundært handletræk*, men med denne oversættelse mangler informationen om hvilken af deltagerne der udfører trækket. Af denne grund vælger jeg også at henvise til samtaleparterne som deltagere (frem for f.eks. ’part’), da det er deres deltagelse og (sociale) forhandling som er fokusområdet for disse analyser.

Articles

V2	Kommer du?	H2	Henter du mig en øl?
V1	- Ja, jeg kommer.	H1	- Værsgo'.
V1	Jeg kommer klokken seks.	H1	Værsgo', en øl.
V2f	- Nå	H2f	- Tak.
V1	Jeg kommer klokken seks.	H1	Værsgo', en øl.
V2f	- Det gør du.	H2f	- Tak.
V1f	- Ja.	H1f	- Velbekomme.

Oversat fra Martin (1992:47-48)

Som eksemplerne viser, udføres et primært videnstræk (V1) af en deltager som har den information der bliver leveret i forhandlingen, mens et sekundært videnstræk (V2) udføres af en deltager som mangler denne viden. Betegnelserne primær (1) og sekundær (2) går altså ikke på rækkefølgen i samtalen, men på den funktion trækket har, og siger derfor noget om magtfordelingen mellem deltagerne i udvekslingen: den primære deltager har den mere magtfulde position. I forhold til handletræk er det den der udfører (eller har mulighed for at udføre) handlingen der kan komme med et primært handletræk, mens den der anmoder om eller modtager handlingen laver et sekundært handletræk.

Det særlige ved det primære handletræk er imidlertid at det også kan forekomme nonverbalt (kodet med H1:nv), idet handlingen blot udføres uden at deltageren siger noget, eller ved at handlingen loves udført på et senere tidspunkt, f.eks. (hypotetisk):

H2	Kan du give mig bogen?
H1:nv	- [giver bogen]
H2f	- Tak.
H2	Giv mig lige bogen.
H1	- Jeg henter den i morgen.
H2f	- Tak.
<i>(Ibid.)</i>	

Både primære og sekundære deltagere kan altså initiere en udveksling, og begge deltagere har mulighed for at afslutte en udveksling med et opfølgende træk (kodet med f).

Med denne viden om forskellige træktyper kan følgende udveksling fra den tidligere samtale mellem Adam og Samyra nu forstås således:

V2	Samyra:	Ved du det egentlig?
V1	Adam:	Ja, jeg ved godt hvad det er ... Men det er ikke bare en gård hvor der bor en fattig bondemand.

Samyra laver et sekundært videnstræk (V2), idet hun vil vide om Adam egentlig ved hvad en fattiggård er: hun efterspørger information hun ikke selv har. Og Adams svar er et primært

videnstræk³⁴ (V1) – han er den mere magtfulde (primære) deltager idet han har den information Samyra efterspørger. Han siger ja og giver en slags forklaring.

En *sproglig tjenesteydelse* (linguistic service) er et træk der hovedsageligt har handlingskarakter, idet det ledsages af markører som typisk forekommer inden for handleudvekslinger (såsom ”er du sød at...”, ”tak” osv.), men hvor handlingen udføres ved at der – så at sige – gives information (Ventola 1987; Martin & Rose 2007, Dreyfus 2006). Denne type træk blev først beskrevet i forbindelse med servicemøder (service encounters) (Ventola 1987), som f.eks. ved informationsskranken, hvor en kunde ønsker information (hypotetisk):

H2:st[V2]	Hvornår kører toget?	H2	Kan du give mig bogen
H1:st[V1]	- klokken tre	H1:nv	- [giver bogen]
H2f	- Tak.	H2f	- Tak.

Sammenlignet med det tidligere eksempel på en handleudveksling (hvor det primære handletræk var at give bogen) ses ligheden tydeligt. Men til forskel for udvekslingen om bogen, beder den sekundære deltager (kunden) med spørgsmålet ’hvornår kører toget?’ om information som om det var en ting. Derfor kodes det som en sproglig tjenesteydelse (:st) med [V2] for at vise at der egentlig er tale om et træk vis omdrejningspunkt er information/viden men som strukturelt ligner en handling/ting. Svaret indeholder altså noget information som den initierende ikke kender til, men ønsker at vide noget om, og som er nødvendig for den anden deltager at *give* for at udvekslingen kan afsluttes som vellykket. Derfor ses også det samme opfølgende træk, ’tak’, i begge eksempler.

I undervisningssituationer er sproglige tjenesteydelser et hyppigt forekommende træk også, idet der udveksles og forhandles viden samtidig med at eleverne skal gøre noget for at gennemføre opgaver og øvelser og demonstrere at de forstår og lærer (Hunt 1991). Som forventet, forekommer sproglige tjenesteydelser også i mine data. Hvilken rolle de spiller undersøges nærmere under artiklens analysedel *Når viden og handlen støder sammen*.

Indtil videre er det i beskrivelsen af dialoger vha. udvekslingsstrukturanalyse blevet antaget at de observerede udvekslinger har været vellykkede, men i samtaler opstår også uoverensstemmelser og uklarheder som skal løses før udvekslingen kan fortsætte. Disse typer af træk kaldes dynamiske, idet de kan forekomme på hvilket som helst tidspunkt i en udveksling. De kan gentages og er således ikke multivariable sådan som de indtil nu beskrevne træk (Martin 1990 i Hunt 1991). Det er dog ikke nødvendigt i denne artikel at give en udførlig beskrivelse af alle de dynamiske træk, da pointen ikke

³⁴ Da Adams tre sætninger betydningsmæssigt hænger sammen, analyseres de her som et samlet træk, i teorien omtalt som et *trækkompleks* (jf. Ventola 1987 i Martin & Rose 2007 og Eggins 1990 i Dreyfus 2006).

afhænger af disse. De dynamiske træk der måtte forekomme i de medtagne eksempler nedenfor bliver kort beskrevet efterhånden som de opstår.

Opsummering

Trækkene i en udveksling kodes først og fremmest på baggrund af den funktion trækket spiller i udvekslingen. Hvert træk betragtes altså i sammenhæng med hele udvekslingen og ikke som uafhængige, løse størrelser. I enhver (vellykket) udveksling skal der ifølge teorien være mindst et primært træk som udgør enten den viden/information (V1) eller den handling/ting/tjenesteydelse (H2) som er til forhandling. Trækkene afgøres som enten primære (x1) eller sekundære (x2) afhængigt af hvilken magtposition deltageren har i udvekslingen. En primær deltager kan udskyde det primære træk (f.eks. i Uv1) ved at stille et spørgsmål som han allerede kender svaret til. Dette er et typisk 'lærer'-træk, der bruges bl.a. at tjekke om elever følger med og forstår og er således en mere nuanceret måde at betragte de kendte IRF udvekslinger. Når der er tale om en forhandling af information som om det var en ting eller tjenesteydelse, er der tale om træk af typen sproglige tjenesteydelser, og disse kan oftest genkendes ved sproglige markører som f.eks. "tak" i opfølgningstrækket.

Når viden og handlen støder sammen – analyse af to eksempler på lærer-elev samtaler i undervisningen

Ud fra en forståelse af hvordan man kan teoretisere samtale vha. udvekslingsstrukturanalyse kan den observerede talen-forbi-hinanden mellem lærere og elever i det observerede emneforløb nu træde tydeligere frem. I brugen af udvekslingsstrukturanalysen skal teksten i første omgang inddeles i udvekslinger, hvorefter det er muligt at bestemme hvilken type træk der findes. Denne helt grundlæggende analyse viser bl.a. hvem der taler hvornår og hvilken type træk der forekommer, altså om deltagerne foretager handletræk, herunder også sproglige tjenesteydelser, eller videnstræk, og hvilken form for efterfølgende træk der er mulig for at udvekslingen og dermed samtalen af deltagerne kan betragtes som vellykket. Under de følgende to overskrifter: *hvad er det så vi skal skrive?* og *Gæt hvad jeg ved* bruges udvekslingsstrukturanalysen til at se på hvordan viden og handlen tilsyneladende støder sammen i lærer-elev samtalerne i udvalgte eksempler fra to forskellige undervisningsgange og ved to forskellige lærere.

Hvad er det så vi skal skrive?

Den sidste del af det tidligere eksempel hvor Adam forsøger at hjælpe Samyra og Saima med at løse opgaven fra Sat Ud materialet kan ved hjælp af udvekslingsstrukturanalysen nu forstås på følgende måde:

37	check ³⁵ V1	Adam	Øøø. Altså fattiggården, ik' ? Det er rigtig hvad I siger (og sådan noget). Det ER sådan et sted når man, når man IKKE har flere penge. Så kommer man der hen og så bor man RIGTIG dårligt. Og der er ikke så meget plads. Og man får .. DÅRLIG mad.. og man skal arbejde. Man er nærmest – det er nærmest .. tæt på at være slave man er. (og) man (hvad hedder det) man har ik' nogen penge og man har ikke sådan rettigheder. Det er virkelig ikke noget godt sted at bo.
	afkl:nv bkan	Samyra: Adam:	[tager sin blyant i hånden og kigger på sit papir] Okay?
38	H2 V1 V2f	Samyra: Adam: Samyra:	Hvad skal vi så skrive? Jamen, mange af de ting I sagde var rigtige rigtig

Dette er den 37. udveksling i dialogen (jf. tabellens 1. kolonne). Den begynder med lærerens check af, om eleverne følger med i samtalen. Han henleder dermed igen deres opmærksomhed på emnet. For at forklare ordet, fattiggård, foretager han et langt primært videnstræk (V1). I en vellykket udveksling ville et sådant V1 træk blive efterfulgt af et opfølgende sekundært videnstræk (V2f) som giver udtryk for at eleven har forstået forklaringen; men her *gør* Samyra noget i stedet for (hun tager sin blyant op og kigger på sit papir) uden at sige noget. Dette kan forstås som Samyras nonverbale afklaringsanmodning (afkl:nv), hvormed hun viser tegn på at hun forsøger at følge med i samtalen, men at Adams forklaring egentlig ikke har hjulpet hende til at vide hvad hun skal skrive – altså hvad hun skal gøre.

Adams opfølgende bekræftelses-anmodning (bkan) tyder på at han heller ikke har fået hvad han forventer i udvekslingen: at Samyra fortæller ham at hun har forstået hans forklaring. Han forventer altså et opfølgende sekundært videnstræk (V2f) fra hende – så han formentlig på baggrund heraf kan vurdere om hun har forstået. Efter en bekræftelses-anmodning som hans ”okay?” ville det næste træk forventes at være en bekræftelse (”ja” eller måske ”nåå, en fattiggård er et sted fattige mennesker kommer når de skylder penge”), men Samyras næste træk starter i stedet en ny udveksling, idet hun spørger: ”Hvad skal vi så skrive?”. Hun viser således at hun forstår at Adam på en måde giver hende svaret, men også at hun er usikker på hvordan den viden han kommer med skal afgrænses og gøres til et svar på opgaven.

Man kan sige at eleven her har fokus på hvad der skal *gøres* frem for hvad der skal *vides*, hvilket ellers ser ud til at være der hvor lærerens fokus ligger. Denne antagelse bekræftes også af Adams efterfølgende træk i den 38. udveksling hvor han svarer: ”Jamen, mange af de ting I sagde var

³⁵ Et check er et sporende (dynamisk) træk anvendt af taleren til at høre om lytteren er med. De foregår ofte indenfor lange ture. De kan følges af et såkaldt respons-til-check træk (rcheck), (på engelsk *response to check*), hvorved lytteren be- eller afkræfter sin forståelse.

rigtige". Samyras følger op med en gentagelse af ordet "rigtig" og så prøver hun igen at få svar på hvad hun skal gøre ved at initiere den 39. udveksling:

39	V1:nv V2f	Samyra: Adam:	(****) [viser at malke en ko] Ja. Men det er ik', det er, altså – Det er ikke altid, det er ikke altid at det er en GÅRD altså. Det behøves ikke altid være en gård.
40	H2 V1	Samyra: Adam:	[viser ud hvad hun har skrevet] Hvad skal vi skrive? Det bare, det HEDDER bare fattiggården. Nogen gange er det bare .. er det øø, er det bare sådan et hus inde i byen hvor at øø hvor der ikke er køer og sådan noget. Det hedder bare fattiggården.
	H2f:nv V1f	Samyra: Adam:	[banker let på skrivebordet med sin blyant] det HEDDER det altså!

Samyra siger noget som ikke kan tydes fra optagelsen, men samtidig viser hun med sine hænder hvordan man maler en ko. Adam godkender hendes primære videnstræk som indleder denne udveksling med et "ja" (altså et opfølgende sekundært videnstræk V2f). Hun er altså på rette spor, men han tilføjer også en udvidelse af opfølgningen ved at præcisere at der ikke altid er tale om en (bonde)gård. Samyra initierer den 40. udveksling ved igen at spørge hvad hun skal skrive, hvorefter Adam gentager sin forklaring om hvad en fattiggård *ikke* er: "det HEDDER bare fattiggården... hvor der ikke er køer og sådan noget". Det overraskende i denne udveksling er at svaret mere ligner et primært videnstræk (V1) end et primært handletræk (H1), som man ville forvente skulle følge Samyras anmodning om at Adam fortæller hende hvad hun skal gøre. Adam har altså fokus på viden frem for handling, og hans træk ligner derfor mere et primært videnstræk end et primært handletræk og bliver derfor også kodet i udvekslingen som V1. Både hans gentagelse sidst i trækket "Det hedder bare fattiggården" og det opfølgende træk han laver "det HEDDER det altså!" bekræfter gyldigheden af denne kodning, idet der ikke kan findes nogen form for henvisning til handling eller en ting/tjenesteydelse.

Samyras opfølgning på Adams svar i udveksling 40 er et nonverbalt træk hvor hun banker let i bordet med sin blyant (H2f:nv). På den måde viser hun at hun ikke har fået det svar hun forventede, altså en indikation på at han ikke hjælper hende med hvad hun skal skrive. Men Adam ser ud til at misforstå hendes frustration og opfatter det som om hun tvivler på sandhedsværdien af hans viden, hvorfor han fortsætter med sit opfølgende primære videnstræk (V1f) "det HEDDER det altså!". Med sit nonverbale træk viser Samyra her at hun er frustreret over situationen hvor hun ikke får at vide hvad hun skal gøre, men Adams fokus er på hendes viden, og måske derfor mistolker han hendes reaktion som tvivl om hvad han har sagt, altså en form for anfægtelse af validiteten af hans viden (at det hedder en fattiggård, men ikke altid er en gård).

Som respons på Adams primære videnstræk ovenfor prøver Samyra at stille spørgsmålet på en anden måde. Hun initierer derfor den næste udveksling (41) med at sige at hun ikke kan huske hvad hun skal skrive, hvorved hun introducerer et videnselement i sit træk for at signalere at hun godt forstår at Adam spørger efter noget viden, men at hun stadig mangler at overføre denne til en konkret handling. Der er dog stadig Adam der er i den primære deltager rolle, da hun efterspørger noget hun ikke selv ved i form af et spørgsmål om hvad hun skal gøre (skrive). Derfor kodes dette træk som en sproglig tjenesteydelse nedenfor (H2:st[V2]). Adam svarer ikke på hendes spørgsmål, men starter i stedet en ny udveksling ved at stille sit eget spørgsmål:

41	H2:st[V2]	Samyra:	Jeg kan ikke huske, hvad, hvad er det vi så skal skrive? [børster viskelædersmuld af sit papir]. Jeg har glemt det
42	Uv1 V2	Adam: Samyra:	Hvad var det, hvad var det vi snakkede om det var I ku' skrive? ØØØ dårlig (****) = De bor=

Således ser Adam ikke ud til at ville levere svaret på Samyras spørgsmål idet han ikke følger op med det forventede primære videnstræk (V1). I stedet indleder han den 42. udveksling med et udskudt primært videnstræk (Uv1). Samyra ser ud til at forstå at den type spørgsmål betyder at hun skal give et svar der indeholder information, så hun prøver med et passende V2 træk: "ØØØ dårlig (****) de bor" men Adam afbryder hendes svar (formentlig fordi han synes, hun ikke er på rette kurs) og stiller et nyt spørgsmål med endnu et udskudt primært videnstræk i udveksling 43. Samyra prøver igen med et V2 træk i udveksling 43:

43	Uv1 V2	Adam: Samyra:	= Hvorfor kommer de der? Fordi de ikke har (****). De - de har sådan nærmest ingen plads. Og de arbejder rigtig hårdt.
44	H2:st[V2] H1:st[V1] afklan af:nv	Samyra: Adam: Samyra: Adam:	Hvad skal vi så skrive? I skal skrive det. Det jeg lige har sagt? [nikker]

I udvekslingerne 42 og 43 ser det ud til at Adam forsøger at udvide pigernes begrebsforståelse ved at initiere med udskudte primære videnstræk (Uv1). Samyra genkender denne spørgsmålstype, hvilket ses ved at hun i begge tilfælde forsøger at svare på hvad han spørger om, med det forventede sekundære videnstræk (V2) i begge udvekslinger. Hun viser at forstår at hun skal fortælle noget hun ved, så hun prøver at sige alt hvad hun husker fra samtalerne i materialet og med Adam om, hvad en fattiggård er, og hvordan det er for dem der bor der. Samtidigt signalerer hun at hun har brug for mere hjælp til at vælge, hvad der er vigtigt i alt det der er blevet sagt, idet hun har svært ved at omformulere sin viden til en handling – at skrive det ned i en sætning. Det viser hun ved endnu en

gang at vende tilbage til sit spørgsmål "hvad skal vi så skrive?" som hun initierer udveksling 44 med. Af de fire udvekslinger ovenfor (41-44) har de to som er initieret af Samyra (41 og 44) begge karakter af både videnstræk og handletræk, idet Samyra forsøger at få Adam til at give hende den information hun skal skrive ned. De kan således ses som værende træk af typen sproglig tjenesteydelse (H2:st[V2]), fordi der i begge tilfælde er elementer af noget der skal gøres, og en viden der efterspørges (således [V2]). Men Adams forsøg på at hjælpe hende ved at stille nye spørgsmål til hvilke han kender svaret (Uv1) ser ikke ud til at hjælpe hende.

Denne samtale er et eksempel på en talen-forbi-hinanden som ikke bliver repareret, hvilket muligvis bl.a. skyldes en skæv magtfordeling mellem lærer og elev. Samyra kan ikke bare sige "nej, du har ikke svaret på det jeg spurgte om. Jeg vil gerne vide hvad jeg skal *skrive*," når Adam giver sin forklaring. Hun må forsøge sig på andre måder som er acceptable for hendes position i denne kontekst, hvilket hun gør ved at vise at hun er med på at Adam forklarer noget vigtigt for hende (frem for f.eks. at kigge ud ad vinduet, gabe, kaste med blyanten el. lign.) og ved at prøve igen.

I efterfølgende interviews med lærerne beskriver de frustrationer ved elever som Samyra fordi der så tit fokuseres på om hvad de har skrevet/svaret er 'rigtigt' i stedet for selv at reflektere over det og hvile i hvad de har svaret evt. ved hjælp af begrundelser. Denne beskrivelse af eleverne som konstant søgende bekræftelse kan også genkendes i ovenstående analyse men uden at grunden til elevens fortsatte fokus på hvad hun skal skrive egentlig undersøges af læreren. Kunne det tænkes at Samyra ikke har de sproglige ressourcer nødvendigt til at opsummere og omformulere den viden hun har indsamlet via materialet og samtalen med læreren? Forskningen viser at netop denne type sprogligt skift i genrer faktisk er meget krævende især for andetsprogede elever (Christie 2006; Gibbons 2006; Hood 2011; Schleppegrell 2004). Gennem ovenstående analyse bliver det tydeligt på hvilken måde læreren og eleven opererer ud fra et tilsyneladende manglende fællesgrundlag: lærerens fokus er på *viden* mens elevens er på *handlen*, og selv om samtalen ved første øjekast virker som om den følger en logisk progression viser analysen at de individuelle træk i udvekslingerne faktisk ikke passer sammen.

I hele det ovenstående eksempel viser Samyra tegn på at hun forstår hvad der forventes af hende: hun svarer så godt hun kan på alle Adams spørgsmål, hun deltager i samtalen (til forskel fra hendes makker, Saima, som trækker sig tilbage og lytter uden selv at byde ind). Samyra vil åbenbart gerne forstå hvad øvelsen går ud på og vil gerne vise Adam at hun prøver og gerne vil være med. Men hun har tilsyneladende ikke de sproglige ressourcer til selv at afgrænse hvad der er vigtigt i det hun har lært for så at omformulere det til en sætning på papir. Derfor forsøger hun i den position hun har som elev at bede Adam om at give hende denne information. Når hun ikke får det svar hun søger,

prøver hun selv at stille spørgsmål som Adam misforstår eller undgår at svare på. Dette mønster af talen-forbi-hinanden forekommer ofte i mine data, mellem forskellige elever og med alle tre lærere. Dog er der nogle forskelle, hvorfor jeg i det følgende uddyber med yderligere eksempler fra en anden undervisningsgang og med en anden lærer.

Gæt hvad jeg ved

I det næste eksempel fortæller læreren eleverne hvad de skal gøre. Denne gang er det Bonny DSA-koodinatoren som underviser, og eksemplet stammer fra en fase i 1. lektion hvor hun netop har gennemført en form for brainstorm om emnet børnene kommer til at arbejde med i forløbet (at være barn 'i gamle dage'). Børnene sidder samlet på deres skamler foran tavlen og Bonny, mens Adam og Sarah står ude i siden for at betragte undervisningen. I denne undervisningssituation har det i de optagede videoer ikke altid været muligt at skelne hvilke elever der taler, hvorfor de i følgende analyser bliver benævnt elevA, elevB osv.

Efter brainstormen introducerer Bonny et redskab hun kalder VØL-skemaet som er en slags grafisk visualisering på et stykke papir bestående af tre kolonner hver med et bogstav (V-Ø-L)³⁶ i toppen. Den 8. udveksling i denne del af undervisningen initierer hun ved at bede eleverne om at skrive alt det de ved, om at være barn i gamle dage. Dermed beder hun dem om en sproglig tjenesteydelse (H2:st[V2]), hvor de skal give hende information hun ikke selv har. Samtidig fortæller hun dem hvad denne kolonne og skemaet i det hele taget går ud på – en viden eleverne ikke har i forvejen – og derfor kan trækkes også kodes som et V1-træk.

³⁶ Skemaet er et pædagogisk redskab som kan bruges til at få overblik over hvad man ved om et emne (V), hvad man ønsker at lære om emnet (Ø), og hvad man så har lært ved emnets afslutning (L). Dette sker ved at disse ting skrives som en liste eller stikord under hvert af de tre bogstaver på et stykke papir. Modellen har været en af mange *graphic organizers* som er blevet opfundet og brugt i undervisningen især i USA, hvor hensigten er at give elever overblik over et emne / viden som de enten allerede har, eller har fået gennem undervisningen/materialer/medier osv.

8	H2:st[V2]	V1	Bonny:	Det første I skal... det er, I skal skrive i denne her kolonne [peger på den venstre V-kolonne] . aalt det, som I ved om at være barn i gamle dage. Eller alt det I tror I ved.... [kigger på Sarah og smiler] Når I så er færdige med den kolonne, så går I i gang med to-eren [peger på Ø-kolonnen] .. Der skal I skrive alt det I godt kunne tænke jer at LÆRE noget om ... og være barn i gamle dage
		afklan af	elevA: Bonny:	Er det ikke ønske Ønske? [nikker] Det man ønsker at vide mere om.
		V1(fort sat)		og treeren . Det er først når hele ugen er gået og alt mulig. Fordi så handler det nemlig om at man skal skrive ned . hvad har jeg så lært, i forhold til emnet. [peger til overskriften på flip overen] Og så kan man bagefter gå ind og tjekke [peger på V-kolonnen] Hov! Det vidste jeg sørme godt, eller, hov! jeg vidste noget som ikke passede. ... [kigger rundt på børnene] og så kan man se hvordan ... man har ændret ... sine læreprocesser i løbet af en hel uge.

Undervejs i sit lange trækkompleks bliver Bonny afbrudt af elevA der beder om en afklaring ved hjælp af det dynamiske træk afklaringsanmodning (afklan), "Er det ikke ønske?". Denne afklaringsanmodning giver mening, da Bonny ændrer formulering i forhold til tidligere i samtalen (udveksling 4 som ikke er medtaget her) "ønske (at lære)", også markeret med bogstavet Ø for toppen af kolonnen, til "kunne tænke sig (at lære)". Når Bonny så genoptager sin forklaring på hvad der skal laves, har hendes trækkompleks mistet handlekarakteren og er nu mere tydeligt et videnstræk. Dette bekræfter analysen af trækket samlet set som et primært videnstræk (V1) indtil afbrydelsen.

Lidt senere i samme undervisningsgang, ca. 50 minutter efter timens start, opstår der igen en form for skævhed i samtalen. Bonny vil opsummere for eleverne hvad de skal, når hun som det næste sætter dem i gang med gruppearbejdet. Hun starter derfor udvekslingen med et sekundært handletræk (H2), men bliver afbrudt af opfølgende træk fra forskellige elever:

12	H2 - H2f - H2 H2(fortsat) - H2f - H2f H2(fortsat)	V1	Bonny: elevB: elevC: Bonny: elevB: elevC: Bonny:	Først. Så skal man . have noget at skrive på. - papir - man skal have noget at skrive med? Så skal man have noget at skrive med - blyant - og noget at viske med Så skal man lave skemaet. Det er punkt et. Man skal lave skemaet. Så skal man udfylde kolonne nummer et.
	H2	V1(fortsat)		

Formentligt ville Bonny med sit initierende træk blot sige ”Først så skal man have noget at skrive på, så man kan lave skemaet”. Men eleverne afbryder hende inden hun kan nå dertil. Eleverne er ivrige efter at komme med bud og deltager aktivt, hvilket ses i deres forskellige opfølgning af sekundære handletræk (H2f), hvor de kommer med forskellige forslag såsom at fremskaffe papir, blyanter, viskelæder osv. Men deres deltagelse er ikke af en art lærerne ser positivt på, fordi eleverne har fokus på hvad der skal gøres: lærerne vil hellere at eleverne deltager med deres *viden*, altså ved at lave videnstræk, hvilket også ses ved at Bonny ændrer samtalen i denne retning. Hun initierer således de efterfølgende fire udvekslinger med spørgsmål hun allerede kender svaret på – udskudt primære videnstræk (Uv1) – som har til formål at tjekke om eleverne ved hvad hun vil have dem til at vide:

13	H2:st[Uv1] V2 V1	Bonny: elevD: Bonny:	V'et, som stod for hvad? [nikker mod elev D] Ved Ja?
14	Uv1 V2 afklan:nv	Bonny: flere elever: elevE:	Kolonne nummer to, som står for hvad? [kigger på elev E] ønsker! ønsker! [kigger rundt]
15	H2:st[Uv1] H1:st[V2] V1	Bonny: flere elever: Bonny:	og skal man så udfylde mere? [peger på elev F] nej! Nej. [kigger fortsat på elev F]
16	Uv1 V2 V2 V1	Bonny: elevB: elevF: Bonny:	[kigger fortsat på elev F] og hvorfor ikke? det skal vi gøre til sidst. [mumler usikkert] [nikker, kigger på ElevF] ja. Vi er ikke parate til den sidste endnu

Udvekslingerne 13 – 16 viser at Bonny forsøger at få eleverne til at opsummere hvad hun tidligere har fortalt dem om VØL-skemaet, ved at hun stiller dem spørgsmål hun selv kender svaret på og benytter sig således af det velkendte IRF mønster beskrevet af Sinclair og Coulthard (1975). Hun checker altså deres forståelse og gør dette på den forventelige måde ved at initiere udvekslinger med udskudte videnstræk (Uv1). Men de elever Bonny stiller spørgsmålene direkte til (elevE og elevF) er usikre på hvad de skal svare, og elevE ender med slet ikke at give et svar men kigger i stedet rundt i lokalet. Således ender eleverne med at deltage i en slags gættekonkurrence, hvor det gælder om at gætte hvad læreren tænker på og give svaret på det rigtige tidspunkt, fremfor (hvad ellers plejer at være formålet med denne type IRF struktur) at bekræfte sin viden overfor læreren. De elever der byder ind med svar får heller ingen egentlig feedback på deres bud: f.eks. har elevB fra

tidligere i samtalen ofte noget at sige i klassen, men hans bidrag i udveksling 16 bliver ikke eksplicit modtaget idet Bonny hverken kigger på ham eller svarer ham direkte.

"Goddag mand, økseskaft" – en konklusion og perspektivering

I mine data er der mange flere eksempler på at lærerne og eleverne i dette klasserum har en tilsyneladende manglende fælles forståelse i deres forhandlinger, især når det drejer sig om viden vs. handling. Til denne artikel har jeg dog valgt at fremhæve ovenstående tre eksempler fra to forskellige undervisningsgange, da de viser forskellige typer af disse mønstre som tilsammen kan være med til at nuancere hvad der egentlig er på spil, når lærere i det danske skolesystem giver udtryk for at DSA-elever har en svag begrebsramme at bygge ny viden op på.

Denne problematik ser jeg som forskellige måder at give udtryk for hvad der i udlandet har været kaldt *the fourth grade slump*, når der på mellemtrinnet i skolen sker en forandring af den type deltagelse der bliver privilegeret (værdsat) frem for andre i klasserummet. Vi ved fra andre studier (f.eks. Ginman & Mulvad 2009 ; Mejding & Rønberg 2008; Mulvad 2009, 2010; Svendsen Pedersen 2009) at kravene til elevers sproglige udvikling gennem skoleforløbet stiger i disse år (nærmest eksponentielt), både receptivt og produktivt, og andre studier, som bl.a. PISA Etnisk (Egelund *et al.* 2009) viser at især elever med andet modersmål end dansk har særligt svært ved at forstå dette skift og følge med. I det ovenstående har jeg fokuseret på en ret lille del af mine samlede data og analyser for at fremhæve det jeg ser som kernen i problematikken sådan som den opleves af nogle af de pågældende lærere og elever.

I de første skoleår (primary school) har indholdet i undervisningen størst fokus på at eleverne skal lære at agere i en skolemæssig sammenhæng: børn i skolen skal lære at være en del af et socialt fællesskab og skal initieres ind i skolens særlige praksisser (Christie 2006), og undervisningen i disse klasser tager derfor også udgangspunkt i en mere 'common sense' forståelse af verden. I disse klasser er det typisk for undervisningsindholdet at være relativt svagt klassificeret og svagt rammesat (Bernstein 2000), hvilket kommer til udtryk ved at undervisningsemnerne ofte 'flyder' sammen, trækker på forskellige fagområder samtidigt, og der ligger forventninger om et relativt højt niveau af elevautonomi. Dette står i kontrast til udskolingens hvor undervisningen i højere grad deles op i forskellige fag, og hvor læreren og undervisningsmaterialerne i højere grad fremstår som autoriteter.

På mellemtrinnet begynder dette skift at træde i kraft – og det er bl.a. denne overgang som ses i de data jeg har samlet i mit projekt. De samtaler jeg har fremhævet her synes at pege på noget af problematikken i dette skift: lærerne er i højere grad opmærksomme på, at det er elevernes *viden* og begrebsverden der skal udvides, mens eleverne ikke helt har fanget dette skift, og stadig opererer

i en 'verden af *handling*'. Problematikken opstår idet eleverne ikke selv kan finde ud af at afgrænse og udvælge den relevante viden, hvilket de medtagne eksempler viser. Derudover får de heller ikke den nødvendige hjælp af lærerne til at udvikle denne evne. Det er netop dette skisma mellem lærernes og elevernes fokus som kommer til udtryk i deres samtaler, og som bliver tydeligt når man tager et Systemisk Funktionelt perspektiv på samtalerne og analyserer disse ved hjælp af udvekslingsstrukturanalyse.

I det efterfølgende interview var både Adam og Sarah enige om at Sat-Ud havde været et fint forløb. Adam sagde således om Sat-Ud materialet: "Jeg kan godt lide at der er det visuelle og en fortælling der er det bærende. (...) Det gør ikke noget at der er en god historie." Men alle tre lærere var også enige om at eleverne havde haft svært ved at gennemføre forløbet. Elevernes forforståelse, mente de, var nok det der gjorde at eleverne havde svært ved forløbet: Sarah italesatte det på følgende måde: "Jeg tror de skulle have haft en større forforståelse, også omkring deres førfaglige ord. Vi skulle måske have brugt noget længere tid på at sætte dem ind i tiden omkring 1900-tallet. Man kunne godt have brugt et modul på ligesom at vise dem noget og snakke lidt om dem og komme med nogle historier. Det kunne også være nogle flere historier omkring det liv i 1900-tallet (...) og få dannet et lidt større billede for dem omkring hvordan var det for 100 år siden – hvorfor er det vi skal vide det der."

De samtaler jeg har fremhævet her synes at pege på noget af problematikken, hvor lærerne er i højere grad opmærksomme på, at det er elevernes *viden* og begrebsverden der skal udvides, mens eleverne ikke helt har fanget dette og stadig opererer i en 'verden af *handling*'. Problematikken opstår især når eleverne ikke selv kan finde ud af at afgrænse og udvælge den relevante viden, muligvis på grund af manglende sproglige ressourcer og sproglig hjælp fra læreren som forskning viser kan gøre en markant forskel især for andetsprogs elever (Cummins 2000; Gibbons 2006, 2009; Rose 2004, 2005). Derudover får de tilsyneladende heller ikke den nødvendige hjælp af lærerne til at udvikle denne evne, og ender således med at skulle navigere i kaos. Det er netop dette skisma mellem lærernes og elevernes indholdsmæssige fokus – styrket ved deres ulige magtpositioner – der kommer til udtryk i ovenstående samtaler, og som bliver tydeligt når man tager et socialsemiotisk perspektiv på samtalerne ved hjælp af udvekslingsstrukturanalyse.

Formålet med denne artikel har været dobbelt: at introducere udvekslingsstrukturanalyse, et relativt nyt analyseapparat inden for den pædagogiske sammenhæng af socialsemiotikken, samt at vise hvorledes analyseapparatet kan bruges til at forstå samtaler med fokus på om der forhandles viden eller handling. Derudover, og måske mere væsentligt, har formålet også været at begynde at nuancere billedet af hvorfor DSA-elever i det danske skolesystem statistisk set kan siges at falde

igennem ved *the fourth grade slump*. Det er således hensigten at tydeliggøre at problematikken ikke blot kan affejes med at eleverne har dansk som andetsprog eller en anden kulturel kapital end den skolen forventer, men at det muligvis nærmere har at gøre med en mere almenpædagogisk problematik som lærerne bidrager til. Det siger sig selv at lærerne således også ligger inde med et væsentligt potentiale til at afhjælpe problematikken, hvis de kan blive mere opmærksomme på de positioner de selv indtager og muliggør for elever i undervisningssamtaler, samt hvilken rolle dette forhold spiller for undervisningen og hvorledes forskelligt fokus hos hhv. lærer og elev kan være med til at skabe subtile og så alligevel væsentlige misforståelser.

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Appendiks 1 – Transskriptionskonventioner

Symbol	Betydning
.	Sikkerhed, færdiggørelse (typisk faldende tone)
ingen afsluttende tegnsætning	Indebærer en ikke-afslutning (ingen endelig intonation)
,	Segmentering af tale: vejrtrækningstid
?	Usikkerhed (stigende tone eller spørgsmål)
!	“overrasket” intonation
STORE BOGSTAVER	Eftertrykkelig betoning og / eller øget volumen
“ “	En forandring i stemmekvalitet i forbindelse med rapporteret tale
() og (**)	Ikke-transskriberbar tale, hvor hver * = ca. en stavelse
(ord i parenteser)	Transskribentens gæt
[ord i firkantede parenteser]	Non-verbal information obs: længere nonverbale informationer og beskrivelser af f.eks. bevægelse skrives på egen linje
==	Overlap (Berøring, samtidighed)
...	Kort tøven (mindre end tre sekunder)
[pause – 4 sek]	Længere (3 sekunder eller flere) pause inden for en tur
– efterfulgt af tale	falsk start / genstart
ord med ekstra vokaaaaaler	Udvidet vokal lyd i ordet / udtrukket udtale

Appendiks 2 - Oversigt over træk og engelske ækvivalenter

Videnstræk (Knowledge moves): ved forhandling af information

Kode	Dansk oversættelse	Oprindelig (engelsk) term, kode	definition
Uv1	udskudt primært videnstræk	delayed primary knower move	hvor deltageren allerede har informationen, men tilbageholder denne for at se om den anden deltager også har den.
V2	sekundært videnstræk	secondary knower move, K2	en anmodning om oplysninger (typisk realiseret ved spørgende modus)
V1	primært videnstræk	primary knower move, K1	hvor deltageren giver information han/hun har. Dette træk realiseres typisk ved deklarativ modus.
V2f	opfølgning af sekundært videnstræk	secondary knower follow-up move	hvor den sekundære deltager følger op på det primære videnstræk (V1)
V1f	opfølgning af primært videnstræk	primary knower follow-up move	hvor den primære deltager følger op på den sekundære deltagers opfølgning (V2f)

Handletræk (Action moves): ved forhandling af ting og tjenesteydelser

Kode	Dansk oversættelse	Oprindelig (engelsk) term, kode	definition
Uh1	udskudt primært handletræk	delayed primary action move, Da1	hvor deltageren udskyder at gennemføre en handling f.eks. for at se om det er det rette at gøre
H2	sekundært handletræk	secondary action move, A2	en anmodning om en handling
H1	primært handletræk	primary action move, A1	deltageren udfører en handling ledsaget af talt sprog
H1:nv	nonverbalt primært handletræk	non-verbal primary action move, A1:nv	deltageren udfører en handling uden at sige noget
H2f	opfølgning af sekundært handletræk	secondary action follow-up move, A2f	hvor den sekundære deltager følger op på handlingen (H1)
H1f	opfølgning af primært handletræk	primary action follow-up move, A1f	hvor den primære deltager følger op på den sekundære deltagers opfølgning (H2f)

:st - Sproglig Tjenesteydelse (linguistic service): træk der har at gøre med at give/anmode om information som om det var en ting/tjenesteydelse. Disse træk indeholder ofte markører som ved øvrige handletræk (f.eks. 'tak').

:nv – Nonverbal (non-verbal): f.eks. ved H1:nv når en handling udføres uden ledsagende sprog, men kan også udgøres af en deltagers mimik eller kropssprog (f.eks. ved at pege, nikke, smile osv.) i stedet for et sprogligt træk.

Dynamiske træk (dynamic moves): sporende (tracking) eller anfægtende (challenging) træk der fremmer eller hindrer den eksperientielle eller interpersonelle betydning i udvekslingen. I eksemplerne i denne artikel forekommer kun sporende træk. Nedenstående tabel viser de i artiklen anvendte træk og deres mulige ledsagere og er således ikke en fuldstændig fremstilling af dynamiske træk.

Kode	Dansk oversættelse	Oprindelige (engelsk) term, kode	Definition
gen	gentagelse	repeat	en sætning som eksperientielt er lig med den forrige
check	check	check	kun taleren kan benytte sig af dette træk som ofte bruges i en lang tur for at checke om lytteren er med
rcheck	respons til check	response to check, rcheck	lytterens respons/opfølgning til talerens check
afklan	afklaringsanmodning	clarification request, clrq	en anmodning om en afklaring, laves typisk af sekundære deltagere
afkl	afklaring	clarification, cl	afklaring, typisk af primære deltagere
rafkl	respons til afklaring	response to clarification, rcl	respons/opfølgning til den givne afklaring
bkan	bekræftelsesanmodning	confirmation request, cfrq	en anmodning om en bekræftelse, f.eks. af en sekundær deltager for at få bekræftet om han/hun har forstået/gjort rigtigt
bk	bekræftelse	confirmation, cf	bekræftelse
rbk	respons til bekræftelse	response to confirmation, rcf	respons/opfølgning til den givne bekræftelse

Article 2: Who Has the Knowledge if not the Primary Knower? - Using exchange structure analysis to cast light on particular pedagogic practices in teaching Danish as a Second Language and History

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Abstract

This paper reports on findings from a project researching Danish as a Second Language (DSL). While official pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2000) is available in curriculum guidelines, the historically grounded relative autonomy of schools means that the actual pedagogic discourse of DSL varies in terms of teachers' competencies. A deeply rooted progressivist approach to schooling combined with a more recent focus on national testing correlate with a Ministerial recommendation that DSL be taught embedded in the school's other subjects (Undervisningsministeriet, 2005). This paper focuses on the pedagogic practices of one case of DSL embedded in a fifth grade History unit, taught in a Danish public school with 85% bilingual students. *Exchange structure analysis* (Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2007) makes visible certain patterns of classroom discourse. With focus on the *K1-move*, which according to the theory is the only obligatory move in a knowledge exchange, analysis of the collected data shows, interestingly, that this move is often ambiguous or missing, which raises questions of a more general pedagogic nature, conceptualized here by the *knower code* from *Legitimation Code Theory* (Maton, 2000, forthcoming).

Introduction – What Are We Going To Learn Today?

Children in a fifth grade class gather to start a new History topic; as they sit down, they are talking and joking with each other and the three teachers in the room. This school's fifth grade is made up of 30 children divided into two teams, sharing five teachers who work in groups and individually depending on the subjects and the units being taught. As such, this class is very similar to most Danish public school classrooms. What sets it apart is that it is in a school where the majority of the children are classified as 'bilingual'³⁷.

Evidence of the so-called *fourth grade slump* (Chall, Jacobs, & Baldwin, 1990; Gitz-Johansen, 2006) experienced by many second language students and increasing linguistic diversity of students' backgrounds presents challenges to the Danish public school and has led to the development of the relatively new school subject, Danish as a Second Language (DSL)³⁸.

³⁷ The Ministry of Education terms *bilingual* children as those who speak a language other than Danish at home and start learning Danish when exposed to Danish society and public institutions such as day care or school.

³⁸ DSL appeared as a recognized school subject with official ministerial guidelines for the first time in 1995.

DSL in the S School – Background and Data

The S School, where this data is gathered, is a K-9 public school servicing an area outside of Copenhagen where the majority of the population has an ethnic minority background, generally with a fairly low socio-economic status and often referred to as “second generation immigrants”. Schools like the S School have been highly politicized and discussed in the media for the past decades, as they and the areas they service are often seen as a cause for concern: they tend to have poor results, many students have trouble while in school, do not choose secondary educations and even drop out early (Undervisningsministeriet, 2011). The validity of these concerns can be debated in other fora, but repeating them here gives a picture of the concern the general population and policy makers share over schools like the S School. Because of the high concentration of bilingual students, the school-board chose to prioritise DSL by hiring a school principal who, in turn, hired new teachers, many of whom have the available DSL minor. As a result, the S School sees itself as a kind of flagship for DSL. At the time of observation (2009), all of the grade-teams had at least one DSL-teacher and a DSL-coordinator for the entire school.

Evicted - An Interdisciplinary, Multimedia History and DSL Unit

The findings of this project are taken from observations of a History unit taught by three teachers: Bonny (DSL-coordinator), Adam (History), and Sarah (Danish and completing an in-service DSL-minor at the time). Of the unit’s six 90-min. lessons, all except the fifth were videoed in order to capture teacher-student conversations. All recordings have been extensively annotated, with several phases chosen for transcription and subsequent analysis.

The focus of this History unit was Denmark at the turn of the previous century. To this end, Bonny chose an on-line multi-media material called Sat Ud (Evicted). The publishers claim this material is well-suited for teaching ‘bilingual’ students because of its interdisciplinary approach, while also building on visual media and making use of IT (Alinea, 2007). The materials present students with an image of the famous Danish painting, Sat Ud (1892) by Erik Henningsen. By listening to a narrated story, focusing on different areas of the painting, and answering listening-comprehension type questions, students are meant to gain insight into what life for a working class family in Copenhagen was like during the late 1800s/early 1900s.

Throughout the unit, students worked in pairs at a laptop computer, working through the story and completing the exercises. Most lessons started and ended with a teacher-led whole-class discussion functioning as a recap of what students had encountered in the materials so far. The data presented in this article is from such a recap session.

Theory of pedagogical discourse

According to Bernstein (2000), distribution of knowledge within the school system is differentiated, based on a distributive principle by which different social groups are recipients of different knowledge structures (pedagogic discourse). Certain knowledge structures are seen as institutionally privileged and with more powerful possibilities for success than less privileged ones. Classroom discourse and practices, therefore, regulate student consciousnesses, shaping students into different pedagogic subjects (Bernstein, 1990; Christie & Martin, 2007) with varying access to and chances for educational success. Within this theoretical framework, linguistic analysis of classroom talk has the potential to bring forth teachers' both implicit and explicit evaluations of students' oral and written texts, enabling discussion of the type of knowledge-knower structures catered to in the observed pedagogical discourse (Maton, 2010).³⁹

'Delayed' and 'Primary' Knower Moves – Exchange Structure

Exchange Structure Analysis (ESA) has significant advantages over other discourse analytic approaches in that the model is based on a comprehensive, systemic language model making it possible to describe and quantify discourse patterns at different strata and with varying levels of detail; secondly, conversations are understood as a way of doing social life and seen as enacting and constructing dimensions of social identity and interpersonal relations (Eggins & Slade, 2005). ESA focuses on the interpersonal dimension of discourse and therefore on the social identities speakers take up or allow each other, making visible the power relations between participants.

ESA describes the negotiation of meaning construction in spoken language by distinguishing between what is negotiated: initiating/responding to information/action being offered/demanded (Martin & Rose, 2007). This approach builds on work by (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) who found a pattern in pedagogic discourse dubbed IRF (initiation, response, feedback). In ESA, moves are classified focusing on their organization with respect to each other, bringing the analysis to the level of discourse semantics (Martin, 1992). At this level, exchanges are seen as the basic unit of social interaction (Dreyfus, 2006; Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987) and are made up of moves, which follow an orbital structure with a single nucleus (the K1) and satellites⁴⁰. The structure of the knowledge exchange potential can be illustrated as follows (where the parentheses represent optional moves, D

³⁹ Due to the constraints of this paper, the theory section offers only a brief account of relevant aspects of ESA and LCT. The reader is directed to Dreyfus (2006); Hunt (1991); Martin (1992); Martin and Rose (2007b) and Maton (2000, forthcoming) for extended accounts of ESA and LCT, respectively.

⁴⁰ Though beyond the scope of this paper, exchanges can take longer in reaching resolution, as the *synoptic* moves (above) can be interrupted with *dynamic* (*tracking* or *challenging*) moves, see Martin (1992), Martin & Rose (2007).

means ‘delayed’, ^ means ‘followed by’ and f denotes a follow-up move): ((Dk1) ^ K2) ^ K1 ^ (K2f ^ (K1f)).

Exchanges starting with the delayed primary knower move (Dk1) will be the focus for the linguistic analyses in this paper. These exchanges are initiated by the teacher in situations where she has the authority to demand students present knowledge for evaluation (Dreyfus, 2006), i.e. she delays giving information, posing a question to which she knows the answer, so students can answer in a K2, which then can be evaluated and potentially expanded in the vital K1 (Martin 2006, Martin & Rose 2007a).

The discourse analytic approach of ESA interacts well with the more macroscopic perspective of Legitimation Code Theory allowing linguistic analysis to inform a broader sociological perspective on the pedagogy being enacted.

Knowledge and Knowers – Legitimation Code Theory

Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) (Maton, forthcoming) extends and expands upon Bernstein’s theory of pedagogic codes (1996, 2000). Within LCT, the notion of specialization codes of legitimation, which differentiates between epistemic relations between knowledge and its proclaimed object of study, and social relations between knowledge and its author or subject, is useful to understanding the underlying sociological implications of the pedagogy being enacted in the discourse observed. Of the four specialization codes described by LCT, the knower code, in particular, lends a plausible explanation as to why the teacher structures her exchanges as she does. A knower code is characterized as exhibiting relatively weak classification and framing of epistemic relations (ER-), while its social relations exhibit relatively stronger classification and framing (SR+) (ibid.). In other words, a teacher enacting a knower code focuses more on the students and their way of being rather than the knowledge structure during a unit of study.

Where’s the Knowledge? - Applying ESA to the data

The example chosen for analysis here is exemplary of a pattern of talk exhibited by all the teachers throughout the data, where the obligatory K1 in a Dk1-exchange is either ambiguous or missing. In this example, the teacher, Bonny, is leading the class discussion at the end of the unit’s 2nd lesson, summing up students’ activities. In the discussion, she picks up on one of the exercises most students had trouble with, in which they were asked to use the word evicted in a sentence. Bonny starts by asking, “What is the next thing you are asked to do?” One of the students answers inaudibly. Presumably repeating or reformulating the student’s answer, Bonny answers, “You have to find out what evicted means”, thus bringing the class’ attention to the field at hand in

this, the first exchange of the phase, and focuses their attention on the meaning of the word evicted. She continues⁴¹:

2	Bonny	[pointing at stud2] Did you find out what evicted means?	Dk1
	Stud. 2	Yes, uhm, they were evicted because they couldn't pay their rent?	K2
	Bonny	Is that what the word evicted means?	clrq
	students	[calling out] Thrown out.	K2
			(missing K1)
3	Bonny	[looking at Stud. 2]...	Dk1:nv
	Stud. 2	Yees, uhmm. I don't know.	K2
	Bonny	Nooo? [look at camera, smiling]	K1
4	Bonny	And that is it.. [looking around at students] Were you asked to explain what it was that was happening on the painting ... or were you asked to explain what the word evicted means?	Dk1
	Stud. 3	What the word evicted means.	K2
	Stud. 4	It means, uhm, evicted, for example that you're evicted from your house, so, or, they (get) thrown out of the house, or	K2
	Bonny	[small nod] yes?	K1
5	Bonny	[points at Stud5] ...	Dk1
	Stud. 5	it means that you are thrown out of the house	K2
	Bonny	Evicted. Thrown out?	clrq
			(missing K1)
6	Stud. 6	If you're in a group, then you can also just be evicted	K2
	Bonny	yes? If you're in a group, very good, then you can also be evicted.	K1
7	Bonny	How can that happen?	Dk1
	Stud. 6	if you do something wrong, or something?	K2
	Bonny	yes?	clrq
	Stud. 3	or if there isn't enough room	K2
	Bonny	it can also just be a problem with room	K1
	Stud. 1	Or you haven't uhm not paid your rent	K2
	Bonny	Or you haven't paid your rent.	K1f
8	Bonny	Yes? [pointing to Stud7] ... What have you learned today?	Dk1
	Stud. 7	Uhm .. [looking at her paper, smiling uncomfortably] what evicted means?	K2
	Bonny	You learned what evicted means, yes?	K1
9	Bonny	Yees? [looking around at the students]	

At this point Bonny changes the topic to pursue “what have you learned today” in a round-robin format, thus changing the field and marking an end to the phase⁴².

Missed teaching opportunities in the K1-moves

Of the 9 exchanges above, 8 are initiated by Bonny with a Dk1, where she asks the students a question she already knows the answer to in, presumably, an attempt to focus students' attention to the field (the meaning of the word *evicted*) and to assess their understanding. Two of these exchanges (2 & 5) are missing a K1 and therefore missing an opportunity for the teacher to give the students the knowledge she is asking them to demonstrate. In both cases, she initiates a new

⁴¹ The transcription has been divided into exchanges (leftmost column) with moves analysed in terms of ESA (rightmost column). *Transcription key: Dk1=delayed primary knower, K2=secondary knower, K1=primary knower, K1f=primary knower follow-up, .nv=non-verbal move, clrq=clarification request (a dynamic, tracking move).*

⁴² Arguably, the shift occurs in exchange 8, where Bonny reformulates her question, but because of stud7's response, this and the following exchanges were included in this phase.

exchange with a new Dk1 instead. Of the K1's present, Bonny does not elaborate on or explicitly evaluate the meanings being negotiated, sending mixed signals with her body language and intonation.

In four of the exchanges (3, 4, 6, 8) Bonny's intonation in her K1's seems more like a question than feedback while physically nodding/smiling (signalling approval). As a result, her K1's are unclear, on the one hand accepting students' K2's, while also suggesting there might be more to the answer given. This could be seen as a way of implicitly asking students to expand their K2's. Her starting the following exchanges with new Dk1's seems to support this interpretation.

Additionally, Bonny offers imprecise feedback in her K1's: in the 6th exchange, she accepts student 6's suggestion that *evicted* means the same as being excluded. Although perhaps semantically related in a common-sense understanding⁴³, her K1 does not provide the detail necessary to make clear how they are related. The same can be said of her K1 in exchange 7, where she accepts student 3's K2 of being evicted due to limited space. By not elaborating⁴⁴ on students' contributions, her simplification equates eviction to social exclusion or to a result of limited space. Her K1's, therefore, do not bridge to the more abstract and reflective understandings students must access and master in order to achieve educational success. Interestingly, student 1's K2 in exchange 7 is arguably the best definition of *evicted* offered so far, but Bonny also fails to highlight this K2 as being more precise than the others, simply repeating it in her follow-up (K1f) move.

Allowing the three definitions to stand as equally correct without elaboration and combined with the mixed signals in body language and intonation results in several missed teaching opportunities, presumably leaving students unclear on what *evicted* really means.

Learning a knower code

Linguistic analysis using ESA lends a perspective on the pedagogic discourse, which initially seems to suggest unfocused teaching: the K1-moves made by the teacher, the person who has the authority to establish the knowledge being taught, are unclear. Nodding and smiling, asking different students to participate, and allowing three varying definitions of *evicted* as equally correct suggest there is more to the picture than what ESA alone can reveal. Perhaps, more subtly, the teacher's strategies are a reflection of her understanding of what learning is and, therefore, of the specialization code present in this classroom.

⁴³ Both eviction and social exclusion involve undesired outcomes: i.e. exclusion from the group/home.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Rose (2011), Martin (2006), Martin & Rose (2007a) for how elaboration moves can extend knowledge.

ESA shows that the teacher's input lacks refinement and direction, thus neglecting to focus on expanding students' knowledge-base and understanding of what the word evicted means. As such, the epistemic relations displayed are quite weak; at the same time, the social relations play a significantly more important role in that the participants partake in a, for them, common and recognisable pattern of interaction where the teacher asks a question to which she already knows the answer and students readily offer their guesses. Traditionally, this type of pedagogic interaction is used to check student knowledge, but in this case, the interaction seems to serve a different purpose: to condition students to the type of interaction valued in the classroom setting, while the knowledge and language needed is deprioritised. The result is a knower code, where it would seem students are expected to teach themselves, and where the ideal knower is (already) Danish. The students in this study are thus left floundering from an epistemic and (second) language perspective with hardly a chance of being seen as legitimate within the school context.

Despite the insights offered by the linguistic analysis using ESA, the findings in this paper clearly point to the need for further, complementary sociological analysis using LCT to shed light on the underlying pedagogical issues at stake in such classrooms as the one observed here.

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Article 3: Who learns what? Teaching Democracy through Social Relations – when Danish as a Second Language is embedded in a History Unit

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Abstract

Increased globalisation has in recent years put pressure on schools to address concerns of minority students' citizenship. Despite this focus and a variety of approaches however, minority students tend to perform more poorly as compared to majority students, which e.g. PISA and other standardised testing confirms (Egelund *et al.*, 2007). Drawing on code theory, and specifically, Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2000a, forthcoming), this article explores pedagogic practices in a Danish public school with a high population of minority students by focusing on the knowledge students are expected to gain in the unit observed, and on how teachers attempt to make this knowledge accessible. Analysis of teacher-student talk shows some of the challenges students meet in this environment and raises questions as to the implications of a deeply rooted progressivist approach when educational success is meant to be accessible to all students.

Keywords: Educational discourse analysis; Legitimation Code Theory; ideal knower; Specialisation; Danish as a second language; systemic functional linguistics

Introduction

Increased globalisation puts pressure on schools to address concerns of minority students' citizenship and integration into society. In a country like Denmark where constructivism is deeply rooted in the school system, however, minority students consistently tend to perform more poorly as compared to majority students (Egelund *et al.*, 2009) despite growing political, academic and professional attention to the matter. With this background, the article explores pedagogic practices in a Danish public school with a high population of minority students during an interdisciplinary fifth grade History unit. By applying aspects of Specialisation from Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2010, forthcoming) to the collected data, the article sheds light on some of the implications a deeply rooted progressivist approach has for minority students' chances of achieving educational success.

Building on a significant body of work in linguistic analyses of classroom discourse (e.g. Christie, 2002; Dreyfus *et al.*, 2011; Gibbons, 2006; Hunt, 1991), the study reported on here brings up patterns of classroom talk where results of linguistic analysis alone gives an apparently incomplete explanation of the pedagogy observed and suggests poor or unfocused teaching (Meidell Sigsgaard, 2012). Teacher-students conversations seem to leave students unclear on what they are expected to

contribute. At the same time linguistic analysis shows that teachers seem to focus their questions and answers to students on what students should *know*, while students respond to and with attempts to find out what they should *do*. This results in a kind of miscommunication which is not necessarily obvious at first glance. Further linguistic analysis of the same classroom shows that teachers often do not provide clear feedback in the conversation, leaving students unclear on what they are actually learning (Meidell Sigsgaard, in press).

These linguistic analyses give a partial picture of the kind of schism between students and teachers, which takes place in the classroom. In tandem with the LCT framework used in this articles, these findings have the potential of rendering a more nuanced explanation of what role classroom discourse plays in shaping both student consciousnesses (knowers) as well as the school's subject matter (knowledge structures) in this Danish fifth-grade classroom.

Seeing and analysing knowledge and knower structures: using Legitimation Code Theory

Describing what is going on in a classroom characterised by an invisible pedagogy (Bernstein, 1975), such as the one observed in the study here, where hierarchy, sequencing and criteria for success are highly implicit, is inherently difficult. As Moore and Maton (2001, 154) argue, “describing what is obscured by a blindspot is extremely difficult, for what you are trying to point to simply cannot be seen through the current lens”. This is made more difficult in fields such as second language education research with a wide diversity of models and approaches. Detailed discussion of every lens to be found in second language education and educational research more broadly is beyond the scope of this article. Moreover, reviewing the field is not the intention here. Existing reviews – such as Rosenthal (2000) and (Swain *et al.*, 2011) on approaches and developments in second language education and e.g. Muller (2000); Moore (2004); Moore and Young (2001); Maton and Moore (2009) on educational research – provide more extensive reviews of relevant literature across a range of approaches.

Legitimation Code Theory (henceforth, LCT) is a theoretical framework within social realism that offers a means of moving beyond social constructionism (Maton and Moore, 2010). Social realism shows not only that knowledge is socially constructed, dynamic and the focus of continuing struggles among historically and socially located actors with different resources. It reveals how the forms taken by knowledge have their own properties and powers, and how they help to shape those continuing struggles. From this point of view, knowledge is not only social, it also has ‘real’ effects: “For example, some forms of knowledge are more capable of cumulative knowledge-building than others, and some are more suited to the learning needs of some social groups than others” (Howard and Maton, 2011, p. 195). LCT enables both qualitative and quantitative analyses, “of the underlying

principles structuring curriculum guidelines, teaching practices, pupils' perceptions, school organisation and so forth in a manner enabling systematic comparisons within and between these contexts..." (Maton, 2007, p. 104). The organising principles underlying these messages are conceptualised as *legitimation codes*.

Legitimation codes can be analysed along a number of dimensions, where one of these is the dimension of 'Specialisation'. By examining legitimation codes of specialization, analysis shows what makes someone (or something) special and worthy of distinction or privileged in a particular context. Specialization highlights that every practice, belief or knowledge-claim is about or oriented towards something and by someone. Analytically one can thus distinguish: epistemic relations (ER) between practices and their object or focus; and social relations (SR) between practices and their subject, author or actor (cf. Howard and Maton, 2011, p. 196). In their study, Howard and Maton show how and understanding of the epistemic and social relations of a particular field (educational technology) allows it to be brought into relation with other dimensions of teaching and learning. They show how LCT analysis using these notions shows the underlying principles of the subjects Maths and English in relation to the practices aimed for by a new ICT policy, resulting in a 'code clash' between the knowledge code of the subject Maths and the knower code characterising the policy. As such this type of analysis can be useful to understanding and aiding educational policy implementation. The distinction between epistemic relations and social relations to an object of study is also useful to understanding the organising principles of the classroom pedagogy being enacted in the discourse observed, as subsequent analysis will show.

A relative strengthening of social relations (SR+) involves a strengthening of the (social) relations between the knowledge and the subject. In other words, strengthened SR entails increasing the power and control of the 'who' in determining the basis of legitimacy. Similarly, a relative strengthening of the epistemic relations (ER+) involves a strengthening of the epistemic relations between the knowledge and the object of study, increasing power and control over the content of the knowledge. Both the social relations and the epistemic relations can be understood in terms of relative strengthening and weakening, but can also be seen in terms of an overall tendency as either relatively strong or weak.

Of the four principal specialization codes described by LCT, the *knower code*, in particular, lends a plausible explanation as to the teachers' choices of strategies observed in the unit. A knower code is characterized as exhibiting relatively weak epistemic relations (ER-) and at the same time relatively stronger social relations (SR+) (Maton, 2007, 2010), and is where, "the dispositions of actors are emphasized and specialist knowledge or skills are downplayed. These dispositions may be

considered innate or natural (e.g. notions of ‘genius’), cultivated (e.g. an artistic sensibility developed through immersion in great works), or socially based (e.g. a specific gender)” (Chen *et al.*, 2011, pp. 131-132). In other words, a teacher enacting a knower code focuses more on (cultivating) the students and their ways of being rather than the content of the knowledge they are expected to learn.

Chen *et al.* (2011) show how the meeting of teachers (enacting a knower code) and students (used to a knowledge code) results in frustration especially on the part of the students when they encounter the constructivist teaching style of an Australian on-line course of study. Chen *et al.* demonstrate this ‘code clash’, by making visible the languages of legitimation from which teachers and students operate respectively. Similarly, subsequent analysis will show how students whose social backgrounds are different from those catered to by the Danish public school, struggle to demonstrate appropriate knowledge, especially when the often implicit assessment criteria are more epistemically based.

Operationalizing notions of ER and SR in terms of the data

In order to facilitate the translation of the concepts of epistemic and social relations, the table below shows a *language of description* which outlines “what is to count as an empirical referent, how such referents relate to each other to produce a specific text, and translates these referential relations into theoretical objects or potential theoretical objects” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 133). Following Chen *et al.* (2011), where epistemic and social relations were examined in terms of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, the following table shows examples of how epistemic relations (ER), and social relations (SR) manifest in the data in terms of curriculum:

Epistemic Relations with emphasis on Curriculum			
Concept manifested in	Indicators		Examples from empirical data
Content knowledge of the unit of study	ER+	Content knowledge (relying on the online materials or classroom dictionary) is emphasized as determining legitimate educational knowledge.	“look up the words in a dictionary if you aren’t sure”
	ER-	Content knowledge is downplayed as less important in defining legitimate educational knowledge.	“yes but many of the things you said were right” “use your own words”

Social relations with emphasis on Curriculum			
Concept manifested in	Indicators		Examples from empirical data
personal knowledge and experience	SR+	Personal experience and opinions are viewed as legitimate educational knowledge.	"And all of you, you all have ideas about how it [being a child in the old days] was."
	SR-	Personal experience and opinions are downplayed and distinguished from legitimate educational knowledge.	"like hoteeeel!" "they're like gypsies" ⁴⁵

These notions lend a perspective on the knowledge-knower structure, and therefore the ideal knower for this classroom, and how the students compare to this ideal knower. Both ER and SR can be looked at in more detail by specifying which emphasis or *focus* they take. When analysing a teacher-student conversation, this gives a clearer view as to why the conversations between teachers and students seem mismatched and shows a kind of 'code clash'. How this manifests in the data is explained in the section titled *Applying specialization codes to the collected data*, after a brief overview of the collected data below.

Data Background - The S School, the teachers and the class

The S School, a pseudonym for the school visited, is a public elementary school about 20km outside of Copenhagen in a community a high percentage of inhabitants with culturally diverse backgrounds. 85-90% of all children are considered 'bilingual' (i.e. in need of second language support), and most are from socially and economically strained households. Because of this, the S School has a particular focus on Danish as a Second Language (DSL). The school employs a DSL-coordinator whose responsibility it is to lead the teams of DSL teachers and provide guidance to other non-DSL teachers in the school while generally promoting understanding about DSL at the school.

The data referred to in this article was collected from a group of fifth-grade students in the S School and two of their teachers, Adam and Sarah, with Bonny, the DSL-coordinator, taking an active role in the beginning of the observed unit. As a whole, the fifth grade has about 30 students and four full-time teachers on the teaching team (one of which was the DSL teacher; however, she was not included in the teaching of this unit). At the time of observation, Sarah was completing in-service training for a DSL minor equivalent, and Adam was the teacher on the fifth grade teaching team responsible for the History curriculum. Of the 30 children in the whole fifth grade, only a few are from an ethnically Danish background. In the group observed (about 15 students), only one boy had Danish as a native language.

⁴⁵ How these student contributions to the conversation show relatively weak social relations will become clear in subsequent analysis.

The observed History unit was taught in six lessons over four weeks, each lesson lasting about 90 minutes, with the exception of the last one which lasted nearly two hours. All lessons except the fifth were observed in their entirety and video-recorded, enabling later transcription of specific interactions between teachers and students under both group work and teacher-led instruction. Both types of interactions are referred to in this article.

Being a child 100 years ago – the observed History and DSL unit

The observed unit of study was based on the online teaching materials, *Sat Ud (Evicted)*, which is an online, multimedia, task-based material published by a Danish text book publisher (Alinea, 2007). The materials were chosen by the DSL-coordinator for use with this class as a way of introducing Sarah and Adam to methods aimed at working with DSL students in a regular subject such as History (personal correspondence with Bonny). According to the authors, this teaching material is particularly well suited for DSL students, as individual tasks are related to the image shown on the screen, designed around the four communicative skills⁴⁶, and with emphasis on developing a vocabulary that relates to the historical period (Clausen, 2007).

Students were presented with the unit as a History unit with the topic, *Being a child 100 years ago*, where the bulk of the knowledge was introduced throughout the unit by following the multimedia material. *Evicted* present students with the famous Danish painting of the same name by Erik Henningsen (1892), in which a working class family (consisting of a father, mother, a grandmother and a little girl) stands on the snowy street at the turn of the century Copenhagen with all their belongings around them while passers-by look on. The father is depicted pleading with the policeman who presumably has just evicted the family. Through a series of screen shots, students are asked to listen to (and read) a narrative told by an (imaginary) ghost of the little girl depicted in the painting. By focusing in on different characters in the painting and listening in on their thoughts about what is going on in their lives at that moment, students are meant to gain insight into what life for a working-class family was like at the turn of the century Denmark, how poor working conditions in factories led to the formation of workers unions, and how these ultimately affected the development of Denmark into a democratic welfare state.

Throughout the unit the students spent the bulk of the time working in pairs with a laptop computer in order to work through the 20 tasks of the online material, most of which require students to write down an answer on a piece of paper. During these group-work sessions, the teachers circulate amongst the students listening in on their conversations, offering help either of their own accord or when asked.

⁴⁶ Listening, speaking, reading and writing

Applying specialization codes to the collected data

This section presents analysis of three data examples from the unit of study shows how teachers worked with students and how students were expected to demonstrate their gained knowledge throughout the unit.

In transcribing and annotating the data, common patterns of classroom talk became evident. In order to approach these systematically, several data-clips from different lessons and with different teachers in focus were chosen for closer analysis using linguistic tools at the level of discourse semantics from systemic functional linguistics (Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2007). In these analyses teacher-student conversations were examined from the perspective of exchange structures. These tools enable analysis of the interactional structure of the content of the classroom talk and of the power relations between the teachers and students. All the analysed data-clips show the teachers and students participating in a common and recognisable pattern of interaction, where the teacher asks a question to which (s)he already knows the answer and students readily offer their guesses. Known as the IRF (initiation, response, feedback) sequence (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) in education-research, this type of pedagogic interaction is traditionally used to check student knowledge (see e.g. Dreyfus (2006); Hunt (1991); Martin (1992)). In the observed classroom, however, the interaction seems to serve a different purpose, raising questions of a broader pedagogic nature (Meidell Sigsgaard, 2012), which the following LCT analysis complements and elucidates.

The following LCT-analysis of three data clips extends the linguistic analyses in order to expose aspects of the implicit pedagogy being enacted in the classroom observed. Firstly, *'The meaning of evicted'*, secondly the *'What's it like in a poor house'* and thirdly the *'The democracy discussion'* episodes are discussed⁴⁷, each adding a new layer of specialisation analysis. Applying the notions of epistemic relations and social relations to the data shows how the implicit pedagogy works, which can then be discussed in the article's *Discussions and Implications* section in terms of why the students in this class seem to struggle with what it is they are meant to learn throughout the unit of study.

The meaning of 'evicted'

In this example, the teacher, Bonny, is leading the class discussion at the end of the unit's second lesson. In the discussion, she picks up on one of the exercises most students had trouble with, in which they were asked to use the word *evicted* in a sentence. Bonny brings the class' attention to the topic at hand and focuses their attention on the knowledge she wants to ensure they have obtained, i.e. the meaning of the word *evicted* by asking "did you find out what evicted means?"

⁴⁷ These chosen excerpts are from the second, the third and the last (sixth) lesson in the unit, respectively.

Several students attempt to answer this question; of these, four different answers seem acceptable to the teacher, including the following definitions of evicted:

- S 4 It means, uhm, evicted, for example that you're evicted from your house, so, or, they (get) thrown out of the house
- S 6 If you're in a group, then you can also just be evicted ... if you do something wrong, or something?
- S 3 or if there isn't enough room
- S 1 Or you haven't uhm not paid your rent

Linguistic analysis of the above example lends a perspective on the pedagogic discourse, which initially seems to suggest unfocused teaching (Sigsgaard, 2012b): the teacher, the person who has the authority to establish the knowledge being taught, is unclear in informing students on what the 'correct' answer is: she allows the varying definitions given by four different students to stand as equally correct. By not highlighting the contribution of student 1, she also fails to expand on students' common-sense interpretations of what evicted means, to the more precise definition needed for understanding the materials and aspects of the time-period under study (ibid.).

One could argue that the student 1's contribution in fact is the answer that comes closest to emphasising an epistemic relation to the knowledge in question. But with the teacher's focus on being inclusive, this answer blends in with the rest. By focusing on including all student answers as correct, her strategy fails to direct and expand the students' knowledge-base, leaving their understanding of the word evicted to their own abilities to 'read between the lines'. In other words, the epistemic relations displayed here are weak. At the same time, the role of social relations, and which focus they take with teachers and students respectively, seems to be significantly more important in the teaching strategies employed.

What is it like in a 'poorhouse'?

During the third lesson in the unit, two of the students, Samyra and Saima are working together, attempting to complete an exercise where they are asked to explain a list of 'hard' words from the dialogue, including: *mother-in-law*, *unemployed*, *poorhouse* and *day labourers*, by looking them up in a dictionary and then using them in a (written) sentence. The girls are using the school dictionary from the class shelf, but the word they are looking for is not in the dictionary, so they ask Adam for help. Adam comes over and starts by checking that the word in fact is not in the dictionary. He then pursues the definition of 'poorhouse' by asking the girls to try to explain "with some other words"

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what it means, but when they have trouble, he changes the question asking them to relate how they heard the word used in the materials.

By focusing back on the materials, Adam attempts to rely on the epistemic relations by asking the girls to relate how the word was used in the story. Samyra tries to relate what she remembers from the dialogue: “they, eeeem, he said you can just go in the poorhouse and then your child and your mother-in-law can live there, and then he said what about my wife and them? And then I don’t remember anymore.” Clearly, she is having difficulty transforming the information provided in the conversation presented in the online materials into knowledge about what a poorhouse is, and shows that Adam’s attempt to rely on the epistemic relations with regards to the materials does not help Samyra.

When increasing epistemic relations fails to help them, Adam asks the girls to imagine “what kind of place” a poorhouse is. In doing this, he decreases the epistemic relations while increasing social relations; asking the girls to imagine what the food there was like and if it was a “popular place to live”. The girls try to give him the answers he is looking for, retelling bits and pieces from the story, which Adam, however, seems unable to understand as being from the narrative in the materials. When asked whether or not they would want to live there, though, both girls answer very clearly “No”, “definitely not” and this seems to bring Adam to the point he is trying to make. He eagerly continues, asking the girls to empathize with the ghost-girl in the materials in order to formulate their answer:

SR+(with focus on)	speaker	text
SR(materials)	Adam	What do you think people think about one, when one lives there [in the poorhouse]?
	Samyra	(***)
SR(personal)	Saima	Just like gypsies!
SR(personal)	Samyra	They think they’re gypsies.
	Adam	How is it gypsies are?
SR(personal)	Samyra	I dunno. They are daaa - they always come in Turkey. They sell all kinds of expensive (things) Yeah, and they always do this – they have all kinds of holes in their clothes. They just do (***)
ER(dictionary)	Adam	It doesn’t say poorhouse in this book here. You’re sure of that?

The analysis shown in the left-most column, above, shows how the students seem to focus on increasing the social relations with regards to their personal experiences and concrete examples, SR(personal), while the teacher strengthens the social relations in terms of the (more technical) information provided by the teaching materials, SR(materials).

Ignoring the girl's explanation of what gypsies are like shows that the teacher does not accept this as a useful answer, rather brusquely dismissing the knowledge she has as irrelevant to the discussion at hand. Although it could be argued, that parallels certainly could be drawn between being a gypsy and being a day labourer (being poor, being a disadvantaged, looked down-upon minority group, begging etc.). At the same time, the epistemic relation is seen to be weak, in that very little attention is given to unpacking the concepts the students are meant to understand (what a poorhouse is and why people were sent there, and how this relates to the broader issues of being evicted and the democratic development of early 1900's Denmark). The teacher seems to rely on increasing the social relations to try to get the students to understand through empathizing, again suggesting a *knower code*, where the gaze of the participant is the legitimizing factor.

The Democracy Discussion

In the following, the focus of the social relations being relied on by teachers and students respectively shows how the mismatch in teacher-student conversations leaves students unclear on what they are learning, further emphasising the code clash experienced by teachers and students in this classroom. At the same time, the analysis gives an indication of the culminating knowledge students were expected to gain from the unit of study by comparing the questions from the materials students were meant to answer and the discussion teachers lead with the types of answers students give, while showing the difficulty students have in demonstrating this knowledge acceptably to the teachers.

The following example is from the last lesson of the observed unit of study, intended as a recap of what students have learned over the course of the unit. For this lesson, part of one of the tasks was chosen as the focal point and will be expanded upon below.

As with the rest of the questions in the Evicted materials, this task is based on a short narrative clip, which students listened to and could read simultaneously over the course of six screen shots before the task was posed. During this narrative, the screen zooms in on a smaller part of the painting where the mother stands, presenting her thoughts and worries. After listening to these, Alma, the ghost narrative in the materials, retells the mother's worries in a short explanation from which the students are meant to gather the answers to the following questions. Alma's explanation is as follows:

Now I think I understand much better!

My father was fired because he was fighting for better conditions. It wasn't because he was just complaining like they said. But mom got angry with him anyway because he got fired.

I don't know whose side to be on. Maybe they both just wanted what was best for me?

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But it's horrible what my mom was saying about the tobacco factory. Or the orphanage!
Now I'm starting to remember.
Because my dad was fired I started working at the tobacco factory. And it was dirty and noisy
... and ... and ... No, I don't want to think about it at all!
Let me be alone for a moment...

Students click the right arrow and are brought to a screen showing the following task:

“Why was the father fired?
What was the father fighting for?
What do the hard words Alma's mothers said mean: politics, labour union and democracy?
Look the words up if you are not sure. You could make word-cards for each of them.
Write your answers down on a piece of paper.

You could also try contacting a labour union to find out what a labour union does.
Click on the arrow when the task is completed.

The three words mentioned (politics, labour union and democracy) in the task seem to play a significant role in both what the online materials and the teachers give as a reason for studying this time period of Danish history. The time spent on the meaning of these three words during the last lesson supports this assumption, where the class as a whole spends 25 minutes on discussing *politics*, 20 minutes on *democracy* and another 25 minutes on *labour unions*, in a lesson which in total lasts just short of two hours.

In the whole-class discussion below, Sarah attempts to ensure that students have understood what *democracy* means. After several minutes of discussion following many different tangents, and disruptions from different students, she asks the students to take a few minutes to discuss with their neighbours, “when it is that we have democracy in Denmark”. After the students have had about 2 minutes to discuss amongst themselves, Sarah calls the class back to order.

Sarah calls on a girl named Renee. Quietly, Renee answers “student council”, drawing on a (presumably) known experience from her classroom⁴⁸. In her answer, Renee changes the focus from *democracy in DK* to *shared experiences from the classroom*. Sarah recasts Renee's two-word answer to: “when we vote for the student council.” And adds a request for elaboration, “How does that work here in our class?” changing the focus of the social relations of democracy from her original

⁴⁸ This class, like the rest of the classes in the school, votes on who will be student representatives at the student council in the school. Student representatives then go to regular meetings and vote on various initiatives.

question in Denmark to the focus the student, Renee, introduced, that of *shared experiences from the classroom*⁴⁹.

Renee clearly has trouble answering: “Um, we have to, you have to, well, those, those that go to the student council they have to listen together and then the others have to vote, vote”. Renee tries to answer by giving what must be the experiences of student members of the student council (she is not herself a member of the student council); her focus is therefore *other students’ experiences*. Sarah answers by refocusing to *our class* while adding / stressing relevant vocabulary such as *vote, politicians, representatives* and *the people*: “Then they vote on it, right? So actually, there’s where we have our two politicians. Who is it that are our politicians in here? [pause while students call out] Hussain and Nikolaj, you are the people in the class’ representatives.” Sarah nods and looks around the class, giving body language clues as to her acceptance of this example of democracy as a good one.

She then calls on the next student, Samyra, who suggests they have democracy, “in the recess”. When asked to explain Samyra continues: “that you decide yourself what to do.” With this answer, Samyra is attempting to relate her personal experiences to what democracy could be⁵⁰. In other words Samyra is attempting to answer by increasing the social relations with focus on *personal experience*. This is not, however, what the teacher is looking for, which is clearly signaled both in her body language (looking questioningly and briefly at Samyra then around at the rest of the class) and in her intonation in asking, “Is that democracy when you get to decide yourself what you want to do?” After asking her question she immediately calls on another student, Fahran, to give his suggestion. In doing this, she does not allow Samyra to qualify or explain her answer, dismissing it as incorrect without explicitly saying so.

Fahran picks up on the topic Samyra introduces, also focusing on personal experiences in his answer: “When they ask us what uuh, what we could do better in recesses.” But Sarah asks him to expand on this answer before she can accept it, which Fahran has trouble doing: “Theeeen, we say a bunch of stuff you could do, and then, so that we could do it.” Sarah looks at Fahran, shakes her head slightly,

⁴⁹ This is a common thing for the teachers in this classroom to do, and in many cases results in the classroom discussion going off in several different tangents, leaving teachers to do a lot of work in trying to bring the conversation back to what the original topic was. Often, though this does not happen. As such, this only serves to add to the confusion in that different aspects of the topic are foregrounded without any apparent consideration for how they connect or what the collected meaning being made is.

⁵⁰ She may also be trying to relate her answer to an earlier discussion before the 2 minute break, when Adam asked students to imagine what a country without democracy would be like. One of the points made then was that people in countries without democracy (e.g. dictatorships) often are restricted in terms of freedom to choose for themselves.

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and then calls on the class' 'clever' student, Hussain, possibly in an attempt to refocus the discussion.

Hussain's answer, "When we have to arrange for example summer party and stuff like that. If there don't come a lot, then it's like, then it's under half. And then, then it doesn't get passed. Then it gets cancelled" uses the focus of [shared experiences from our classroom], referring to the recent planning of the class' summer party. He also uses some correct terminology ('under half', 'get passed'). As a result, his answer gets acceptance followed by an expanded explanation by Sarah:

That could actually be a little in the right direction, right? If you sign up for something and we've said, if there doesn't come a little over 50 percent then we cancel. ... So that you could probably say, except that we haven't sat and voted on it. It's something WE [indicating the teachers] have voted on in our team. And there are four of us with 25 percent right to vote, and we agree 100 percent. So that's what um, maj... what's it called [Adam: a majority] yeah, a majority, something or other.

Sarah then calls on Jonathan, another student, who also attempts to answer the question of when there is democracy by going back to the example of recesses, focusing on *personal experiences* once again. Differently from Samyra and Fahran, however, when asked to explain he tries to use the right terminology, "Aaand and then the kids have to vote, right? [Sarah: yes] And over 50 per cent vote ... no. [Sarah, simultaneously: What do we have to do then? Do we stay in or out?] Then, then you still can stay inside the classroom n' stuff." By the end of his explanation, and with the help of Sarah's prompting, Jonathan has changed the focus of the social relations of democracy from *personal experiences* to *shared experiences from the classroom* by referring to a common occurrence for this class in how they through voting determine whether to hold recess indoors or out. He is rewarded with explicit positive feedback: "Yeps. That was a good example! And the student council was a good example."

By classifying teacher and student communications based on the *focus* of the social relation being made, it is possible to see which foci are seen as more valuable than others. More specifically, answers given with focus on *democracy in Denmark* (the original question asked by Sarah, but not followed up on by any of the students) or *shared experiences from the classroom* are in some way acknowledged, whereas answers where the focus of the social relation is students' own or *personal experiences* are dismissed by the teachers unless the student is able to elaborate and in doing so change his answer to a more acceptable focus.

Using appropriate terminology is another way for students to 'start on the right path' to a correct answer. It seems that teachers attempt to build upon student answers through reformulating

students' answers or through adding appropriate terminology in their questions. If students are able to pick up and use some of this terminology, an unacceptable focus can through teacher prompting lead to a successful answer, if the student also is able to change the focus from personal experiences to that of a shared classroom experience: Like Samyra, Fahren suggested that the recess was an example of democracy, but unlike Samyra whose focus was *personal experience*; his focus was *shared experiences from the classroom* (when deciding whether or not to spend recess indoors). Unlike Jonathan whose answer both used correct terminology and correct focus, though, Fahren was unable to expand his answer to include appropriate terminology and perhaps therefore not explicitly praised as correct.

This above example shows that students have to be able to give answers where the social relations to the object of study are foregrounded rather than the epistemic relations (giving an answer which is copied from the dictionary was not successful, nor followed up by the teachers). Neither of the teachers, nor any of the students use examples of democracy from the unit materials, further suggesting that the epistemic relations are given a lower priority in this final session of the unit of study. Instead of, for example, pursuing and elaborating on what the dictionary definition of democracy is, teachers ask students to relate to what democracy is as best as they can by talking about what they know from community or classroom contexts, asking them to imagine different scenarios, which in some way are examples of democracy or democratic situations.

Discussion and implications

Exploring examples from the unit of study observed from the perspective of LCT Specialisation shows that in trying to help students to understand key notions from the unit of study all the teachers rely heavily on social relations rather than epistemic relations to the object of study. This clearly suggests a *knower code* where a particular kind of knower is seen as legitimate. This ideal knower would seem to be a student who is able to gather knowledge pertaining to the development of democracy in Denmark during the 1900 from an interdisciplinary multimedia set of materials, understand what the implications of democracy are for a working class family 100 years ago and, as a result, how their lives were different to her own family's life in the present. The ideal student understands that she lives in a democratic country currently, and appreciates which types of responsibility and privileges this brings. At the same time, the ideal student is able to empathize with people who do not live in a democratic welfare state (whether currently in other countries or in Denmark 100 years ago). For the knowledge from this unit of study to be accessible, therefore, students would have to have a previous knowledge about Danish history and Danish culture to draw upon. In effect, the ideal knower is already Danish.

The implicitness and invisibility of the pedagogy observed has several negative implications for the students' chances of success. The difference between which answers are valued and which are seen as incorrect, is not made explicit by teachers, leaving students to try to figure out on their own what constitutes legitimate knowledge and how to demonstrate this. The closest teachers and students come to relying on epistemic relations is the few times when appropriate terminology is used by the teachers in their prompts or reformulations of student answers. However, this is again not done explicitly and only some students are able to pick up on the importance of the terminology and then attempt to use it in their responses. The difficulty students demonstrate in communicating their knowledge and understandings suggests that they, simply put, are the wrong kind of knowers for gaining success in this classroom.

Conclusion

This article started by raising issues of equity regarding access to scholastic success in a public school system, which internationally is often perceived as being one of the more successful. Nonetheless, as is common in many countries, Denmark's schools also struggle with ensuring that minority students, ie students with Danish as a second language, achieve academic success on par with their Danish as a native language peers (Egelund *et al.*, 2009).

The theme of democracy and a democratic welfare state seems to be of particular importance to both the authors of the teaching materials and to all three teachers involved in this unit of study where bilingual children are concerned. The amount of attention devoted to explaining concepts of democracy and politics in the last lesson suggests that the teachers consider these topics of particularly importance for their group of (minority-background) students, which also becomes evident through subsequent interviews with the teachers. This is not an uncommon perception of what DSL students in particular should be learning, and connects with assumptions about how their cultural backgrounds differ from the Danish national culture. These are then drawn upon in (Danish) progressive pedagogy as a way of making explicit the social norms of Danish schools society more generally (Bissenbakker Frederiksen, 2009; Saarup *et al.*, 2004). The pedagogy observed in this unit with its strong emphasis on social relations based on understanding Danish history, customs and ideas through especially school experiences and empathy aligns with such assumptions.

The combination of the many kinds of sorting, prioritising and recontextualising of different pieces of knowledge from an interdisciplinary multi-media material source (and teachers' questions and answers during teacher-student conversations and whole-class discussions) is shown to be a difficult task for the students, as seen in the way they seem to struggle to give teachers the kind of answers they are looking for. This is made even more difficult for students by the observation that social

relations to the object of study whose focus is students' personal experiences are generally ignored or dismissed as incorrect by the teachers. In addition, it seems that teachers remain unaware of the many meanings students actually do bring that are both relevant and related to what the unit of study is focusing on from an epistemic perspective, suggesting that if they showed more care in attending to students' answers, they may be more successful in building the bridges from the knowledge students come with, to the kind of knowledge they are expected to have by the end of the unit.

Specialisation analysis shows that more than simply language issues are at stake for these second language students when asked to learn about a History topic from a multimedia and interdisciplinary set of online materials. Teachers' attempts to bring in appropriate terminology is one of the ways in which they focus on the DSL aspect in their teaching (from teacher interviews), however, as is shown above, using appropriate terminology is not in itself enough for a student to be seen as a legitimate knower in this classroom. In other words, studying issues of why DSL students statistically do not have as high rates of academic success as a linguistic issue alone gives only a partial explanation. A broader understanding of the implications of prevalent Danish progressive pedagogy is necessary if these students are to be helped, and if the Danish public school system is to live up to its goal of affording all students equal chances of academic success.

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Article 4: Semantisk tyngde og semantisk tæthed i Demokratibegrebet – Dansk som andetsprog som dimension i en 5. klasses historieundervisning

Abstract

Dansk som andetsprog skal undervises sammen med skolens øvrige fag (Ministeriet for børn og undervisning, 2011) hvorved andetsprogsfaglige og didaktiske overvejelser tænkes ind i og udgør en dimension af den faglige undervisning. I denne artikel benyttes analytiske redskaber fra Legitimation Code Theorys *Semantik* (Maton, forthcoming) til at forstå nogle af de udfordringer en sådan sammenkobling af fagområder støder på med fokus på hvilke læringsbetingelser elever egentlig udsættes for. Artiklen bygger på tidligere lingvistiske og sociologiske analyser (Sigsgaard, 2012, in press, forthcoming), og ved gennemgang af et eksempel på en lærer-elev samtale sammenholdt med en opgave fra det brugte undervisningsmateriale analyseres der i hvilken grad lærerne har gjort sig klar hvilken viden der skal prioriteres, og der opbygges et argument for, at den observerede pædagogiske tilgang kun delvist tilgodeser de epistemiske eller fagligt indholdsmæssige krav, som både undervisningsmaterialet og lærerne synes at forvente eleverne tilegner sig gennem undervisningsforløbet.

Introduktion

Uddannelse ses af mange som nøglen til samfundsmæssig lighed, og i Danmark er der et udtalt mål om at det offentlige uddannelsessystem, og især folkeskolen, skal give alle børn lige muligheder for at klare sig godt i samfundet. Imidlertid viser sociologisk-pædagogiske undersøgelser at skolesystemet tværtimod denne forestilling, er en institution, der reproducerer samfundets sociale struktur⁵¹, hvilket i særlig grad går ud over børn med andet modersmål end dansk, som statistisk set klarer sig dårligere end etnisk danske børn (Egelund *et al.*, 2007; Egelund *et al.*, 2009; EVA, 2007; Saarup *et al.*, 2004), også selv om der bliver renset for evt. socioøkonomiske forskelle i statistikkerne (Holmen, 2008). Dansk som andetsprog i folkeskolen (fremover, DSA) er det fag som målrettet skal

⁵¹ En del forskning i Danmark har indtil videre fokuseret på denne elevgruppe ved hjælp af forskellige perspektiver på de læringsmæssige betingelser eleverne møder: f.eks. ved at undersøge sprogets betydning (Holmen, 2002, 2008; Laursen *et al.*, 2008; Laursen & UCC, 2010) elevernes og skolens (forskellige) kulturer (Gilliam, 2009, 2010), identitet (Bucharth, 2005, 2010), pædagogiske former og tilgange (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Moldenhawer, 2001) samt kampen om dominans indenfor den pædagogiske arena (Øland, 2009, 2012). Disse typer af klasserumsstudier danner grundlaget for den viden der på nuværende tidspunkt findes i Danmark omkring problematikken knyttet til DSA-elevgruppen. Denne artikel supplerer denne viden ved at tage udgangspunkt i et forskningsprojekt der undersøger problematikken fra et flerdisciplinært perspektiv, hvor der trækkes på almene og sproglige læringsteorier, lingvistiske analyser samt pædagogisk sociologiske teorier og analyseredskaber.

hjælpe disse børn med andet modersmål end dansk – almindeligvis og officielt omtalt som tosprogede elever (Undervisningsministeriet, 2009), til ligelig adgang til skolens vidensformer og dermed succes i skolen og sidenhen samfundet.

DSA er dog stadig et relativt nyt fagområde og i sin vorden som skolefag der er ved at finde sin plads både i læreruddannelsen (siden 2001) og i praksis ude i skolerne (med eget faghæfte siden 1993). Således er det interessant at undersøge hvordan undervisning i DSA tager sig ud i praksisfeltet for at hjælpe den i øvrigt ret så uhomogene gruppe af elever som den officielle klassifikation 'tosproget elev' rummer. Den seneste tendens er, at DSA skal undervises som en dimension i skolens øvrige fag, og i læreruddannelsen skal DSA nu indgå som en del af den mere almene pædagogiske uddannelse frem for som eget afgrænset fag (Holmen, 2008; Saarup *et al.*, 2004). Pædagogisk og sproglæringsteoretisk giver denne faglige integration god mening med hensyn til kontekst og praksisnære muligheder, men når andetsprogs-pædagogikken som selvstændigt fagområde stadig er så relativt spæd i Danmark sammenlignet med andetsprogs-pædagogik og forskning i udlandet, er det også væsentligt at undersøge hvilke betingelser DSA-fagligheden får i forhold til implementeringen i skolens øvrige fag, og hvilken betydning den eftertragtede faglige integration kan have for det læringsrum DSA-eleverne møder i skolen.

I denne artikel undersøges en del af problematikken ved at fremhæve nogle af de overordnede konklusioner fra et forskningsprojekt, som har haft til formål at undersøge Dansk som andetsprog, når det undervises som dimension i faget historie: hvilke betingelser skabes der for læring af et fagstof som på mange måder er abstrakt og fjernt fra elevernes hverdag, hvordan spiller samtaler mellem lærer og elev ind på disse betingelser og hvilken forestilling om eleverne lader det til at lærerne bygger deres pædagogiske tilgange på? Problematikken søges belyst ved hjælp af tekstnære lingvistiske analyser (fra systemisk funktionel lingvistik, fremover SFL), som derefter perspektiveres og suppleres med sociologiske analyser der trækker på Bernstein (2000, 2001) og i særlig grad på Maton (2010, forthcoming), hvis videreudvikling af Bernsteins teori er kendt som *Legitimation Code Theory* (fremover, LCT).

Teoretisk ramme: lingvistisk-orienteret pædagogisk socialrealisme

Pædagogisk praksis bliver her undersøgt ud fra den pædagogiske diskurs, der kommer til udtryk i undervisningen mellem lærer og elev. Hvad der bliver sagt, til hvem, og hvornår er i denne teoretiske ramme en vigtig del af billedet, idet indholdet i undervisningen er ideologisk og institutionelt betinget såvel som kulturelt produktivt, reproduktivt eller transformativt og således afspejler samfundet som helhed (Bernstein, 1977, 2000, 2001). Men ifølge Bernstein og Maton handler det også om at selve interaktionsformen er med til at påvirke den kulturelle og individuelle bevidsthed

hos både lærere og elever. Kodeteorien fokuserer på at undersøge hvad i kommunikationen det er, der gør at nogle elever privilegeres eller gøres legitime, mens andres sandsynlighed for succes i skolen (og sidenhen i samfundet) mindskes. Teorien lægger op til at undersøge selve strukturen og indholdet i den måde de institutionelle og ideologiske beskeder gives på. Det er i denne forbindelse at lingvistiske analyser fra SFL oprindeligt udviklet af Halliday (1976, 2009); Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) og siden især i en pædagogisk kontekst af Martin (1992) og Martin & Rose (2007) har vist sig at være særligt givtige.

Forbindelsen mellem disse sociologiske og lingvistiske perspektiver er i de seneste år blevet styrket og videreudviklet af bl.a. Christie (2002); Christie and Martin (2007); Hasan (1999); og Hasan and Williams (1996). Disse teoriers berøringsflade og perspektiver er blevet udfordret og videreudviklet på det pædagogiske felt især af Christie and Maton (2011); Hood (2011); Macnaught *et al.* (in press); Martin (in press); Maton (forthcoming); og Matruglio *et al.* (in press) til det, som jeg her vil kalde en *lingvistisk-orienteret pædagogisk socialrealisme*. Det er indenfor denne teoretiske ramme at følgende bidrag placerer sig.

Projektet der ligger bag denne artikel, omfatter flere forskellige typer af analyser, både lingvistiske og sociologiske med udgangspunkt i nøje udvalgte eksempler på lærer-elev samtaler i undervisningen, som samlet set giver et relativt nuanceret billede af den problematik der knytter sig til 'de tosprogede elever' og til hvilke læringsbetingelser de møder (Meidell, 2007; Sigsgaard, 2012, forthcoming-a, forthcoming-b). Fund fra projektet viser bl.a. at lærerne gennem undervisningsforløbet forventer at eleverne forstår emnet ud fra en *knower code* (Sigsgaard, forthcoming-b), hvor der fremhæves *deltagerrelationer* (social relations) til undervisningens faglige indhold (Maton, 2010). F.eks. viser analyser af forskellige lærer-elev samtaler, at lærere forventer at eleverne skal kunne sætte sig ind i fortællingen som materialets hovedperson, Alma, giver, forestille sig hvordan det må have været at være arbejderbarn for 100 år siden, og derudfra slutte hvordan disse levevilkår kan have påvirket en udvikling til en demokratisk velfærdsstat. De forventes at kunne sammenligne denne viden med deres øvrige viden om verden i dag og historisk og gøre dette på en (sprogligt) legitim måde. I en *knower code* opdrager eller 'coacher' læreren eleverne til at se tingene på den rigtige måde, og gennem deltagelse og ved at lære at efterligne at 'se' tingene sådan som læreren beskriver dem, bliver eleven legitim (Maton, 2010, forthcoming). En *knower code* nedprioriterer således de *epistemiske relationer* eller fagligt /videnskabeligt indholdsmæssige forhold til undervisningsstoffet, ved at disse ikke gøres eksplicit over for eleven. Alligevel er de epistemiske relationer i stoffet dog til stede, og for at forstå hvordan lærernes pædagogiske valg påvirker elevernes læringsbetingelser, undersøges der i det følgende nærmere hvilken viden (altså

hvilke epistemiske relationer) der gør sig gældende i det observerede undervisningsforløb. Dette gøres ved hjælp af LCTs begreber om *semantisk tæthed* og *semantisk tyngde*, hvis betydning og anvendelighed i denne sammenhæng forklares i forbindelse med analysen af det valgte eksempel.

Data: At være barn for 100 år siden – et tværfagligt emneforløb i historie og dansk som andetsprog

Data til de følgende analyser stammer fra videooptagelser af et emneforløb i en femte klasse i en skole uden for København. De fleste af børnene på skolen og i klassen er tosprogede, og skolen har et stort fokus på at hjælpe denne elevgruppe bl.a., ved at have mindst en DSA-lærer tilknyttet hvert klassetrin. Over de sidste år har skolen også fokuseret på DSA både som fagområde og indenfor de øvrige fagområder ved at efteruddanne størstedelen af lærerne i DSA med den 300-timer lange efteruddannelse, Grunduddannelsen i undervisning af tosprogede elever, udbudt af professionshøjskolerne.

De rå data til projektet består af i alt ca. 10 timers klasserumsundervisning optaget på to videokameraer, som efterfølgende er blevet systematisk gennemgået, og transskriberet hvor muligt. Da interessen i projektet har været at undersøge lærer-elev interaktioner, blev der videooptaget med både håndholdt kamera (for at fange specifikke lærer-elev samtaler især under gruppearbejde) og med et stationært kamera (rettet mod diskussioner i klassen som helhed). Optagelserne er fra et emneforløb som skolens DSA-ansvarlige lærer (Bonny) havde initieret sammen med klassens historielærer (Adam) og dansklærer (Sarah). Emnet forløb over 6 undervisningsgange fordelt over 4 uger.

Det valgte materiale til emneforløbet "Sat Ud - et online undervisningsmateriale til historie og dansk" (Alinea, 2007) er et online opgave-baseret multimediemateriale hvor eleverne bliver præsenteret for det berømte danske maleri af samme navn, malet af Erik Henningsen i 1892. Materialet er udviklet med økonomisk støtte af Undervisningsministeriet og af Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen i Københavns Kommune. Ifølge lærervejledningen er "Sat Ud" særligt velegnet for tosprogede elever da opgaverne i forbindelse med billedet er udviklet med vægt på kommunikative færdigheder både inden for læsning, skrivning og det mundtlige sprog, f.eks. ved dialog og gruppe- og klassesdiskussioner (Clausen, 2007). Desuden menes det at tematikken i materialet bl.a. giver eleverne mulighed for at forstå magtforhold mellem samfundsborgere og magthavere reguleret gennem lovgivning, forhandling og revolution, samt formulere historiske fortællinger, som lægger sociale og kulturelle perspektiver på historiske begivenheder (*ibid.*). Materialet udgøres af en række skærbilleder fra maleriet samt fotografier af 'Familien Sørensen

lejlighed' på Arbejdermuseet som ledsages af en narrativ fortalt af spøgelse af den lille pige på maleriet, som i materialet er kaldt Alma.

Gennem undervisningsforløbet brugte eleverne hovedparten af tiden på Sat Ud materialet: De lyttede til Almas fortælling om sit eget og familiens liv i København for ca. 100 år siden ved at sidde i grupper på to elever om en bærbar computer. Almas fortælling afbrydes undervejs af en opgaveskærm hvor der stilles et spørgsmål eller en opgave som skal besvares inden eleverne kan fortsætte med materialet. Således forventes det, at eleverne tilegner sig en indsigt i hvordan levevilkårene var for en arbejderfamilie i Danmark omkring århundredeskiftet, og derudfra kan følge baggrundene for dannelsen af fagforeninger og hvorledes dette førte til udviklingen af Danmark til en demokratisk velfærdsstat.

Analyse og Diskussion – ”Hvornår har vi demokrati i Danmark?”

I det følgende fremhæves et eksempel fra de transskriberede data som analyseres og diskuteres undervejs. Analysen bygger på nogle af de mere detaljerede lingvistiske og sociologiske analyser, som blev gennemført i projektet som helhed. Således bruges det følgende eksempel til at trække trådene fra flere forskellige typer af analyser til et samlet billede af hvilke læringsbetingelser eleverne møder gennem undervisningsforløbet, for derefter at sige noget om hvilken betydning dette kan have for deres forståelse af stoffet.

Det valgte eksempel udgør et relativt kort klip fra den sidste time i undervisningsforløbet, hvor hovedvægten af energien fra lærernes side blev lagt på at sørge for at eleverne havde forstået tre vigtige ord fra Sat Ud materialet og dermed fra hele undervisningsforløbet: politik, demokrati, og fagforening. De tre ord er taget fra materialets opgave 15:

*Hvorfor blev faderen fyret?
Hvad kæmpede faderen for?
Hvad betyder de svære ord, Almas mor sagde: politik, fagforening og demokrati
Slå ordene op hvis du er i tvivl og lav evt. ordkort over dem.
Skriv dine svar ned på et stykke papir.*

*Du kan også prøve at tage kontakt til en fagforening for at finde ud af hvad en fagforening laver.
Klik på pilen når opgaven er løst.*

(Alinea, 2007, skærmbillede 68)

Eleverne havde problemer med at udføre denne opgave i gruppearbejdet, hvilket forklarer lærernes valg af at tage ordene op i den sidste lektion i forløbet. I et efterfølgende interview forklarede lærerne, Sarah og Adam, at de følte det var særligt vigtigt for eleverne at have fået et kendskab til disse ord for på den måde at danne grobund for f.eks. næste års (6. classes) historie- og

danskundervisning, hvor tematikken fra Sat Ud undervisningsforløbet evt. kunne genoptages. Derfor så de det som vigtigt at børnene havde fået en viden der senere ville kunne bygges videre på.

For at forstå hvorfor denne opgave er så besværlig for eleverne, trækkes der på LCTs begreber om *semantisk tyngde* (semantic gravity) og *semantisk tæthed* (semantic density), som begge bruges til at beskrive aspekter af de *epistemiske relationer* til undervisningens indhold, i dette tilfælde hvordan man kan forstå begrebet *demokrati*.

Semantisk tyngde er defineret som i hvor høj grad betydningen af en ting eller et begreb er bundet til den givne kontekst. En forstærkelse af semantisk tyngde kan forstås som at bevæge sig fra et abstrakt koncept ned til konkrete eksempler på selve konceptet. F.eks. kan man eksemplificere demokrati ved at tale om elevrådet i skolen og hvordan det fungerer. I så fald er der en større semantisk tyngde. En mindskelse af semantisk tyngde sker når man fra flere forskellige konkrete eksempler abstraherer til et koncept ved at drage generaliserende principper frem og dermed bevæger sig 'op' til en mere abstrakt forståelse. En mindskelse af semantisk tyngde sker når man på baggrund af en diskussion om elevrådet, f.eks. finder frem til at demokrati bl.a. omfatter repræsentation og stemmeret.

Semantisk tæthed skal forstås som i hvilken grad der knyttes meninger til en ting eller et begreb i en given kontekst. I stedet for blot at kalde et ord for abstrakt og dermed svært forståeligt, viser termen semantisk tæthed hvordan dette er tilfældet. Desto højere den semantiske tæthed, desto flere betydninger knytter sig til et givent begreb. For eksempel er *demokrati* et begreb med relativt høj semantisk tæthed idet mange relaterede betydninger er knyttet sammen med det (og disse kan være forskellige alt afhængig af hvilken kontekst det tages op i). I selve undervisningsmaterialet tilknyttes der mange andre begreber som f.eks. *udvikling, folkestyre, politik, og forbedrede levevilkår for arbejdere og børn*. Men i andre kontekster, som også ses i klasserummet i det efterfølgende eksempel, knyttes der yderligere og andre betydninger til *demokrati*, som f.eks. *retfærdighed, ligestilling, repræsentation, flertal og procenter, flerstemmighed, valgfrihed, og det modsatte af et diktatur*.

Maton (in press) giver i sin forklaring af begrebernes analytiske styrke og virke samtidig en beskrivelse af hvordan de kan bruges til at forstå en pædagogisk praksis. Han gør rede for at selv om det ikke altid er tilfældet, kan det ske at en lav semantisk tæthed forekommer samtidigt med en stor semantisk tyngde og vice versa. Dette giver mening hvis man f.eks. tænker på at diskussioner omkring hvad et demokratisk samfund er, ofte må være mere abstrakte og mindre kontekstnære (dvs. højere semantisk tætte og samtidigt mindre semantisk tunge) end f.eks. en diskussion af

hvordan sidste valg til skolens studenterråd blev gennemført, hvor den semantiske tæthed er lavere og den semantiske tyngde samtidigt større. Ved at sammenkoble en høj semantisk tæthed med en mindre semantisk tyngde på en ende af et kontinuum, og tilsvarende sammenkoble en lav semantisk tæthed og en større semantisk tyngde på den anden ende fås en konceptuel skala som kan bruges til at forstå den udvikling der sker i en given (pædagogisk) praksis. Forskellen på der hvor den semantiske tæthed er størst samtidigt med den semantiske tyngde lavest og hvor den semantiske tæthed er mindst samtidigt med den semantiske tyngde højest kaldes for den *semantiske spændvidde* (semantic range) (Macnaught *et al.*, in press; Maton, forthcoming, in press; Matruglio *et al.*, in press). En grafisk repræsentation af semantisk spændvidde over et forløb (f.eks. et undervisningsforløb, en lektion, en samtale, eller en tekst) kan være nyttigt i forhold til at forstå både noget om hvor stort et 'spring' man må lave for at forstå og bruge et begreb, men også hvordan eleverne evt. kan støttes til at nå 'op' til den slags meninger der værdsættes i en skolekontekst, og som oftest ligger højere oppe på den semantiske spændvidde. I den sammenhæng tales der om den *semantiske bølge*:

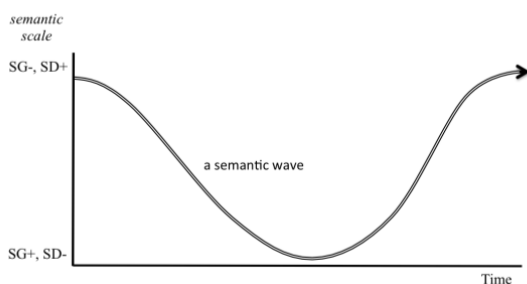


Fig. 1: Eksempel på en semantisk bølge

SG = semantisk tyngde; SD = semantisk tæthed; + = større/højere; - = mindre/lavere

(Maton, in press)

En bevægelse hen ad denne bølge kræver at man kan bevæge sig ned af den semantiske spændvidde ved at rekontekstualisere et abstrakt begreb som demokrati for at forklare et aspekt heraf, som derefter generaliseres igen⁵².

Spørgsmålene i Opgave 15 ("Hvorfor blev faderen fyret? Hvad kæmpede faderen for? Hvad betyder de svære ord, Almas mor sagde...") laver et forholdsvis stort spring fra lavt på den semantiske spændvidde ved de først to spørgsmål, da disse er kontekstnære (forståelsesrelaterede) spørgsmål i forhold til Almas fortælling om hendes far, til en løsrivelse fra denne kontekst hvor begreberne

⁵² Et mere konkret eksempel af hvordan en bevægelse hen ad en semantisk bølge kan se ud, følger i analysen af samtalen mellem læreren Sarah og eleven Hussain.

politik, fagforening og *demokrati* bedes forklaret evt. ved at slå disse op i en næsten helt dekontekstualiseret kilde (ordbogen) til relativt højt på den semantiske spændvidde. For at kunne forklare på skrift hvad ordene betyder, kræver det at eleverne af sig selv kan bevæge sig fra et relativt semantisk tungt og mindre tæt eksempel, som i øvrigt for dem kan forventes at være både fremmed og fjernt – altså fra historien fortalt af et spørgsmål af en pige i et maleri af en familie der bliver sat ud i København for over 100 år siden – finde og sortere i de mange betydninger der kan knyttes til hvert af de opremsede ord i spørgsmålet, og derefter lave generaliseringer derfra (altså bevæge sig op ad den semantiske spændvidde) for at danne en sætning om deres betydning. Uden konkret hjælp til hvordan dette kan gøres, kan denne opgave forventes at være svær selv for elever med dansk som modersmål og med en etnisk og kulturel dansk baggrund.

Med dette i tankerne kastes der nu et nærmere blik på selve samtalen mellem læreren Sarah og den samlede klasse i den sidste lektion i forløbet, hvor ordet *demokrati* netop diskuteres og forsøges forklaret. Denne samtale vælges til fremhævelse her, bl.a. fordi den er et eksempel på både hvordan en forklaring fra læreren gives, og på hvad forklaringen egentlig indeholder. Samtalen begynder ca. 50 minutter efter timens start. I al den tid har eleverne siddet stille på deres skamler samlet i midten af lokalet mens Sarah og Adam har stået foran og skiftedes til at føre den samlede klassediskussion og den anden agerede skribent på klassens tavle og flip over hvor der bl.a. blev lavet mindmaps til ordet *politik*. Efter ca. 20 minutters diskussion af *politik* begynder Sarah på *demokrati*.

Sarah beder en af pigerne, Samyra, om at læse op hvad der står på hendes papir (det som Samyra havde skrevet ned under de tidligere timers gruppearbejde hvor hun lavede opgaverne i materialet med sin makker). Der går dog noget tid med at prøve at forstå hvad Samyra har skrevet, da hun kun delvist har kopieret en definition fra klassens ordbog og tilsyneladende ikke kan huske hvad den betyder eller hvad der stod i ordbogen. Da dette bliver tydeligt for lærerne, spørger Sarah så en anden elev, Renata. Men Renata har også svært ved at svare. De øvrige elever er efterhånden ved at være rastløse, og både Sarah og Adam bruger en del energi på at få dem til at sidde stille og lade være med at råbe op med diverse svar. Sarah beder derfor eleverne om at, "*vi tager et minut, ikke pause, men hvor man lige vender hovederne med sin makker og så siger man hvornår er det at vi har demokrati i Danmark*" hvorefter eleverne 'summer' med hinanden i ca. 5 minutter.

Ved at bede eleverne diskutere med hinanden hvornår "*vi har demokrati i Danmark*", giver Sarah eleverne mulighed for at svare på hvad demokrati er, på et lavere niveau indenfor den semantiske spændvidde, idet de skal finde frem til konkrete eksempler, som derfor både er kontekstspecifikke

og mindre abstrakte. Herefter kalder Sarah på elevernes opmærksomhed for at høre hvad de nåede frem til⁵³:

- 1 Sarah *Jeg starter selvfølgelig med at spørge Renata fordi det var Renata der ikke kunne svare.*
- 2 Renata Elevrådet
- 3 Sarah *Når man vælger til elevrådet. Hvordan fungerer det herinde i vores klasse?*
- 4 Renata *Vi skal, man skal.. altså den der (***)*
- 5 Sarah *Så skal de stemme om det, ikke? Så der har vi faktisk vores to politikere, hvem er det vores to politikere er herinde?*
- 6 flere elever [kalder ud] Hussain! Niels!
- 7 Sarah *Hussain og Niels, I er vores politikere. I er FOLKET i klassens repræsentanter. Så vi forventer I opfører jer ordentligt og er nogle gode eksempler ikke?*

Renata har fundet et eksempel (elevrådet), som Sarah anerkender, men beder forklaret yderligere ved at fortælle hvordan 'det fungerer herinde i vores klasse'. Sarah beder altså Renata om at bevæge sig endnu længere ned af den semantiske spændvidde ved at øge den semantiske tyngde og kontekstualiseringen. Renata har lidt svært ved at svare, og svarer i øvrigt så stille at optagelsen ikke fanger hvad hun siger (linje 4). Men Sarah gentager og omformulerer ved at tilføje bestemte fagord: *stemme, politikere, folket, repræsentanter*, formentligt i et forsøg på at knytte flere betydninger til – altså i et forsøg på at øge den semantiske tæthed, dog uden at gøre dette eksplicit (andet end at hun lægger særligt tryk på ordet *folket* – linje 7). Herefter fortsætter hun ved at spørge en anden elev, Samyra:

- 8 Sarah *Samyra hvornår kender du til demokrati herinde?*
- 9 Samyra I frikvartererne?
- 10 Sarah *I frikvartererne, hvad tænker du på i frikvarterene?*
- 11 Samyra At man selv bestemmer hvad man laver
- 12 Sarah *Er det demokrati når man selv må bestemme hvad man har lyst til at gøre?*
- 13 flere elever [kalder ud] ja! nej!
- 14 Sarah *Hvad siger du Fahrhan?*
- 15 Fahrhan emmmm, (***)
- 16 Sarah *Når I hvad?*
- 17 Fahrhan (**) når I spørger hvad vi kunne gøre bedre =i frikvarterene
- 18 Sarah *=Og hvad gør man så?*
- 19 Fahrhan Såååå, så siger man (**) og så kan man gøre det
- 20 Sarah *[ser ud som om hun 'tygger' på svaret mens hun kigger rundt]*

⁵³ Transskriptionskonventionerne følger Eggins and Slade (2005, p. 5). Se Appendiks 1 for en oversigt. Derudover lettes skelnen mellem lærernes og elevernes ture ved at lærernes ture står med kursiv.

I ovenstående ses det samtalemønster som ofte bruges af lærerne både i helklasses-diskussioner og i mindre grupper, når de forsøger at hjælpe eleverne til at 'komme frem' til et svar som kan godtages. Dette mønster er velkendt fra (sprog)pædagogisk klasserumsforskning under navnet IRF (*initiation, response, feedback*) og bruges typisk af lærere til at 'tjekke' hvad elever ved og om de har forstået (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). En mere detaljeret lingvistisk undersøgelse af denne type samtalemønster viser imidlertid at lærerne i denne klasse ofte kun giver vag feedback eller helt undlader at give det (Sigsgaard, 2012), hvilket også ses i de ovenstående linjer: Sarah spørger Samyra (linje 8) om hvornår hun kender til demokrati i klassen (det vil sige hun har en forestilling om hvilket svar der kan godtages frem for andre) men Samyras svar "i frikvartererne" er ikke et af disse. Sarah giver Samyra mulighed for at uddybe sit svar, men derpå er Sarahs feedback ret vagt idet hun stiller et spørgsmål tilbage til Samyra (linje 12). Flere af eleverne byder ind med "ja" og "nej" til Sarahs spørgsmål, men uden at give svar kalder Sarah på den næste elev, Fahran (linje 14). Dermed springer Sarah den vigtige del af samtalen over, hvor hun som lærer har autoritet til og mulighed for at give tydelig viden i forhold til hvad demokrati er eller ikke er (ibid.). Uden denne information betyder det at Samyra og resten af eleverne i klassen selv må regne ud, om det "at man selv bestemmer hvad man laver" egentlig har noget med demokrati at gøre eller ej og evt. hvordan. Dermed giver Sarah hverken feedback til eleverne på det faglige indhold eller på den sproglige dimension i forhold til hvordan der på en legitim måde kan gives udtryk for en forståelse om hvad *demokrati* er.

Sarah fortæller heller ikke eksplicit om Farhans efterfølgende svar er rigtigt eller forkert, selv om hun beder ham uddybe sit svar (linjer 14-20). Men han kan nok regne ud (ved bl.a. at aflæse hendes kropssprog) at det ikke helt var rigtigt, uden dog at vide hvad der evt. var i den rigtige retning, fordi det næste Sarah gør, er at spørger Hussain:

- 21 *Hussain?*
- 22 Hussain Når vi skal holde sommerfest og sådan noget. Hvis der ikke kommer mange så er det ligesom så er det under halv. Og så, så bliver det ikke accepteret. Så bliver det aflyst
- 23 Sarah *Det kunne faktisk godt være lidt derhen af, ik? Når man tilmelder sig til noget, og vi har sagt, hvis der ikke kommer lidt over 50 procent. Så aflyser vi.*
Så det kan man faktisk godt sige, på nær at vi ikke har siddet og stemt om det. Det er noget vi [gestures to A] har stemt om i vores team. Og vi er fire med 25 procents rettigheder, og vi er enige 100 procent. Så det er, = hvad hedder det = det er flerstemmigt.
- 24 Adam = flerstemmigt
- 25 Sarah flerstemmigt, [smågriner] nå ja.

Hussain er af lærerne omtalt som klassens dygtige elev. I interviewet efter undervisningsforløbet fortalte Sarah og Adam at Hussain ikke har de samme problemer som de fleste af klassens øvrige

elever og at det nok hænger sammen med at hans forældre begge er uddannede og at han i det hele taget er "kvik".

Ved hjælp af de introducerede analytiske redskaber kan man forstå at Hussain i sit svar formår at gøre, hvad der forventes både af opgaveteksten og af lærerne, ved at forholde sig til de epistemiske relationer, altså det faglige indhold. For at gøre dette må han bevæge sig fra en relativt høj semantisk tæthed og lille semantisk tyngde (f.eks. i opgavetekstens spørgsmål: "*hvad betyder de svære ord...*") ved at rekontekstualisere til en sammenhæng hvor der er en lavere semantisk tæthed (mindre begrebstæthed) og større semantisk tyngde (*når vi skal holde sommerfest*), generalisere herfra for så at bevæge sig op ad den semantiske bølge igen, til hvor der er en højere semantisk tæthed og en mindre semantisk tyngde. Dette gør han ved at svare med ord som kan bruges i andre sammenhænge og på et mere generelt niveau (*så bliver det ikke accepteret. Så bliver det aflyst*).

Klasserumsstudier med den lingvistisk-orienterede pædagogiske socialrealisme som teoretisk udgangspunkt viser, at det netop er bevægelsen op ad bølgen igen, som er afgørende for om studerende / elever formår at klare sig godt i skolen både i form af anerkendelse fra lærere og i forhold til højere resultater på test og afgangseksamen (Macnaught *et al.*, in press; Martin, in press; Maton, in press; Matruglio *et al.*, in press). Undersøgelsen af opgaveteksten foroven støtter denne konklusion idet eleverne netop forventes at bevæge sig op ad den semantiske bølge selv, fra det konkrete eksempel i materialet, for at give en generel definition som er mere begrebstæt og mindre kontekstnær.

I linje 23 ses et eksempel på at læreren giver en forklaring på en af de betydninger der knytter sig til *demokrati* når hun taler om at der skal være et flertal i stemmeprocessen for at noget kan vedtages demokratisk. Hun omformulerer Hussains svar og knytter flere fagord på (*50 procent, retigheder, flerstemmigt*), dog uden at forklare disses betydning i sig selv eller deres sammenhæng med *demokrati* som koncept inden hun henvender sig til den næste elev:

- 26 Jonathan?
- 27 Jonathan eem, vi har snakket om sådan et emne om at man skal være ude i frikvartererne?
- 28 Sarah = ja
- 29 Jonathan Oog og så skal barnet stemme om det, ik?
- 30 Sarah ja
- 31 Jonathan Og over halvtreds procent stemmer . nej, Såå, =
- 32 Sarah =Ja, hvad skal vi så? skal vi så være inde eller ude?=
=så må man stadig være inde i klassen=
- 33 Jonathan =så må man stadig være inde i klassen=
- 34 Sarah Jeps. Det var et godt eksempel! og elevrådet var et godt eksempel.

Fra linjerne 26 til 34 ses en del af samtalen, hvor en af klassens øvrige elever, Jonathan, også formår at give et bud, som Sarah godkender som "et godt eksempel" (linje 34). Dette gør han bl.a. ved at knytte de 'rigtige' fagord på – han taler om at "stemme om det" og "over halvtreds procent" og hvilket resultat dette medfører (at "man stadig må være inde i klassen" - linje 33). Ligesom Hussain tager Jonathan et begreb med en høj semantisk tæthed og lille tyngde (*demokrati*) og bevæger sig ned til et (andet) konkret eksempel ("om at man skal være ude i frikvartererne" – linje 27), hvor den semantiske tæthed er lavere og den semantiske tyngde er større, for derefter at trække et aspekt af *demokrati* frem (flertal til vedtagelse af en beslutning). Men fordi han trækker det samme aspekt frem og bruger de samme ord som læreren brugte i sin tidligere forklaring, tilføjer Jonathan ingen ny viden til fællessamtalen. Han bekræfter blot overfor lærerne at han forstod og er i stand til at gengive sin viden på en i denne klasse legitim måde.

Analysen foretaget indtil videre med fokus på de epistemiske relationer i form af hvordan semantisk tæthed og semantisk tyngde kommer til udtryk i opgaveteksten og lærer-elevsamtalen, viser nogle af de udfordringer eleverne i denne klasse møder i forhold til de læringsmæssige betinger. Dog er de ikke tilstrækkelig til at forklare hvorfor Samyras svar i linje 9 – 11, som jo også handler om frikvartererne, ikke blev godkendt som rigtigt. En tidligere foretaget analyse ved hjælp af LCTs begreber om *specialisering* (specialisation) viser at dette måske skyldes at eleverne i højere grad skal agere indenfor en *knower code* hvor de (mere subjektive) deltagerrelationer til emnet fremhæves som vigtige, frem for en *knowledge code* hvor der i højere grad fokuseres på de epistemiske relationer (Sigsgaard, forthcoming-b). En sådan analyse tyder på at Samyras bud om selv at bestemme i frikvartererne ikke bliver godkendt fordi det ikke er baseret på en fælles oplevelse i klassen. Med andre ord forsøger hun at relatere til emnet ud fra hendes egen oplevelse, som ikke kan ses at være baseret på en deltagerrelation, der anerkendes af læreren som legitim (*ibid.*). Dette tyder altså på et såkaldt *code clash* (Chen *et al.*, 2011), der viser at eleverne forventes at kunne benytte sig af en *knower code* for at tilegne sig ny viden, men skal demonstrere forståelse ved at forholde sig til de epistemiske relationer (med fokus på det faglige indhold) der gør sig gældende for *demokrati*. Samtidigt viser både tidligere foretagne lingvistiske analyser og ovenstående analyser at eleverne ikke får hjælp til at lære hvornår hvilken type viden (eller code) er at foretrække, eller at der overhovedet kan være forskellige måder man kan vide noget på.

Efter Sarahs ros af eksemplerne *eleverådet* og *være inde eller ude i frikvarteret* (linje 34) rækker Samyra hånden op for at stille et opklarende spørgsmål:

- 35 *Samyra?*
36 Samyra Dem øøø forældre, de der fire som har arrangeret sommerfesten

- 37 Sarah ja
38 Samyra er det ikke også demokrati?
39 Sarah *Jo. faktisk det er det. Faktisk, når vi sidder til de der forældremøder . så tager vi selvfølgelig ikke de forældre der ikke er der. De har ikke nogen stemmer. Man kan godt komme med en stemme og tage et papir også . Men ellers så sidder vi her og så er der faktisk nogen herinde der siger om de vil gerne .. være forældrerepræsentanter i klassen, og så er det alle de andre forældre der siger ok det synes vi er i orden, eller vi stemmer om det. Det er også demokrati. Så faktisk er de forældre JERES forældres talerør til os. Eller hvis der er noget de er utilfredse med så kan de faktisk skrive eller ringe til kontaktførelserne, ikke? [kigger rundt og nikker] Det er rigtigt.*

Samyra bringer med sit spørgsmål endnu et aspekt af demokrati frem som handler om repræsentation (linje 36). Sarah bekræfter i sit svar, at dette har med demokrati at gøre, men uden at gøre det tydeligt hvordan. Tværtimod trækker hun i sin efterfølgende forklaring (linje 39) igen det aspekt af demokrati frem som handler om at demokrati har at gøre med at der skal være et flertal i stemmeprocessen for at noget kan vedtages demokratisk.

I denne sammenhæng er det interessant at nævne at Samyras tidligere bud (at man selv bestemmer hvad man laver i frikvartererne), faktisk godt ville kunne have været brugt til at fremhæve endnu et aspekt af demokrati, som faktisk også blev omtalt tidligere i undervisningen, da diskussionen handlede om politik. I den forbindelse blev der nemlig talt om ligestilling mellem kønnene og at diktaturer (hvor man ikke selv kan bestemme) ikke var en demokratisk politisk model. Samyras bud (at man selv bestemmer hvad man laver, linje 11) kunne derfor godt have været brugt til at fremme aspekter af demokrati der har at gøre med valgfrihed og stemmeret. Havde Sarah eller Adam lavet denne forbindelse til den tidligere samtale, ville de muligvis kunne have givet eleverne et mere nuanceret billede af hvilken størrelse demokrati egentlig er, og hvilke betydninger der kan knyttes til begrebet i forskellige sammenhænge.

Når det bærende pædagogiske redskab til en faglig undervisning er åbne spørgsmål vises der i ovenstående analyser og tilhørende diskussion at en sådan undervisning i højere grad end observeret kræver at lærerne på forhånd har gjort sig klart hvilke af de mange mulige aspekter af *demokrati* de gerne vil have på banen, og at de laver en prioritering over disse inden undervisningen og samtalen med eleverne overhovedet går i gang⁵⁴. Sådan som undervisningen forløb, overlades

⁵⁴ Om og i hvilken omfang en evt. afklaring og prioritering er blevet lavet, er svær at vide, da der i de efterfølgende interview fra lærernes side i højere grad blev kredset om hvilke udfordringer de står overfor med denne elevgruppe, hvor lærernes bekymringer i højere grad fokuserede på hvordan elevernes generelt manglende skolefærdighed kan forbedres og den sociale arv brydes. Interviewene som datakilde kan derfor ikke bruges til at sige noget om hvilke refleksioner lærerne gjorde sig omkring stoffet i undervisningsforløbet. Til gengæld afspejler de muligvis en sammenhæng med hvilken officiel pædagogisk diskurs gør sig gældende (både

eleverne til selv at skulle lave mange af de mellemregninger som ikke er helt oplagte, og som mange af eleverne havde svært ved. Det lader derfor til at eleverne muligvis oplever at nogle elever bare er dygtigere end andre uden egentlig at vide hvad der gør dem dygtigere end andre elever, og hvad der gør deres svar mere acceptable i undervisningssituationen end andres.

Perspektivering

I den ovenstående analyse vises der hvordan begreberne semantisk tyngde og semantisk tæthed fra LCT kan bruges til at analysere en pædagogisk kontekst og sammenholde forskellige typer af datakilder (undervisningsmaterialer, observerede lærer-elevsamtaler og interview) for at give en forståelse af hvorfor eleverne i den observerede klasse synes at have svært ved at tilegne sig den viden der af lærerne forventes forstået gennem undervisningsforløbet. Ved både at analysere den valgte samtale og opgaven i materialet i forhold til hvordan de epistemiske relationer kommer til udtryk ved hjælp af LCTs semantik, ses det at eleverne forventes at kunne bevæge sig hen ad en semantisk bølge uden at de egentlig får hjælp til dette hverken af lærerne eller materialets stof. Der stilles således krav til elevernes epistemiske forståelser med hensyn til at vise at de har forstået stoffet, men uden at få redskaber til hvordan dette kan gøres – hverken i forhold til stoffets indhold eller sprogligt. Ovenstående analyser viser også at lærerne har svært ved at give eleverne en tydelig forståelse af hvad *demokrati* som et abstrakt begreb egentlig er, idet deres feedback til eleverne enten er vagt eller kun fæstner sig ved et enkelt aspekt deraf (i eksemplet her: om at der skal være et flertal i stemmeprocessen for at noget kan vedtages). Resultatet bliver derfor at dette semantisk tætte begreb reduceres til kun et enkelt epistemisk aspekt, og uden at der demonstreres yderlige sikkerhed for at alle elever har forstået selv det ene aspekt.

Det samtalemønster, som lærerne ofte benytter sig af under hele undervisningsforløbet og som andetsteds er blevet problematiseret i forhold til hvilken viden eleverne egentlig får adgang til (Sigsgaard, 2012, forthcoming-a), giver en del af forklaringen på problematikken, men ovenstående analyser viser at den måde undervisningen udføres på, også kan problematiseres i forhold til hvilken forberedelse lærerne ser ud til at have gjort sig. Det observerede undervisningsforløb, hvor en stor del af undervisningen beror på spørgsmål fra lærerne til eleverne, hvor der tilsyneladende fokuseres på at *opdrage* eleverne til at vide på den rigtige måde, hvor epistemiske forhold i mindre grad fokuseres på i undervisningen peger alt sammen på et elevcentreret læringssyn i nogle sammenhænge også kaldt en progressiv pædagogik (Alexander, 2008), hvor der snarere forventes at den viden der nås frem til egentlig stammer fra eleverne selv.

i form af ministerielle dokumenter og retningslinjer) og hvilken forskningsmæssig fokus problematikken indtil videre har taget, hvor problematikken omkring tosprogede børn ofte netop knyttes til eleven selv.

Analysen af Sat Uds opgave 15 og den opfølgende hel-klassediskussion med læreren viser at for at denne pædagogiske tilgang skal kunne leve op til de epistemiske krav stillet af stoffet, kræver det at lærerne som led i deres forberedelse gør sig bevidst om hvilke epistemiske relationer der er legitime og relevante, så de kan støtte elevernes læring ved at være mere eksplicite i deres feedback. Ovenstående analyser tyder imidlertid på, at lærerne ikke har fået afstemt individuelt eller mellem hinanden, hvilke slags svar de kan acceptere som legitime. Måske derfor ender de i en situation, hvor de spørger videre hos andre elever i håbet om at fået mere passende svar, frem for at bemærke (og anerkende) de relevante aspekter der også kommer til udtryk i nogle af elevernes svar. En øget bevidsthed fra lærernes side omkring de epistemiske forhold omkring begrebet *demokrati* ville muligvis gøre det nemmere for dem at bygge videre på de forskellige bud eleverne kommer med, og dermed øge chancen for at danne et mere fuldendt billede af hvad demokrati er og kan være.

I de efterfølgende interviews giver lærerne udtryk for at de inderligt ønsker at hjælpe eleverne i klassen til at klare sig i skolen og samfundet, men analysen viser at deres tilgang efterlader de fleste elever uden mulighed for på en legitim måde at give udtryk for den viden de egentlig har om emnet. Ovenstående analyse og diskussion kan ses som en afklaring af hvilke pædagogiske og faglige logikker der er på spil i undervisningssituationen, og således kan fundene fra det pågældende eksempel perspektiveres til et bredere spørgsmål om de læringsbetingelser en sådan elevcentreret eller progressiv pædagogik egentlig stiller for elever med dansk som andetsprog. Dermed kan udfordringerne i forhold til at hjælpe denne elevgruppe skifte perspektiv fra et, hvor problematikken i særlig grad tilknyttes elevgruppen (deres manglende sprogfærdigheder, forældrenes baggrund, etniske og kulturelle forståelser samt socioøkonomiske forhold osv.) til snarere at omhandle den pædagogik og det læringssyn den pædagogiske praksis i folkeskolen bygger på og hvilke udfordringer disse stiller både for eleverne, men også i høj grad for de lærere, der arbejder med elever med dansk som andetsprog.

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Appendiks 1 – Transskriptionskonventioner

Symbol	Betydning
.	Sikkerhed, færdiggørelse (typisk faldende tone)
ingen afsluttende tegnsætning	Indebærer en ikke-afslutning (ingen endelig intonation)
,	Segmentering af tale: vejrtrækningstid
?	Usikkerhed (stigende tone eller spørgsmål)
!	“overrasket” intonation
STORE BOGSTAVER	Eftertrykkelig betoning og / eller øget volumen
“ ”	En forandring i stemmekvalitet i forbindelse med rapporteret tale
() og (**)	Ikke-transskriberbar tale, hvor hver * = ca. en stavelse
(ord i parenteser)	Transskribentens gæt
[ord i firkantede parenteser]	Non-verbal information obs: længere nonverbale informationer og beskrivelser af f.eks. bevægelse skrives på egen linje
==	Overlap (Berøring, samtidighed)
...	Kort tøven (mindre end tre sekunder)
[pause – 4 sek]	Længere (3 sekunder eller flere) pause inden for en tur
– efterfulgt af tale	falsk start / genstart
ord med ekstra vokaaaaaler	Udvidet vokal lyd i ordet / udtrukket udtale

Appendices

Appendix 1: Lesson overviews

The following is a brief overview of each lesson observed in the unit. The lessons are introduced in terms of their placement in the unit, following by a description of the ‘stages’ (Christie, 2002) through which they progress, with brief descriptions of the content of each of these.

Lesson 1 – Monday, May 11th 2009

This is the first of six lessons in the unit Sat Ud. The lesson serves as an introduction and is led by Bonny, the DSL coordinator. Adam and Sarah are present but act as secondary/supporting teachers by scribing on a flip over chart when Bonny asks them to (during the brainstorm) and by acting as behaviour monitors.

The lesson goes through several stages:

- An introduction to Bonny and her role as DSL coordinator
- A brainstorm based on prompts/questions written on separate slips of paper
- handed out by Bonny to one student at a time, the questions are designed to spur group conversations, narrowing the topic from what History is, to what the it was like being a child 100 years ago
- for each question/prompt a separate flip over chart is used, where either A or S write the prompt in a circle in the middle, adding circles and connecting lines as students say what they can think of in relation to the prompt
- A presentation of the ‘technique’, the VØL-chart (in English: KWL chart)
- A brainstorm accompanied by a list on the flip over chart of what students know students know (or think they know) about being a child 100 years ago
- Group work, where students work in pairs to start their KWL charts
- Whole class sum up where students in turn are called on to say what they know (or think they know) about being a child 100 years ago

Lesson 2 – Tuesday, May 12th 2009

The second lesson takes place in the largest of the sixth grade classrooms, directly across the hall from the fifth grade workshop classroom. Bonny has arranged to use this classroom as it has a Smart Board installed, capable of playing the online material, Sat Ud, which is introduced for the first time during this lesson. For most of the lesson, students start working in pairs through Sat Ud. As in the first lesson, Bonny leads the whole class activities, while Adam and Sarah have supporting roles.

The lesson goes through several stages:

- ‘gathering and recap’: students sit on chairs on the carpet in a group in the centre of the classroom
 - Bonny asks students to tell her about their field trip yesterday (to a museum about the Nordic countries)
 - Bonny asks students to tell her what they remember from yesterday
 - Bonny talks about the ‘trip’ they will be taking (through time/history) to meet Alma, the ghost
 - Bonny introduces the materials and the teachers try to show the first sequence on the Smart Board (turns out to be not possible due to the room being too bright/light)
- Dividing students into pairs and getting settles
 - B asks students, one at a time, to name another student they work well with to pair students. They are then given a computer and go to a desk-group to start working through the materials
 - Results in two students in the end who won’t work together (a boy and a girl), who in the end, work alone
- Group Work: students work in their buddy pairs, sharing a computer
 - students listen and watch the pictures/video clips on the online materials, completing the tasks between clips to continue to the next clip
 - All three teachers circulate the room helping students with getting started, what to do, understanding the tasks/questions
- Regrouping
 - Students gather on chairs and on the carpet in the middle of the room
 - Bonny asks them to talk about how they liked ‘learning this way’ (ie. In pairs using the computer)
 - Bonny asks students to talk about what they’ve done/completed, recounting the first few screens and questions in the materials

Lesson 3 – Friday, May 15th 2009

The third lesson takes place in the 6th grade classroom again, because of the availability of the Smart Board. As in lesson two, the bulk of this lesson is spent on group work, with the students in their buddy pairs working through the online material.

The stages of this lesson are as follows:

- ‘gathering and recap’:
 - students sit on chairs on the carpet in a group in the centre of the classroom (ca. 20 mins)
 - Bonny asks students to make a new ‘mind map’ focusing on (a) child’s life 100 years ago, with the title “(a) child’s life”
- Discussion of what is meant by a child’s life
- Discussion of Alma and what she looks like

- Discussion of the words ‘sat ud’ and whether it’s possible to be evicted today
 - Only one contribution is noted on the mind map
- Group work: students work in their buddy pairs, sharing a computer
 - Students listen and watch the pictures/video clips on the online materials, completing the tasks between clips to continue to the next clip
 - All three teachers circulate the room helping students with getting started, what to do, understanding the tasks/questions

All three teachers leave about 50 mins into the lesson. Adam and Sarah leave because they have to go to an unexpected teacher-parent meeting for a student (from the other class) (the meeting was scheduled the evening before). Bonny leaves to prepare for a different meeting and to schedule an interview time with me. Another teacher or teacher’s aide from the fifth grade team comes in at that point to keep an eye on the students for the rest of the lesson. Before they leave, the teachers instruct students to keep working until lunch. In order to schedule when I can come to observe the rest of the unit, I too leave the lesson at this point.

Lesson 4 – Monday, May 25th, 2009

This lesson takes place 10 days after the last lesson of the unit, and is led by Adam and Sarah. It takes place in the fifth grade class’ workshop classroom. Because the fifth grade had phys. ed. for their first block this day, they were unable to start the day with the usual so-called morning meeting. As a result, the first approximately 15 minutes of the observed lesson has the whole 5th grade present where the rest of the day’s agenda is written on the chalkboard and discussed with the students and other orders of business such as roll-call are handled. After this, everyone except the history-group leaves the room, and the history lesson begins:

- Recap
 - Adam asks students to tell him what they’ve done so far. Students make several contributions:
 - KWL chart and what it and it’s three columns are/stand for
 - History / being a child in olden days
 - Alma’s story
 - Students call out words they’ve encountered in the materials (evicted, poor house, day worker, mother in law,)
 - The teachers create a (new) mind map on the flip over chart from the contributions
- Group work: students work in their buddy pairs, sharing a computer
 - Students listen and watch the pictures/video clips on the online materials, completing the tasks between clips to continue to the next clip
 - All three teachers circulate the room helping students with getting started, what to do, understanding the tasks/questions

As the time nears lunch time, the noise level rises in the classroom and students become increasingly unfocused. The lesson ends when the suns (the other fifth grade class) start coming into the room (presumably dismissed by their other teachers) and Adam and Sarah call out over the noise for the moons to put away their papers and computers.

Lesson 5 – Wednesday, June 3rd, 2009 - unobserved

The fifth lesson was included by the teachers as an opportunity to give the students more time to complete the online materials before ending the unit on June 4th, and had not been planned at the end of week 1, when the last lessons were planned. As a result, this lesson was not observed; however the teachers informed me that it was much like the last two lessons, where the students were given time to work their way through and hopefully complete the online Sat Ud material.

Lesson 6 – Thursday, June 4th, 2009

This is the last lesson in the observed unit, Sat Ud. It takes place in the fifth grade workshop classroom. As with the fourth lesson observed, this lesson starts with the whole fifth grade (both the suns and the moons) gathered because of their first block having been a class not in their regular classroom (such as phys ed or art or one of the other classes they have, for which they leave their classroom). After students have settled down on their buckets Adam tells the suns to go next door to the other classroom so the moons can have their history class.

Because this is the last lesson of the unit the teachers feel it is important for them to ‘get through’ everything, and as a result, the class ends up running almost 10 minutes into the students’ lunch break. The stages in this lesson are as follows:

- starting up / planning the lesson
 - A tells the students what the plan for the time block is, and writes this on the chalk board as he explains each of the three points (1. a review of three words: union, politics, democracy, 2. dialogue – practice and present, 3. KWL chart)
- Whole class discussion of the three key words:
 - the teachers lead a discussion with the students of what each of the three words mean, creating a mind map on a flip over page for each of the three words. During the discussions students give their contributions and teacher’s either ask open questions to get them to associate/elaborate, or explain/lecture on different tangents
 - Politics (ca. 25 mins)
 - Democracy (ca. 20 mins)
 - After ca.12 mins of discussing democracy students are given 5 minutes to talk with their buddy about ‘when is it that we have democracy in Denmark?’
 - Unions (ca. 20 mins)

- In the interest of time, the teachers decide to skip point 2: students practicing and presenting their dialogue (this is a task they had to complete for one of the online questions. I did not observe any of the buddy pairs writing a dialogue on the days I was there, perhaps they did this during lesson 5...)
- Completing the KWL
 - Whole class recap of the KWL chart (using the first few flip over pages made at the beginning of the unit) (ca. 5 mins)
 - Group work where students write ‘what they have learned’ under the last column of their charts (ca. 17 mins)
 - those students who cannot find their KWL charts, or who haven’t started one are told to answer the questions generated during lesson 1, written on the flip over
 - Whole class summary: what did you learn (ca 21 mins)
 - Students are called on, one by one, by the teachers to read out several of the things they have written under their ‘L’ (most students are called on).
 - The teachers write a list of what students have learned on a new flip over page
- Wrapping up / Ending class
 - As students get up to leave for lunch, A calls out that they have to be back at 20 minutes past, because they will be visiting their ‘friendship class’

Appendix 2: Transcripts of examples referred to in the thesis articles

The following transcripts are of the phases referred to in the thesis articles and are presented in chronological order. Each phase has been given a working title, so I had a reference when communicating with supervisors and colleagues. Also, each is prefaced by a brief introduction which sets the context of the phase and includes explanations of notations as well as some initial analytical notes regarding why the phase was chosen for closer analysis. As is the case with the rough transcripts, some of these phases are in the original Danish, while others have been translated into English, reflecting both the language of analysis and the language of the articles in which the phase appears.

KWL Start

People involved:

- Bonny (B) – DSL coordinator and teacher. B is visiting this class in her coordinator function. She is the one who has found the materials for the unit and led the initial design of the unit
- Adam (A) – one of the 4 teachers of the 5th grade team. Adam is the teacher responsible for the History curriculum. This is A's first year teaching after graduating from a teacher college.
- Sarah (S) – one of the 4 teachers of the 5th grade team, responsible for the Danish curriculum. S is in the process of completing her DSL certification / in service training. S has taught for 7 years, but this is her first year teaching at the S school.

Placement of the phase within the unit context:

This phase is from the first lesson of the second unit (Sat Ud). It starts approximately 45 minutes into the first lesson, after the visiting teacher, B, has spent the time up until now in a 'circle/group' configuration, with the students on their buckets grouped in front of her in the middle-front of the workshop classroom.

Placement within the lesson context:

B starts the lesson by getting the children's attention by raising her voice and saying 'yes?' and 'shhhh' several times. When most of the students have settled down she says 'We will be having History. And some of you are probably wondering why I am here. And I would really like to hear some of your suggestions for why I'm here.' The students venture several suggestions ('because you like history', 'because you don't have anything else to do', 'to see how we are'). To all of these B replies 'no' and elaborates on why the suggestion is incorrect. After several minutes she says 'The reason I am here, is because I'm the bilingual

coordinator at this school. Does anyone know what that means?’ which then is followed by a similar type of interaction as when she asked if anyone knew why she is there. After, again replying ‘no’ to most of the suggestions, followed by elaborations of why not, B tells the students that she speaks several languages. She then asks each of the students to tell her and the class which languages they speak.

About 11 minutes into the lesson, B announces ‘And I’m lucky enough to be given permission to work together with Sarah and Adam (...) on History. Because I actually think History is really, really interesting. And over the next couple of days, we’ll be taking a HUGE journey. We will be travelling. And how we’ll do that, well, you’ll find that out. You don’t need to bring a backpack or sleeping bag or anything. ... We will be travelling through time over the next several days. Because when you work with History, then you travel through time. That is a nice way of putting it, I think. But before, before we start our journey, then I’ve figured out, that what we need to work with is what you already know ahead of time. How good are you in here? And I’m convinced you’ll have SO many suggestions, about some of what I’ve written on these slips of paper. So now I would like it, if someone is interested in trying to choose a white slip of paper and find out what it says?’

She holds the slips of paper in her hand, fanned out, and reaches towards a student near her, who chooses one of the slips of paper and reads the prompt on it out loud. This is followed by a session of the students either calling out suggestions, or B calling on students to make suggestions. This brainstorm of sorts revolves loosely around the prompts on the slips of paper. These prompts are (in the order they were chosen by students):

- What is history
- How was history created
- If we were to tell the (hi)story of being a child today, what would you say?
- What do we use history for?

For each slip of paper a discussion of the same sort of format as described above follows, lasting between 10 and 15 minutes per prompt.

During this first part of the lesson B leads the brainstorm with the students by being the primary speaker with the students. During this time A and S take an assisting role, taking turns writing down on the flip over chart (which is next to B) what the brainstorm has come up with. They also take primarily disciplinary roles (telling students to be quiet, raise their hands, take turns and so on) while B talks with the students.

When the following phase starts, students are still sitting on their buckets (there is no physical transition from what was going on earlier, the transition is marked by B's wording, as seen in her first move below) while B faces them, sitting on a teacher's office chair as she has done since the start of class.

In this phase the teacher presents for the students what they will be doing (the task) in the next part of the lesson, where they will be working on a K-W-L (in Danish: VØL) chart.

Why this interaction:

The episode is chosen because it shows the type of interaction teacher and students engage in when the students are presented for a (new) task.

The teacher presents the task without modelling, and students end up spending much energy guessing about how they are supposed to complete the task, which is made evident in the questions they ask the teachers in this phase (as well as by the types of questions they ask the teachers when they are in the process of working on the task).

Focus on how/technically to complete the new task rather than what the content should be"

B: Først . Så skal man . have noget at skrive på. StbH: papir; Stb: man skal have noget at skrive med?, B: så skal man have noget at skrive med; H: blyant, Stb: og noget at viske med"

The teacher, B, makes assumptions about what the students already know/can do (faser, forforståelse, teknik) but doesn't check whether this is the case, despite being a visiting teacher

Teachers' view of good pedagogy (exemplifying progressive pedagogy)

- Avoiding questions of content / not getting in the way of the students making their own discoveries "Stb: Ligesom i gamle dage , er der nogen børn der har det luksus?(B, nikker og kigger hen til flip over tavlen mens hun begynder at svare) jaaa, det kan godt være."
- being on the same level as the students "Altså, jeg ved det jo ik' rigtig. Jeg skal jo LÆRE om . om det at være barn i gamle dage ... nøjagtig ligesom I skal lære."
- what we do in school should be fun/hygge "det synes jeg kunne være hyggeligt" (at høre hvad I ønsker at lære)
- Teacher, especially B, operating at the routine level / unprepared for the specific task they are setting "har man et historiehæfte?"

Students' attempts to interact with teachers at what I think they perceive of as 'crucial points of decision making'.

- Ie. If they can get the teachers to agree that they don't have a history binder, maybe they won't have to do the work?
- How students deal with being put on the spot
- "ØØØm ... jeg har glemt det"
- Calling out answers

KWL Start

Rounding off / Preparation for the Task

[00:44:58.04]

B: I think, I think you have all been really, really good through this phase here ... generating preconceptions and all of that. (some of the boys begin clapping) No applauding yourself . you're not finished yet, just you wait.

(students mumble a bit and B gesturing to Sarah and Adam to flip to a new page on the flip over chart)

[00:45:21.07] B: the topic, the topic we are about , SSHH! to learn about is how, what it was like being a child in the old days

Stb: (calling out) it was hard

[00:45:36.24] B: SSShhhhh! And all of you, you all have ideas about how it was.

B: (turns to talk to Adam, who has now taken over writing on the new page while Sarah sits on the bench and looks at B.) No, the heading, 'being a child in the old days'.

[00:45:52.20] B: (talking to the class, still facing A) And so, I have a technique which I really want to teach you. And it says it is called a KWL-chart.

[00:46:03.17]

B: (facing the class) Are there any of you who know what a KWL chart is?

Stb: a beer chart?

NOTE: in Danish KWL (Know, Want to know/learn, have Learned) becomes VØL (Ved, Ønsker at vide, har Lært). Øl is the Danish word for beer, which is what the boy is referring to

[00:46:06.23] B: No. KWL K-W-L chart? (turns to Adam) You can write that

(students are restless and move around on their buckets. They are talking / whispering amongst themselves)

Appendices

(B looks back at the group)

[00:46:22.18] B: it is a WAY of working with ... how to work with a topic such as being a child in the old days. K on the chart, it stands for ...

A student: world (NOTE: the student suggests 'verden' which starts with V)

B (ignores / does not seem to have heard the suggestion): What I already know, or I think I know. (looking at Adam) KNOW

[00:46:44.13] A: Oooh I couldn't hear what you said. Yes, a criticism (laughs)

(A turns around and writes 'Know' on the flipchart while B and S look at him until he is finished)

[00:46:59.27] B: W . that represents what you WANT to learn ... (glancing around at the students) What I really want to know something more about

(B turns towards A, who writes 'Want to learn' on the flipchart, waiting until he is finished)

B: (looks back at the group) And then some of you have already has guessed what the L stands for

Stbs: (calling out): learn, play (In Danish these words start with L)

Stb: She sells sea shells by the **

B: Learned . What I've learned.

[00:47:25.19] (A writes on the flipchart. S looks on while he writes. B looks at him as well and then turns to the group again.)

(The children are still restless.)

[00:47:40.28] (A boy in the front of the group puts his hand up and B points to him)

Stb: Just like, you know, in the old days. Did some children have luxury?

B: (B, nods and looks at the flipchart while she starts to answer) Yees . that could be . Well, I don't really know you see . I have to LEARN about, about being a child in the old days ..

(looks at S, and then returns to the group while she continues) exactly like you need to learn.

(students mutter/mumble)

NOTE: The teacher is telling the students that she has to learn, just like they have to learn.

The student's question is thereby dismissed. I think he was genuinely asking whether or not that was that type of question they are to think of (ie. asking for a model), but the teachers avoid answering the question by telling the students they don't know anything and have to learn it too. This seems strange to me, because the students know that something is more right than something else, and it's the teachers who decide what is 'more right', and they want to know what kind of questions are the right kind of questions, but when asked about this, as here, they cannot get a straight answer.

[00:47:55.27] B: What I want you to do now ... (aborting, turning to Adam and asking) Does one have a history booklet?

NOTE: this is a rather strange way of asking the teacher whether or not the students have a history folder

Sts: (call out answers to B's question, even though it was aimed at A) no, no

A: Uuum ... a History folder, yes

S: (nods to B and/or A)

S: (aimed at the students who say no:) you do to have a history and Christianity folder.

Sts: (calling out) folder, we have folder

(B does not respond to this part of the discussion. She takes the pen from A and writes / draws a diagram of the KWL chart on the flipchart)

[00:48:20.06] B: Well whatever you have

S: That's the kind of chart you are doing. (to A and B:) are we handing out the paper?

B: Wait, I'm not finished ...

B: (talking to the children again) so then you make a table like this in your folder (standing next to the flipchart and looking at it)

[00:48:35.10] B: The first thing you do . that is you have to write in this column here (pointing to the left K-column). Everything that you know about being a child in the old days . Or everything you think you know... And when you are done with that column, then you start with the second one (pointing at the W-column) ...

B: That's where you have to write everything you can imagine to LEARN something about ... about being a child in the old days

Stb: Isn't that want?

B: (nods) want? What one wants to know more about

Appendices

NOTE: B changed the process from 'want' to imagine learning about, and the student picks up on this, asking about the title of the second column. B does not follow up here, missing an opportunity to explain explicitly that 'can imagine learning about' might be another way of saying 'want'... this doesn't work well translated into English.

[00:49:12.01] B: and the third one . that's only when the entire week has gone by and everything . Because then it's all about writing down what have you learned in relation to the topic (pointing to the header of flipchart). And then afterwards you can then go back and check (pointing at the K-column) Wow! I guess I knew that! Or, Hey! There's something that didn't fit ... (looks at the kids)

B: and then one can see how ... one has changed ... one's learning-processes over an entire week.

[00:50:00.22] B: Now I would just like to be sure, because it's really important to me that you all understand. Is there anyone who can explain to me what it is you should be doing right now?

B: (steps toward a girl near the back of the circle) what's your name?

Stg: Saima

B: Can you explain to me what it is you should be doing right now?

Stg: Uuum. (looks around)

(another student sneezed, and two boys say 'bless you' to him.)

Stg:(smiles) I've forgotten it

[00:50:25.08] S: try reading up here (pointing at the flip-over chart)

S: We should write something that um we know?

S: What else do you have to do?

[B: (at the same time as S. stepping, pointing at another girl, looking away. This girl is sitting near another student who has his finger in the air) What, what about you in the middle, can you help? Can you help?]

[00:50:36.00] Stg: **** (the girl's answer is unclear and seems uncertain)

[B: (interrupting the girl's answer) What, what's the first thing? What's the very first thing you (all) have to do?]

[00:50:45.10] B: What do we need to get us started working? (B looks around and keeps her

thumb up. Some pupils put up a finger. B nods to a boy in the middle and front of the group)

Stg: It's that we need to learn?

B: Nooooo?

(a few other students mumble some different answers – nothing clear enough to pick up)

[00:50:59.15] B: First. You need to have something to write on. (raises her forefinger as well)

Stb: paper

Stb2: you need something to write with?

B: then you have something to write with

Stb: pencil

Stb2: and something to erase with

[00:51:12.15] B: Then you have to make the chart. That is the first thing. You have to make the chart. Then you have to fill in column number one. The K, which stood for what? (nods towards a student)

St: know

B: Yes? Solumn number two, which stands for what? (looking at another student)

Sts: (calling out) want, want

(B continues to look at the student she had called. This student is looking around)

[00:51:37.09] B: And then do you fill out more? (pointing at another student on her right)

Stbs to the left: (calling out) no! no!

B: (still looking at the student on her right) No. And why not?

Stbs to the left: (calling out) We need to do that at the end

(B continues to look at the student on her right, waiting for an answer)

St on her right: ***

B: (nods) Yes. We are not ready for the last one yet. Right?

[00:51:54.05] B: Ok. (looks at her watch)

B: And I'm timing this work. And I'm doing that because I would really like for us to use juuust the last ten minutes ... to hear some of the things you want. I feel like that would be

really nice... to hear what you could imagine learning"

[00:52:12.27] B: So you have twenty five minutes from now.

B: Go ahead and get going (the student get up from their buckets and start walking out of the room and moving around).

B: (calling out over the noise) It's ok to work together with others!

End phase

The Right Kind of Chart

People involved:

- Bonny (B) – DSL coordinator and teacher. B is visiting this class in her coordinator function. She is the one who has found the materials for the unit and led the initial design of the unit
- Adam (A) – one of the 4 teachers of the 5th grade team. Adam is the teacher responsible for the History curriculum. This is A's first year teaching after graduating from a teacher college.
- Sarah (S) – one of the 4 teachers of the 5th grade team, responsible for the Danish curriculum. Sarah is in the process of completing her DSL certification / in service training. Sarah has taught for 7 years, but this is her first year teaching at the S school.
- Stb – boy Stb

Placement of the phase within the unit context:

This phase is from the first lesson, in which the Unit, Sat Ud, is presented. This first lesson in the unit is mainly concerned with establishing Stbs' background knowledge on History and, more specifically to the unit, what being a child was like 100 years ago.

Placement within the lesson context:

This phase takes place approximately 80 minutes into the first lesson, after a brainstorm led by B about what History is, followed by a shorter brainstorm about what Stbs know about being a child 100 years ago. After these brainstorms B introduces the 'VØL-skema'/K-W-L chart explaining what each letter stands for, and then explains to Stbs what their task will be (to fill out the K and the W of the chart). (see the first chosen phase from this unit, *KWL start*)

Stbs have just started work in pairs/groups to make their KWL charts, where they are to write everything they know/think they know about being a child 100 years ago.

The classroom is noisy as Stbs talk within their buddies/groups. The teachers are circulating the room looking at what Stbs are doing, commenting/helping individual Stbs. Several Stbs are walking around the classroom (e.g. to go get paper/ a pencil, to ask one of the teachers a question and so on).

Why this interaction?:

It seems to me that this episode in particular demonstrates that it's not about the knowledge as much as it is about doing things the right way, about the knower, in Maton's terms.

- All three teachers get involved here and seem to be in disagreement about how Stb should be doing his work
- All three teachers are focused solely on the how of the matter: do the letters face the right way, can the titles be seen when put in the folder,
- A, who seems less concerned with these details [du skal bare rykke en længere ind] ends up being 'overtaken' by S and B
- Are they convincing each other or Stb how to do this correctly?
- Stb is asked to choose which way he feels he can write more [landscape or portrait]. When in front of the teachers he insists on his [different] way [landscape]. Upon returning to his seat, however, he changes his page to portrait

The Right KWL Chart

[00:02:12.21] Stb comes up to Adam with his piece of paper [which the he has oriented in landscape]. I don't hear what he asks Adam to help him with because of the ambient noise in the classroom.

[00:02:17.27] Sarah, who is standing nearby, sees them talking and comes over, saying:

S: Isn't it supposed to be the other way? Yes, yes. [meaning portrait format]

A: You just need to, you need to, move this. Look at this. [points on the paper] You just fold it...

S: [interrupts A] But I'd like to say that it might be smart if it is that way, but then the letters are turned [referring to V-Ø-L]

[Bonny has been standing nearby, and turns around to join the conversation. All three teachers are now involved in helping this Stb with how to orient his KWL chart]

[00:02:35.08] S: [looks at Bonny, and smiles, then looks at Adam and back down at the paper] that's right

Appendices

A: [to Stb] you just need to move it further in.

Stb: [nods]

S: No, because he has to start over here. [pointing to the top left corner of the page]

[while Sarah is talking Bonny takes the page from Adam and Stb and holds it in one hand while holding up another paper in the other hand. The one she brought is in portrait format, while she holds Stb's page in landscape]

[00:02:44.05] B: [asking Stb] Look here. Which way can you write the most?

Stb: [points to the landscape paper, looking at Bonny] That one?

B: [looks down at the two pages, looking first at the landscape page then at the portrait page]

B: You think so? When it's in your folder? [she must be talking about the holes at the side of the page for inserting it in the ring binder/folder, which end up being at the top when it's oriented in landscape]

Stb: [smiles at her and looks at her. He again points to the landscape page]

B: [shaking the landscape page as she talks] Then you like to work on that the most.

Stb: [nods again]

B: [handing him the landscape page, nodding] yes.

[As Bonny hands the page to Stb, Sarah interrupts by pointing to the page and talking]

S: But listen. You will have to turn the letters, right?

B: [holds up the page again]

S: [Sarah steps over to stand in front of the paper and next to Stb]

S + Stb: [looking at the page together]

S: Otherwise it's the wrong way. You can see, then you have to go backwards [gesturing from right to left along the top of the page]

S: [looks at Stb and then points at the top of each column going from right to left] Knows, want to know, have learned

B: [taking the page back] No.

B: [pointing left to right] =K. W. L.=

S: [at the same time, talking to Bonny] =yes, but that's what it says here

B: [smiling to Sarah] yes, yes.

S: [smiling to Bonny] yes, yes.

B: [gives the page back to Stb]

Stb: [takes the page and leaves to go back to his group]

[In the group: The three other boys in the group also have their pages oriented in landscape.

Stb looks at his paper for a bit and is about to start writing on it, then he turns it to orient it in portrait format before he writes the three letters at the top of the page. He doesn't say anything to the other boys. The boys become aware of me filming them, I leave to avoid distracting them.]

Bonny's Understanding of 'Sat Ud'

People involved:

- Bonny [B] – DSL coordinator and teacher. B is visiting this class in her coordinator function. She is the one who has found the materials for the unit and led the initial design of the unit
- Adam [A] – one of the 4 teachers of the 5th grade team. Adam is the teacher responsible for the History curriculum. This is A's first year teaching after graduating from a teacher college.
- Sarah [S] – one of the 4 teachers of the 5th grade team, responsible for the Danish curriculum. S is in the process of completing her DSL certification / in service training. S has taught for 7 years, but this is her first year teaching at the S school.
- Stb – boy student
- Stg – girl student
- Alma – the ghost narrator / disembodied voice in the Sat Ud materials [the little girl in the painting]

Placement of the phase within the unit context:

This phase is from the last stage of the second lesson of the second observed History unit [Sat Ud]. For most of the lesson, students are working in pairs through the online materials,

Sat Ud. As in the first lesson, Bonny leads the whole class activities, while Adam and Sarah have supporting roles.

Placement within the lesson context:

This lesson goes through 5 phases: 1. start-up / recap [a whole class activity led by Bonny, mostly focused on remembering what they did yesterday] – ca. 15 mins, 2. Introducing the Sat Ud online materials [no physical shift from phase 1] – ca. 5 mins, 3. Dividing Students into Pairs and getting settled – ca. 7 mins, 4. Group Work [students work in pairs for most of the lesson] – ca. 40 mins, 5. Regrouping [a whole class activity led by Bonny mostly focusing as a recap of what they've done during today's lesson] ca. 20 mins.

The following phase is from the last stage in this lesson, where Bonny recaps what the students have done that day. The students are gathered in a group, sitting on chairs and on the rug in front of Bonny, who is sitting on an office chair in front of them.

The phase takes place at ca. 75 minutes into the [90-minute long] lesson. She has spent approximately 6 minutes at the time this interaction starts asking students about whether they liked working 'like this', what they had to do for the first task[s?], Alma being sad and why, what Alma looks like in the painting, and that the painting depicts [it being] cold.

Why this interaction?

- This is where B addresses what she believes to be the correct answer to a question [task 5 of the online materials, see below] which many students had difficulty completing during the group work of the day.
- B has either misunderstood the task, or hasn't prepared, which leads to her telling students who actually have completed the task correctly that they are wrong ["Blev man bedt om at forklare hvad det var der skete på billedet? Eller blev man bedt om at forklare hvad ordene sat ud betød?"]
- Students demonstrate that [they understand that] it's more about agreeing with the teacher, than understanding the content ["Stb: hvad ordene sat ud betød" and "ØØ ... hvad sat ud betyder?"]
- there's something here about the meaning of the word 'sat ud' / evicted posing problems for the students. It seems to me that the children are struggling with a more commonsense context. I need to talk with a native Danish speaker to see if there are other common possibilities
 - the fact that it's a compound word made up of 'to set' and 'out'. 'udsat' is an adjective which means exposed, vulnerable, in danger.
 - 'Udsætte' is a verb which means to postpone, adjourn, put off, defer, evict, to set [as in to set traps], expose

- In a more common sense/every day understanding of the world the two words 'sat' and 'ud' can occur in the same clause eg. in 'udsætte nogen for noget' which means to expose someone to something ["Hvis man er med i en gruppe, så så kan man også bare blive sat ud"], or eg. Bullying/exclusion from a group/cliue ["hvis man laver noget forkert"]

Corresponding task from the online materials:

- Question 5 : "Write a sentence on a piece of paper where you use the words "sat ud" [evicted]. Try to get the words to mean the same as they do on the painting."

Bonny's understanding of 'sat ud'

B: [leaning foward] What is the next thing you are asked to do?

[students shufffle papers and mumble]

Stg: (***)

B: You have to find out what evicted means.

B: [points to Nichlas' buddy] Did you find out what evicted means?

NOTE: this is not what the task/question in the materials asks.

Jonathan: Yes, uhm, they were evicted because they couldn't pay their rent?

NOTE: I believe he is reading his sentence out loud, but it sounds like a question because he is unsure if it's correct

B: Is that what the word evicted means?

Students: [calling out simultaneously] Thrown out.

B is still looking at Jonathan who answered

Jonathan: Yees, uhmm. I don't know.

B: Nooo? [in a high questioning voice] [looking at the camera] And that is it.. [looking at the students in front of her] were you asked to explain what it was that was happening on the painting ... or were you asked to explain what the word evicted means?

NOTE: this is frustrating! She has completely misunderstood the questions/task, which asks students to use the word evicted in a sentence. She has turned it into a task of defining the word out of context

Appendices

Stb: What the word evicted means.

NOTE: I believe the students can tell from her last question that the correct answer is

Fahrad: It means, uhm, evicted, for example that you're evicted from your house, so, or, they (get) thrown out of the house, or

B: [small nods, she doesn't look convinced] yes? [points at Karen]

Karen: it means that you are thrown out of the house

B: Evicted. Thrown out?

Donny: If you're in a group, then you can also just be evicted

NOTE: he's thinking of being excluded from a group or clique... there's something here about the meaning of the word evicted and the fact that it's a compound word made up of 'to set' and 'out'. 'udsat' is an adjective which means exposed, vulnerable, in danger. 'Udsætte' is a verb which means to post pone, adjourn, put off, defer, evict, to set [as in to set traps], expose ... It seems to me that the children are struggling with a more commonsense context where those two words 'sat' and 'ud' can occur in the same clause eg. in 'udsætte nogen for noget' which means to expose someone to something, like bullying for example. I need to talk with a native Danish speaker to see if there are other common possibilities

B: yes? If you're in a group, very good, then you can also be evicted. How can that happen?

NOTE: this is not actually a correct interpretation of putting 'sat ud' together this way... just as you cannot be evicted from a group, you can't be 'sat ud' of a group

Donny: if you do something wrong, or something?

B: yes?

Stb: or if there isn't enough room

B: it can also just be a problem with room

NOTE: this seems directly incorrect to me, one is not 'sat ud' / evicted because of lack of room, but because of missing rent, usually. I think she is repeating the student's suggestion to show that she has heard it, however I cannot tell whether she acknowledges it as a correct answer. It seems she is more interested in just getting the students to make suggestions

[som students mumble more]

[01:19:25.11]

Alex: Or you haven't uhm not paid your rent

B: Or you haven't paid your rent. Yes?

NOTE: this is the closest a student has come to giving the correct answer to what B has asked for, a definition of sat ud, but she doesn't give this answer any more acknowledgement than any of the other (more or less) correct suggestions made. In fact, she moves quickly on to another student asking more broadly: what have you learned today, below – returning to question she started the 'regroup' with

B: [points to a girl] What have you learned today?

Stg: Uhm [looking at her paper and smiling in an uncomfortable way] what evicted means?

B: You learned what evicted means? Yes?

[some sixth graders open the door and start coming in. A turns around and tells them to wait a bit and shut the door. The fifth graders start calling out to the sixth graders]

B: Yees? Let's just take a quick uhm what have you learnt? [pointing at a boy in front of her]

[the field no longer has to do with what evicted means, marking the end of the phase]

Poor House Episode

Placement of the phase within the unit context:

This episode takes place during the third lesson of the Sat Ud unit. The chosen interaction takes place ca. 35 minutes after the start of the lesson. It takes place in the borrowed 6th grade classroom, across the hall from the regular 5th grade classroom, as did lesson two. At the start of the lesson, students are gathered on chairs on the carpet in the middle of the room, facing Bonny (sitting on an office chair facing them). The flip over chart has been brought in from the 5th grade classroom, and S is asked to write/note the brainstorm/rehash that Bonny leads. However after ca. 20 minutes of asking the students what they learned yesterday, only two things are written on the chart, and S and B decide not to pursue this angle, telling the students to pay attention to what they learn today, so they can complete a similar brainstorm/rehash at some time in the future.

Placement of the phase within the lesson:

Students have been working together in their buddy-pairs, picking up where they left off yesterday, for approximately 15 minutes, when this interaction takes place. During the group work, all three teachers have been circulating, stopping to work with buddy-pairs mostly at the students request, but also when noticing that someone ‘needs help’.

Why this interaction?

- an excerpt where the main focus seems to be on understanding key concepts/vocabulary to the unit
- the teacher’s strategy/attempt to get the students to understand is foregrounded– by asking open questions, following the students tangents,
- teacher’s routine/ lack of prep (doesn’t know what the question/task is before he comes to help, doesn’t know the word isn’t in the dictionary)
- the nature of the students interactions with the teachers (“prøv lige at kom” ... “ved du det egentlig?”)
- students attempts to ‘get it right’
- – by keeping the teacher engaged for as long as possible
- – “hvad skal jeg skrive?”
- (possible) differences (space – ZPD connection) between what teacher thinks students know/understand and what students actually demonstrate an understanding of (fattiggård – en bondegård eller en baggård?)

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Samyra	Adam? Come here.	turns around from the computer and calls Adams	
	It doesn’t say what day labourer means.		
Adam	Really?	coming over	
	What do we do about that?		
Saima		looking at the dictionary	
Samyra		looks at the computer screen	
Adam	Oh, not in the dictionary either?		
Samyra	yeah		Rising tone
Samyra	But it says day labourer **	points to the screen	** = on the screen?
Adam		takes the dictionary and moves back to a cabinet to sit on.	
Samyra	We found it all ourselves, right? **	to Saima	Fishing for a complement?
Saima		smiles and nods	

Appendix 2 – Transcripts of examples referred to in the thesis articles

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Samyra	last time *****		Samyra is telling Saima a story about something completely unrelated. I think it's a story about shopping, but she is talking quickly and quietly and the other children are being noisy, so I can't hear what she is saying. It is clear however, that it is unrelated to the topic of 'dayworker' which is the word she asked Adam about. Meanwhile, Adam is looking through the dictionary to check if the word is there. When he can't find it either, he closes the dictionary and then hunches down next to Saima. He turns the computer screen so he can see what's on it.
			At the same time, the group of boys behind these girls and near the sofas are getting rowdy. Adam doesn't seem to notice, as he hunches down to help Samyra and Saima. S notices the boys. Tell me, what's going on over there? You are really bad at working together! Bonny comes over to the boys and adjusts their screen so she can see
Adam	that sure is irritating that it's not in there	having looked at the screen	referring to the dictionary not containing day labourer
		He picks up the dictionary and starts to flip through it again and mumbles something	
Saima	It doesn't say that there poorhouse either, but we found that out ourselves.		Good girls fishing for a complement?
[Samyra]	It doesn't say emm] poorhouse either	at the same time as Saima starting as Saima reaches the middle of what she's saying	
Adam	Poorhouse?		
Saima	yeah, poorhouse		
Samyra	but we found that out ourselves.		
Adam	what was it about?		
Samyra	isn't it a poorhouse?		
Adam	You're asking if a poorhouse is the same as poorhouse?		Almost increadulously in tone
Girls		Giggle	
Adam		chuckles	

Appendices

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Samyra	Well, it's just a kind of poor and then where there are poor people	waving gesture with her hand	
Adam	Try to explain with some other words a poorhouse, what a poorhouse is	leans closer folding his arms on the dictionary	This 'use your own words' is a phrase the teachers use often!
Saima	A house/farm which is poor		in Danish poorhouse is made up of the words fattig – poor and gård – farm/courtyard/yard, so when A asks them to explain in other words what a poorhouse is they say a 'gård' which is poor. To capture this I have chosen to translate 'gård' in the following as 'house'
Samyra	yeah hehe a house which is poor	Hehe = giggle here	
	well, for example, if Ishøj was poor, then it would be called Ishøj poor*.		Ishøj is the name of the town they live in
	Poor, poor Ishøj.		
Saima	Just like Østergården		I'm not sure what she is referring to here
[Samyra]	Fattig Østergård]		At the same time as Saima above
Saima	It was poor and so there weren't any ***		
Adam	Ka' *. Did you hear the word poorhouse in some of the other things? Before that there?		referring to the computer material
Samyra	Don't remember		
Adam	How was it used?		
Samyra	Hey Adam, where there live poor people and stuff .. not such nice ones well it's not really ** houses. **		
Adam	It doesn't say poorhouse in here, huh?	nodding to the dictionary	
Samyra	Ooh, I thought you meant there	points to the screen	
	It says right there.		
Saima	yeah		
Adam	Weeeel ...		
Samyra	Do you actually/even know?		It seems like the question is genuine, but perhaps she is questioning A's authority?
Adam	Yes I know what it is ... But it's not just a house/yard where there lives a poor farmer.		Farmer because gård = farm/yard/courtyard
			Girls mumble something unclear what
Adam	But what, how was it used in emmm in the conversation there?		

Appendix 2 – Transcripts of examples referred to in the thesis articles

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Samyra	They, they emmm, they had to live em no. They do that things with em *** takes them along down/over		*** = the police man?
Adam	Yes but how, how was it used i emm in the conversation? *** talked about?		***= How was it?
Samyra	They, eeeem, , he said 'you can just go in the poorhouse and then your child and your mother in law can live there' and then he said 'what about my wife and them?' And then I don't remember anymore.	pointing to the screen	
Adam	OK so they can go and live in a poorhouse?		
Samyra	Yeah?		
Adam	Well what kind of place is it?		
Samyra	So they can help. I dunno. He just said that		
Adam	What kind of a place do you think it is if you live there?		
Samyra	****		
Adam	There can come people and live there when they are poor		
Samyra	Just like hoteeel!	looks like she just realized something	
Adam	Like a HOTEL?		rising tone, indicating this is not the right answer, as seen also by his line of questioning to come
Saima		giggles	Indicating she understands probably based on A's reaction that what Samyra said about the hotel must be completely wrong
Adam	Can one afford to pay to live there do you think?		
Samyra	No	Giggling too	
Adam	They can just come there and live like in a nice hotel?		
Samyra	No		
Adam	what do you think it is?		
Saima		looks down and covers her face with her wrists to hide her yawning	
Samyra	ØØØm ... They have to work for it and they have to, have to get money and then they have to live in that their houses.		
Adam	They have to LIVE in the poorhouse, was what they were told, right?		
Samyra			

Appendices

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Adam	How is it in the poorhouse? .. I think you're right	nodding.	
	They are SURE to have to work.		
Samyra	yeah, they do		
Adam	They don't get to sit and emm be on vacation.		
Samyra		giggles looking at Saima	
Adam	How else do you think it is there?		
[Samyra]	They also have to, they also have to do them ****]	gestures milking a cow	At the same time as A
	They also have to *** in em the cows.		Repeating herself
[Adam]	Mmmm?]		At the same time as Samyra
Samyra	Then they have to be hallal butchered? Noo, not hallal butcher		
			all three of them laugh
Adam	aa, they weren't so wrapped up in stuff like that then.		
Samyra	what?		
Adam	They weren't all crazy about that then.		A uses a slang-ey phrase here 'det var de ikke så pjattet med' which is rather unusual in the context
Samyra	Emmmm *****	hands covering her mouth	
Adam	What about, do you think they got good food aaaand lots of food?		
Samyra	Hey, they took eggs from those um		
Adam	What?		
Samyra	They took eggs from the chickens		Samyra has remembered that the narrator in the materials mentions that children gathered eggs to sell to make extra money when times were hard
Saima		laughs again, covering her face	
Adam	But do you think you get good food when you live in the poorhouse		A doesn't seem to catch on to Samyra remembering more from the materials, probably because he isn't familiar with them. By reiterating his question he both ignores her connection to something else she's remembered, and continues down his path of trying it seems to get the girls to imagine what life in a poorhouse is like
Samyra	nooo	shaking her head	
Adam	Do you, do you think it's a popular place to live there?		
Samyra	no	gigling	

Appendix 2 – Transcripts of examples referred to in the thesis articles

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Samyra and Saima		Both girls giggle covering their faces	
Adam	Is that something you want? A place you'd like to live? Yesbut do you want that? You * like to live in the poorhouse?	Saima leans back	* = would?
Saima	Me, no		
[Samyra	Definitely not]		
Adam	Why, why? No, why? .. Listen up, back then, why wouldn't one want to live there?		
Samyra	It was emm it wasn't very luxury. ** their own house.	points at the screen	
Adam	What do you think people think about one, when one lives there?		
Samyra	***		
Saima	Justlike gypsies		
Samyra	They think they're gypsies		
Adam	How is it gypsies are?		
Samyra	I dunno. They are daaa... they always come in Turkey. They sell all kinds of expensive ***		
Hashim	Gross, Gypsies!	walking past and overhears	
Samyra	Yeah, and they always do this they have all kinds of holes in their clotheses. They just do **		
Adam	It doesn't say poorhouse in this book here	looking at the dictionary again.	
	You're sure of that?	starts flipping through the book again	is A getting tired of trying to get the girls to imagine what a poorhouse is like? It seems like he wants them to be able to 'just look it up'
Samyra and Saima		The girls giggle and look at each other	
Samyra	O there was also one scared my little brother.	to Saima	

Appendices

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
	He just stood there 'you wanna buy a book?''*****	giggling	Samyra continues to tell Saima about the episode where the gypsy tried to sell a book to her little brother. She's talking quite low, though, and keeps covering her mouth, so it's not possible to hear properly to transcribe what she says. Saima keeps giggling at the story, covering her face every now and then as she laughs I think they are trying to hide from me and the camera as they tell this story as well. Meanwhile Adam is still looking in the dictionary
Adam	** HMm, yeah ok. Well it doesn't say in there. But emm well		
			A boy comes in the room and asks Adam for keys to a room down the hall. A asks what for. After a few exchanges he gives the keys to the boy saying he wants them back right away afterwards
Adam	ØØØm. Well, poorhouse, rightt? It's true what you're saying ** **. It IS such a place when one, when one DOESN'T have any more money. Then they go there and then they live REALLY poorly. And there isn't a lot of room. And one gets .. BAD food .. and one has to work. One is almost, it's almost close to being a slave, one is. ** one ** ** ** One doesn't have any money and one doesn't have any rights. It's really not a nice place to live.		
Samyra		taking her pencil, looking at her paper	
Adam	Okay?		
Samyra	What should we write?		Samyra seems to understand that A is giving them the answer now, and is trying to figure out what to write.
Adam	Yes but, many of the things you said were right.		
Samyra	Right ***	gestures milking a cow. turning to Saima and giggling	
Adam	Yes, but it's not, well, It's not always a farm you see. It doesn't always have to be a farm/house.		
Samyra	What should we write?	erasing	

Person	Text	Gestures	Comments/notes
Adam	It's just CALLED a poorhouse. Some times it's just .. it's just a kind of house in town where em where there aren't cows and things like that. It's just called a poorhouse.		
Samyra		tapping the desk	
Adam	Well that's what it's CALLED		
Samyra	I can't remember what, what is it we have to write?	dusting eraser pieces off her page	
	I forgot it		Samyra is trying to get A to give her 'the answer' again
Adam	What was it that we talked about that you could write?		and he isn't going to 'give it away' either
Samyra	Eeeeeem . poorly ***** They live		
Adam	why do they end up there		
Samyra	Because they don't have ** ***. They, they have well almost no room. And they work really hard.		
	So what should we write?		
Adam	That's what you write		
Samyra	What I just said?		
Adam		Nods	
		Samyra looks for her pencil. Saima gives her one. Adam gets up. Samyra starts writing.	
Samyra	It... It is a	As she writes	
	place where one has is *****	sitting up	
			Adam is now talking with another student. I think the boy who borrowed the keys.
Samyra and Saima		talk to each other quickly and quietly	and I can't hear what they are saying as they look at the paper Samyra is writing on. The phase ends.

When do we have democracy in Denmark?

People involved:

- Sarah (S) – Danish and DSL teacher.
- Adam (A) – History teacher
- Stb – boy student
- Stg – girl student
- Sts – students as a group

Placement of the phase within the unit context:

This phase is from the last (6th) lesson of the second observed History unit (Sat Ud). It takes place in the fifth grade workshop classroom. The students have been working in their buddy

pairs through the online materials, Sat Ud, for the previous four lessons, and this last lesson is intended to be a finishing-up lesson and recap of what students have learned over the course of the unit.

Placement within the lesson context:

This lesson goes through 4 phases: 1. start-up / planning the lesson a whole class activity led by Adam), 2. a whole class discussion of each of the three key words – politics ca. 25 mins, democracy ca. 20 mins, unions ca. 20 mins, (for each of these the teachers create a new mindmap on the flip over chart), 3. Completing the KWL charts (three sub-phases: whole class recap of the KWL chart, group work where students complete their own KWL charts, whole class summary where students are called on to say what they've learned), 4. ending class.

In this phase the students have been sitting on their buckets in the middle of the classroom since the start of class (ca. 50 minutes). S has been leading the class discussion on what democracy is, while A has been creating the mind map from the discussion on the flip over behind S.

Why this interaction:

- one of the (few) examples of when a teacher gives an interpretation / answer, even so, rather indirectly, by trying to piece together an answer (for what democracy is) based on the various answers students have provided her with
- Typical of the way the teachers 'get at' what a concept is:
 - by asking questions in order to get students to extend their answers
- typical teacher-led interaction with students:
 - teacher seems to have an idea of what she wants the students to realize (what democracy is)
 - T asks students in a round robin kind of fashion to give their suggestions for what democracy is, attempting to extend the answers given by making new (tangential?) connections
 - hardly any explicit feedback is given to wrong answers, the teacher calls on the next student (hoping for something better?)
 - focus on the immediate context (of the classroom, of the students) in order to explain a highly abstract concept (democracy in Denmark)
 - "You are the people in the class' representatives. So we expect you behave properly and be good examples"
 - students have a hard time putting into words what they may know about democracy

- “Um, we have to, you have to, well, those, those that go to the student council they have to listen together and then the others have to vote, vote”
- “Theeeen, the we say a bunch of stuff you could do, and then - so that we could do it”

When do we have Democracy?

Sarah	Jeg tror vi tager et minut, ikke pause, men hvor man lige vender hovederne med sin makker og så siger man hvornår er det er vi har demokrati i Danmark
	[students talk]
Sarah	Jeg starter selvfølgelig med at spørge Renata fordi det var Renata der ikke kunne svare
Renata	Elevrådet
Sarah	Når man vælger til elevrådet . Hvordan fungerer det herinde i vores klasse?
Renata	vi skal, man skal .. altså den der ***
Sarah	Så skal de stemme om det, ikke? Så der har vi faktisk vores to politikere, hvem er det vores to politikere er herinde?
Sarah	Hussain og Niels, I er vores politikere. I er FOLKET i klassens repræsentanter. Så vi forventer I opfører jer ordentligt og er nogle gode eksempler ikke?
	[students mumble]
Sarah	Samyra hvornår kender du til demokrati herinde?
Samyra	I frikvarterne?
Sarah	I frikvarterne hvad tænker du på i frikvarterne?
Samyra	At man selv bestemmer hvad man laver
Sarah	Er det demokrati man selv må bestemme hvad man har lyst til at gøre?
flere elever	ja nej [calling out]
Sarah	Hvad siger du Fahrhan?
Fahrhan	emmmm, (mumbles)

Appendices

Sarah	Når I hvad?
Fahran	** når I spørger hvad vi kunne gøre bedre i frikvarterene
Sarah	[00:15:19.07]Og hvad gør man så?
Fahran	Såååå, så siger man ** og så kan man gøre det
Sarah	[looks like she is considering the answer, looking around]
Sarah	Hussain
Hussain	Når vi skal holde sommerfest og sådan noget. Hvis der ikke kommer mange så er det ligesom så er det under halv. Og så, så bliver det ikke accepteret. Så bliver det aflyst
Sarah	Det kunne faktisk godt være lidt derhen af, ik? Når man tilmelder sig til noget, og vi har sagt, hvis der ikke kommer lidt over 50 procent. Så aflyser vi. Så det kan man faktisk godt sige, på nær at vi ikke har siddet og stemt om det. Det er noget vi [gestures to A] har stemt om i vores team. Og vi er fire med 25 procentes rettigheder, og vi er enige 100 procent. Så det er, hvad hedder det, det er flerstemmigt.
Adam	=**flerstemmigt=
Sarah	flerstemmigt, ** nåja ..
Sarah	Jonathan
Jonathan	eem Vi har snakket sådan et emne om at man skal være ude i frikvarterene?
Sarah	=ja=
Jonathan	Oog og så skal barnet stemme om det, ik?
Sarah	ja
Jonathan	Og over halvtreds procent stemmer nej Såå, =så må man stadig være inde i klassen=
Sarah	=Ja, hvad skal vi så? skal vi så være inde eller ude?= =
Sarah	Jeps. Det var et godt eksempel! og elevrådet var et godt eksempel. Samyra?

Samyra	Dem øøø forældre, de der fire som har arrangeret sommerfesten
Sarah	ja
Samyra	er det ikke også demokrati?
Sarah	<p>Jo. faktisk det er det.</p> <p>Faktisk, når vi sidder til de der forældremøder . så tager vi selvfølgelig ikke de forældre der ikke er der.</p> <p>De har ikke nogen stemmer.</p> <p>Man kan godt komme med en stemme og tage et papir også .</p> <p>Men ellers så sidder vi her og så er der faktisk nogen herinde der siger om de vil gerne .. være forældrerepresentanter i klassen, og så er det alle de andre forældre der siger ok det synes vi er i orden,</p> <p>eller vi stemmer om det.</p> <p>Det er også demokrati.</p> <p>Så faktisk er de forældre JERES forældres talerør til os.</p> <p>Eller hvis der er noget de er utilfredse med så kan de faktisk skrive eller ringe til kontaktførældrene, ikke?</p> <p>[looks around nodding]</p> <p>Det er rigtigt.</p> <p>Har du flere, eller er der nogen der har noget mer?</p>

Appendix 3: 'Rough transcripts'

The following are the complete collection of the so-called 'rough transcripts' made, as the preliminary processing of the raw data. All of the video recordings were reviewed, and when two cameras were recording at the same time, these videos were correlated in order to create a more coherent description and transcription of each lesson. These include a combination of descriptions of what is going on in the classroom, transcriptions of the most prominent conversations and some field notes.

Of the six lessons of the unit, five were observed (excluding the second-to-last lesson). These five are included here. Often times, notes included are in English, while the actual transcriptions are in Danish (reflecting the spoken language of the classroom, and the analytical language of the researcher, respectively). Looking through this appendix, readers may be struck by differences in transcription conventions, levels of detail and the addition of notes. This reflects the process of transcription and the time it took to work through the data. As such, these rough transcriptions can also be seen as documenting the progression of reworking the data from a raw format to an analyzable dataset.

In some of the transcriptions Headings have been added (often in bold) after the initial transcription in an attempt to identify stages and / or phases in the lessons. Because the changes between these often happened without explicit or marked changes, the headings should be understood as an initial analytical filter rather than, necessarily, a reflection of the way in which teachers communicated these to the students.

As is the case in the thesis text, all names have been changed for the sake of anonymity. The same names as were used in the thesis have been applied in the transcripts below. Students whose names were unknown are represented with "Stb" for boy students and "Stg" for girl students, while the teachers are represented by the first letter in their name (A = Adam, B = Bonny, S = Sarah), or their whole name.

Timing (in correlation with the video data) is given in square brackets (ie. [00:10:24.22], representing 10 minutes, 24 seconds and 22/ 30 frames per second since the start of the video) as produced by the transcription program used, InqScribe.

Lesson 1

Samling / opvarmning

Dette er et første løb gennem en transskription af den første lektion af emnet "Sat Ud", hvor Bonny, DSA koordinatoren, danner baggrunden for- og introducerer emnet som de skal arbejde med over den næste tid.

Lektionen starter ved 10-tiden (direkte efter det 30-min lange morgenfrikvarter) inde i "værkstedet", 5.s store lokale, hvor hele klassen samles. Lokalet bruges som et samlingspunkt for hele holdet bl.a. når hele 5. undervises samlet, eller om morgenen, hvor eleverne finder ud af deres dagsorden osv. Udover værkstedet råder 5. over 2 andre lokaler på samme side af gangen, mens 6. har de tilsvarende lokaler på den modsatte side af gangen.

Lektionen er lagt lige efter pausen, og jeg havde derfor mulighed for at komme ind i pausen inden lektionen startede for at sætte kamera op, og hilse uformelt på de børn der holdte frikvarter derinde (hvilket var nogle af børnene fra 5. De andre var udenfor eller i et af de to andre lokaler på gangen). Værkstedet har nogle få skriveborde placeret omkring i grupper på 2 – 4 langs kanterne af lokalet. Der er nogle rumdelere der stikker ud fra væggene rundt omkring og virker til at isolere skrivebordsgrupperne lidt fra hinanden. Lokalet har også en sofa i hjørnet og langs væggen med vinduerne, hvor mange af børnene opholder sig i pausen. Lokalet er temmelig tomt i midten, og har cirkler tegnet på gulvet med børns navne i hver cirkel.

Klokken 10 ringer klokken, og eleverne begynder at komme ind og samles i værkstedet efter pausen. Som de kommer ind tager de en spand/skammel til at sidde på. Nogle af eleverne sætter deres spande på en cirkel, men ikke alle er lige gode om det. Der er meget larm mens drengene fjoller rundt med hinanden. Adam og Sarah står foran i lokalet og Bonny går i gang med at slukke for en overhead der har været tændt mens Sarah taler med en anden lærer. Sarah står med et stykke papir i hånden og råber nogle børns navne op mens hun taler med den anden lærer. Børn kommer stadig dryssende. Adam går i gang med at tælle de børn der sidder på spandene mens Bonny flytter overheaden væk og finder en kontorstol frem, som hun bringer foran i lokalet og sætter sig på. Hun taler lidt med nogle af børnene og ser sig lidt om mens Adam taler med nogle af drengen. Sarah har forladt lokalet, mens den anden lærer nu skriver på det stykke papir hun havde i hånden tidligere. 5. skal på tur senere på dagen, og det ser ud til at Sarah og den anden lærer er ved at få styr på det, samtidigt med at Sarah og Adam hjælper de elever som kommer dryssende om de skal være med i 'historieholdet' eller om de skal til den anden undervisning. Efter lidt tid går den anden lærer ud og døren til gangen lukkes. De første fem eller seks minutter af videoen viser at børnene kommer ind, snakker med hinanden, ser sig rundt, stiller Adam spørgsmål og så videre. Bag Bonny er det, der ser ud til at være lærerens bord (en park bord-bænk kombination), som er stillet så den står ud fra den væg der har tavlen. Adam står i nærheden af bænken. Bonny kigger på sit ur et par gange og så begynder hun at sige "ja?" med høj og stigende stemme for at få børnenes opmærksomhed. Nogle af drengene er stadig i gang med snakke med hinanden og med Adam, og som Bonny siger "ja?" igen efterfølger hun det med "shhhh", hvilket Adam også gør. Som Bonny

begynder undervisningen sætter han sig på bænken. Bonny starter med at sig "Det allerførste jeg rigtig gerne vil bede jer om, jeg kan jo se at I har faste pladser, ik? Men er I ikke søde og rykke bare en anelse tilbage?" Herefter starter hun undervisningen ved at introducere sig selv, og lede børnenes opmærksomhed også på mig. Hun siger at jeg skal være der at observere i dag, i morgen, onsdag og fredag... Hun taler så til mig og beder mig snakke med hende om disse dage efter undervisningen.

[00:06:00.09] B: Og det vi skal have, det er historie. Og så er der jo nogen der godt kan undre sig over, 'hvad, laver, jeg hos jer.

[00:05:59.09] B: Og så kunne jeg godt tænke mig at høre er der nogen der har et bud på hvorfor, hvorfor er jeg jos jer?

(nogle af børnene prøver at gætte: 'fordi du kan lide historie?', 'du har ikke nok at lave?', 'for at se hvordan vi er?' B svarer nej til dem alle og uddyber sine svar uden at sige hvorfor hun er der endnu. Efter nogle gæt giver hun så følgende forklaring)

(Under denne phase kommer en af pædagogerne ind med et flip over, som han og Adam så stiller op foran tavlen i nærheden af bænken og lidt bag Bonny)

[00:07:23.20] B: Men årsagen til at jeg er her, det er fordi at, jeeg, er tosprogsvejleder her på skolen. Er der nogen der ved hvad det betyder?

(Sarah kommer ind og sætter sig på en skammel lidt bag ved gruppen)

(Dette fører til en samtale om hvor mange sprog B kan og hvilke sprog nogle af eleverne taler. Hun spørger eleverne en af gangen om at fortælle hvilke sprog de kan.

[00:10:24.22] B: Og så har jeg været så heldig at jeg har fået lov til at samarbejde med Sarah og Adam... omkring historie. Fordi at, jeg synes faktisk at historie det er rigtig rigtig spændende.

[00:10:40.28] B: Og de næste par dage så skal vi ud på en kæææmpe rejse. Vi skal ud og rejse. Og hvordan vi skal rejse det finder I ud af. I behøves ikke at komme med en rygsæk eller sovepose eller noget som helst. (en af børnene siger noget) Det kan du faktisk godt sige. At vi skal rejse gennem tiden. De næste mange dage. Fordi når man arbejder med historie, så rejser man gennem tiden. Det synes jeg var et rigtig godt udtryk.

[00:11:11.04] B: Men før. Før vi starter på vores rejse. (hun vender sig om for at finde nogle seddler frem, som hun har forberedt til undervisningen)... Så har jeg ligesom... fundet ud af, at det vi skal arbejde med, det er hvor meget ved I i forvejen. Hvor dygtige er I herinde? Og jeg er overbevist om der kommer SÅ mange bud, fra jer.

[00:11:33.00] B: Om noget af det jeg har skrevet på sedlerne. Så nu ka' jeg jo, ku' jeg jo godt tænke mig hvis der var en der var interesseret i at prøve at trække en hvid seddel og finde ud af hvad der stod på?

Bonny sidder med nogle sedler i hænderne som hun holder frem. Hun har vist mig sedlerne i forvejen og de har følgende skrevet på: "hvad er historie", "hvordan var historie skabt", "hvis

vi skulle fortælle historien om at være barn i dag, hvad ville du så fortælle?", "hvad bruger vi historie til?".

Bonny beder en elev ad ganen om at trække en seddel og læse højt hvad der står på den. Hun beder så Sarah om at skrive hvad der bliver sagt på flip overen. Eleverne bliver bedt om at komme med bud på hvad de tænker på, når de hører hvad der står på hver seddel, hvilket resulterer i en slags brainstorm, hvilket gentages for hver seddel. Hver seddel tager mellem 15 - 25 minutter at diskutere.

Eleverne har givet deres tanker om, hvad historie er og begynder at blive animeret. B bemærker, at en trio af drenge til højre for hende, inkl Hussain og Christian, sidder og hvisker/snakker sammen (det er ikke forståeligt på optagelsen, hvad de taler om)

[00:13:38.11] Sss, Sh. Altså jeg er jo betydelig ældre en du er

[00:13:44.25] så når du sidder og hvisker og der er nogen der prøver at sige noget, så kan mine øre altså ikke koncentrere sig om at høre begge dele

[00:13:52.00] Så, mens vi laver det her, er du sød, sød lige og, og så række hånden op, ing?

[00:13:58.00] For jeg vil rigtig gerne høre på hvad du siger

B vender tilbage til eleven til venstre som hun hørte på inden afbrydelsen. Efter den elev giver et svar og hun svarer på det bud, (ja, det er rigtigt), vælger hun den næste elev (også på venstre side. Dvs. ikke drengene som hun lige havde sagt til, at hun gerne ville høre på)

Religiøse begivenheder

[00:14:25.24] Sarah spørger hvordan man omformulerer hvad en af eleverne har sagt ("noget med religion"), så hun kan skrive det på flip overen (Sarah: hvad skal vi kalde det? Religiøse begivenheder? (det er uklart om hun spørger eleven eller B, men B svarer 'ja', hvorefter Sarah skriver det op)). Bonny spørger så Sarah "hvad betyder begivenheder", hvilken S svarer så svarer på (nogle bestemte historiske religiøse ting der er sket") S uddyber ved at pege på tidslinjen omkring loftet i lokalet og beder eleverne om at huske hvilke religiøse begivenheder/ religiøse ting de har haft. En af eleverne siger kommer med et bud der handler om 'hvis der var liv i rummet'. Hvilket B siger til S at hun skal skrive også (liv ude i rummet), men efter dette kommentar spørger B:

[00:17:47.02] B: Men hvornår bliver noget til historie? Fordi for mig, for mig er der forskel på ... for eksempel hvis nu ... at der skete noget i dag ... at københavns rådhus, brændte. Det er en ting der sker. Men hvornår bliver det til historie?

Eleverne kommer med nogle bud (når der er gået nogle år, f.eks. 10 år, når der bliver fundet en prins). B siger at det har noget med en historie der starter, og det taler de så om i nogle minutter, indtil hun siger at de nu skal trække den næste seddel.

Hvis vi skulle fortælle historien om at være barn i dag, hvad ville du så sige?

[00:22:11.04] Efter denne seddel bliver læst op kommer eleverne med forskellige bud omkring hvordan deres liv er. Nogle af børnene synes at have en ide om at de (måske?) skal sammenligne deres liv nu med hvordan det var for lang tid siden. Flere af børnene siger at det

er luksus nu. B bliver ved med at bede dem om at tale om deres live nu, og spørger ind til det, og hvad de ville skrive om deres liv i dag, hvis nogen skulle læse om det om 100 år. Sarah hjælpe B med at spørge børnene ud om deres liv, hun bruger den viden hun har om eleverne og deres familier til at hjælpe dem med at uddybe hvad de siger. Samtalen udvikler sig til at omhandle mad, hvilket kommer til at fylde ca 5 minutter:

Mad

[00:26:31.00] En af elevernes bud er, at den mad de spiser nu er meget bedre end hvad det var for lang tid siden (da de spiste 'al mulig lort'). De andre børn bliver engagerede og slutter sig til kommentaret og bryder ind med bud som "hamburger". "macdonalds" og at det er meget bedre. B. siger så at hun gerne vil springe lidt og fortæller så om sidste efterårsferie hvor hun var i Pompeii, hvor hun kom på en rundtur og så en gade hvor der var butikker (er der nogen der kan gætte hvad det var, for en form for butik, der var lige præcis i den gade?). En elev foreslår Macdonalds hvortil B svarer ("det kunne man næsten godt sige... Det var nemlig fastfood butikker"). Sarah tilføjer at man i dag er begyndt at spise grød og andre gammeldagsretter i fine restauranter i København.

Adam deltager her også i samtalen ved at bede eleverne om at tænke på hvad mennesker for 100 år siden måske ville tænke om hvad vi spiser i dag. Eleverne kommer med bud, og B kommenterer. Sarah beder eleverne om at tænke over hvad vi snakker om når vi snakker om mad i dag. Eleverne kommer med nogle bud inkl. 'usund' mad, som så bliver emnet i noget tid.

Fortæl mig hvordan du bor

[00:31:32.27] B: Jeg kunne godt lige tænke mig at vende tilbage til den der (kigger på flip overen) med hvis vi skulle fortælle historien om at være barn i dag. (hun kigger på en af pigerne bagerst i cirklen) Hvordan, hvordan bor I hjemme hos dig?

[00:31:39.12] S: ved det ik'

[00:31:42.01] B: Prøv. Beskriv.

[00:31:43.09] S: Du ved da godt hvordan I bor derhjemme, jeg ved også hvordan du bor.

(Dreng: sofa)

[00:31:47.21] S: Skal jeg fortælle hvordan jeg bor?

[00:31:48.20] S: Ja. Hvordan bor I derhjemme?

[00:31:51.13] S: øøm. Seng, sofa, fjernsyn?

[00:31:54.10] B: ja?

[00:31:58.16] B: bor du, bor duuu i hus? (nogle forskellige elever siger ting, så man kan ikke høre Ss svar, men B ser ud til at have hørt det og fortsætter) Du bor i lejlighed. Ja?

[00:32:07.12] B: hvorfor bor I i lejlighed?

(eleverne griner lidt)

[00:32:10.22] B: har du nogen sinde tænkt over det?

[00:32:12.06] S: næ

[00:32:12.28] B: næ. hvad med mor og far? (pigen trækker på skuldrene) De laver ikke noget?

[00:32:20.13] S: jo, Nå, arbejde, ligesom?

[00:32:22.18] B: de arbejder?

[00:32:23.12] S: ja

[00:32:23.12] B: ja. Hvordan?

Eleven fortæller bl.a. at hendes far er taxichauffeur og at hendes mor er på barsel. Der følger et sidespring om hvad barsel er. Sarah skriver 'lejligheder' på flip overen. En af eleverne, Christian, prøver at føre samtalen tilbage til emnet om mad fra tidligere ved at sige at måske vil mad blive meget værre i fremtiden, hvilket fører til det næste:

samfundets ødelæggelse

Christians bud om, at med udvikler sig til noget værre, udvikler sig til at han foreslår at måske vil alt blive meget værre i fremtiden, and og at vi alle ender op tilbage i tiden. B prøver at forstå og fortolke dette (du mener at vi tager opskrifter fra fortiden og bruger dem i fremtiden), men Christian prøver igen:

[00:33:48.26] Christian: hvem, siger ik' at måske verden bliver sådan en. Hvad skal man sige, en, alt går i sådan katam.. konkurs. Hele verden går konkurs, og så vil vi måske ryge tilbage i ... tilbage i tiden.

[00:34:07.21] B: Tilbage i tiden. Det var næsten det samme jeg sagde det der med at man går tilbage til fortiden (hun kører rundt på stolen og holder hånden fremme for ligesom at vise et punkt på en tidslinje) og henter noget frem til fremtiden som man bruger (hun kører rundt på stolen indtil hun sidder mod børnene igen med hånden stadig foran sig for at vise det andet punkt på tidslinjen, fremtiden)

[00:34:17.11] A: Det er jo sket, før i tiden i historie

[00:34:18.16] B: hvad?

[00:34:19.16] A: At man har haft nogle rigtig flotte kulturer. hvor folk har været rigtig dygtige, og har været rigtig ø, kunne rigtig mange ting. Og så har deres samfund gået i stykker. Og så har de blevet, ø, og så har historien faktisk gået tilbage for dem. Og så er de. Så er de blevet øøø meget, hva ka' man sige, (en anden taler samtidigt, og det er uklart hvad begge siger).

[00:34:44.15] B: hvis man tænker på, på romerriket for eksempel

[00:34:47.17] A: og egypterne og

[00:34:48.21] B: ja.

[00:34:49.17] S: renaissancen

(eleverne mumler lidt)

Miljøet

[00:35:07.10] B: man kan jo aldrig vide hvad fremtiden bringer, hvad dagen i morgen bringer.

[00:35:11.22] S: Nej, men øm, min lillesøsters lærer har sagt, at hvis vi blir ved med det der, og ... bruge bare benzin og sådannoget , så om ti år så vi verden, øø (andre børn bryder også

ind med lignende kommentarer, bl.a. "co2 udslip", og man kan ikke høre hvad Christian siger til sidsts)

[00:35:29.14] B: Der er nogen der siger CO2 udslip.

[00:35:31.09] S: Skal vi fortælle om det? (B samtidigt: Der er noget om benzin)

Eleverne bryder ind med flere forskellige et-ords kommentarer (skrald, skraldespannen, ej osv)

[00:35:40.19] S: hvad ø, kan du lige fortælle hvad CO2 udslip er Danial? måske kan de dannes

[00:35:45.11] D: det er noget med hvis nu man kører bil, så kommer der jo røg. Og det er iftig røg for eksempel.

[00:35:48.16] E: det gas

[00:35:49.01] D: eller hvis du brænder, hvad ø, store el værker eller sådan noget. (S: ja?) Så er det DONG energi i stedet for at være, jeg ved ikke hvad de brænder vel, men de siger i stedet for det så brænder de almulig halmballer og sådan. Og udslipper mindre CO2

[00:36:05.27] S: Det er nemlig rigtigt. Så, og hvem giver rigtig meget CO2?

[00:36:09.01] Elever: biler, biler

[00:36:09.28] S: Biler, ooog?

[00:36:11.05] Elever (i munden på hinanden): elværker? fly? tog?

[00:36:15.12] S: jamen ø gas er jo bedre end. Nå, jeg skriver

[00:36:21.26] Elev: varmt vand, man bruger meget CO2 på øø

[00:36:23.19] S: jeg tror jeg skriver fabrikker her.

S: men det kan vi jo gøre noget ved, ik?

samtalen fortsætter lidt i den dur mellem S og en elev især mens de andre fortsætter at komme med et-ords bud (gas? prutter? varmt vand)

[00:37:01.23] B: Hvis nu du ikke tog så lang bad, ik? Så kunne du være med til at skabe, ny historie. Kan I se det? man kan selv. (eleverne taler stadig i munden på hinanden så B taler højere og lidt langsommere:)

[00:37:05.20] B: Den måde man laver sit liv på. SSshhhh, shh sh. Den måde man lever sit liv på, kan være med til at skabe historien i morgen.

[00:37:14.22] S: og det er jo rigtigt hvad du siger (til Christian) At hvis vi bliver ved med at bare bruge og bruge og bruge og bruge, så ender det med at vi har skabt en ny historie. (host) fordi på et eller andet tidspunkt bliver vi nødt til (host) at enten sige (peger på flip over) skide være med det, lad os bare gå under alle sammen. Eller sige vi bliver nødt til at gøre noget ved det. Og så kommer det til at dreje sig om alle os herinde, ik? (eleverne begynder at svare hende) og mig.

Den sidste seddel: hvad bruger vi historie til?

eleverne er stadig i gang med at snakke om miljøet mens B starter på den sidste seddel, som hun så giver til en elev lige ved siden af hende. Han læser sedlen op og kommer med buddet "for at slippe for at lave fejl", hvilket B gentager højt og retter mod S.

[00:38:21.26] B: at slippe for at lave fejl som vi en gang gjorde. (kigger tilbage på gruppen) Er der andre bud?

[00:38:30.08] E: faglig viden

E: at vide noget om fortid

[00:38:40.25] B: at få noget at vide om fortiden?

[00:38:45.16] B: hvad skal vi bruge det til?

[00:38:50.27] B: (til en pige bagerst i gruppen) er du sød og komme herop og sid? ja. (pigen tager sin skammel med op til foran i gruppen ved siden af B)

[00:38:54.27] E: vi ka ø lære, af de fejl vi har lavet tidligere?

[00:38:57.15] B: for at vi kan lære af fejlene ...

samtalen fortsætter lidt med nogle af børnene der kommer med flere et-ords bud og B gentager nogle af disse samtidigt med at hun 'sætter budet på en finger'... hun remser dem altså op på sin hånd, hver gang hun gentager et af elevernes bud (slå børn i skolen, børnearbejde, børnemisbrug...)

[00:40:59.08] B: (hun får øje på en pige lidt bagved til venstre for hende selv) Hvad med dig derover der sidder og kigger ned i gulvet, har du et bud? ... På noget du synes... er en fejl (eleven siger noget lavt og uklart)... nej. Med verden.

[00:41:14.16] pigen siger noget mens andre børn også svarer forskelligt, gentager børnemisbrug osv.

[00:41:17.19] B: fabrikker... (B kigger hen på flip over hvordan man opfører sig... (B peger på en anden elev som siger 'krig') Krig! (nikker, og kigger på flip over)

Der vælter ind med bud (opførsel, ny is tid, voksenmisbrug, epidemi bliver sagt flere gang uden at det tages op af en voksen) mens Adam og Sarah forsøger at skrive dem ned. Dette fortsætter i nogle minutter endnu

Afrunding / forberedelse på task

[00:44:58.04] B: Jeg synes, jeg synes I har været rigtig rigtige gode til denneher fase. Det der med og (nogle af drengene begynder at klappe) og skabe forforståelse Ikke noget med at klappe af dig selv. Ok du er slet ikke færdig endnu, bare vent.

(eleverne mumler lidt og B gestikulerer at Sarah og Adam skal vende til en ny side på flip overen)

[00:45:21.07] B: det emne. Det emne vi skal til. SSHH! og lære noget om. Det er hvordan. det var. at være barn.. i gamle dage (en dreng: det var hårdt)

[00:45:36.24] B: SSSssss! Og der har I allesammen. I har allesammen nogen bud, på, hvordan det var. (vender sig til Adam, som nu har overtaget at skrive på den nye side mens Sarah sidder på bænken og kigger på B.) Nej, overskrift: at være barn i gamle dage.

[00:45:52.20] B: Og så, har jeg en teknik som jeg rigtig gerne vil lære jer. Og det hedder, det hedder et VØL skema.

[00:46:03.17] B: er der nogen af jer der ved hvad et VØL skema er?

[00:46:06.23] E: et øl skema?

- [00:46:06.23] B: nej. VØL.... V-Ø-L skema? (vender sig til Adam) Det må du godt skrive (eleverne er rastløse og rykker lidt rundt på deres skamler, og snakker/hvisker sammen) (B kigger tilbage på gruppen)
- [00:46:22.18] B: det er en MÅDE, hvorpå I kan få styr på ... hvordan man kan arbejde med sådan et emne, netop at være barn i gamle dage. V! i skemaet, det står for...
- [00:46:37.09] En elev: verden
- [00:46:38.12] B (ser ikke ud til at have hørt budet): det ved jeg allerede. Eller det tror jeg jeg ved. (kigger på Adam) Ved
- [00:46:44.13] A: Nåå, jeg (uklart) hvad du sage. Ja en kritik altså (griner) (han vender sig om og skriver på flip over mens B og S kigger på til han bliver færdig)
- [00:46:59.27] B: Ø. Det står for det jeg Øønsker at lære. (kigger rundt på eleverne) Det jeg rigtig gerne vil vide noget mere om (vender sig hen mod A, som skriver på flip over og venter til han er færdig)
- [00:47:17.00] B: (kigger tilbage på gruppen) Og så er der nogen der allerede har gættet hvad L'et står for (eleverne kommer med bud) lære, lej
- [00:47:25.19] B: lært. Det jeg har lært. (A skriver på flipver. S ser på mens han skriver. B kigger på, og så vender sig om til gruppen igen. Børnene er fortsat rastløse. En dreng foran i gruppen rækker hånden op og B peger på ham)
- [00:47:40.28] E: Ligesom i gamle dage , er der nogen børn der har det luksus? (B, nikker og kigger hen til flip over tavlen mens hun begynder at svare)
- [00:47:46.10] B: jaaa, det kan godt være. Altså, jeg ved det jo ik' rigtig. Jeg skal jo LÆRE om, om det at være barn i gamle dage (kigger på S, og så vender tilbage til gruppen mens hun fortsætter) nøjagtig ligesom I skal lære. (eleverne mumler fortsat)
- [00:47:55.27] B: det jeg godt vil have at I gør nu, (til A) har man et historiehæfte? (eleverne bryder ind med svar: nej, nej)
- [00:48:03.25] S: (nikker til B og A) (til eleverne der siger nej:) I har også et historie, kristendomshæfte. (eleverne: mappe, vi har mappe!) (B reagerer ikke på denne del af diskussionen mens hun skriver / tegner et VØL skema på flip overen)
- [00:48:20.06] B: uanset hvad I har.
- [00:48:24.19] S: så laver I sådan et skema. (til A og B:) skal vi så bare dele papir ud?
- [00:48:26.28] B: vent jeg er ikke færdig
- [00:48:31.02] B: så skal I lave sådan et skema i jeres hæfte (stiller sig vedsiden af skemaet og kigger på det)
- [00:48:35.10] B: det første I skal. Det er, I skal skrive i denne her kolonne (peger på den venstre V-kolonne). Aalt det, som I ved om at være barn i gamle dage. Eller alt det I tror I ved. Nå I så er færdige med den kolonne, så går I i gang med toeren (peger på Ø-kolonnen).

[00:48:56.26] B: Der skal I skrive alt det I godt kunne tænke jer at LÆRE noget om ... og være barn i gamle dage

[00:49:03.15] En elev: er det ikke ønske?

[00:49:05.19] B: (nikker) ønske? Det man ønsker at vide mere om

[00:49:12.01] B: og treeren. Det er først når hele ugen er gået og alt mulig. Fordi så handler det nemlig om at man skal skrive ned. Hvadv har jeg så lært, i forhold til emnet (peger til overskriften på flip overen). Og så kan man bagefter gå ind og tjekke (peger på V-kolonnen) Hov! Det vidste jeg sørme godt! Eller, Hov! jeg vidste noget som ikke passede. (kigger på børnene)

[00:49:39.08] B: og så kan man hvordan ... man har ændret ... sine læreprocesser i løbet af en hel uge.

Tjekker forståelse af task/ checking for understanding of the task

[00:50:00.22] B: Så skal jeg lige høre, for det er rigtig vigtigt for mig, at I allesammen forstår. Er der nogen, der, kan. Forklare mig hvad er det I skal lige nu?

[00:50:13.25] B: (træder hen mod en pige lidt bagved i cirklen) hvad hedder du?

[00:50:14.25] S: Saima

[00:50:15.02] B: Kan du forklare mig hvad er det I skal lige nu?

[00:50:19.01] S: øøm. (kigger sig om, en anden elev nyser, og to drenge siger 'prossit' til vedkommende. Saima smiler og så svarer) Jeg har glemt det

[00:50:25.08] S: prøv at læs herop (peger på flip overen)

[00:50:29.19] S: Vi skal skrive noget som, ø vi ved?

[00:50:34.04] S: Hvad skal du mere?

B: (samtidigt med S. Træder og peger mod en anden pige, som kigger væk og sidder et par skamler væk fra en anden elev som sidder med en finger i vejret) Hvad, hvad med dig i midten, kan du hjælpe? Ka' du hjælpe?

[00:50:36.00] (eleven svarer uklart og virker usikker)

[00:50:43.11] B: (afbryder) Hva', hvad er punkt et? Hvad skal I allerførst?

(ingen svarer)

[00:50:45.10] B: Hvad er nødvendigt for at vi kan komme I gang med at arbejde? (B kigger rundt og holder en tommelfinger oppe. Nogle elever rækker en finger op. B nikker mod/til en dreng i midten og foran i cirklen)

[00:50:51.12] E: Det er at vi skal lære?

[00:50:54.07] B: Naaaaaaj?

(enkelte andre elever mumler nogle forskellige svar)

[00:50:59.15] B: Først. Så skal man. Have noget at skrive på. (holder om sin pegefing)

[00:51:03.08] Hussain: papir

[00:51:05.29] Stb: man skal have noget at skrive med?

[00:51:07.16] B: så skal man have noget at skrive med

[00:51:08.25] Hussain: blyant

[00:51:10.06] Stb: og noget at viske med

[00:51:12.15] B: Så skal man lave skemaet. Det er punkt et. Man skal lave skemaet. Så skal man udfylde kolonne nummer et. V'et, som stod for hvad? (nikker mod en elev, som svarer: "ved")

[00:51:26.27] B: Ja? Kolonne nummer to, som står for hvad? (kigger hen på en anden elev)

(nogle elever bryder ind "ønsker, ønsker" Eleven som B kiggede på kigger lidt rundt)

[00:51:37.09] B: og skal man så udfylde mere? (peger på en anden elev på hendes højre side, mens drengene til hendes venstre bryder ind med "nej". B kigger stadig på eleven til højre) Nej. og hvorfor ikke?

(eleven fra venstre side af hende svarer igen: "Det skal vi gøre til sidst", Mens B fortsætter med at kigge på eleven til højre, som mumler et uklart svar. B nikker)

[00:51:47.05] B: ja. Vi er ikke parate til den sidste endnu. Eik? Godt. (kigger på sit ur)

[00:51:54.14] B: og jeg sætter tid på det her arbejde. Og det gør jeg fordi jeg vil rigtig gerne have at vi liige bruger de sidste ti minutter til ... og høre nogen af jeres ønsker. Det synes jeg ku' være rigtig hyggeligt. Og høre. Hvad kunne I godt tænke jer at lære?

[00:52:12.27] B: Så I har, femogtyve minutter fra nuaf.

[00:52:17.05] B: Værsgo' og gå i gang (børnene rejser sig op fra skamlerne og begynder at gå ud af lokalet og bevæge sig rundt) Man må gerne arbejde sammen med andre.

Group work / gruppearbejde

students break up into groups of two to four. They go out into the hall to get their paper and pencils from their cubbies and then they find places to sit and work. Some students stay in the 'workshop' room where they've been so far, others go into the other room at the end of the hall to work on their KWL charts. The teachers walk around offering help. The lists and mindmaps the teachers have made during the first part of the lesson are not visible. At one point a student goes over to the flip over but is told not to look at it. I ask Bonny about that, and she confirms that it is on purpose that they aren't supposed to be able to see what has been written down.

Task reiteration / Task gentagelse

[00:00:42.06] B: Nej. (Hun tager papiret fra eleven og går hen mod midten af lokalet) Kig lige herovre.

[00:00:45.15] B: (går hen til flip overen og holder papiret op mens hun taler til hele holdet) En rigtig god ting for at man, hjælper sig selv.

[00:00:49.12] B: Det er, at man, (kigger ned på papiret og peger med anden hånd på hjørnet) man starter med at lave en streg (viser hvordan strengen skal gå på tværs af toppen af papiret) den vej? Og så (peger så to gange nedad langs papiret) deler papiret op i de tre kolonner. Så skriver men heroppe (peger igen ved toppen af papiret) V! ØØØ! L! Fordi der skal jo være plads til at skrive meget (fører sin håndflade over hele siden fra top til bund)

(en elev peger på flip overen ved siden af B, hvor der på toppen af siden tidligere blev skrevet i punkt form hvad hver af bogstaverne betyder)

[00:01:04.29] stb: Skal vi skrive det andet? Det der?

[00:01:07.20] B: (går hen til flip overen og peger på definitionerne af bogstaverne) Det behøves I ikke at skrive, vel? Kun skemaet I skal lave, det var det som jeg sagde var trin et.

[00:01:13.14] B: (går tilbage hen til eleven fra hvem hun tog papiret, som hun nu henvender sig til) Og vi vender lige dit papir, ok? (giver papiret og kigger eleven i øjnene, og går så hen til midten af lokalet igen)

Jeg bliver i værkstedet for at optage, da det er her de fleste af lærerne er det meste af tiden. Videokameraets batteri var ved at dø, så jeg tændte og slukkede et par gange. Dermed er videooptagelsen også afbrudt til tider. På et tidspunkt (mens kameraet lader, så det fanges ikke på video'en) lægger jeg mærke til, at en elev går hen til flip overen (hvorpå man kan se VØL skema tegningen og definitionen på hvad bogstaverne betyder). Eleven prøver at flippe papiret tilbage for at se hvad der var skrevet op fra det de har snakket om undervejs og beder S om hjælp, da han ikke selv kan nå. B kommer hen og siger at det skal han ikke, han skal selv skrive hvad han ved og ønsker at lære. Jeg spørger B kort derefter om det er hensigten at de ikke må se hvad der blev skrevet, og det bekræfter hun at det er. Jeg kan huske at jeg havde lyst til at snakke med B om det, men at jeg bed det i mig for ikke at forstyrre hendes metode.

Det rigtige slags skema

[00:02:12.21] A student comes up to Adam with his piece of paper (which the student has oriented in landscape) Sarah sees them talking and comes over saying:

[00:02:17.27] S: Skal den ikke være på den anden led? jo jo. (meaning portrait format)

[00:02:20.22] A: Du skal bare, du skal, ryk det her. Prøv at se her. (points on the paper) Du folder det...

[00:02:27.00] S: (afbryder A) Men så vil jeg også sige det er måske meget smart hvis det skal være den vej men så vender bogstaverne jo (referring to V-Ø-L)

(Bonny has been standing near by, and turns around to join the conversation. All three teachers are now involved in helping this student with how to orient his KWL chart)

[00:02:35.08] S: (looks at Bonny, and smiles, then looks at Adam and back down at the paper) det rigtigt

[00:02:36.03] A: (to the student) du skal bare rykke den længere ind

[00:02:37.23] Student (nods)

[00:02:37.28] S: Nej fordi han skal jo starte herovre (pointing to the top corner of the page)

(while Sarah is talking Bonny takes the page from Adam and the student and holds it in one hand while holding up another paper in the other hand. The one she brought is in portrait format, while she holds the student's page in landscape)

[00:02:44.05] B: (asking student) Prøv at se. Hvilken måde kan du skrive mest på?

[00:02:46.23] Student (points to the landscape paper, looking at Bonny) Den der?

(Bonny looks down at the two pages, looking first at the landscape page then at the portrait page)

[00:02:50.21] B: Synes du? Når nu den sidder inde i din mappe? (she must be talking about the holes at the side of the page for inserting it in ring binder, which end up being at the top when it's oriented in landscape)

(the student smiles at her and looks at her. He again points to the landscape page)

[00:02:58.19] B: (shaking the landscape page as she talks) Så kan du best lige at arbejde på den måde so you like working this way best?

(student nods again)

[00:03:01.16] B: (handing him the landscape page, nodding) ja.

(As Bonny hands the page to the student, Sarah interrupts by pointing to the page and talking)

[00:03:02.07] S: Men prøv at hør'. Du bliver nødt til lige at vende bogstaverne, ik'?

(Bonny holds up the page again. Sarah steps over to stand in front of the paper and next to the student looking at the page together)

[00:03:06.22] S: ellers vender den modsat. Så kan du godt se så skal du køre baglæns (gesturing from right to left along the top of the page) (she looks at the student and then points at the top of each column going from right to left) Ved, ønsker, lært, ik'?

[00:03:12.17] B: Nej (taking the page back and pointing left to right) V, Ø, L

[00:03:13.26] S: (at the same time, talking to Bonny) ja men det er det der står her

[00:03:15.11] B: ja ja (smiling to Sarah).

[00:03:15.09] S: ja ja (smiling to Bonny)

(Bonny gives the page back to the student who takes the page and leaves to go back to his group. The three other boys in the group also have their pages oriented in landscape. He looks his paper for a bit and is about to start writing on it, then he turns it to orient it in portrait format before he starts writing the three letters at the top of the page)

Regulatory eruption during group work

The children have been working in groups for a while now. Sarah, Adam and Bonny are standing by the door to the room talking. Bonny looks at her watch and turns around walking toward the middle of the room as she addresses the whole class

[00:06:37.15] B: Jaa? For at lige huske jer på tiden, så har I fire minutter tilbage. Så i stedet for at sidde og snakke så skal man nok koncentrere sig om at arbejde (B goes over to the group of 5 students working in the sofa)

[00:06:49.22] S: (off screen) Sarah er du ikke noget længere end et skema? Ja det er da for dårligt... Vil læreren bare sige. (B hears S and leaves the sofa group, walking back over to S)

[00:07:00.03] Student in the sofa smacks the girl next to her saying: Lad være Saima (taking her pencil back from Saima)

[00:07:02.15] S: Saima har du ikke noget at skrive med?

[00:07:03.27] S: Nej jeg har ik' min taske med

[00:07:06.08] S: Hvorfor spørger du så ik' om der er en der kan låne dig noget?

(Saima grabs a pencil case and looks for something, Sarah comes over to the group in the sofa)

[00:07:14.29] S: Du kan læse det der oppe (pointing behind her to the flip over) Det står faktisk deroppe

[00:07:21.25] S: skriv jeres eget. (one of the girls leaves the group) Nu får I altså gang i den ellers må jeg rykke jer fra hinanden

(Sarah walks around the table looking at the papers in front of the students)

[00:07:27.23] S: hvad ved du om børn for hundrede år siden, Reb?

(the girl who left the group returns)

(S takes a pencil case from one of the girls sitting in the group) Hvad ved du? Jeg tror ikke på at du ikke ved noget. (finding a pencil in the pencil case, she tosses it to Reb) Skriv

[00:07:39.00] Reb: Ja hvad ved jeg?

(at the same time, Christian, the boy in the group starts asking S about something)

[00:07:39.12] S: Det ved jeg da ikke?

[00:07:40.09] Renata: Gik de i skole? Gik de i skole?

[00:07:43.20] S: hvad tror du?

[00:07:44.11] Renata: Piger gik nok ik i skole

[00:07:45.29] S: (shrugs) skriv. (hunches over the table and toward Renata) Det er bedre du skriver noget end slet ikke noget.

[00:07:54.27] S: (turning to look at Christian's paper and pointing to what he's written) Jeg ku' godt tænke mig at måske, hvorfor. Hvorfor var de fattige? Det kan ved du garanteret også godt.

(Christian mutters an answer, unclear on the recording)

[00:07:59.08] S: ja så skriv det

(Christian mumbles again, undecipherable)

[00:08:00.29] S: det ved jeg ik. Jeg vil ikke fortælle dig _hvad_ du skal skrive (chuckles and leaving the group)

[00:08:05.24] S: (Turning back and gesturing a line on his paper) men man må gerne gøre sådan her (taking his pencil she makes a mark on the page, then puts it down, standing up again) Så skriv det der nede (stepping back)

(Christian hasn't picked up his pencil yet. He's looking at the paper)

[00:08:10.11] S: Hvorfor tror du de var fattige?

[00:08:13.00] Christian: (looks at S) forii (makes a grimace and shrugs, then looks and smiles at the camera)

[00:08:18.01] S: Ok. bare skriv noget (leaves the group)

[00:08:21.24] Christian: Jo. (playing with his hat) Jeg ved det ikke (flips his hat around, covers his eyes with his left hand, while tapping the table with his right hand)

The students continue to work for 10-15 minutes more. I stop recording for some of it to recharge the battery which is running low. I start filming again when B starts announcing that she wants the students to gather in front of her on their buckets again. She claps her hands, sitting on her chair waiting for students to gather, small talking with those students who sit down near her, or walk past.

Regrouping

While the students gather into a horseshoe shape in front of the B, she swivels around on her chair and asks Sarah to flip to a new page on the flipver, and asks her to write 'Ønsker' on the top of the new page. When the students have found their seats and are more or less settled down B tells them I will tell them why I'm there (several students had asked me what the camera was for and asked me about all kinds of things during the group work, so I had requested B to let me tell the whole group to avoid distracting them like that in the following lessons). I wanted to let them know that they would not be used on TV or the internet. I spend about 1 minute explaining why I am videoing them. When I'm done, Bonny takes over focusing on the W 'ønsker' column of their chart.

The Ø is for 'what I wish to learn'

[00:18:44.13] B: Så skal vi lige snakke lidt om. Om det der Ø (holding up a student's chart) Hvad var det Ø det stod for?

(a few children mumble, but generally the group is quiet)

[00:18:25.22] B: (talking to S, who's standing behind her ready to write on the flip over) Prøv lige at flip over

[00:18:27.14] S: (as she flips the page) Ønsker hvad?

(children make suggestions: 'noget vi vil lære')

(B points to one child near her who answers: 'ønsker' 'ønsker at vide'.

At the same time S has flipped back to the page on the flip over with the definitions

[00:18:34.14] S: hvad står der? (points to the definition)

(right away, Bonny turns around to look at the chart and S)

(a student reads up the definition 'det jeg ønsker at lære' others say parts of the definition 'ønsker at lære' while S reads the definition out loud, pointing to each word as she reads it)

[00:18:38.20] B: (turning back to the students) Det jeg ønsker at LÆRE.

[00:18:44.01] B: og det er rigtig vigtigt. Når man går i en dansk folkeskole (she steps on a pencil a student, Christian, in front of her has dropped a couple of times to keep him from picking it up and dropping it again) Nu træder jeg på den. Så er det vigtigt man er med til selv at sætte mål for sin egen læring. Det vil sige, at man selv... tager stilling til hvad det er man gerne vil lære. Der er noget der hedder ansvar for egen læring. Og når man skal have ansvar for egen læring, så bliver man også nødt til at kunne sætte mål for hvad man gerne vil lære over for sig selv.

[00:19:20.26] B: Der er nogen, ... der ... har arbejdet med det på den måde hvad der ku' have været blevet bedre... hvad man ønsker ville være bedre (pointing to the paper she's holding)... for børn, for hundrede år siden.

[00:19:31.18] B: Men det er ikke helt det samme

[00:19:34.10] B: Vi kommer til at snakke mere om Ø'et men lige nu vil jeg godt ha' (handing the page back to Christian on her right, who's been yawning and stretching and not seen her handing the page back) en kort hurtig runde hvor

(Christian takes the paper and holds it up against his chest looking at another student across the circle)

[00:19:39.27] Student on B's left, presumably who Christian was looking at: Det der var min (indicating the paper B just gave to Christian)

[00:19:43.28] B: (reaches back over to take the paper from Christian, who pulls away) Nej (taking the page and handing it to the student on her left, while children snigger and Christian smiles)

[00:19:46.20] B: Hvor I hver især lige hurtig nævner noget I godt ku tænke sig at lære vi starter herover (points directly at one student on her right on the edge of the circle/horse shoe grouping)

(the student turns his paper around slowly and looks at it)

[00:19:55.26] Stg: Måtte ø forældre godt slå børn?

[00:20:00.13] B: Måtte forældre godt slå børn? (pointing at a girl in the back row and farther along the edge of the horseshoe)

[00:20:06.13] Stg: Øm (this was unclear but it sounds like:) Det måtte fler i skole

[00:20:08.00] S: prøv lige højere

[00:20:10.21] Stg: Om der kom fler' i skole?

[00:20:09.29] B: Om hvor mange der gik i skole? Ja? (pointing to the girl next to the student who just answered)

[00:20:17.08] Stg: Om ø (looks at her page) (again unclear but sounds like:) om børn ikke arbejdede

[00:20:20.19] S: Jeg kan overhovedet ikke høre hvad du siger

[00:20:21.10] A: (at the same time as S) prøv at holde papirene i ro! og...

(the girl repeats her answer)

[00:20:23.19] B: (halfway through the girl's answer) Læg papirene på jeres knæ!

[00:20:26.15] S: Ønsker hun at vide om børn arbejdede?

(the girl nods)

[00:20:29.08] S: Var det det?

[00:20:29.24] Student: ja

[00:20:32.07] B: ja?

[00:20:35.09] The next student/girl: (looking down at her page, then up as she talks): Om det var hårdt at (unclear)

[00:20:37.10] B: Jeg kan ik' høre noget, du må, du må råbe

[00:20:41.02] Stg: om det var kedeligt med deres lejetøj?

[00:20:44.05] A: Om de havde kedeligt lejetøj?

Appendices

(the girl doesn't look like she responds, she just keeps looking ahead. I can't see what she's looking at in the video, and don't remember, but maybe it's the flip over chart, since S is writing the responses down)

[00:20:46.19] B: Ja?

[00:20:47.22] Stb: Hvordan de lærte at stave?

[00:20:48.25] B: hvordan de lærte at stave? (leaning forwards and looking at the boy)

(the boy next to him (the same one who was given all three teachers' attention re the orientation of his paper) elaborates slightly on the answer (these boys were in the same group)

...

This continues through the horseshoe, and most students get a chance to read up what they've written, and for most of them B repeats what they've said. Sarah writes what Bonny says on the flip over. Adam looks on, helping Sarah when she misses what has been said.

[00:23:53.21] B: De der papirer, Dem skal I jo selvfølgelig putte i jeres mappe. Jeg synes der er kommet rigtigt rigtig mange gode spørgsmål (gesturing and looking towards the flip over).

Og jeg glæder mig rigtig meget til, at vi begynder rejsen i morgen? Ikke også Adam?

(As she says the last bit she looks at Adam, who's standing near the classroom door. There is some talk among students and Adam says something I can't hear)

[00:24:10.29] B: i morgen klokken ti?

[00:24:13.23] A: gestures a salute

[00:24:15.03] B: (looking back at the students) Eik'? Og det der er VIGTIGT... under rejsen, det er jo. (tapping the back of her head) At man har alle de ønsker man har skrevet ned på sit papir heromme i baghovedet. Så det er også noget af det man lægger mærke til.... på rejsen (students are restless. S says something, which is unclear)

[00:24:37.29] B: Jeg vil, jeg vil godt sige, Tak, for super godt arbejde (students respond 'selv tak', Christian claps a few times) Og jeg glæder mig til i morgen.

(Christian claps again and is joined by some more boys)

[00:24:49.12] S: Og vi siger tak (some students whistle)

(Bonny swivels around to face Sarah, who's been sitting on the bench and has now gotten up and is clapping with outstretched arms, which B then does as well. The students start to get up, but Adam yells out to tell them to stay seated as he wants to make an announcement regarding the trip)

This is the end of the first lesson's video.

Lesson 2

This is the second day of the Sat Ud unit. The 5th grade teachers have arranged to conduct this lesson in the sixth grade classroom across the hall from the fifth grade classrooms today. This is because the sixth grade classroom has a Smart Board, which can be used to access the internet and run multimedia materials. As this lesson is the first lesson where the materials are to be introduced, the DSL coordinator, Bonny, wanted to use the Smart Board to show the students the program and to start them off together.

The lesson starts after the children have had their half-hour morning recess. I come in to the classroom to set up the cameras during recess. While some children are in the classroom, most are outside for recess as it's a sunny and warm spring day. I come in as Adam is setting up the smart board. the 6th grade students in the classroom don't seem to be bothered by A being there, as he has recess duty for this hallway. However as the bell rings and students start to coming in, there is some confusion. The sixth graders seem unaware that they are supposed to be in the fifth grade classroom, nor are the fifth graders sure of where they are supposed to be. Bonny comes into the room and sits down on an office chair at the front of the room. Adam and Sarah are standing near the front too, looking at the smart board and the windows in the ceiling. The room is very bright and this seems to be like it's going to be a problem when it comes time to see the material on the Smart Board.

In the meantime, the children wander in. Bonny has told the first students who've arrived to grab some of the chairs from the desk groupings spread out in the room and bring them to the middle, carpeted area of the classroom where they should sit down in a horseshoe / circle in front of her. As S and A try to find a solution to the light problem (none of the windows in this classroom have blinds) more children come in, grab chairs and sit down in the loose horseshoe which is taking shape in front of Bonny.

After about 5 minutes, the classroom is fairly quiet and most children have found a seat, although several boys are sitting at the desk groups farthest back. Bonny asks these boys to pick up their chairs and move so they can join the group. The opens suddenly and a group of several sixth graders come rushing into get their bags. They are followed by several other kids and they are talking and wandering all around the fifth graders sitting there. While the sixth graders gather their things all three of the fifth grade teachers are managing where the fifth graders are sitting. Many of the students have to be called on my name and told to move to the circle before they do it.

At the [00:05:52.14] mark, Bonny says welcome. Although this is the 5 minute-mark on the video, this is actually ca. 12 minutes after the bell has rung.

A sits down on a desk behind the horseshoe on the window side of the room, S sits down on a desk behind the horseshoe on the door side of the room. Both A and S watch Bonny as she starts. Bonny starts off by asking the students about how their afternoon field trip had been the day before. She asks them to tell her about it and to explain what they had learned about (it appears the students visited a museum of sorts which had to do with the Nordic countries, and B spends several minutes talking about which countries are the Scandinavian countries. One student called on to tell her which countries are the Scandinavian countries starts mentioning Baltic countries as well, and S explains to B that this is because what they saw yesterday at the museum was centered around that). B continues talking about the Scandinavian countries which leads her to talk about how these countries have cooperation, and that this is because the Scandinavian languages are similar. She then asks the students if anyone has been to Sweden, if they understand Swedish, how many students watch Swedish TV, and why, what they watch in Swedish. Several students answer and then she says that she thinks it's really really good that people in DK watch international tv, which leads her to talking about being multilingual and having 'language ears' (ease of learning other languages):

[00:08:40.12]

B: jeg synes jo at det er rigtig rigtig godt når man herhjemme ser fjernsyn på andre sprog. Er der nogen, der kan gætte hvorfor jeg synes det er vigtig at man hører... (pause while she waves her arm in a sort of including gesture) på sprog?

Students are all silent. Some start to shake their heads after a bit.

B: hvorfor er det godt at se svensk TV og hvorfor er det godt at se Tysk TV og engelsk og så videre. Ja? (looks at a student on the floor in front of her)

B: der er nogen mennesker der har en helt speciel evne. Og det ved man ikke altid, men der er nogen der har noget (reaches up to cup her ears) man kalder for sprogøre... Det er sådan nogen stooooore øre, usynlige øre der opfanger sprog rigtig rigtig godt. Som er rigtig god til at forstå alverdens sprog. Min mand foreksempel, han har sprogøre. Han skal kun være sammen med en tysker eller nu kan han godt tale tysk, men en kineser foreksempel. En times tid så begynder han allerede at kunne forstå de mest gængse, de mest almindelige, udtryk man bruger, for eksempel goddag og farvel og tak for mad og alt sådan noget (::note:: interesting here that she uses 'tak for mad' as an example of 'one of the most common expressions' in a language... I don't know of any languages other than the scandinavian ones that actually have that expression) så har man sprogøre.

(pause)

B: og tænk nu hvis der er nogen der sidder herinde, og har de der usynlige sprogøre og de er rigtig gode til sprog.... Jeg kunne godt lige tænke mig sådan en lille opsummering af hvaad, hvad skete der igår? (students are silent, many of them looking down)

B: (gesturing toward a Stg1) hvad skete der igår?

Stg1: Øøøm, vi snakkede om.. jeg ka ik' jeg kan ik' huske det

B: Vi snakkede. (holds up her thumb, as if to add this suggestion to the list)

S: Hvad snakkede vi om?

B: Hvad snakkede vi om?! (still holding her thumb up pointing to a different girl, who smiles and looks down)) Hva'? Hvad snakkede vi om?

S: Det vi skrev op på den der (gestures circles. ::note::I think she's referring to the flip over chart)

B: ja (sits up, looks around)

Adal: (raises his finger)

B: (looks at Adal and gestures toward him. her other thumb is still held up)

Adal: Historie

B: Historie. (falling tone. sits up. looks around at the class. ::note:: this was obviously the answer she was looking for) Hvordan snakkede vi om historie?

Isaac: i gamle dage (slight raised tone. ::note:: He's not 100% sure this is the answer B wants)

B: Vi snakkede om historie i gamle dage. (pinches her first finger to her thumb)

Adal: Hvad, hvad jeg ønsker at vide og

B: ja? Vi, vi lærte et skema at kende. (points to Stg1 who has her finger raised)

Stg1: Vi ø vi skulle også lave sådan et skema i vores hæfte på ø på en papir.

B: Ja. Hvad kaldte vi det skema?

Stg1: VØL?

B: (points to her ear and looks around a little)

Stg1: VØL skema... V-Ø-L

[00:11:14.10]

B: altså, kan du huske igår der snakkede jeg noget om at mine ører de var lidt gamle. Og, jeg har altså brug for at man (raises her hand) Og specielt når der er højt til loftet (points at the ceiling, which is higher than in the fifth grade classroom) Fordi at når man taler og der er højt til loftet så forsvinder lyder derop.

Stg1: VØL?

B: Vøl skema ja. Og hvad handlede det skema om? Hvad skulle vi bruge det til?

Nikolaj: Hvad vi ved hvad vi ønsker og hvad vi har lært.

B: Ja. Hvad ønskede du?

Nikolaj: Det kan jeg ik huske

B: Hoooo (a kind of sighing noise as she looks away)

(Adal has his finger up. B calls on a different student)

B: ja? hvad ønskede du?

Isaac: Om børn i gamle dage var lige så kloge som i dag

B: Ja?

Adal: at ø forældre? Måtte forældre godt slå børn?

B: Ja? (looks around) Hvad ønskede du?

Alex: ikke noget

B: du var ikke med?

Appendices

Alex: nej

B: Hoh! søndt for dig. (points at student next to Alex)

Stb: **"

B: kan ikke huske det? (looking around) Hvorfor er det vigtigt at vi husker alt det der vi ønskede i går?

(students don't answer)

B: er der nogen der tør gætte på hvorfor det kan være vigtigt ?

Isaac: * det kan være at det er noget af det vi har lært?

B: ja. Så var det vi bedre kunne være bevidste om, hvad er det vi lærer? Når vi nu når til enden. Men jeg lovede jer jo noget i går. Kan I huske hvad det var jeg lovede jer?

Stg2: vi skulle på en rejse

B: vi skulle på en rejse.

[00:12:39.29]

B: og vi skal, vi skal faktisk på en hel, eventyrlig, sjov og spændende rejse Det synes jeg i hvert fald. Og det ved jeg det synes Adam og Selia også.

B: men så snakkede jeg jo om, at vi skulle ik have rygsæk. Vi skulle ikke have rygsæk med. Hvorfor er det vi ikke skal have rygsæk med?

Stb2: fordi ø fordi vi skal vel rejse igennem tiden eller hva?

B: Ja. Det var dig der så flot i går sage

Stb: det var Stb*

Stb*: Det var mig

B: ja. Det var dig. Vi sku Reeese gennem tiden. (looks around) Hvordan kan man rejse gennem tiden? Hviis man ikke har en rygsæk på ryggen og hvis man ikke har sådan en maskine som ... kan rejse på den måde?

Isaac: gennem historien

B: ja men hvordan?

(students dont answer, but several have their fingers up)

B: hvordan kan vi rent faktisk begive os ud på den rejse? (points to a student)

Stg2: ømm vi lærer jo mere og så kommer man jo længere

B: ja? Det, ø det jeg spørger om nu det er hvordan kan VI flytte os fra nutiden og tilbage til fortiden?

Isaac: måske ved at forestille sig det eller tale om det

B: ja? ved at forestille sig det. Ved at tale om det? er der andre måder man kan gøre på?

Stb2: man kan hvad hedder det læse en historiebog?

B: lææse en historiebog. (pointing to Adal)

Adal: At tænke til ø for hundrede år

B: Ja, man kan tænke tilbage... og forestille sig hvordan det var om hundrede år. Det er der rent faktisk nogle mennesker der har gjort. ... Der er nogen mennesker der har.. sat sig ned og så har de tænkt tilbage hvordan det var.. at være barn for hundrede år siden. Og så har du lavet

et... comPUTer program... Som gør at vi kan rejse igennem tiden. Og selve historien hedder, den har sådan en meeget fin overskrift, den hedder Sat Ud.

Bonny repeats the subject of the unit they will be working on (being a child 100 years ago) and introduces the name Evicted without saying what it means

[00:14:55.21]

B: og hvad Sat ud egentlig betyder det kommer vi til at arbejde mere med. Men selve emnet vi arbejder med, hvad var det nu det var?

Stg2: mmm Historie?

B: neeej hvilken form for historie?

B: historie det er jo meget bredt (makes large gesture with both hands) The er sådan meget overordnet...

B: hvad er det vi skal lære noget om?

(students don't answer. Alex puts his finger up)

Alex: hvordan det var for hundrede år siden?

B: og det sidste? Hvordan det var at være...

Ali: barn

B: (points on stb* who has his finger up next to stbA who didn't)

Stb*: barn

B: Baaarn... for hundrede år siden (looking back at Alex)

Bonny introduces Alma, the ghost in the story.

[00:15:33.25]

B: så det vi skal nu. Det er at her omme bag i mig (pointing to chalk board) Der sku Adam.. (A gets up and activates the smart board) jo meget gerne... kunne få vores rejse til at begynde. Det er lidt svært at se. Så vi har aftalt at I kommer også selv til at sidde.... Og rejse gennem tiden på jeres egen computer.. hvor I skal arbejde to og to. Men denne her historie, den handler, den handler om en pige.

B: den pige hun har levet for hundrede år siden. Og da vi møder hende så møder vi hende i nutiden. (coughs) hvornår er nutiden?

Stg1: det er nu

B: Det er nu. Ja. vi møder hende i dag. Men ser du når hun nu levede for hundrede år siden, hvordan kan vi så møde hende i dag? (nodding at Stb2)

Stb2: læse hendes historie?

B: Njaa, det kunne man godt tro

Ali: læse hendes livshistorie

B: ja. Men nu, vi møder hende faktisk som person. Næsten som person kan man sige. Som FORM på person.

Stg1: er det dig?

B: nej.

(some children giggle)

B: nej vi møder hende som SPØGELSE.

(children mumble)

B: Ja. Og pigen hun hedder Alma. Alma hun levede for hundrede år siden. og det er igennem hende at vi så LÆRER om hvordan (the door opens and two boys start to come in. S says Shhh to them. The boys throw their bags in/grab a bag and then leave again) det er at være barn.

B: vi starter, vi starter rejsen på et museum hvor, og så skal man gøre forskellige ting. Og undervejs så skal I også LØSE forskellige opgaver.

[00:17:24.02]

B: og det er rigtig vigtigt at I får løst alle opgaverne. Og I samarbejder to og to. Fordi alle de opgaver, og alt det I læser og alt det I hører, alt det I ser. Det er noget af alt det der skal stå under L, når vi når så langt. (looking at the students)

B: er der nogen der har nogen spørgsmål lige nu?

(students sit quietly)

B: nej? Skal vi prøve at se hvor meget vi kan se? Adam jeg tror bare ikke vi kan se så meget.

A: men vi kan jo ikke gøre noget

B: nej (sighing)

Adam starts the program. A voice starts narrating. Some children whisper to each other. B Shushes them. It's impossible to see hardly anything on the smart board. As the welcome message ends and says "You (plural) are in a museum where you've gotten lost and away from the class. Suddenly, all the lights go out. (wind noises and spooky music plays)" the students comment that they can't see and some make suggestions about turning the lights off, which the teachers respond to. The children seem restless and try to get a better view of the screen without luck. While the program continues, and Alma starts talking to the children (she is not visible on the screen, når is she ever in the materials, expect as part of the painting), A and B are talking about trying to fix the visibility, and A pulls up different menus to try to fix it. Stb's especially call out suggestions for how to fix it. This continues for a while, and as it does the students start talking with each other more and more. the boys on the floor stand up to see and are told to sit down again. B decides they are to start in pairs instead of as a whole class instead to solve the visibility problem.)

[00:21:28.12]

B: jeg vil jo rigtig gerne øø ha' at man arbejder rigtig rigtig godt sammen. Så nu, nu gør jeg det at jeg spørger dig (points and gestures at/toward Adal) HVEM arbejder du rigtig godt sammen med?

Adal: Ismail?

B: (looks around for Ismail, since she doesn't know most of the students names. He raises a finger) Der. ja? Så får I to lov til at arbejde sammen. Og så finder I et sted at sidde hvor I kan sidde og arbejde sammen

[00:22:09.13]

The two boys get up to stand together. Isaac goes to the computer cabinet to get a laptop while Adal finds a desk. All the while B continues to divide the class up in this manner. Students get up as they're paired off, get computers and find places to sit. The room gets noisier and noisier as students move around. When she's almost done pairing students off, some boys hang around her asking if they can work in a group of three, which both B and S say no to. The issue is that there is one girl and one boy left, and they don't want to work together. The boy is particularly adamant about not working together with the girl, and after much discussion with B both A and S get drawn into the discussion too while S at the same time is walking around the classroom giving other students instructions about where to sit and where to move to. The discussion takes place while students are moving around, moving chairs, finding places to sit. A is writing the log in and password on the chalk board. Both the students end up standing at the front of the room, as most of the others find places to sit. the boy starts wandering around looking at the other kids looking apathetic. B is wandering around the classroom looking for her bag and keys, asking students if they have seen them. S starts handing out computers, asking students to note how nicely they are put away in the cabinet and that it should look just as neat afterwards. The girl who was left standing takes one and goes to sit down by herself. Other students go up to get a computer and bring them back to their seats.

[00:25:43.05]

S leaves the room. A looks like he is trying to fix the smart board. The students are sitting in groups, most of them have a computer in front of them. They are talking together, it sounds like they are talking about non-school related things, or about turning the computer on. B walks around in the middle of the room a bit, then tells the students to start by going on line. After a minute or so more, B tells the students to look up at the smart board again, since the they ought to be able to see it now. All the children listen to the introduction once again, although the screen is still difficult to see. While the program is starting up S walks in with a laptop and hands it to a pair of boys. When the online materials reach the first task/question A asks S to read what the task is (to 'push the red button on the screen by clicking on it). At this point B interrupts telling A that if they stop here, they can start on their own. She tells the students that the URL is on the chalk board, and tells them then to use the login and password which are also written on the board. B and A walk around looking on as students log on and get started. The students are talking amongst themselves. Alex who wouldn't work with the girl has gone over to the corner of the room (where the stationary camera is) and has been sitting there with his arms crossed through the whole introduction.

[00:31:21.01] B comes over to him and tells him she thinks he should participate, trying to convince him to work together with the girl. He still refuses and she then tells him to go get

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another laptop over from the other classroom, so he can work on the questions alone. B continues to circulate, checking that students have logged on and started on the materials. S enters again and starts circulating as well.

[00:35:46.10]

A has been standing over a pair of boys (including Nikolaj) after they get started on the materials he walks away and comes back bringing a sheet of paper for each of them so they can write down the answers. The students are attentive to the online materials.

[00:39:12.07]

The pair of boys have gotten to task 2 asking the children to choose one of three answers ("Erik Henningsen, Sat Ud, 1892" "What do you think the date on the card stands for? The year the painting was painted? The year the painter was born? The year the painter died?"). One of the boys calls out "Adam, skal vi skrive det her ned ***) A walks over to look at the screen. Tells them not to write that down and the boys continue. A walks away. B walks over to me to arrange which dates I will come to observe. S and A are circulating amongst the groups. Since the students don't have headphones, the room is fairly noisy with both the sounds coming from the online materials as well as from the students talking. The teachers voices are quite audible over the general hum, although A has a tendency to speak more quietly than A and S. It seems to me that when the teachers, especially B, are talking about what students are supposed to be doing that they have a tendency to raise their voice, talking louder, than when they are addressing issues of content.

[00:42:39.24]

B comes over to the pair of boys which include Alex, looks over their shoulders and then says "I skal altså skrive alle jeres svar ned" (you have write all of your answers down). She then stand up and addresses the whole class:

B: Lyt lige.

B: næserne her op mod mig (students are still talking)

B: Det er rigtig vigtigt at I får skrevet alle jeres svar ned.

B: Også når I svarer på, hvad 1892 betyder

Stb*: (pointing at A, calling out loudly) du sagde vi ikke skulle skrive det. Det din skyld!

B talks to a different st telling them to get up and get a piece of paper from Adam, then returns to the two boys who's shoulders she looked over prompting this announcement. She tells them to go back to the first task

B: Prøv at hør. Prøv at køre tilbage (then clicks on the 'back' button for them)

B: Aale de opgaver I skal lave skal I svare på

Stb*: ***?

B: ja!

B: Spørgsmål og svar (getting louder)

[00:43:45.19]

B: (loudly. She's still leaning over with the boys, but seems to be addressing the whole class now) hver gang den der hvide opsalgstavle kommer op (standing up and walking towards the middle of the room) så betyder det at I skal lave en opgave.

B: (walking around, still talking loudly) så skriver man opgaven op... og svar.(the students don't seem to react to her announcement. They keep working and talking as they have been doing

B: så skriver man for eksempel opgave to. det man bliver spurgt om. Og nedenunder svaret. (gesturing with her hand as if she's writing in the air, as she walks around.)

Most students continue what they are doing without stopping to listen as B talks. Though as she walks around, some students ask her more specifically about particular questions or how to write things down. She answers these by still sounding like she's talking to the whole class:

B: Ja! Man skal både skrive spørgsmål og svar og opgavens nummer.

[00:47:28.14]

I continue to walk around with the handheld camera filming pairs of students as they work. I don't stay long with any pair though, because if I stand there for too long (longer than a minute or two) they start to pay attention to me instead. It seems they don't mind adults standing looking over their shoulder for less than that though, as this is what the other teachers do as well. If the teachers stay for longer than a half minute or so, usually the students will turn around and ask the teachers to help them with the task.

[00:47:36.28]

At this point I turn off the handheld camera (the battery ran out) and go to replace the battery. The stationary camera continues to record.

B continues to circulate. A is off screen to the left, working with two pairs of boys sitting near the windows, and S has sat down in a sofa near a pair of girls and talks with them as they work, asking them questions as they work through the material. From her seat S talks with mostly with the two girls near her, however when someone else calls out her name she answers them as well. On the couch next to the one S is on, the boy who refused to work with the girl is sitting slouched down with a laptop. Every now and then he gets up and wanders around the room and then returns to sit down looking particularly uninterested in what he's doing. I walk around and record several conversations with the handheld camera between A and the boys group near the windows (A tells them to write the question number, the question and the answer down, otherwise they can't remember) and I capture some of what S is saying to the girls as well:

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[00:56:21.05]

A is talking with Semra and Susan which I captured on handheld:

[00:56:46.22]

B: ... Lige være opmærksom på at der er TO spørgsmål der skal svares på i opgave tre. (standing in the middle of the room holding up two fingers as she talks slowly) Der er TO spørgsmål.

Stb*: (calling out) Der er kun et **

B: Nej der er to. Hvaad betyder sat ud og Hvoorfor har billedkunstneren valgt titlen sat ud til det billede.

Stb*: Nå ja!

As she makes this announcement the general buzz of the room continues, and students dont look up or acknowledge in other ways that she has said anything, except for the one boy who calls out as noted above. B continues walking around, apparently not bothered by this (which she doesn't seem to be when it happens in general either)

[00:59:56.26]

Adam walks over to a pair of girls and stands behind them listening for a bit. B comes over too and starts talking with them, hunching down next to them. This is where the 'the meaning of evicted' episode happens. As B hunches down, A walks on, past S (still in the sofa) and then over to the group of boys near the stationary camera (one pair with Alex the other pair with Nikolaj). He leans up against a dresser behind Nikolaj and his buddy listening to them for a bit. Nikolaj is telling/dictating for his buddy what to write (inaudible). A looks at what the buddy is writing, leans over and points to the paper he's writing on and says "svar nummer to" (or something along those lines... there's enough noise in the room to where it's not completely clear). Both boys look up at him, and he says "I skal skrive spørgsmål og svar". SbN mouths 'hvorfor' and the buddy says 'nej'. Adam says 'jo' 'jo'. It's unclear exactly what is said between them but it's pretty clear that A is trying to get the boys to answer the questions on their page 'properly' and that the boys are resisting and annoyed. N turns away from a and looks like he's ignoring him, the buddy keeps writing. A tells N something more, touching his shoulder, N ignores him. A walks away. N pushes a key repeatedly on the computer looking particularly annoyed. After a while he looks at his buddy who has been doing the writing and asks "har vi skrevet opgave to?". He clicks some more on the keyboard while his buddy leans over and fidgets with his pencil. Both boys look bored and uninvolved at this point. They start to talk with the other two boys (Alex and his buddy) who are trying to answer the task about writing a sentence using the word 'evicted'.

[01:02:36.14] S gets up from the couch where she's been sitting and leaves the room. All four boys near the stationary camera ask each other a couple of times what evicted means, but start

to laugh and fool around a bit. B is walking around and as she comes closer they stop laughing and look more serious, N at the screen, his buddy leans over his paper and looks like he's writing. B walks up to them and looks over their shoulders for a bit. She seems satisfied that they are working and walks on.

[01:04:23.26]

Alex and his buddy catch A's attention asking an inaudible question, and he comes over.

Alex: hvad betyder sat ud?

A: *****

Alex: Hvad betyder at blive sat ud af et **

A: hva? (comes over to stand next to Alex)

Alex: hvad betyder at blive sat ud af et *fængsel*?

A: Ser det ud som om de bliver sat ud af fængselt i billedet?

Alex: nej, på billedet

A: Hva?

A: Hvad sker der på billedet?

(boys answer what they see on the picture pointing to parts of the computer screen as they talk.

What they say is inaudible)

Stb(Alex's buddy): Sat UD på en opgave

A: hvad sker der på billedet?

Alex: (answers again, again pointing at something on the screen. A hunches down as Alex is talking)

A: Altså hele familien står ude på gaden

boys: ja

A: ***?

A:*****?

A:***?

It's completely inaudible what he says: A starts asking the boys a series of questions and turns the screen so he can see what is on it as he talks. He asks them why they think the family on the painting is pictured on the street. And the boys make several suggestions [01:05:50.11] A gets up and starts looking on to what Nikolaj and his buddy are doing. Alex and his buddy both write something on their papers. At this point B steps into the middle of the room and announces that it's time to put away the computers and that when they will 'meet again on the carpet' afterwards:

[01:06:11.06]

B: Jaaa? Hvis man lige vender næserne her op

B: så skal vi faktisk til at have lukket og puttet alle de bærbarer ind. Og så mødes vi på tæppet igen

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Nikolaj claps his hand in a victorious gesture. (A had just told him he needed to write down all the answers as well, since only his buddy has been doing the writing, and both of them should have been writing according to the instructions)

Students start to pack up their computers.

S comes back into the room.

Most students are still sitting in their groups, although some start to bring their computers up to the computer cabinet. Some students ask if they can leave, but are told they may not. A tells students to pack up. Girls start bringing their chairs to the middle of the room where the carpet is. S gets her bag and leaves the room again. As the kids gather on the carpet, B sits down on the office chair at the front of the room. Adam sits down on a desk near the door to the room. From B making the announcement and to now, when most of the children are sitting on chairs on the carpet in a horseshoe shape in front of her, exactly 10 minutes have elapsed.

[01:11:16.04]

B: Ja, alle lægger deres papirer på køene.

[01:11:43.00]

B: Ja. Vi tager ø vi tager en hurtig opsamling

A: (standing up) SHHHh! Fahren?

B: inden frokost pausen

St*: hurra!

B: først kunne jeg godt tænke mig at øøø vi snakkede om, hvordan var det at lære på denne her måde (talking about working in buddies with the computer material)

**

B: Dejligt? hvad, hvad var det der var dejligt? (Great? What was great about it?)

B: Det var sjovt at sidde med computeren. ja. Føler du, følder du at du har lært noget? (it was fun sitting with the computer. What do you feel you've learned?)

St: ja

B: Ja?!

Stb: *****

B: ja? Selve måden med at det er computer program (the way/method of it being a computer program)

Stb: ja

B: Ja.

Stb**: det var kedeligt *** (it was boring)

B: Du synes det var kedeligt

Stb: jaa

B: Hvad er det der er kedligt? (what's boring)

Stb: selve historien

Stb*: selve historien

Stb***: ja

B: Selve historien.

several students say some different things at this point agreeing with the opinion of it being boring

[01:12:40.13]

B: jamen, jamen (students keep talking) Hva? (students talking) prøv lige at hør. (waits for them to quiet down a bit) Hvor befinder du dig henne?

Stb: i museum

B: og hvad sker der så?

Stb: der kommer et spøgelse

B: (interrupting, as the students says spøgelse) Hvor rejser du hen?

Stb: jeg rejse in til billedet?

B: hvor befinder du dig så henne?

Stb: i billedet? for hundrede år siden.

B: (nodding) For hundrede år siden

Stb: ** men hende der pigen ku godt være lidt mere sjov (it could be more fun though) (other students start talking again)

B: Jamen. (sitting up, and talking louder) Prøv lige at forestille dig op i dit hovede at der er måske en mening med at pigen er sådan som hun er (a girl says something)

B: (gesturing toward the girl who has answered) hun er ked af det. Hvorfor er det Alma hun er ked af det?

(a different girl starts starts to answer, B points to her to acknowledge her as she finishes her answer, inaudible)

Stg: de skal flytte

B: Ja?

Stg: fordi de havde ikke *** og mor og far ***

Stg*: fordi de havde ikke fler, de havde ikke så mange penge ***

Stg***: *** blåbær**

B: Der er noget med nogle blåbærpandekager det er rigtigt. (students mumble) Og så snakkede hun noget om. (mumbling) At der er noget om at Alma sammen med Bedstemor og mor og far bliver smidt ud på gaden.

St. *** deres husleje

B: ja. De ku ikke betale deres husleje.

B: hvordan ser Alma ud på billedet?

Stb: en lille pige?

B: Som en lille pige (:note: B hears the boys answer and waits just a second before pointing at him and repeating his answer. It almost looks like she's waiting to hear if anyone has

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anything 'better' to offer, and when no one else says anything she acknowledges this suggestion)

Stb: og blond

B: hvordan? (Stb: blond) Prøv at sætte ord på (gesturing to her own body in a big circular motion)

Stb: gult hår (:note:: he says blonde twice, and B only seems to accept the answer when he rewords it to 'yellow hair')

[01:14:15.11]

B: (raising her thumb) Hun har gult hår.

Stb: røde kinder

B: røde kinder (pinches her pointing finger to her thumb)

Stb: store øjne

B: store øjne

several students say some different things at once

B: lille mund

Stb: stor næse (students chuckle)

Stb*: store tykke kinder

Stb: han gætter bare noget

Stg: *** hun har sådan tørklæde på og *** (hard to hear because other students are talking, including Fahran)

A: Fahran?

B: talking to a boy in front of her: hørte du hvad der blev sagt?

B: nej. (points to the girl again) Prøv lige igen

Stg: hun havde sådan noget tørklæde på rundt om hovedet. Lige som (B interrupts her)

B: hun havde tørklæde på rundt om hovedet. Er der nogen der har en ide om, hvorfor havde hun det?

Stb: hun frøs

Stg: det hvade man i gamle dage

B: det HAVDE man i gamle dage.

Stg: det var kold

B: det var koldt. Kunne man se det på billedet?

Stb: der var sne

B: der var sne. Er I andre enige?

(one or two students answer, yes (in english) most students don't say anything)

B: var der sne på billedet?

St: yes

B: ja?

(studs mumble, some a shuffling their papers)

B: Hvad er det første I bliver bedt om at gøre?

Stb: tryk på en rød

B: (points at a girl behind the boy who started to answer. He stops abruptly)
StgSemra: øøm svare på et, spørgsmål?
Fahrad: trykke på den røde knap
B: trykke på den røde knap.
hvorfor skal vi hjælpe Alma på den røde knap
Stg: Så vi kan komme ind til billedet?
B: Så vi kan komme ind til billedet. Hvad er det der bliver fjernet?
Stb: øøø, øøøø, øø alarm?
B: Alarmen? ja. Den siger (makes a gesture of moving her hands apart in a vertical motion and makes a noise) Og så kommer vi ind i billedet. Og det bliver Alma glad for. Og hvad er så det næste der sker?
StgSusan: vi skal svare på spørgsmål
B: I skal svare på et spørgsmål. Hvad er det spørgsmålet handler om?
StgSemra: Mmmm, skal jeg læse spørgsmålet op?
[01:16:10.15]
B: nej, baare fortæl med egne ord, det er vigtigere for mig at du taler med EGNE ord
StgSemra: da Øm, eller der står øm, hvorfor .. der står på det der skilt ... (turns to Susan, who she worked with) hvad var det der stod?
StgSusan: jeg tror det var om ... årstallene står for
StgSemra: ja
B: øø ee ø du må MEGEt undskyldte mig. Men jeg har sådan computer et eller andet i mine, i mine ene øre.
StgSemra: (looking at Susan) Hvad er det du siger?
B: Så
StgSemra: højere
StgSusan: Det der med hvad vi tror årstallet står for ... eller noget
B: ja? .. Hvilket årstal var det?
StgSusan: Nitenhundreeede ooog syvogfirs, hva? (turns to look at another girl who must have said something)
StgSemra: det har vi skrevet her (holding her paper up to show Susan)
B gestures to a different girl (the one who worked alone)
Stg: øøm attehundredetooghalvfems
B: AAtenhundrede tooghalvfems. (pauses and looks around) Hvor mange år siden, er det? Så kan vi have fat i nogen af matematikfolkene?
Stb: attehundrede tooghalvfems?
B: ja? ... hvilket årstal har vi i år?
Stb who worked alone (putting his finger up as he bursts out) Det 117 år side
B: looks around again: totusind og ni... Hvordan finder man ud af
Fahrad: minuser!

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(students mumble a bit, some put their finger up. B gestures to Stg1) Man minuser 2009 med, hvad er det nu det var (looking at her paper) 1992

B: Ja? Og hvad kommer man frem til?

(students are slightly restless and it's unclear who answers)

B: 117

[01:17:31.26]

Fahrad: Er det 118?

Stb who worked alone: nej det er 117

B: points to a boy sitting near next to the boy who worked alone, and who was Nikolaj' buddy:

Er du enig med 117

(he nods)

Stb: ** årstal

B: der er nogle der mener det er 118

Stb N's buddy: jeg er enig med 117

B: har du regnet efter?

B: så siger vi 117

(some of the boys start to retell how they calculated the difference. B looks around a bit, gives a slight nod and a little 'ja?' ::note:: to me it seems like she is indicating that she doesn't really care, and doesn't want to check herself)

B: Altså. Hvornår levede Alma, så?

Alexdy: 0 for hundrede sytten år siden

B: For HUNDrede sytten år siden, ik? ... ja.

B: (leaning forward) Hvad er det så det næste I bliver bedt om?

(students shuffle papers and mumble. A girls answers, inaudible)

B: Man skal finde ud af sat ud betyder.

B: (points to Nikolaj' buddy) Fandt I ud af hvad sat ud betød?

Stb N's buddy: ja 0 de blev sat ud af deres hus fordi de ikke kunne betale deres husleje?

B: er det det ordene betyder sat ud?

(some other children make suggestions simultaneously: smidt ud. B is still looking at the boy who answered)

Stb N's buddy: Jaa 00 det ved jeg ik

B: neej (in a high questioning voice) (looking at the camera) Og det er jo det (looking at the students in front of her) blev man bedt om at forklare hvad det var der skete på billedet? Eller blev man bedt om at forklare hvad ordene sat ud betød? (::note:: this is frustrating! she has completely misunderstood the questions/task, which asks students to use the word evicted in a sentence. She has turned it into a task of defining the word)

Stb: hvad ordene sat ud betød

Fahrad: Det betyder 00 sat ud for eksempel man bliver sat ud af huset altså eller, de ** smidt ud af huset eller

B: (small nods, she doesn't look convinced) ja? (points at Stg1)

Stg1: det betyder at man bliver smidt ud af huset

B: SAT ud smidt ud?

StgD: Hvis man er med i en gruppe, så så kan man også bare blive sat ud (he's thinking of being excluded from a group or clique... there's something here about the meaning of the word evicted and the fact that it's a compound word made up of 'to set' and 'out'. 'udsat' is an adjective which means exposed, vulnerable, in danger. 'Udsætte' is a verb which means to postpone, adjourn, put off, defer, evict, to set (as in to set traps), expose ... It seems to me that the children are struggling with a more commonsense context where those two words 'sat' and 'ud' can occur in the same clause eg. in 'udsætte nogen for noget' which means to expose someone to something, like bullying for example. I need to talk with a native danish speaker to see if there are other common possibilities)

B: ja? Hvis man er med i en gruppe, rigtig flot, så kan man også blive sat ud. Hvordan kan man det? (this is not actually a correct interpretation of putting 'sat ud' together this way)

Donny: hvis man laver noget forkert, et eller andet?

B: ja?

Stb: eller der er ikke plads nok

B: det kan også bare være et plads problem (this seems directly incorrect to me)

(som students mumble more)

[01:19:25.11]

Alexdy: Eller man ikke har øø lad være med at betale husleje

B: Eller man ikke har fået betalt sin husleje. Ja?

B: (points to a girl) Hvad har du lært i dag?

Stg: Øø (looking at her paper and smiling in an uncomfortable way) hvad sat ud betyder?

B: Du har lært hvad sat ud betyder? Ja?

(some sixth graders open the door and start coming in. A turns around and tells them to wait a bit and shut the door. The fifth graders start calling out to them sixth graders)

B: Jaa? Vi tager ligge ø en hurtig hvad har du lært? (pointing at a boy in front of her)

Nikolajichlas: ***

B: ja?

Stb mumbles

B: hvis du skulle skrive noget under L'et hvad har du så lært?

Nikolajichlas: under hvad?

Stb: L'et

B: L'et

Some different students remind him: det der med VØL skemaet

Nikolaj: (looking directly at B) VØL? .. Det ved jeg ikke

B: (looks over at Nikolaj' buddy) Hvad med dig?

Stb N's buddy: Øøø (shakes his head)

B: hvis du skulle skrive noget under L hvad vil du så skrive i dag?

Stb N's buddy: (shaking his head) jeg kan ik komme i tanke om noget

B: nej? (looking around at the group) HVis det nu var mig der skulle skrive under MIT L. (pointing with both hands at her temples) Jeg har jo mit L herinde i hovedet. Så ville jeg jo... skrive noget om at jeg havde lært at der var en billedkunstner som hed Henningsen. Som havde (door opens again with 6th graders talking. B raises her voice) MALET et, malERI? Og det havde han malet i... 1892?...

B: Og så havde jeg lært at det billede, det var en rigtig god beskrivelse af hvad ordet 'sat ud' betød. (sitting up) Ville det være forkert hvis jeg skrev det under mit L?

(studs: neej nej)

The girl who worked alone has her finger up.

B: to Fahran in front of her: kunne du ikke have skrevet det samme under DIT L?

mumbles

B: ja? Orsagen til at jeg siger det. Det er for at få jeg til at tænke, over, jamen hvad er det vi lærer?... Fordi umiddelbart så kan man godt tænke, det her det er kedeligt og nej det her det har jeg ikke lært noget af. Men det gør man jo rent faktisk.... Udover at man lærer hvad ordet sat ud betyder så er der rigtigt mange små andre ting som man også lærer.

Stb: det historie?

B: (points to the girl who has her finger up) Sidste bemærkning

Stg: (looking at / reading from her paper) øø gaden på billedet blev Blåå blåå øø blåå gådsgade (mispronouncing Blågårdsgade) den ligger på Nørrebro. Og den er stadig i København. Gaden ligger der øøøm men den ser lidt anderledes ud.

B: ja? .. Det var jo også en ting til L'et. At der i 1892 VAR en gade som hed Blågårdsgade og at den gade stadig eksisterer! Men bare ser anderledes ud!

(loud knocking on the door. A walks over to the door. Kids start talking loudly. A opens the door and the noise from the hall pours in. The fifth graders start talking and all turn around to look at the door.)

B: (turns and looks at the door) Ja? Tak for i dag (kids get up quickly as soon as she's said this)

B. (putting her hands out and talking loudly) Set stole på plads!

The kids rush out as the sixth graders rush in.

Lesson 3

This is the third day of the Sat Ud / Evicted Unit. Again the teachers have arranged to be in the 6th grade classroom where the smart board is available.

This lesson starts right after the morning half-hour long recess, and so I have the camera set up before the bell rings. Several 6th graders are in the room during recess while I'm setting up. As the stationary camera starts recording, Adam is sitting at the computer connected to the smart board. Sarah is standing near the door by the computer cabinet. Fifth grade students start coming in to the room, and as they do, S gives them a laptop computer. The students are

clustering near the door and computer cabinet. The sixth graders in the room are all sitting near the windows behind Adam, and are talking quite loudly. As the fifth graders get a computer, they start finding seats, which the 6th graders seem to be displeased about. Adam starts writing on the chalkboard (the login and password). Most of the fifth grade girls are in the room now and sitting down. Bonny enters. A sixth grade teacher comes in and tells the 6th graders to take something to write with and write on and to follow him. Both fifth and sixth grade students are wandering around the room. The sixth grade teacher is giving the 6th graders instructions as he chews a sandwich. The room is very noisy and I can hear students talking and some of the teachers talking / giving instructions as well. Some 5th grade boys are standing around, (it seems they are waiting for the 6th graders to leave so they can sit down somewhere). Bonny has sat down on the desk chair in the front of the room and Asks Adam to get something for her. He leaves the room. The sixth graders clear out of the room and some last fifth graders come in. Sarah is standing by the door and tells the last 5th graders coming in to hurry up and says, "Og alle den anden mappe har selvfølgelig.. Alle har fundet deres historieseddel som man skal skrive på ikke? Blyant og viskelæder og så videre... Så skynd jer og kom i gang!" ("everyone has found their history folders and the paper to write on? a pencil and eraser and so on?... Then hurry up and get started!"). As she says this some students get up to go get what they are missing. Some of the last boys that were on their way in go out again as she says this (presumably to get what they need from the hall/the 5th grade classroom). Adam comes in with the flip over chart while some students are wandering in and out. S walks toward the middle of the room and as she does one boy walks up to her to ask her about something. As she answers him another boy calls out her name and comes up to ask about something else. Adam sets the flip over chart up next to Bonny who's sitting on the desk chair at the front of the room again. Adam is standing near her next to the smart board. Bonny says "ja?" which seems to be what she says when she wants to get the students attention to start. S tells the class to close the lids on their laptops.

[00:06:28.00]

B: Og så kigger ALLE lige op hooov ... på MIIIIIG!

(S is calling out individual students' names at the same time, indicating they too have to shut their computers and pay attention.

S goes to sit on the couch at the back of the room. The door to the hall is still open, and children shouting and calling out can be heard. As B starts, a boy comes in through the door and S goes to him to tell him where to sit. Although off screen it sounds like she is moving a desk to give indicate where he should sit. B continues to talk)

B: Jeg kunne godt lige tænke mig at vi i dag startede med at lave et nyt tankekort hvor at vi finder en UNDERoverskrift om det at være.. barn i gamle dage. Og det udgangspunkt som, det undertema som jeg godt kunne tænke mig at vi snakkede lidt om, det er BØØRneliv.

(Adam leaves the room. Sarah is still talking with the boy in the corner of the room, some students turn around to look)

B: Er der NOGEN? Der kan komme med en forklaring på hvad JEG mener når jeg siger børneliv? (points to a boy near the windows)

Stb: barns liv?

B: et barn's liv? (putting up her thumb to start 'counting' the guesses/suggestions she gets. points to a girl near the door who has had her finger up)

(S walks across the front of the room and goes over and shuts the door)

Stg: (inaudible) The girl puts her finger down and hangs her head

B: (points to a boy in the middle of the room)

Hussain: hvordan de har det?

B: hvordan man HAR det? (pinches her forefinger to her thumb, accepting this suggestion)

Stg: ** spiser

B: hvad man spiser

S: skal jeg skrive?

B: ja? (S looks around for a pen) Jeg tror Adam haar, er ude at lede efter noget at skrive..

the door opens and two 5th grade boys come in (they had left when S reminded students to make sure they had their folders, pencils and so on. The boys walk across the front of the room to their seats near the windows. Sarah walks past them toward the door while Bonny continues)

B: ja? er der andet man kan putte ind under børneliv?

S leaves the room, another boy starts to come in as she does. No one answers Bonny. The girl who didn't answer previously raises her finger. As Adam walks in through the door and the boy in front of him walks into the room followed by Sarah and a second boy, Bonny calls on the girl who says something inaudible.

[00:07:45.26]

B: hvordan de går KLÆDT? (pointing to another student)

Of the two boys who came in last one is now standing with his paper in the middle of the room (looking for a place to sit?) while Sarah helps the other to get a computer from the cabinet. Adam walks across the front of the room and in front of Bonny to sit down near the smart board)

B: ja?

Hussain: Religion?

Bonny: (nodding and holding up her gathered hand) hvad de tror på? Hvad børn troede på den gang.

(the two boys go to sit down)

B: ja?

S: (talking to the two boys) **. Så sæt jer der (pointing) og så tag den der stol derhenne. (turning to write on the flip over) Er det barneliv?

S asks B something inaudible as Adam gives the boys a chair. It looks like S is asking whether she should write the heading in the middle of the flip over page or at the top.

[00:08:19.06]

S: Børneliv (writing in the middle of the page)

B: ***

B: jeg kunne godt tænke mig i forhold til det vi har arbejdet med omkring Alma indtil nu

S: hvordan børn lever

B: ja. Kan vi så putte noget på vores tankekort som handler om .. BØRNEliv? Hvis I tænker tilbage til det vi har lavet omkring ... Alma? Har I så fået en ny viden, som vi kan putte op på tankekortet?

B: Hvem er Alma?

(no one says anything for a bit. Then a student says quietly "det en pige")

B: Det en pige. ja? Hvad har vi fået at vide om hende?

StbN: Vi har fået at vide at hun levede hvad hedder det.. for hundrede år siden

(the door opens and a fifth grade girl comes in with a sheet of paper. She walks over to her seat and sits down as Sarah closes the door behind her)

B: ja? Nærmere bestemt, hvilket årstal?

(some students mumble. A boy next to StbN raises his finger eagerly)

B: points to the boy with the raised finger

Stb: For hunderede og sytten år siden

B: ja årstallet, kan du det? (then points to StbN again)

B: ATTENHunderede to og halvfems (S asks B whether to write this) Nej.

B: Hvad har vi mere lært om Alma?

the girl who came in last still hasn't sat down and there is some commotion near her as a result.

S gives instructions to someone near the commotion from where she stands by the flip over. (inaudible)

B: ja? (pointing to the heading in the circle on the middle of the flip over page) ALT det som vi ved om Alma? Kan vi sætte noget af det over på, på vores tankekort omkring hvordan børn.. levede den gang?

(students remain quiet)

B: har vi lært .. noget omkring måden man levede på når man var barn? I 1892?

(students remain quiet)

S talks with student sitting in the couch asking him to get a stool from their workshop. (presumably so he doesn't sit on the couch) The boy gets up and leaves the room.

Appendices

B: hvis vi tager udgangspunkt i noget af det man kunne snakke om... Du sagde noget om (gesturing to a girl near the front) hvordan går hun klædt, eller hvordan går man klædt.

StgS: ****

B: hvad de spiser og så videre og så videre og så videre. Er der nogen af de ting vi har lært om indtil nu?

(students remain quiet)

B: er der nogen der har lagt mærke til noget? ... I starten af det vi har lavet?

(the boy comes in again with a bucket to sit on. He doesn't shut the door behind him and the noise from the hall can be heard in the room again)

B: der er rent faktisk det billede af Alma. Hvordan ser Alma ud?

StbIs: hun har et tørklæde

B: Hun har tørklæde på.

St:***

B: Hun var meget lille? Ja?

St: ***

B: jeg kan ikke høre noget.

St:***

B looks at S. Shildren are yelling in the hall

S: prøv at sige det højere

St: *** tøj

S: Ridset tøj?

St:**

S: slidt tøj?

B: ja? (pointing to another student)

Stb: røde kinder?

B: points to her ears indicating she can't hear

Stb: hun havde røde kinder

B: hun havde røde kinder. ja. (points to another student)

Stg: *** hun er ked af det

B: hun er ked af det. ja. Hvorfor, hvorfor er det Alma hun er så ked af det?

(a girl puts up her finger. B points to her)

Stg1: fordi at hun er blevet sat ud af *** Eeem hendes moor or faar og hendes bedstemor og Alma de blev smidt ud af huset?

B: ja? (nodding looking around, then looking at the girl who has put her finger up again) Og hvorfor var det de gjorde det? (pointing to a boy near the windows)

StbN: fordi de blev smidt ud af deres lejlighed

B: Ja? ... Hvorfor?

StbN: fordi de ikke havde ** til at betale deres husleje

B: der var noget med manglende penge (:note: the teacher brings what the students say back to a more commonsense domain, even when they use expressions such as 'pay rent' these are reworded by the teacher to 'something about missing money')

B: Hvis vi så lige (makes a blowing noise and gestures a line from her thumb) flyver... hunderede år frem... Kan man blive sat ud i dag?

(students call out answers: ja)

B: (looking for a bit before she says anything) Kan man det?

Student/boys call out yes / no

B: (tilts her hand a few times without saying anything) Ja nej? (looks around tilting her hand still) Man kan godt.... Hvordan kan man?

Hussain: Tvangsauktion?

B: Tvangsauktion (puts her thumb up to start counting up) Ja? ... Men betyder det så at man i dag ikke har noget sted at bo?

[00:12:37.11]

Students call out: neej

B: Nej? hvorfor ikke?

(yelling from the hall)

Stg: ***

B: Nu er det ikke sådan at øøø man kommer på børnehjem hvis øø hvis ens mor og far ... bliver nødt til at flytte fra det hus de bor i. Sådan er det ikke i dag.

StbIs: man kan *** kommunen

B: Man kan få hjælp af kommunen! ... så flyver vi lige tilbage til Alma. Kan de ikke bare gå op på kommunen og få hjælp?

Students call out: neej

B: hvorfor kan de ikke det?

Some students mumble answers

B: looking at a boy in front of her

Jonathan: der var ikke kommune den gang

B: Der var ikke koMUNER det gang. OKAY?! ... Hvad så? Hvilke muligheder har man så?

(students remain quiet. B looks at StbH in the middle)

Hussain: et nyt arbejde?

B: Tror du det var nemt at få arbejde?

(students remain quiet)

S: HVEM skulle få nyt arbejde?

StbH: Faderen? ... måske børnene

B: (pointing to a different student) njeah?

StgS: Måske kunne de flytte hjem til noget familie

S: prøv at sige det højere Sarah

StgS: Måske de kunne flytte *****

Appendices

B: Hvor mange her inde tror det ville være muligt for Alma og hendes familie at flytte hen til noget familie? (students remain quiet) Hvor herinde tror det ville være en mulighed for dem?

(students remain quiet)

B: hvorfor er det ikke en mulighed?

(students are quiet, but some start putting up fingers. S closes the door. B pints to one girl with a finger up.)

St: jeg tror ikke de *** flytte ind?

B: gestures toward her ear and leans forward

St: Jeg tror ikke de kunne flytte ind hvis de har noget familie

B: Du tror ikke de, de får lov til at flytte ind? Hvis de har noget familie? (pointing to a different student) Hvorfor ikke?

Jonathan: Fordi at øø de skal bruge meget mad? Og sådan noget og så er der måske ikke nok til alle?

[00:14:48.22]

B: Der er måske ikke nok mad til alle. (pause, points to another student) Har du et byd? Nej? (pause, looks at S) K? (puts her hand on the flip over on the heading 'Børneliv')

S: (quietly talking to B) Hvad skal jeg skrive?

B: Jeg synes faktisk ikke at vi skal skrive noget endnu

S: (chuckles) nej vel?

B: Nej.

StgSamyra: Kan vi ikke gå i gang *** (points at her computer screen)?

B: Nåå der er nogen der er interesseret i at komme i gang? (raising her voice) Når I nu lærer mere om Alma og den måde Alma hun lever sit liv på. Så må I MEGET gerne Oppe i jeres hoveder i hvert fald (lowers her hand down the (empty) flip over page) begynde og finde på sætninger ord der kan komme op på øø tankekortet. Og SÅ må I gerne gå i gang på computeren....

(students start to mumble quietly amongst themselves as B continues)

B: Husk at alle skal have skrevet begge dele ned ... af opgaverne. (students continue to mumble)

S: Må jeg, Hørte alle hvad Bonny sagde? Om at ALLE skriver ned?

(students start to talk louder. Somputers get turned on and start making noises as they do. S lifts up the flip over and moves it toward the door. She stops to talk with a student. Someone calls out Adam's name)

S: Hvor er dit papier? (stb walks up to her) Sig mig var I ikke her forleden dag?

The noise level in the room rises and it becomes impossible to hear what she is saying or what the student answers. A boy gets up and leaves the room right in front of Sarah as she talks with the other student. Adam and Bonny are talking with the group of boys near the window. As

students get their computers running, the teachers walk around near the middle of the room helping the children to get logged in and started up. B and S stay near the front of the room talking together for a bit, Adam walks from group to group, then S starts circulating as well as B flips through some pages. S brings a group of girls a piece of paper.

[00:20:53.21]

S notices two boys come in from the hall. She asks them what they are doing, and then instructs them to start over again if they can't find their paper from last time. Most of the other students look like they have started working through the materials by now. The room is buzzing with sounds from the computers and children talking in their groups. Bonny is still flipping through pages in the front of the room. She finishes and gives the packet of papers to Sarah. S is looking over the shoulder of a pair of girls and then asks another group how far they've gotten. Adam comes over to help Adal with something. Bonny keeps walking around a bit, then goes back to the front of the room where Adam is doing something on the smart board. (it looks like he is trying to get the 'evicted' materials up again. S notices some boys in the sofa area and goes over to tell them to sit up properly. As students work, I walk around filming them, trying to focus on where the teachers interact with the students. For the most part, however, students work on their own. Bonny and Sarah are near the front of the room talking while Adam walks around the room.

[00:29:34.29]

At this point several students are working on question number 5: write a sentence that uses the word evicted. I capture the episode with Adal and Sammy. Adal is upset it seems because he has misunderstood that they both have to write the answers down. Adam goes away to get some paper for them and then to help them figure out what to write for the question. Adal is visibly upset, and I end up walking away to not intrude by my filming.

Bonny and Sarah are circulating the room again.

[00:32:46.09] Adam leaves Adal and Ismail again.

Poor House Episode

Samyra and Saima are working near the door. As I approach them they are looking in a dictionary. Samyra turns around and calls Adams:

StgSamyra: Adam? Prøv lige at kom. Der står ikke hvad daglejer betyder.

A: Er det rigtigt? (coming over) Hvad gør vi ved det?

Saima is looking the dictionary while Samyra looks at the computer screen)

A: Når I ordbogen heller ikke?

StgSamyra: ja?

A (taking the dictionary from Saima)

StgSamyra: Men der står daglejer ** (points to the screen)

Adam takes the dictionary and moves back to a cabinet to sit on.

Appendices

StgSamyra: (to Saima) vi har fundet alt selv, ik'? **

StgSaima: smiles and nods

StgSamyra: sidste gang ***** (Samyra is telling Saima a story about something completely unrelated. I think it's story about shopping, but she is talking quickly and quietly and the other children are being noisy, so I can't hear what she is saying. It is clear however, that it is unrelated to the topic of 'dayworker' which is the word she asked Adam about)

Meanwhile, Adam is looking through the dictionary to check if the word is there. When he can't find it either, he closes the dictionary and then hunches down next to Saima. He turns the computer screen so he can see what's on it.

[00:33:50.00]

At the same time, the group of boys behind these girls and near the sofas are getting rowdy. Adam doesn't seem to notice, as he hunches down to help Samyra and Saima. S notices the boys:

S: sig mig en gang, hvad foregår derovre? I er godt nok dårlige til at samarbejde med hinanden! (Bonny comes over to the boys and adjusts their screen so she can see)

[00:06:50.01]

Adam: (having looked at the screen) det er da irriterende det ikke står der. (he picks up the dictionary and starts to flip through it again and mumbles something)

StgSaima: Der står heller ikke det der *** men det fandt vi selv ud af

StgSamyra: (at the same time as Saima starting as Saima reaches the middle of what she's saying) Der står heller ikke emmm fattiggården

Adam: Fattiggården?

StgSaima: ja fattiggård

StgSamyra: men det fandt vi selv ud af.

A: hvad var det for noget?

StgSamyra: er det ikke en fattiggård?

A: Du spørger om en fattiggård er det samme som fattiggård?

(girls giggle)

(Adam giggles)

StgSamyra: altså, det er bare sådan en fattig (waving gesture with her hand) og så hvor der er fattige mennesker

A: Prøv at forklare med nogle andre ord en fattiggård hvad en fattiggård er. (leans closer folding his arms on the dictionary)

Saima: En går som er fattig

Samyra: ja (giggle) en gård som er fattig

Samyra: altså for eksempel, hvis Ishøj var fattig, så hed det Ishøj fattig** Fattige fattige Ishøj.

Saima: Ligesom Østergården [Samyra: Fattig Østergård] Den var fattig, og så var der ikke sådan nogen ***

A: Ka' *. Hørte I ordet fattiggården i nogen af de andre ting? Før det der?

Samyra: Kan ik' huske det

A: hvordan blev det brugt?

Samyra: Hey Adam, hvor der boede fattig mennesker og sådan .. ikke så flotte nogen altså, det er ikke sådan helt ** huse. **

A: Der står ikke fattiggården i denne her (nodding to the dictionary) eller hvad?

Samyra: Nåå jeg troede du mente der. (points to the screen) Det står lige der.

Saima: ja

A: Altsåå ...

Samyra: ved du det egentlig?

A: Ja jeg ved godt hvad det er ... Men det er ikke bare en gård hvor der bor en fattig bondemand.

Girls mumble something unclear what

A: Men hvordan, hvordan blev det brugt i øøø i samtalen der?

Samyra: De, de øøø de sku' bo ø nej. De gør det der med ø *** tager dem med ned

A: men hvordan, hvordan blev det brugt i øø i samtalen? *** fortalt om?

Samyra: De aaah, han sagde I kan bare gå i fattiggården og så kan din ø barn også din svigermor bo der (pointing to the screen) og så sagde han hvad med min kone og dem? Og så kan jeg ikke huske mer.

A: OK så de kan gå hen og bo i en fattiggård?

Samyra: ja?

A: Hvad er så for et sted

Samyra: så de kan hjælpe, det ved jeg ik' Han sagde bare sådan

A: hvad tror I det er for et sted hvis man bor der?

Samyra: ****

A: der kan komme folk hen og bo der når de er fattige

Samyra: (looks like she just realized something) Ligesom hoteel!

A: som et hotel?

Saima giggles

A: Har man råd til at betale for at bo der tror du?

Samyra giggling too: nej

A: De kan bare komme derhen ooog bo gratis som på et lækkert hotel?

Samyra: ej.

A: hvad tror du det er?

Saima looks down and covers her face with her wrists to hide her ywaning

Samyra: Øøøm ... De skal arbejde for det og så skal de, skal de få penge og så skal de bo i det der, deres huse.

A: De skal jo BO på fattiggården fik de at vide, ik'?

Samyra: ja

A: hvordan er det på fattiggården? .. Jeg tror du har ret. (nodding) De skal SIKKERT arbejde .

Appendices

Samyra: ja det skal de

A: de skal ikke sidde ooog holde ferie.

Samyra giggles looking at Saima

[00:09:01.10]

A: Hvordan tror du ellers der er? [S: (at the same time, gestures milking a cow) de skal også, de skal ogs gør dem der ****]

Samyra: De skal også *** i ø køerne. [A: mmm?] Så skal de hallalslagt? Næe ikke halalslagte

(all three of them laugh)

A: aa, det gik de ikke så meget op i den gang.

Samyra: hvad?

A: Det var de ikke så pjattet med den gang.

Samyra: øøøø. (hands covering her mouth) *****

A: hvad med tror du de fik god maad ooog, masser af mad?

Samyra: hey De tog æg fra den der

A: hvad?

Samyra: de tog æg fra kyllingerne

(Saima laughs again, covering her face)

A: men tror du man får god mad når man bor på fattiggården?

Samyra: eeej (shaking her head)

A: tror I, tror I det er populært at bo der?

Samyra (gigling) nej

both girls giggle covering their faces

A: er det noget man gerne vil? et sted man gerne vil bo? (Saima leans back) Jamen vil man gerne det? I * gerne bo på fattiggården?

Saima: mig? [Samyra: i hvert fald ikke] Nej.

A: hvorfor, hvorfor? nej hvorfor? .. Prøv at hør, den gang, hvorfor ville man ikke bo der?

Samyra: det var øø det var ik så luksus. (points at the screen) ** deres eget hus

A: hvad tror I folk synes om en når man bor der?

Samyra: ***

Saima: ligesom sigøjnere

Samyra: de tror de er sigøjnere

A: hvordan er det sigøjnere er?

Samyra: jeg ved det ikke. Der er daaa... de kommer altid i Tyrkiet. De sælger allemulige dyre ***

Hussain (is walking past and overhears): Ad, sigøjnere!

Samyra: ja, og de laver sådan de har allemulige huller i tøjene. Det har de bare **

A: Der står ikke fattiggården i den der bog her (looking at the dictionary again) det er I sikker på? (starts flipping through the book again)

the girls giggle and look at each other

Samyra: (to Saima) O der var også en der forskræmmede min lillebror. (giggling) Han stod bare der 'vil du købe en bog'? (giggle) *****

Samyra continues to tell Saima about the episode where the gypsy tried to sell a book to her little brother. She's talking quite low, though, and keeps covering her mouth, so it's not possible to hear properly to transcribe what she says. Saima keeps giggling at the story, covering her face every now and then as she laughs (I think they are trying to hide from me and the camera as they tell this story as well). Meanwhile Adam is still looking in the dictionary

A: ** HMm, ja ok. Det står der altså ikke. Men øø altså

[00:10:45.20]

a boy comes in the room and asks Adam for keys to a room down the hall. A asks what for. After a few exchanges he gives the keys to the boy saying he wants them back right away afterwards

A: Øøøm. Altså fattiggården, ik`? Det er rigtig hvad I siger *****. Det ER sådan et sted når man, når man IKKE har flere penge. Så kommer de hen og så bor man RIGTIG dårligt. Og der er ikke så meget plads. Og man får .. DÅRLig mad.. og man skal arbejde. Man er nærmest, an det er nærmest .. tæt på at være slave man er. ** man ***** man har ik' nogen penge og man har ikke sådan rettigheder. Det er virkelig ikke noget godt sted at bo.

Samyra: taking her pencil, looking at her paper

A: Okay?

Samyra: hvad skal vi så skrive?

A: Jamen, mange af de ting I sagde var rigtige

Samyra: rigtig *** (gestures milking a cow. turning to Saima and giggling)

A: Ja men det er ik, det er, altså. Det er ikke altid, det er ikke altid at det er en GÅRD altså. Det behøves ikke altid være en gård.

Samyra: (erasing) hvad skal vi skrive?

A: Det bare, det HEDDER bare fattiggården. Nogen gange er det bare .. er det øø er det bare sådan et hus inde i byen hvor at øø hvor der ikke er køør og sådan noget. Det hedder bare fattiggården.

Samyra: tapping the desk

A: det HEDDER det altså

Samyra: jeg kan ikke huske, hvad, hvad er det vi så skal skrive? (dusting eraser pieces off her page) jeg har glemt det

A: Hvad var det, hvad var det vi snakkede om der var I ku skrive?

Samyra: øøø dårlig ***** De bor

A: hvorfor kommer de der?

Samyra: fordi de ikke har ** **. De de har sådan nærmest ingen plads. Og de arbejder rigtig hårdt. Hvad skal vi så skrive?

A: I skal skrive det

Samyra: Det jeg lige har sagt?

Appendices

A: Nods

Samyra looks for her pencil. Saima gives her one. Adam gets up. Samyra starts writing.

Samyra: (as she writes) Det... Det er et.... (sitting up) sted hvor man har er ****

Adam is now talking with another student. (I think the boy who borrowed the keys). Samyra and Saima talk to each other quickly and quietly and I can't hear what they are saying as they look at the paper Samyra is writing on. Adam walks behind them with the dictionary over to Bonny saying how strange it is that the word poorhouse isn't in there. B takes the dictionary from A and starts to look in it. At this point S raises her voice across the room (Nej, HVAD LAVER I? **** Flækket jo! Prøv at se her papiret! **** har flækket det.) The girls try to see what's going on. Adam is still looking on as B tries to find the word in the dictionary. When she can't find it she gives it back to A who walks over to S who tells him that next time those two won't be working together.

[00:13:15.28]

Samyra has been writing while S was talking with A. Samyra looks up and calls out to Adam again:

Samyra: Adam hvad betyder dagpleje, leje, [A: DAGpleje?] nej dagleje

Saima: (laughinly to Samyra) Dagplejemor

A: Hvo øø

A: (loudly) prøv lige at hør. Gå tilbage og undersøg hvordan det bliver brugt (pointing at the screen) i samtalen. Før, ik?

Bonny comes over and stands behind Samyra and Saima looking over their shoulder as Adam talks

Samyra: Når der hvor de sagde ** bare også så

Bonny leaves again as A continues

A: og prøv at tænke på hvordan det blev sagt. Og hvilken sammenhæng det blev sagt i. ok?

Samyra: yep?

A: (walking around them, leaving) Så kan det være man kan gætte sig til noget af det, og så hvis I ikke kan finde ud af det så kan jeg hjælpe.

he walks away. The girls click on the computer and the audio plays again

[00:14:13.00]

[00:40:51.28]

Most of the groups are working. The teachers are still circulating amongst them. As adam leans over to help another two girls, S stands behind him listening. Bonny comes over to her. They are standing in the middle of the carpet in the middle of the room talking amongst themselves. Bonny walks away and then S walks over to Samyra and Saima who've asked for her help.

[00:15:50.13]

Samyra: Sarah, hvad skal vi gøre ø her? (points to the screen)

S: hvad står der? (turning the screen so she can see. Leans on the desk next to Samyra) Prøv at læse det op for mig.

Samyra: (reading aloud) diskuter stemningen mellem de to men. Giv eksempler som beskriver forholdet mellem faren og betjenten. Skriv svarene ned på et stykke papir og klik på pilen når opgaven er løst)

S: ja. Diskuter stemningen mellem de to men. Har I lige hørt at de snakkede?

Saima and Samyra: ja

S: hvordan var den stemning? Var det en god stemning, en dårlig stemning?

Samyra: En rigtig god stemning. Nej dårlig hedder det (giggles) Altså jeg tror det var dem det var **.. Det var dårlig stemning

S: Det var en dårlig stemning. Hvorfor var det en dårlig stemning?

Samyra: fordi øm han er rigtig ** hvad han siger, jeg kan ikke hjælpe jer og (looks at Saima, who doesn't say anything)

S: Hvordan har faren det?

Samyra: Han er rigtig skidt

S: Det er sådan noget I skal udtrykke.. og diskutere med hinanden [Samyra: jamen hvad skal vi så skrive?] og hvorfor og sådan ik' også?

S: Og så skal I give eksempler på det

Samyra: Foreksempel øm betjenten han er, han er øm ikke så rar. Han er meget [

S: Men er det fordi han ikke er raar eller er det fordi sådan er loven?

Samyra: fordi sådan.. sådan er loven

S: Er han ond ved ham, eller siger han bare (nodding) hvordan tingene er?

Samyra: han siger bare hvordan tingene er

S: ja

Samyra: og ham der .. var HJERTeløs. Altså han er meeget

S: men hvem siger han er hjerteløs til siger han det til politibetjenten eller siger han det til .. til VERDENEN?

Samyra: (pointing at the screen) til politibetjenten

S: Okay. (looks at the screen) Det er det .. I skal diskutere. Det må man sige vi har egentlig diskuteret det lidt. Og så skal I ligesom give nogle eksempler på ... [Saima nods] stemningen, ik'?

Girls nod, both looking down

S: I ku' jo godt skrive noget med den der stemning, hvad var det nu god eller dårlig?

Samyra: dårlig

S: Så skriv stemningen var dårlig og så .. et par eksempler [A (from the front of the room) Sarah! Sarah!]

Sarah gets up and leaves as Samyra turns to Saima.

Samyra: (to Saima) stemningen er dårlig (turning to her own paper) * ** hus med dem (giggles a little)

Appendices

The girls talk making very quick and brief exchanges which are inaudible.

Adam has called Sarah to the front of the room to tell her it's time for then to leave. Sarah tells Bonny they have to leave now (They told me ahead of time that they would be leaving early this class to go meet with a parent of one of their students who has been having serious issues.) [00:44:58.11]

S: I skal ikke begynde på noget før Tine kommer ... SHH shh (as she makes her way out of the room).. I skal bare fortsætte til I får andet at vide

Adam leaves the room. Bonny leaves as well. A substitute (I think she is a teaching assistant for the team) comes in and watches the students work until their lunch break. Because the three teachers I am observing have left the classroom, I leave as well, and don't know how the last 25 minutes or so go.

Lesson 4

This is a description with transcriptions of the fourth lesson in the History unit, Sat Ud. The lesson took place on 25 march 2009, starting at 10:10 after the students' morning recess. Their first class of the day was phys. ed. so some time is taken from this lesson for the usual morning rituals of taking roll and writing up the plan of the day.

The lesson takes place in the 'workshop' room. As with the earlier recordings, I arrived prior to the start of class to set up the cameras. When I arrived, the children were moving freely in and out of the classrooms and the outdoor playground as they do during recess. A group of boys is playing a game involving cards around a table near the windows, some students are lounging in the sofa corner and on bean bag chairs reading, another group of boys is around a different table in the other end of the room also playing a card game. There are two teachers (or teachers' aides) sitting at the teachers' table-bench combo by the chalkboard talking. The video starts with the children starting to come in. Students start to get buckets and find their seats in the middle of the classroom.

As they come in to the classrooms at the start of class, the children's behaviour can perhaps better be described as a sort of 'gravitation' towards the classroom and their desks/buckets rather than a 'come in and sit down' sort of behaviour. They come in to the room, walk around, fool around with each other, talking and yelling, go back in the hall, come back into the room, realize they need something from their cubby in the hall, go out again to get it, perhaps yell at someone down the hall... that sort of thing. Much in the same way, the teachers also come in, talk with the kids, talk with each other or colleagues in the hall, walk into the classroom, go get materials from another classroom, come back into the hall/classroom talking with their co-teacher for the lesson (if there is one), are interrupted by children wanting to tell them something, interrupt their conversation with their colleagues to tell the kids to settle down /

behave / make sure they have or to go get a pencil/folder/book/whatever. (NOTE: In other words, really weak framing)

[00:02:04.12]

After about 2 minutes of filming most students are sitting on a bucket facing the front of the room. The noise level is high. All the fifth grade students are gathered in the room. As soon as Adam comes into the room students start calling his name to get his attention. But A sits down at the teachers' table to look at the papers on it. S has also come in and is standing near the door, as with A's entrance, students The students are talking mostly among themselves, but some try to engage the teachers in conversation from time to time as well.

A notices that a boy is still sitting in the sofa area and tells him to come sit down on a bucket, when he doesn't obey immediately, A goes over to him. A then goes back to his seat. S asks (the teachers and aides sitting at the teachers' desk-bench) if they should call out names. She then takes a piece of chalk and asks out loud what the date is, a child answers and she write this on the board. S continues to write down the plan for the day without consulting the students any further, although she does ask A something at one point. It looks like A is taking roll while sitting at the desk. Every now and then a student comes over with what looks like a permission slip and places it on the table in front of Adam. The students are (mostly) sitting on their buckets talking, but the noise level is rising.

[00:07:48.22]

S is finished writing the schedule up on the board. A stands up with a paper in his hand, and says loudly, "hey hey, prøv at hør!" (hey hey, listen up) while S is saying Sh sh at the same time.

S: Prøv lige at ø . hvorfor sidder du der? (She comes over to a student, picking up his bucket) ... Er det din plads? .. hvor er din plads henne? Ja det er ** det ved du udemærket godt at det er. .. (she moves back to the front of the room)

Meanwhile A is standing at the front of the room with the papers in hand, looking through a folder on the table. One of the teachers' aides yawns visibly while the other one looks at the students, and then turns to listen to S.

S: mægigt og jeg vil lige minde jer om, på gulvet står der jeres navne (referring to the circles on the floor with the students' names written in each circle) .. Det er der man sidder. ... lige præcis

This is followed by a general shuffling around, as some students move their buckets onto or closer to their circles. As the above is going one students are still talking to each other and to S at the same time. S talks to A and the aides about some practical matters concerning a list of names on the board. (students who haven't handed their permission slips in, it seems). A starts telling her which permission slips he has received this morning, going through them one at a

time. As they do this students start off quiet, but the noise level rises again. Adam shouts 'hey' as S says 'sh' and tells a student to turn around on his chair. The noise level goes down again as they continue. As students names are called up students offer various commentary.

S tells the other two teachers/aides that they (meaning she and A) will stay in the workshop room, and they can take the other team to the other classroom. The two leave. A announces that those kids who have not participated in history with the computers (referring to the sat ud materials) are to leave. Those students get up. S announces for them to put their buckets away. (this is repeated by S several times as well as by students yelling it out). One of the boys asks A from across the room if they're having history now. S goes over to unlock the cabinet which contains all the laptop computers.

[00:13:19.12]

The students are talking and some of them move around trying to get out of view of the camera, while others it seems are just walking around. S leaves. A stands up and tells the students to get together with their buddies. More students start moving around (leaving their buckets where they were), while others stay seated on their buckets talking with their nearby friends. A gets the flip over chart from the side of the room and puts it at the front of the room by the teachers' bench. S reenters with extra laptops, as she comes in she tells students to sit down. After telling several students (boys) individually to sit down she says

S: man sætter sig sammen med sin makker ... på en skammel ved siden af.

As she says this she is moving around, opening windows. The students shuffle around. A flips through some of the flip over pages going back several pages. S asks about whether or not two particular students are together or not. She then adjusts who is working with whom to accommodate absent students and so on.

[00:16:12.00]

S: (loudly) Øøøøm (NOTE: this, as well as, 'prøv at hør', 'OK' and 'ja!' seem to be what the teachers say when they want the kids to quiet down, look up and pay attention. Although it seems to like they rarely wait for all children to be quiet before continuing. Sometimes they get annoyed that children are talking at the same time, but not always. Often times, her, this initial signal is followed by (an aside? of) instructions aimed at individual students to move/listen/look/ DO something before) Prøv lige at kom herovre af (S goes over to a boy sitting on a bucket by the windows tellin him and the boys around him to pick up their buckets and move closer to the centre of the room.

[00:16:36.26]

A is standing/leaning on the teachers table as he starts addressing the whole class.

A: OK! Nu er detæææ . snart .. næsten halvanden uge siden vi har arbejdet med det sidst, i hvert fald er det over en uge siden (A is referring to how they haven't had history for over a week and a half. Several lessons where I was supposed to come and observe between the third

lesson and this lesson were canceled with very short notice because of teacher illness) Oooog derfor er det måske meget godt at vi lige snakker om, starter med at snakke om hvad er det egentlig at vi har lavet. (he looks at S, who is standing by the door looking at him). Er der nogen der kan fortælle os hvad, hvad var detø .. hvad handlede det om, det vi har lavet? (students are quiet, looking at him) bare sådan lige

Hussain: Jeg har kun været her en dag, jeg ved ikke så meget

S: (at the same time as A) Nej men såå

A: * så er det måske ikke dig der skal række hånden op

A looks around at the students, who dont say anything

A: (at the same time as S) Er der ikke en eneste? (he stops short as he realizes S is talking, and looks at her)

S: Det kan ikke betale sig at række hånden op for at sige det, vel? (aimed at H)

N has his finger up

A: indtil videre er Nikolaj den eneste der kan huske hvad vi har lavet i historie

More students put their fingers up

After looking around a bit more, A calls on Saima

Saima (gesturing as she talks toward the flip over, which has a list of points on it) **

Stb: hvad sagde hun?

A: øjeblik

two girls comes in late behind S, they get buckets and sit down at the back of the group

S: højere

A: ja

Saima: *** *****

S: Kan du huske hvad skemaet hed?

Several students call out ØL, VØL, ønskeskemaet. A starts to flip the chat backwards

S: hvad?

Stud: ønskeskemaet

S: (slowly and deliberately, it seems to me that she is marking with her intonation that this is an 'interesting' ie incorrect answer) ØNSKEskemaet

Nikolaj: VØL skemaet

A: having flipped back now) VØL skemaet

S: VØL

Students, all at once: øl, vøl skemaet. Some chuckle/laugh

S: (pointing with her pencil at the first column on the VØL chart on the flip over page) Og hvad var det det stod for? V-Ø-L (pointing at each column in turn) Shhhh!

Some students starts calling out

A: op med hånden, op med håndend

Everyone is quiet

A: Jonathan?

he doesn't answer. A quickly turns to Saima again pointing

Appendices

A: ja?

Saima: Emm ved ** vi ønsker **

A: ønskede hvad?

Saima: noget man ønsker at lære

A: ja?

S: hvad man ønsker at LÆRE noget om. ja?

Saima: og så **

S: hvad?

Saima: det vi har lært

S: ja. . hvad var det så I udfyldte?

[00:18:17.01]

Saima: Øm det var V og Ø

S: V og Ø. Og hvorfor har I ikke udfyldt L endnu?

Saima: fordi vi har ikke ** ** **

S: (smiling at her) nej. Hvad er det får etØ EMNE vi har?

Saima: historie

S: hvad?

Saima: historie

S: historie hvad for et UNDERemne i historie har vi Sarah? (looking at a different student)

(NOTE: The teacher asks a questions and points to a students who has their hand up already to answer the question as it is being asked. This seems to be a common occurrence ... students put their hands up because they have something to contribute which is somehow related to the general topic of discussion. The teacher asks a question and points to one of theses students as they ask. Meaning the students doesn't actually have a chance to think of an answer to the question before they are put on the spot. As a result students either don't answer the question being asked (as in earlier) and just contribute what they had or they have to think very quickly and make some sort of guess. Either way, what the student says is most usually not what the teacher had in mind and as a result students are often put in the position of answering incorrectly, which must be demoralizing, and once again underlines the importance of being able to make the right kind of connections on the fly, ie. being the right kind of knower? rather than a focus on 'the content' being learned and how that is to happen)

Sarah: ** barn ** *(at være barn i gamle dage?)

S: Barn i gamle dage, hvornår var gamle dage? (looks around then specifically at a girl in front of her)

The girl as well as several others answer (mumble): for hundrede år siden

S: for hundrede år siden (S is repeating what the students say in a falling tone, indicating a correct answer) (stepping forward to look at the chart) står det der?

Stb: der står Øl skema

A smiles

Stud: vøl

S: hvad kan I så indtil videre så har vi jo været på computeren.

S lifts the page on the flip over chart slightly tryin to get an idea of what is on the next pages.

Some students mumble some things as she does this.

S: OOOO? Hvad * I får ud af at være på den computer? . (she flips to the next page, which is the one A started on, with a list of the students 'whishes') Hvad kan I huske? .. Hvad kan man huske?

Some students put up their hands

S: (turning to the next page on the flip over) Skal vi lige prøve at skrive ned?

A: ja hvad man ved?

S: er der nogen der VED noget om det?

Several students put their fingers up

A flips through the next couple of pages to find an empty page on the flip over.

Std: det vil lavede på computeren?

S: ja? . I skulle lave noget om børn for hundrede år siden.

A: (to S) ****

S: starts writing something on the middle of the page. She is making another mindmap

Stb: at hvad der skete i iøø Alma's historie?

A: Jaa det (shaking his head slightly, as if to say, sure why not, or for example).. ja? (turns back to see what S is writing - this is not visible to most of the students at this point because she is standing directly in front of the chart as she writes)

Stb: at hun blev sat ud

Everyone is quiet as S writes

S: De blev sat ud (in a rising tone, accepting what was offered)

S moves slightly to the side and makes a line off the central topic (being a child 100 yrs ago) and writes

A: hvad var det ø det betød?

some students mumble: smidt ud

S: hvad betyder det?

Samyra: (had put her finger up as S turns around and looks directly at her) smidt ud (shaking her head and shrugging/ gesturing 'i dunno' with her hands/arms)

A: Fahrad (A is talking to a boy near the back of the room on the side with the door. He then points to an empty spot on his right, on the opposite side of the classroom near the front and on the window side of the room)

A must be telling Fahrad to move, but it's undecipherable what he says. Meanwhile S is still writing. She has written 'thrown out' off the middle title, and now she is writing 'thrown out' off the second 'bubble'. Fahrad picks up his bucket and moves to where A pointed. As S finishes writing she steps back and looks at Samyra again who continues:

[00:20:08.01]

Samyra: ikke bondegård men hvad var det nu

Appendices

Stb: fattiggård

Samyra: ja fattiggård

S: (chuckles) Der var noget med noget fattiggård (NOTE: they seem to say this often when trying to draw connections... ie not making the connection clear but maybe almost 'mocking' the looseness of the connection the students are able to make?)

students mumble as she writes

A: hvad var en fattiggård?

some students mumble answers, others put up their fingers. A notices a student with a finger and puts his own finger up (to signal for the students to put their fingers up before they answer. As he puts his hand down several students put their hands up.

A: looks around. then calls on Jonathan: Jonathan?

Jonathan: Daglejer og de skal alt det der . nogen lejer dem i en dag . og så skal de gøre alle de ting de siger?

S: er det dem der bor der? (making a connection between what Jonathan has just said and the word 'fattiggård' which was said earlier and which she has just written on the mindmap)

Jonathan: Hvad? (Jonathan has obviously not made that connection. He was merely 'brainstorming' or mentioning things that could be associated with what the last person said. NOTE: this is a very common form of 'lillypadding' which seems to happen in this classroom, so it's not strange to me that he just throws 'something out there' rather than answering the question the teachers asked)

A: ** fattiggård.

Jonathan: fattiggården? nej (he puts his finger in his ear, looking generally uncomfortable) det er noget andet

S: nå du tænker på DAGlejerne

Jonathan: ja

S writes 'daglejer' (labourer/hired servant) on the mindmap

S: har I allesammen hørt det ord?

Students all at once: Mmm, jaaa

S: writes and reads out loud as she writes: Nogle . [Jonathan: bli'r lejet] man . lejer .. [Hussain: ud!] for . en . dag? ja? Og hvad var det den der fattiggård var for noget? (NOTE: using 'den der' or 'det der' is a common locution it seems, it's like the teachers by doing so approach the level of the student by saying things the way students might?) .. Fhrad?

Fhrad: et sted hvor fattige mennesker kan komme og ** og spise mad og ** (he drags the last things he says out smiling, making a kind of joke it seems)

Students giggle at Fhrad

Hussain: spise noget mad og få noget søvn

A: er det et sted sådan et godt sted . er det et godt sted at være så?

Students: neej

Hussain: lige som paradís

Samyra: (calling out over other students mumbling) Man skal også arbejde [st: det hele er fattigt]

A looks at her then looks at a different student.

[00:21:16.06]

S: er det et godt sted at komme hen eller er det et dårligt sted at komme hen?

Students start mumbling answers: dårligt

A: OP med hånden

S: Alex

Alex: hvis man er fattig så er det et godt sted

S: Er det noget et sted de fattig godt kunne tænke sig at BO?

Students mumble: nej, nej

S: nej hvorfor kunne de ikke tænke sig at bo der?

Alex: jo måske

S: (looks at him briefly then answers) ja måske, måske ikke (NOTE: in other words, no, wrong answer) (S keeps looking at Alex briefly then points to Fhrad next to him)

Fhrad: Fordi det er et dårligt sted? oog der er ik-ke gode stedet at man kan være? ooogo det er dårligt. (NOTE: searchjng for an answer?)

A: hvad er dårligt?

Fhrad: det stinker

S: STINKER det? (indicating that this is not an optimal answer)

Students: af hvad? af gamle mennesker. dårlig indeklima

S: looking around speaking more loudly and deliberately, probably to get the mumbling to stop) Er det kun der hvor, kan man KUN bo der som et gammelt menneske? (looking at A as she asks, as if a rhetorical question. NOTE: Again indicating to the students that this was not the right answer)

Stb: nope

[00:21:58.01]

Fhrad: (in an indian-like accent) alle fattige idioter

S: (looks at him, looking shocked, in a quiet serious tone) hvad?

Fhrad: (giggles) ikke noget alle fattige mennesker

Students giggle

S looks at the mind map A starts to say something as she does, but stops

[00:22:07.13]

S: hvordan ville det være at bo på fattiggården, hvis nu man var et STOLT menneske? Der godt kunne klare sig selv og havde et bolig og et job? (as she asks the question she stands up tall and holds her hand to her chest, indicating a proud person) Hvordan tror I man har det så (pointing to the mindmap) hvis man så skal ha, bo sådan nogle steder?

Stb: ***** (it sounds like he is asking about why you would have to go to the poor house if you have a house/job, but it's not clear how he asks the question)

S: Hvis man HAVDE . sagde jeg

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A: Har haft

Hussain: så ville det være kedeligt (no one responds to Hussain's answer, although A glances at him briefly)

S: HAVDE haft (looking at A) HAR haft, havde haft. (looking at the mind map again)

(NOTE: I wonder if looking at the mind map is a way of avoiding having to make a decision about an answer/what to say? as it can be used as a way to 'get back to' what the discussion?)

A looks down smiling, and picks up his coffee cup

[00:22:28.01]

S: hvordan tror I så følelsen ville være indvendigt? (NOTE: Why talk about feelings? - is this a way of 'connecting' to the students?)

Nikolaj: *****

S: hva'?

Nikolaj: ikke noget

S: looks at Nikolaj for a bit, then turns to look at A, then calls on Samyra who has her hand up

Samyra: Det ikke noget til det (points to flip over) men ø skal vi på computere **?

S: Det får du at vide bagefter

Some students mumble

S: stepping forward to look at the mindmap, raising her voice) Er der andet man har hørt noget om? (turns back to look at the children, who are starting to get a bit restless, it seems)

[00:22:53.06]

Samyra raises her hand again. The others are quiet. S finishes her question (S: ... på computeren), then points to Samyra

Samyra: øm Alma vi har hørt om Alma

S: Alma (in a rising tone, as if asking, accepting the answer as relevant) Der var noget om Alma (writes Alma on the mindmap off the central bubble)

Students mumble as S writes

S: ja?

Stg: hun var en lille pige

Fahrad: hun er død nu

S writes 'en lille pige den gang / a little girl at the time' off the Alma bubble (accepting the student's suggestion that she was a little girl). Other students mumble as she writes.

A: Jonathan (calling out to Jonathan, who is sitting in the back of the group, slightly seperated. Perhaps J is fooling around, or just looking as if he's not paying attention) Jonathan

S: (while writing still, talking to A) skal vi ikke tage ham herovre af? (S writes 'død nu / dead now' followed by 'spøgelse /ghost' off the Alma bubble without looking up or stopping between, while A directs Jonathan to move)

A: kom herovre og sid (pointing to a spot in front of himself. A then moves a bucket to right in front of himself) Jonathan.

After a bit Jonathan gets up and moves to the front of the class to the bucket A put forward for him. Students are mumbling amongst themselves as this happens. Samyra attempts to elaborate:

Samyra: Og man ved . hvordan Alma, man skal prøve at vide hvordan Alma hun **

(NOTE: it is a bit strange to me that S writes the called out suggestions 'død nu' without giving any verbal acceptance, and then that she continues to write 'spøgelse' without this having been suggested by the students (unless perhaps I didn't hear it))

S: Hvad for noget?

St: man kunne man kunne se Almas hus?

S: ja? (writes off the Alma bubble) ... se Almas huus?

A student gives another answer, which cannot be heard on camera. S starts writing off the Alma bubble ('se Almas hus / see Alma's house')

St: **

S: Hvor hvad?

St: **

S makes another line off the Alma bubble and writes 'Far, mor og bedstemor / father, mother and grandbother'

S: bedstemor var det?

St: ja

Jonathan: svigermor

A: svigermor (looking at S)

S: asking the group) VAR der noget med en svigermor?

Several students at once: jaa. (some start retelling when the word was used). S isn't quite sure what they are talking about and a small discussion ensues.

[00:24:36.10]

S: (loudly aimed at the group as a whole) hvad er en svigermor?

Stg: Det er mandens konens mor

S: mandens konens mor, så det der (pointing to 'bedstemor' written on the mindmap) det er svigermoren, ik'?

Stg: ja

S writes 'svigermor / mother in law' off of the word 'bedstemor'

S: A men bedstemor, det kan både hede en bedstemor og det kan både være en mormor og en farmor. ... Og bedstemor det er sådan noget der kommer ude fra landet af

Stg: og ø svigerfar det det samme ik'?

S: jojo (pointing to 'svigermor' on the mindmap) svigermor og svigerfar ... Man behøves jo ikke at være bedstemor eller mormor eller farmor for at være svigermor.

Students giggle/mumble

S: hvorfor behøves man ikke det?

Some students mumble that they don't know and other indecipherable answers

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S: Fahrads

Fahrad: hm?

S: hvorfor behøves man ikke . (loudly, aimed at the whole group again, I think) SKAL man .
være mormor . eller farmor eller bedstemor for at være svigermor?

Fahrad and other students: nej

S: hvorfor ikke?

Fahrad: fordiø (shrugs) Det kan bare være ... man skal bare væære for eksempel en du er gift
med (shrugs again) hans mor eller **

S: Ja. det er rigtigt. Det vigtigste er at man er gift eller at man er kærester og det er så DEN
den anden persons mor ik'? På begge sider.

Adal: der er også noget der hedder svoger

S: hvad er der noget der hedder?

Adal: svoger

S: svoger? Ja. Hvad er en svoger for noget?

some students giggle.

Adal: det erø . hvis nu .. min søsters kæreste

S: ja?

Adal: jeg har foreksempel en svoger *** (jeg kan ikke huske hvad det er?)

S: Det er rigtig nok (in a high voice, encouraging him) Det er din søsters kæreste det er din
svoger .. og så videre

Adal is looking down as S aknoweldges and elaborates his answer

S: ja? (calling on Fahrads)

Fahrad: der er også noget med en hund

S: en hund?

[00:26:10.07]

The children repeat 'en hund' and several of them laugh out loud and comment

S: hvad var det der var med en hund?

Fasian: en hund et eller andet der jagted dem eller noget

stg: ** en gammel mand

A: inde på museet?

students: nåå, mumbling, den gamle mand, making barking/growling noises

Hussain: gamle Ole

'gamle ole' repeated by several students as S writes 'hund'/dog off the 'Alma' bubble

S: (to Fahrads) det var faktisk IKKE for hundrede år siden

A: ej det var ikke for hundrede år siden, vel?

S: Det er faktisk ikke for hundrede år siden (NOTE: here S points out that the mindmap
actually is supposed to be surrounding the central idea - being a child 100 years ago, although
she only 'latches' onto the 100 years ago part, and nonetheless has written 'dog' on the
mindmap.)

Students mumble.

Fahrad: en hund det også en forkortelse for hundrede.

A: Fahrad (by saying his name this way, A is telling Fahrad to behave. Apparently Fahrad's remark on the dog was inappropriate to the current discussion)

S: Det er vidst det er en moderne forkortelse. Nå var der andet jeg hørte fordi ellers så går vi videre?

Students are quiet

[00:26:44.16]

S: og det skal lige siges AALLE . SKAL . skrive på et stykke papir. .. Og alle FINDER deres papir så vi kan SE I har den den sidste gang. .. Jeps. Og så sætter man sig FORNUFTIGT med sin makker

Group Work

As S says the word FORNUFTIGT students start to get up to go get their history folders out in the hall. Some pick up their buckets to put them away. Everyone is talking. As the students leave the classroom S starts walking around the room taking chairs down from the desks they are standing on (chairs are put on the desks at the end of the day to allow for sweeping, and since this is the first lesson in the classroom of the day, the chairs are still on the desks). Students reenter the classroom and go get a laptop from the cabinet. A is walking around the room picking up / straightening up on his way to the chalkboard. As students start entering again, S tells them (aimed at pairs of students at a time) to find a place to sit. While A writes the login and the password to access the online materials on the board Hussain and another boy go over to talk with him about their folders/papers (it seems Hussain can't find the paper he was working on). S starts putting the buckets away (most of which are left standing in the middle of the room)

Hussain leaves to look in his other folders. Adal sits down and talks with Adam that he doesn't want to be a part of the miming (I am pretty sure this is something for a different class and unrelated to this unit). Hussain comes back to show A his folders.

[00:32:01.21]

Most students are sitting in their buddy pairs getting computers started. A circulates the room. S instructs those students who still haven't settled down yet to do so. While she does this she continues to walk around the room, straightening up as she goes.

The group of boys at the teachers' table

[00:33:51.02]

As students are spread around the perimeter of the room, the stationary camera can no longer capture 'the gist' of the room, so I move it to focus on the group of boys who have sat down at the teachers' bench/table to work. Alex and Jonathan are one buddy pair and Adal sits opposite

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them. His buddy, Isaac, is not there today. Hussain, who doesn't have a buddy, also joins this group eventually. He is however a bit of a distraction to this group, coming and going several times during the next 10 minutes or so and more intermittently throughout the rest of the class. The boys talk amongst themselves mostly about unrelated things as they get the computers going. At several points within the first ca. 8 minutes A comes over to the group briefly checking that they have started the program up.

[00:45:01.01]

S joins the group of boys sitting down at the end of the table. It seems that Jonathan and Alex's computer is too quiet. A comes over to help them get the volume turned up. The camera's microphone is not sensitive enough to capture the boys conversations.

[00:46:13.28]

S leave the group again to go help Jonathan and Fahrad who also are having computer problems.

[00:48:42.24]

S returns with a new laptop to the boys group. She sits down and turns it on. She proceeds to log on to the computer, and then to log onto the internet and the Sat Ud material. Once she has this computer up and running she brings it over to Jonathan and Fahrad to use.

[00:54:45.03]

The four boys at the teachers' table look like they are working on the tasks in the computer materials now, although Hussain seems like he is having a hard time settling down. He distracts Jonathan a few times, and then calls A over.

[00:59:06.13]

A joins the group by sitting down next to Jonathan. He looks like he is helping Jonathan and Alex. Hussain keeps poking A on the arm to get his attention. After ca. 2 minutes A leaves to help Another student, who has come over to ask his help.

The boys are left to their own devices for the next 12 minutes or so. Hussain comes and goes several times during this period. At one point he sits there looking at what everyone else in the classroom is doing, while Jonathan and Alex and Adal work on their tasks. Adal asks H for help with one of the questions, which he helps with but then they get stuck and sit fooling around for a while. H then gets up to find a teacher to help them. While he is away the other three boys goof around a bit.

[01:11:18.07]

S comes over the the group of boys. After listening to them she tells them the answer should be in the materials. Someone else calls S over and se leaves the group. Hussain and Jonathan talk about some thing/toy one of them has in their pencil case, which they take out. Meanwhile Adal looks like he tries to get Alex to help him, but Alex seems more interested in hearing what Hussain and Jonathan are talking about.

[01:16:57.03]

Jonathan calls out to Adam from his seat. (A has been helping Jonathan and Fahrad for several minutes now). When A doesn't respond, Jonathan calls out again, louder.

[01:17:29.10]

A comes over to the group. He sits down at the end of the table and leans over towards Jonathan and Alex to listen to their question. The boys are working on question nr. 12 which asks them to re-read and practice a dialogue between the father in the painting and the police man he is depicted talking to (who as come to make sure the eviction is carried out). A reads the fathers lines and 'puts on' a voice to model what the father could be saying. The boys all find this quite amusing and laugh and giggle at A while he does this. A then tells the boys that the father is probably 'ked af det' /sat/upset and connects this to the kind of voice he put on, asking if it would be realistic if his voice had been a high pitched 'miimiimiiii' type of voice. NOTE: Most of this conversation is captured on the handheld camera as well, and could be transcribed from the other media source (Mov030 4:24)

[01:19:07.29]

A leaves again. Adal looks like he is trying to work alone while Alex and Jonathan work together, but also fool around with H as well.

[01:24:18.04]

The stationary camera pans the room, showing students sitting in pairs working. The room has a fairly high level of noise indicating both activity and some intermittent fooling around. A is helping two girls sitting by the windows. S is sitting with a laptop in the end of the sofa corner. The girl who was supposed to work with the last boy student the first day has worked alone throughout the unit and continues to do so. Sahrish is working alone today since her buddy isn't there. Another student is still working alone. Fahrad and Jonathan are working together at a desk up against the wall near the door.

[01:27:44.13]

The noise level rises, as other fifth graders start to come into the room (apparently, they have been dismissed from their other class, and start wandering into the workshop room where they haven't been dismissed yet. This doesn't seem to be an unusual occurrence, as neither children nor teachers act surprised. The kids in the workshop room become distracted by their classmates entering the room. Especially the boys start fooling around with each other.

[01:27:52.23]

A calls out over the noise (just barely)

A: pak bærbarene sammen

the noise continues. Some students yell out 'woo hoo'

A: (still calling out over the noise) og papirerne skal ind i mappen

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He comes over to the group of boys at the front of the room, picking up Jonathans paper and then putting it down again. He then taps on Hussain's paper and tells him to put his paper into his folder.

Students pack their things. Several students are calling out A's name loudly to get him to come over. As students pack together, they also start to move out of the room. S calls out individual students' names telling them to do particular things (unclear, along the lines of pack away the computer / hand in the paper etc). Some boys from the other group of 5th graders, who aren't on this unit notice that the stationary camera is still recording and start fooling around in front of it. The noise level in the room has risen significantly now, students are walking in and out and all around the room. S calls to A, asking him to come over. They talk amongst themselves while students continue to walk around. It's their lunch break. The video ends.

.....

Politics and politicians. (Mov02f politikere)

While students are working in groups S and A walk around, visiting the buddy pairs to help. I walk around filming these when I can with the handheld camera. The following exchange between Adam and the girls, Samyra and Saima is about politics. Samyra and Saima must be working on question 15 from the Sat Ud materials which says the following:

Hvorfor blev faderen fyret?

Hvad kæmpede faderen for?

Hvad betyder de svære ord Almas mor sagde: politik, fagforening og demokrati

Slå ordene op, hvis du er i tvivl og lav evt. ordkort over dem.

Skriv dine svar ned på et stykke papir.

Du kan også prøve at tage kontakt til en fagforening, for at finde ud af hvad en fagforening laver.

Klik på pilen når opgaven er løst.

Which translates to:

Task 15:

Why was the father fired?

What was he fighting for?

What do the hard words mean that Alma's mother used: politics, union and democracy

Look up the words if you aren't sure and make possibly word cards for them.

Write your answers down on a piece of paper.

You can also try contacting a union to find out what a union does.

Click on the arrow when the task is solved.

A is sitting in the sofa corner with Saima and Samyra. He has just asked a question of the girls as I come over.

Saima: er det ikke ligesom dem der bestemmer over landet?

A nods, but looks like he is looking out the window.

Saima: ligesom Anders Fogh Rasmussen (she is naming the name of the prime minister of DK who just prior to this data was replaced by Lars Lykke Rasmussen)

A: Hvad er det for en *(man/mand?), hvad er det så

Saima: han er statsminister [Samyra: * passer på danskerne]

A: ja. eller ikke mer ikke mere.

Saima: er han ik'?

A: nej

Samyra: ** Obama? (reaching towards A as she says this)

A: Obama han er også enø politiker. . Er det ikke rigtigt? Han er en politiker?

Saima: Og Helle Thorning Schmidt (naming the leader of the opposition in DK)

A: Hun er også politiker

Saima: og Pia Kjærsgård (laughing and turns to Samyra) (NOTE: Pia Kjærsgård is the leader of the Danish People's Party, known particularly for their anti-immigrant policies)

A: Hvad tror I de arbejder med de hedder politikere?

Samyra: (under her breath) *(alting?)

A: hvad?

Samyra: det ved jeg ik'

Saima: om ø **(alle?) ting i Danmark?

A: hvad, hvis man hvad hedder det arbejder som politiker . hvad arbejder man så med tror I?

[00:00:39.19]

Saima: sooom

Samyra: For som, nej

A: det er ret let . kan jeg godt ** ** på. Det ligger lige til. . Når man arbejder som politiker hvad arbejder man så med? [Samyra: man skal sørge for hvad der sker i landet]

Both girls look at him then at the computer/desk.

(NOTE: it seems like they have no idea. Samyra just guessed 'they have to take care of what happens in the country' which isn't far off, and could be a good start but she said it at the same time A was asking his question, so I'm not sure he heard her, or perhaps he wants a more specific answer, ie. politics. They are looking at him because they don't know what else to guess)

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Adam: hvis man arbejdedeeeeeer (it seems he is thinking up an example here)

Samyra: Jeg skal ikke ha' weekend, ellers så glemmer jeg danske.

A: hvis man arbejder som politiker så arbejder man med politik.

Samyra: Politi? (it's unclear if Samyra says 'politi' / police or 'politik' / politics when she asks here)

A: politik

[00:01:05.05]

Saima: Er det ikke det samme?

A: når man ER politiker . og man arbejder MED politik. ik'?

Saima: nåå sådan

A: så hvad laver politikerne?

Saima: Eøøøm

Samyra is looking down fidgeting with her pencil

A: for eksempel?

Samyra: De sørger for for eksempel . De sørger for at hvad der, hvad der sker for at øm ligesom amerika. ligesom sørger for at amerika .. amerika er ordentlig? altså de *?

[00:01:22.18]

A: A hvadfor noget?

Samyra: nej *** (jeg ved det ik'?)

A: (cutting Samyra off) hvad gør, hvad hvad laver en politiker i danmark for eksempel?

Saima: De ** ligesom ** Danmark og sådan

A: Hvad hvad, hvad gør de? Hvad laver de?

Samyra: De laver regler?

A: REGLER (in a rising tone. He brings his arm forward. He accepts this answer it seems, but wants more) Hvad for nogen regler?

Samyra: At man må ikke ** *(styre foreksempel?)? Ej (she smiles / giggles)

Saima: At det der hvis nu med man ikke har sikkerhedsseler på så får man bøde. Er det ikke sådan?

A: jo, jo.

Samyra: og for eksempel der står . m du må køre tres så skal man køre tres så må man ikke køre over tres

A: jaja. hvis de laver, * bliver ved med at lave regler om så *** (hvem laver de regler om)?

Samyra: Anders ** politik?

A: politikerne? . Hvordan bliver man politiker?

Samyra: det . *(hvad hedder det nu?) (looks at Saima)

Saima: (laughing slightly as she talks) man siger man vil være politiker. Altså man

A: (cuts in) Kan man bare . hvis du gerne vil være politiker [Saima: man skal være uddannet som politiker] og blive politiker?

A looks like he is considering Saima's answer

A: ja men kan man ... Der er ikke nogen skole man går ind på når man vil blive politiker.

Saima and Samyra giggle to each other

A: der er ingen skole for politik

[00:02:18.27]

Samyra: Adam er det ikke ligesom

A: (cuts her off) så det, så det er Men hvordan, hvordan tror I erøøø er det et vvv-VIGTigt job? At kunne bestemme . reglerne i Danmark?

Saima looks off (as if thinking) Samyra looks down at her pencil

A: Er det et vigtig eller et ikke så vigtigt job?

Saima: ***(det er ikke så vigtigt?)

A: Tror I aaaøøø . tror I alle bare kan få lov at bestemme reglerne i Danmark?

(NOTE: Adam doesn't respond at all to the answer the girls gave to his previous question: is it an important job to decide the rules in Denmark? Is it important or not so important? The girls responded not so important, and his continuing on here with the next question without responding to their answer means the answer was wrong. This happens often also in a whole classroom situation, as above when S asks Alex about whether it was a good thing to go to the poor house. I think it has something to do with the teachers not wanting to be explicit about 'wrongness' ie. don't say 'no' because that would discourage the child. But the children know, it seems to me, that when their answers are ignored and a new question is asked, that their answer was wrong ... although I'm not sure how to show that. Sometimes, as in the example with Alex above, they attempt to justify their answer, and usually this is taken up with the teacher to an extent. But as in the Alex example, the teacher ends up either getting another student to say the answer they were looking for, or they actually say it themselves, or they do as A does here, goes on with another question. ... The discussion seems to be something teachers want students to be able to do, and so they allow a lot of lillypadding around different tangents/ideas, resulting in quite a chaotic flow of 'instruction')

[00:02:39.23]

Samyra: nej . kun politikerne

A: er der mange der gerne vil tror I?

Saima: M-mm (affirmative)

A: Mn hvordan, hvordan får man så sådan et job?

Saima: man går der op og så siger man man gerne vil være det og så bliver man måske valgt alligevel

A: hva valgt af hvem?

Saima: øm stats

Samyra: (interrupting Saima) er det ikke kun statsministeren?

A: bliver man valgt af statsministeren?

Saima: Er det de der politikere som var der i forvejen?

A: hvem vælger statsministeren så?

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Saima: hva?

A: hvem vælger så hvilken ø hvem der er statsminister?

Saima: det gør ø alle dem der bestemmer

Samyra: (at the same time as Saima above) Nøjnøj det os der **

[00:03:02.06]

A: nå VI vælger dem. Hvem vælger vi så tror I?

Samyra: Anders Fogh

A: KUN Anders Fogh?

Samyra: ej, hvad hedder hende der damen hende der

Saima: Også hende der Helle Thorning Smidt og såå (looks at Samyra who repeats Thorning Schmidt - who she was thinking of) ** Pia Kjærsgård. Er det ikke **?

Samyra laughs. She taps Saima on the shoulder as she says something unclear

[00:03:16.27]

A: Altså, hvor de arbejder inde i folketinget ik'? . Har I været der inde og se det? Kristiansborg?

Saima: nej

A: Vi sejlede forbi den gang vi var på kanlrundfart.

Samyra: Er det rigtig? [Saima: (looks like she remembers) Nååå]

A: Ja. * pegede på derinde . det er der de arbejder

Saima: Var det et sort hus? [Samyra: Et hus hvor ** * **]

A: nej det er sådan et højt hus med sådan et ø sådan et tårn (gesturing a tower). Men ikke det sorte hus nej.

[00:03:33.28]

A: MEN .. Derinde . Alle dem der arbejder derinde er politikere. . Inde i reg, inde i statsministerøøøø (shaking his head and his arm indicating he's said something wrong and trying to think of the right thing to say) hvadhedderdet . på Kristiansborg, ik'? Hvor mange af dem tror I der bliver valgt af .. ** (os sådan?) tror I?

the girls mumble under their breath

A: ALLEsammen eller kun nogle af dem?

Samyra: kun nogen af dem

A: (looking at the girls think for a bit) det er dem ALLEsammen

Saima: er det?

Samyra (at the same time) ej ved du hvad i ** hvis de ikke vælger ikke også så får de en kæmpe en ordentlig bøde

A: Hvad?

Samyra: hvis de ikke vælger hvem der skal være øm statsminister i Tyrkiet ik' også?

A: hvis de ikke vælger hvad, siger du? (holding his hand up to his ear, indicating he really didn't hear what she said)

Samyra: hvis de ikke for eksempel . det er ligesom det Anders Fogh Rasmussen og, hvis de ikke vælger og sådan noget, de skal alle sammen skal vælge, og hvis de ikke vil så får de femhundrede kroner bøde

A: Altsåååø ...

Samyra: for eksempel vi, vi ø ** [Saima: (it's unclear what they both say at the end) Hvis nu vi ikke vælger så ***]

A: Hvis der, hvis der er folketingsvalg, ik'?

Saima: ja

A: Det er deere, cirka fire gange om året.

Samyra: ja. og for eksempel du ikke vælger ik' også, så får du femhundrede kroner bøde

A: og hvis du bliver hjemme på din sofa i stedet for at gå ned og vælge

Samyra: ja. * så er der bøde. Så min far han bliver også nødt til at øm stemme. Han stemte på *** (name of a local politician, I think)

A: jeg tror altså ikke at man får en bøde

[00:04:34.07]

Samyra: nej det gør man i Tyrkiet det gør man i Tyrkiet

A: I Tyrkiet, nååå jaja (NOTE: is that even true?!)

Samyra: skal jeg sige dig noget? (sits up and turns to face A more) Øm der er også en ø man, hvis han valgte og så skulle han tage alle Kurderne ud af Tyrkiet

Saima: (asking Samyra) ** (hvad vej?)?

Adam notices that someone has been calling his name intermittently since the beginning of this episode, and he looks over at the girl calling his name. The girls start talking about Turkey. A starts to get up.

A: (leaning over toward Samyra to get her attention, he places his hand on her paper) Skriv, skriv nogle ting I ved om politik nu

The girls look at him

A: I VED lidt om politik, ik'? Skriv det ned det I ved for jeg skal lige over og hjælpe * herovre
As he says the last words A gets up and walks over to stand behind the two girls sitting in front of the window. S walks over to him and the two of them confer amongst themselves. I can't tell what they are saying. Samyra and Saima are left to try to write down what they know about politics.

Lesson 6

'Getting settled/finding materials for the lesson'

[00:11:26.23]

As A says PAPIRER students start to get up (It seems it's normal that students don't wait until the teachers are done talking /giving instructions before they start moving around... maybe that's why they are so often asking for the instructions again afterwards?)

The students leave, S starts walking around moving bean bag chairs around. A gets the flip over chart and sets it up at the front of the room. Students start to come back in. Yonas sits

Appendices

down on teachers' table/bench and starts talking with A, he then leaves as more students come in to go sit on his bucket. Adal goes over to A to ask about what he is supposed to present for the class. As A talks with him, A finds an empty page on the flip over and starts to write 'Politik' / politics in the middle of the page. More students come in. Especially boys walk up to A in turn to either show him something in their papers, to ask something or to make some comment. He answers almost all of them individually, but suddenly becomes distracted by a group of students in the back of the room who are doing something they shouldn't be. They have sat down in the sofa area or at some of the desks around the perimeter of the room. He goes over to tell them to sit 'herovre' /over here, pointing to the buckets.

[00:15:27.09]

S: Det tager GODT NOK lang tid at komme i gang hva'?

most students quiet down after S says this. The last couple of students come in and find their seats.

S is standing in front of the chalkboard, while A is standing with a marker in his hand next to the flip over chart where he has written 'politics' in an oval on the empty page.

'Democracy, Politics and Unions'

[00:15:35.22]

A: GODT. .. Shhhhh .. Kan I huske der var en opgave hvor der, hvor der stod TRE ord?

Students are mostly quiet, shuffling papers

Nichlas: Der stod politik demokra .. demo-kra..ti og ** (As he finishes other students repeat "demokrati" and start saying other things as well)

A points to a student

A: Og? . Fagforening

S asks A something, A points to the word he has written. S takes a piece of chalk and asks Nicholas to repeat what he said. He complies and she writes these up on the board next to where A has written points 1, 2. and 3. As she writes the students talk amongst themselves quietly.

'Politics'

[00:16:26.20]

A: Godt. ... Vi starter med politik. ... Find det sted i jeres papir hvor I har skrevet noget om hvad politik ER.

(students look at their papers, turning them over and shuffling them)

A: I har slået det op i en ordbog. Meget gerne.

S: (talking to several students) Hvorfor ligger det ikke in i jeres mapper?

A girl gets up and walks past S towards the door without looking at S

S: (talking to the girl's back) Har du , har du nu ikke fundet det?

the girl mumbles 'nej' without turning around and walks past A as she goes to the hall

A: Hvad, er du?

the girl leaves the room

The students in the classroom are mumbling, talking amongst themselves and shuffling their papers while the teachers look on.

Another girl gets up and leaves the classroom.

[00:17:11.18]

S: (to Renata, sitting in front of her) har du kun een, et tankekort eller hva'? ... Renata?

[00:17:16.11]

A: (loudly to gather the students attentions) Men vi starter. Dem der er herinde. Er der nogen der kan? .. Adal hvor er dine papirer henne? ... Nå ok. ** Kan du huske det i hovedet?

Adal: vi har skrevet det ned

StB: stod der ikke bare vi skulle skrive det ned på et papir?

S: (making mocking growling sounds in as many syllables as the question just asked)

Several students start talking at once.

S: (in her regular voice again) *****

The second girl who left comes back in and sits down on her bucket.

[00:17:46.19]

A: Er der nogen der kan sige noget om politik? HVAD ER politik? Kan I komme med en forKLARING på hvad politik ER?

Students shuffle their papers. Most students are looking down at the papers. Two girls in the back row raise their fingers.

S: Saima

Saima: Er det ikke dem der bestemmer over landet? Altså de der *****

S: Jeg synes det var .. øø du sagde noget med bestemme over landet? (NOTE: S starts to praise Saima, but doesn't actually finish)

Saima: ***

S: (laughing) Ja. Hvad laver de? Du mener de for eksempel laver love eller hvad? Er det det du mener? Ja? det var noget med at lave love.

Stb: Er det rigtig? (NOTE: I can't tell if he's commenting on whether the answer is correct, or whether it's a sort of 'really?' comment. I have a feeling it's probably the former, ie he wants to know whether the answer given is correct or not. Neither of the teachers respond to his query though)

A writes () on the flip over board while S watches him and the students sit quietly. Someone sneezes, other students whisper to each other. Hussain has his finger up.

[00:18:32.23]

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S: hvad siger Hussain?

H: Det nogle folk der beskæftiger sig med samfund ***. (to A:) Kan du skrive det ned?

A and S give each other a look, smiling. Some of the students giggle. (NOTE: the last comment H makes sounds like H imitating how a teacher would tell a student to write down something they've just said . This is probably how most people there understood the comment as well given S and A's reactions and that several students giggle. It's interesting though that neither one of the teachers comment on the appropriacy, or lack there of, of that kind of a comment from a student. This is a good example of the kind of power relations in the classroom, which I think are much more common in DK than in other countries like Australia and USA, where such a comment from a student would be much less likely to be ignored, I think)

A looks like he doesn't really know what to write on the flip over

[00:18:59.00]

S: Hvad betyder beSKÆFtiger sig?

H: sådan at de kigger på sådan .. at de arbejder med det.

Stb: at de er i gang med at lave noget

A is writing. S is looking at the students, most of whom are sitting quietly (a few are whispering to each other). (NOTE: I didn't see her making a response to H's answer to her question. Is no answer a positive response in this classroom?!)

[00:19:23.17]

S: Men er der ikke nogen der har skrevet noget om hvem de folk er? Og hvordan de folk kommer til at beskæftige sig bestemme over . noget?

Jonas, sitting in the far corner says something inaudible

S: (loudly, aimed at Jonas) Hvad siger du?

J: (looks at S for a moment before responding) ikke noget

S: Det lød ellers som noget der kunne være meget relevant.

J: (in a strange accent, maybe mimiking a thickly accented migrant speaking danish?) folketinget

S: (mimiking J's accent) Folketinget?

A writes 'folketinget' on the flip over

Several students repeat the word with the accent. A writes the word up on the flip over chart. Some students call out different things, but not loudly, they seem unsure.

(NOTE: why don't any of the teacher's follow up on this to make sure all the students know what folketinget is?!)

Someone calls out the name of the ex prime minister (who was replaced very recently)

[00:20:02.21]

S: (aimed at A) Det er . han sagde . der er en masse POLITIKERE

A: Politikere? (he is not repeating the word because he is unsure, it sounds more like 'aha, someone might be on to something')

A writes the word 'politikere'/politicians on the flip over chart

S: Det kommer måske fra ordet .. po-li-ti-kere (NOTE: this is strange, she isn't actually saying where the word comes from, she just repeats the word politics one syllable at a time. Probably she wants the children to listen to the word and say on their own where the word comes from. So, she is asking a question with a statement, which doesn't actually make sense when looked at on its own)

Stb: politik?

for the past two minutes or so the students have been talking more and more amongst themselves.

(NOTE: I'm not sure the teachers actually notice that the student who calls out 'politik' actually answers S's question correctly, because they don't give a specific 'correct' response.)

[00:20:15.27]

A turns around to face the students and points to the word (Politik) in the oval the middle of the flip over chart as he asks:

A: Er det her en person så?

Students: nej

A: (pointing to the word 'politikere' / politicians written in smaller letters above the bubble) eller er det en person?

Students call out different things, 'nej', 'statsborger'/citizen, 'det er flere'/it's more than one (person), 'politikere'

S: Er politik flere personer?

Students: nej

Hussain: politik er et emne

S: hvad er politik så?

the first girl who left the room while S was talking to her comes back in to the room now. No one pays her any attention. S is addressing the whole class

[00:20:31.14]

S: Det er rigtigt det Danial siger, politikere det er flere personer. .. Hvad er POLILTIK så?

Some students put up their fingers, other students calling out 'det er politik'/it's politics, 'det ALLE personerne'/it's all the people

S: Hussain

Hussain: Det er et emne

S: Det er et emne? (it sounds like she wants him to elaborate) (NOTE: not explicitly praising/acknowledging a correct answer)

Students mumble slightly. A bends over to write on the flip over chart.

Appendices

(NOTE: I wonder if the students even notice what, specifically, is going on to the flip over chart and why? it seems to me more like they just notice that when someone says something right the teachers put something on the board, but aren't completely clear on what goes up, or why (as what the students say isn't always what is written, and not everything the students say, even when 'on task' is written up))

[00:20:49.17]

S: Og hvad gør det emne?

Hussain: De . hjælper folk? .. De ø de kigger på hvordan folkene de har det og sådan noget . i byen. ** der har det dårligt så prøver de at hjælpe dem (NOTE: H is answering about politicians, the less 'abstract'/'technical' og the two terms, not answering directly S's question about 'the topic' of politics)

S: Så vi kan faktisk sige vi er politikere herinde og vi bestemmer over Ishøj?

Stb: nej

Other students call out too. Unclear.

(NOTE: the teachers don't bring the discussion back to the more abstract 'politics' but follow the students' suggestion of 'politicians' instead)

[00:21:10.07]

S: Nåå, hvorfor siger du nej? Hvorfor bestemmer I ikke over Ishøj?

H: Det er demokrati

S: (looking at the flip over, as if to indicate to Adam/students? that something should be written up) Der er noget med demokrati?

(NOTE: once again, S uses the phrase 'der er noget med' / something to do with... vaguely indicating that something is relevant but not specifying how)

Students call out different things while A writes 'demokrati' on the flip over. One of the students calls out 'skal være over 18 år'/have to be over 18 years old

S: Så alle voksne i Ishøj og Strandgården de bestemmer over Ishøj?

Most students: nej

[00:21:23.27]

Several students call out different things at the same time. Jonas is fairly clear amongst the voices:

J: * skal først stille op til folketinget **

S: Der er noget med noget folketing .. svalg

(students are still calling out / talking at the same time)

S: Og der er noget der hedder EU valg (NOTE: S follows the tanget from 'who decides' to 'elections')

H: (quietly, it sounds like he is talking to another student, but his voice carries quite clearly)

Europa, det er et demokrati (S hears him as well and responds)

[00:21:36.03]

S: Hva' . Er det ikke demokrati?

Hussain: jo. Det det ER et demokrati

S: jamen hvad er det vi gør?

H: stemmer?

S: Hvad stemmer vi om? (NOTE: there's no explicit acknowledgement of a correct answer, just an elicitation to elaborate... I wonder if that isn't demoralizing for the students? Or maybe it's just Denmark?!)

Nichlas: Om hvem . der skal ** .. nu ved jeg ikke hvad det er

Other students start calling things out at the same time. S continues to look at Nichlas while they do.

[00:21:51.04]

S: Ja men øø går vi allesammen hen og sætter kryds . og såå er det den samme der kommer?

(NOTE: the topic of conversation seems to have jumped a bit here, I'm not quite sure what S is referring to now when she says 'den samme der kommer')

The students are quiet for a moment, then Jonas calls out 'nej'

S: Hvad er det så der sker?

Jonas: Vi sætter et kryds og så siger vi ** ***

S: (cutting of J) Hvad, hvad sætter du kryds ved? [J: et valgkort] Du snakker om valgkort? ja? (calling on someone else)

Stb: tronfølgeloven

(NOTE:the issue of whether or not a firstborn female can inherit the Danish throne was up for debate recently, and was put on the ballot to be voted on along with the big EU vote in 2009, which was to take place the sunday after this video was filmed. As a result, students are likely to have seen many posters and noticed commercials on TV for different candidates, parties and their positions on issue such as this one. I have a hard time figuring out which 'call outs' by the students are picked up and acknowledged by the teachers, and find it frustrating while doing this transcription (Er jeg ved at blive for personligt involveret i mine kommentarer? Det kan være det skal slettes når jeg redigerer disse transskriptioner til mine bilag). It must be frustrating for the students as well. No wonder there is a 'culture' of calling out guesses all the time.)

'Ballot'

[00:22:07.07]

S: Hvad står der på sådan et VALGkort?

A boy in front of Jonas puts his hand up eagerly, while most of the other students are looking down at their own papers/ fiddling around

Jonas: Der står øm ... hvaa .. øm de forskellige **

In the mean time Adam has turned the page of the flip over chart to a new blank page. He draws a large rectangle on it, and starts writing inside it. He is drawing an example of what a ballot could look like

[00:22:20.13]

A: Jonas det er dit valgkort. Du får sådan et i hånden, hvad skal du gøre med det?

J: øø

A: Hvad står der på det, tror du?

J: så står der nogen navne?

A: nogen navne? ok.

Some other boys near the front of the room say something unclear. A's attention goes to them. He points to one of the boys who said something (I think it's the name of a politician) and says something to that boy (it sounds like he is repeating what the boy suggested). Several boys continue to call out different things. One boy calls out 'SF'/the name of a political party which was discussed quite a bit by the media and in the news at the time because it was growing rapidly. A looks around. S says something to A (many students are talking at the same time, so what she says is unclear). A writes the name of a politician (Lars Løkke Rasmussen) on the ballot, while asking if that was the name mentioned

'Political parties'

[00:22:43.17]

Stb: (calling out over the noise) Så står der SF

S: SF (repeating what the boy said, acknowledging this as a correct answer)

A: SF (repeating what S said, and turning to write it on the ballot.)

A doesn't seem to know where to write it though, as he moves the marker around a bit. The boys are calling out different names of different politicians. A writes one of these (Pia K.) under the name he already has written up. Many students are talking at the same time, calling out names of politicians they have heard of.

S: (responding to some of the boys' call outs) Han starter jo først her første september (referring to Lars Løkke Rasmussen, the new prime minister, who will be taking over for the current prime minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen)

(NOTE: this is strange to me too, instead of acknowledging that the students actually do have quite a bit of knowledge about who the more known politicians are, she corrects them. I wonder if this is a kind of 'expanding their breadth of knowledge/conceptual connections' type of response? It seems to happen often, and seems to be in line with the whole perspective of learning which seems to be present in the schools)

The noise continues for several minutes with students calling out names, S repeating some of these loudly (aimed at A?), and A consulting with S which names to write on his example ballot.

'EU election'

[00:23:14.18]

S: Men nu på søndag kan vi så stemme på Lars Løkke og Helle Thorning?

Students calling out: neeej

Stb: det er tronfølgeloven

S: Man skal stemme om en tronfølgelov ... [Stb: EU] Og noget med EU

students calling out and asking questions all at the same time

S: det er rigtig. Jonas siger at på søndag . skal man STEMME i EUROPA PARLAMENTET.

Det er det der hedder EU hvor der skal nogen ned og sidde

(NOTE: again, do students know specifically what she means by 'someone has to go down and sit' in the EU parliament? Just because students are able to blurt out words they have heard in context together, doesn't mean they actually know what the connection is or how it works. I think this is another example of the teachers' assuming the students 'zone' is different from what it actually is. At least, the teachers don't seem to check up on it)

'Political Parties cont.'

[00:23:45.27]

S: Og så spørger JEG .. hvem er de personer? Og så siger øø Fahren lidt nå men der var noget med S F .. Hva' er SF for noget?

Fahren: Det er, det er øøø en slags .. øø

Jonas: (cutting off Fahren) *(Vestre?) Folkepartiet

S: Det er noget med folkeparti. Det er bare ikke **

Fahren: vestrefolkeparti. Det er rigtigt

S: F står for folkeparti.

Fahren: S står for seje

students giggle

S: Det står for SOSIALISTISK . folkeparti

Jonas: EEEJ! Jeg skulle lige til at sige det!

S: Ja.

'EU cont.'

[00:24:18.19]

Danial: hvornår er det valgdag for det derø EU

S: Det er på søndag

Danial: Nå er det på søndag man skal alt det der? (gesturing circles with his arm)

S: Der kommer man hen . hvis man er voksen ..

Appendices

several boys calling out different things at once

Jonas: Så skal vi stemme på Lars Løkke ... han stemmer på Lars Løkke *****(det har han fortalt?) .. ** Danmark i EU parlamentet

[00:24:38.01]

S: Shhhh

students are still calling out. One boy calls out to A: 'hvad er A, Adam?'. Adam has written several names on the ballot while the above was going on. He has created a table with abbreviated names of candidates on the left. The column to the right is labeled 'parti' and contains the letter(s) signifying the party the candidate is part of. There are one/two more columns to the right of this column and one of the resulting boxes, the one by the name, Helle T., has an X in it.

S: Shhh .. prøv at række hånden op

A: Shhh ... ræk hånden op (not aimed at anyone in particular it seems)

'Political Parties cont.'

[00:24:53.25]

S: når man snakker ordet politik nu er vi ved at komme LIDT ind på det hvis man snakker om politik i Danmark. ... I var inde på der er nogen PERSONER og Fahran var inde på at der var et PARTI der hed SF .. Så er der faktisk også nogen ... (looking over at the example ballot A has drawn) ANDRE partier .. og Lars Løkke repræsenterer et parti .. som er VENSTRE . Så er der noget der hedder DF, hvem er det? .. Jonas?

Jonas: Dansk Folkeparti

S: Ja.

S: Så er der noget der hedder A med Helle Thorning

Stb: Andre

students giggle

S: Jamen hvis du ved hvor Helle Thorning kommer fra ja?

Stb: demokratiets folk

S: Er der ikke nogen der ved hvilket parti Helle Thorning Schmidt er .. formand for

A: Det har ikke noget at gøre med A . bogstavet her

Students/boys are calling all sorts of things out now. Someone says 'australien', most of the other call outs are inaudible

[00:25:43.29]

A: Der er ikke noget det er ikke noget med A

[S: Det starter med]

S: Det starter med ... S...

Students are quiet for a moment and then one of the boys in the front of the room calls out 'spanien' which is ignored by both teachers. S continues immediately

S: ..'te parti (she is continuing from her S above)
the students are more quiet now. It seems no one has any ideas. Some, especially boys, continue to mumble a bit amongst themselves

A: Det er . et af de største partier der er
some students call out names of other political parties, 'radikale venstre', but no one can guess the name of the party the teachers are talking about

[00:26:01.08]

S: der er faktisk rigtig mange af forældre der stemme på det her parti
students are restless as she talks

Stb: hvad er det? (NOTE: asking out right. S looks at him then looks 'out' over the group.
Neither S nor A respond to the direct question.)

A: Det ku' godt have været arbejder***. Men det er SOSIALdemokraterne.
Students calling out all at the same time all different things

'Ballot cont.'

[00:26:24.04]

A: MEN

a girl who hasn't been in the class so far today, walks in as A is talking

S: Shhhhhhhhhhhh

A: Det her det er stemmen (tapping the ballot he has drawn on the flip over as he talks) Sådan et stemmekort som man måske får. Det er bare lidt længere der er ret mange mennesker på
og så er der selvfølgelig ikke denne her (pointing to the names he has written on the left) det her det er folk som er i .. folketinget . De skal ikke ned i EU. Ikke dem her. . Så herovre (pointing to the right most column) Hvad skal man gøre heovre tror I?

Stb: DER sætter man kryds for dem man **

Jonas: Sæt KRYDS

[00:26:50.28]

A: hvor mange krydser sætter man tror I?

Stb calling out: en. Other boys start calling out names of people they think A should 'vote' for

'Politics cont'

[00:26:58.03]

A: GODT. DET er bare lige et lille sidespring

A turns the flip over back to the page he was working on with the word 'politik' in the central oval. Meanwhile students are talking/calling out different things/mumbling amongst themselves

S: HVAD ER politik så for noget?

Jonas: Det er øø dansk *** (dansk folkeparti)

Appendices

Fahran: Det er ø folk der diskuterer . på en måde der øø samfundet ... ja

S: Folk der diskuterer og gør noget ved samfundet (she gives a little nod as she says this, aknowledging Fahran's comment)

Fahran: De laver debatter

S: HVEM bestemmer at de folk skal diskutere hvad de gør ved samfundet hvem bestemmer det? ... Hvem bestemmer at DE folk .. er VALGT til at gøre det? (while she talks, children are also talking, or just calling out single word answers)

Nichlas: Det er . alle de mennesker der stemmer

(Other boys call out answers at the same time as well, just not as loudly as Nichlas)

S: FOLKET

[00:27:41.02]

S: FOLKET vælger faktisk politikken, ik'?

Boys call out different things. A is writing on the flip over and drawing connecting lines between some of the things he has written up so far. One of the boys has said something which S responds to: 'ja .. nej men Lars Løkke er jo i folketinget *** *****' but because other children are talking/mumbling at the same time it's not clear what her point is. However it doesn't seem to be aimed at the whole class anyway. S pauses for almost a whole minute while she looks at the children and then at the flip over

'Checking that students know what the topic has been'

[00:28:07.16]

S: Er der nogen lige nu ikke forstår hvad det er vi snakker om? .. Så må man gerne sige det.

S: Anissa er du med i hjørnet der?

Anissa: ja

S: ok

A: Anissa kan du forklare . hvad politik er .. med dine egne ord

(NOTE: Once again, the stress on using 'your own words')

A boy calls out, starts answering, but is Shushed by S.

Anissa looks at the teachers, then shakes her head very slightly.

A: Bare noget . et eller andet ** .. det behøves ikke være det hele bare hvad hvad har det noget at gøre med.

Anissa: (very quietly, almost completely inaudible, except that I was standing right next to her) øm ... jeg ved det ik

A: du må godt kigge herop, hvis du kan se **

A: **

A: hvad siger du?

Anissa: (almost inaudible again) bestemmer over landet

A: . hvem gør det?

Anissa: politikken

A: hvad siger du?

Anissa: politikken

A: politikerne?

(NOTE: I can't imagine at A heard that Anissa said politikken not politikerne. She is very quiet and mumbles her answers from across the room. A's repetition here is ofcourse to point out to the rest of the class what the right answer is, and in doing so he puts a word in her mouth, as it were. I believe this again, is a point where the difference between what the teachers assume the students know/say is different from what they actually demonstrate because they aren't actually being asked to demonstrate fully what they know in a meaningful/functional way)

A: hm (nods very slightly)

'who decides?'

[00:28:57.11]

S: hvem bestemmer hvilke politikere der skal være i Danmark?

the students are mostly quiet now, although some of the boys in the front row mumble answers

S: (aimed at the boys mumbling answers) vi lader lige damerækken derovre svare

(NOTE: the girls sitting at the back of the room, where Anissa is sitting, have not been active in calling out answers, and I believe this is S's attempt to include the girls in the discussion, although it seems to me like it's more of a test situation for them, since they are expected to remember what everyone has called out in loosely related one-word answers and now put it together...)

S: Samyra?

Samyra: det er os

S: . Det er os

One boy makes a 'wrong' sound like on a gameshow while others starts to talk/mumble.

Samyra adjusts her answer:

Samyra: forældrene

S: ja

A: Fahran (indicating to Fahran and the boys around him to be quiet)

'The right to vote'

[00:29:13.14]

S: hvornår har man stemmeret?

Several boys put up their fingers. S nods to Adal as several students call out answers ('søndag')

S: huh? (aimed at Adal)

Adal: søndag

S: hvornår har man stemmeRET?

Adal: det ved jeg ikke (other students are calling out/mumbling at the same time)

S: hvornår har man ret til at stemme? hvornår har man ret til at gå hen og sætte et kryds?

Several students are mumbling/giggling/talking now. Some have their fingers raised

Appendices

S: Sarah

Sarah: når man er over 18

S: når man er over 18 (falling tone, indicating this is the correct answer)

(NOTE: interesting that she here pulls apart the vote part of the word stemmeret (right to vote) instead of the more difficult ret 'right to'. Students have already demonstrated that they know what voting is in the earlier discussion about ballots, it seems to me, but 'the right to vote' as a concept hasn't been discussed yet. Also, she doesn't follow up with Adal to make sure he's understood what she is actually asking about. By rewording her question she is indicating, it seems, that Adal has demonstrated that he doesn't know/understand, and she calls on a different student, Sarah, who ends up giving a satisfactory answer)

[00:29:32.24]

Boys are calling out different things. S points to Hussain, who has had his finger up

Hussain: og hvis man har dansk statsborgerskab.

S: OG hvis man har dansk statsborgerskab (she raises her tone significantly when repeating Hussain's answer. She is indicating that this was a good, relevant and correct answer, which hasn't been pointed out yet)

boys calling out

S: vigtig detalje

students mumbling

(NOTE: it seems the teachers are trying to develop the students concept connections again here, where instead of concentrating on the question they asked to start with (what is politics) they ask the students questions based on their responses meaning they move out along several different tangents, all related, but in the end the conversation risks moving off topic easily)

S: Shhhhh

S pauses for a while here, she looks around at the group of students. She smiles at some of them

'Democracy'

[00:29:54.28]

S: Godt. . Så tror jeg vi skal videre

Adam turns to a blank flip over page

The children are talking quietly amongst themselves. One of the girls says 'demokrati' loudly enough to be heard. S looks at the board, checks that democracy is the next word/topic for discussion, and repeats the word loudly to the whole class, thus announcing the next topic for discussion (NOTE: without acknowledging the girl's contribution)

[00:30:03.10]

S: Demokrati

A: Ja, det har vi lidt været inde over så det burde ikke være så svært. (as he writes the word on the new slipover page)

Stb: Demo . krati

Hussain: Demo det betyder

S: * kunne godt til at have at en pige starter lidt nu så kan du få lov at fortsætte

A: ja

Hussain: *****

A: Shhhh

S: nej

A: Hussain?

[00:30:18.02]

A: (aimed at the girls sitting in the front row) Jeg ved at ehh .I. har lavet noget ** . Er det ikke rigtigt?

S: Og det er den her (points to Fagforening) Den skal de have lov til at fortælle

A: God ide.

[00:30:30.27]

A: Samyra vil du lægge ud?

Samyra: hvad for en, demokrati eller hvad?

A: Demokrati

Samyra: Emmm ...(whispers with her buddy, points to paper) ej det synes jeg ik' ej ikke noget

A: Jo kom nu I har skrevet noget

S: Prøv at gå hen og tage dine briller på hvis du ik kan læse det

Samyra: Jeg kan godt læse det

Saima: så læs det

Samyra giggles and looks at her buddy, Saima.

[00:30:48.19]

S: Saima så siger du det . kom nu

Saima looks down at the paper

A: Hussain? (indicating for him to behave/be quiet)

S: Jonas sæt dig op

S: Fahran vend dig om

[00:31:03.19]

S: kom nu

Saima: Er det noget der har at gøre med El . elbygger

S: hva'?

Appendices

Saima: elbygger

[00:31:12.03]

S: Kan man ikke lige sidde stille med sine papirer lige nu? .. Og hvad siger du så?

Samyra: Er det ikke noget at gøre med det der el . bygger?

Samyra: E. L. Bygger

S: El-bygger?

Samyra: E L

Students start to call out different things, 'EU', 'Europa parlamentet' etc. They are all getting a bit restless and the teachers can't figure out what Saima and Samyra are talking about

Jonas: Europa Pairlament? De snakket om EU. Der er ikke noget der hedder E L

S: El bygger?

[00:31:36.23]

A. Hvad skriv læs hvad har I skrevet?

Saima hands the paper to Selma.

A: Shhh .. Stop . Nichlas

Samyra: skal jeg læse det?

S: ja

A: Ja, ja

Samyra: Em, Som har at gøre med (Giggles hides behind paper)

S: Ja kom så

Samyra: Som har at gøre med E-L bygger på demokrati

Stb: ..El bygger haha

Stg: Det har de ikke forstået

Some students giggle

[00:32:01.04]

S: Det det lyder, det meste lyder ok

A: har I skrevet det af fra en ordbog?

Samyra: neej, eller jo

S: Så skulle I jo lige have slået E L op os **

S walks over to Samyra and reaches for the paper, which Samyra gives her to look at

[00:32:16.11]

A: Adal!

[00:32:20.24]

S: Som har at gøre med.. ELLER bygge på demokrati. Eller . når der er E L punktum betyder det eller. (students giggle)

Stb: Jeg har skrevet af

S: Men men I har godt glemt at skrive noget, noget af sætningen, fordi. Demokrati som har at gøre eller bygger på demokrati. Hvad bygger på demokrati?

S hands the paper back to Selma

S: Prøv, prøv at tænk

Selma looks at Saima

S: Hvor er der demokrati henne?

[A: Jonas, jonas.] (A's attention is on Jonas to get him to sit up and behave)

Nichlas: hos demokraterne

[00:32:51.10]

S: Vi har demokrati i danmark?

S. looks at A. to get him to write on the mind map. The students repeat 'Danmark, Danmark', 'gode gamle Danmark' several of the boys are mumbling/talking

S: Shhhhhh.

A: Kan vi ikke lige få en ordentlig arbejdsro herinde

Jonas: Er demokrati ikke

S: (interrupting Jonas) Shh! Du skal ikke række hånden op og så snakke . Du skal række hånden op, og så siger vi dit navn lige om lidt . Saima siger vi har demokrati i Danmark . Hvad betyder det [Saima: det var godt gættet]

S: (addressing a student to her right) Jamen det kan godt være du kan vide, ved noget om det. Vi har lige snakket noget om politikere, om valg og(pauses to look around and make sure students aren't talking)

[00:33:23.19]

S: Er det KUN sådan på overfladen i samfundet vi har demokrati?

Some students shake their heads

(NOTE: this seems like a really complex question to ask. But the tone of voice she asks it in indicates quite clearly that the answer is no, which the students who shake their heads have picked up on)

[00:33:31.10]

S: Har vi nogen gange demokrati herinde?

Students calling out: 'nej', 'ja, ja.

S: Hvorfor har vi det, Danial?

Danila: Det ved jeg ikke

other students murmur, talking back and forth

S: ja men Danial siger noget

Appendices

Danial: (reading up from his paper) Demokrati er folkestyre for eksempel flere folk er enige ..
om EN ting

S: Det har noget med folkestyre, ja

A. writes on the mindmap

Stb: Se? nogen gange er vi enige om noget

Stb2: Vi er enige

Hussain: ja vi enige

'How much is a majority'

[00:33:59.05]

S: Hvor mange skal der være enige om noget for at tingene bliver vedtaget?

Stb: Hundrede procent

S: Skal der være hundrede procent?

Stb: Halvtreds.

Students (boys) calling out: 'jaa' 'Halvdelen', 'det skal være over halvdelen'

S: Hussain?

Hussain: Dem der er flest

S: Ja men hvor mange procent er det?

Students calling out: hundrede procent.

Hussain: en og halvtreds

Stb calling out: 'ja en og halvtreds, en og halvtreds det er rigtigt', 'mindst to!

A: turns around to write on the mind map

[00:34:21.05]

S. Nogen gange så er det endnu mere, men men man kan sige at for det meste er det når over
halvdelen har ret

Nichlas: (calling out) så bestemmer de?

S: Så bestemmer de.

A: ja

boys are calling out different things, numbers and

S: Nej ... Nej det skal være over halvdelen når tron. Er det ikke rigtigt . tronfølgeloven? (looks
at me)

Fahran: Sarah, der er valg. Der er et eller andet

[00:34:42.10]

A: Nogen gange . Prøv at hør . Nogen gange . så har man at man skal have over halvtreds
procent og nogen gange . når man . når noget eer .. vigtigt og der er rigtig mange der er enige ..
så har man noget der hedder at man også have to der skal være to tredjedele . der skal være ..
der skal sige ja.

S: Og er der ikke det det der med tronfølge hørte noget nemlig om at man slet ikke troede der kom så mange så det overhovedet kunne blive .. enige

A walks over to the chalkboard, picks up a piece of chalk and draws two circles, one above the other, on the board. He draws three lines in the top circle dividing it into thirds

S: Det var noget med hvis der kommer . kun føre procent af alle der bor i danmark der stemmer . så er der faktisk alt for lidt i forhold til at tage en beslutning om hvad det skal være.

[00:35:23.24]

A: Prøv at se . Det her .

Some students are talking. S shushes them

A: Fahran (indicating for F to be quiet)

A: Der er nogen gange hvor man siger . at når man laver en øø vedtager noget når man stemmer . så skal der være OVER halvdelen

A draws a line down the middle of the lower circle he has drawn and colors in one side

A: Det vil sige . halvdelen . måske plus en ik'? Wuup sådander .. så er det vedtaget . andre gange hvor man tænker her er det altså vigtigt . at vi har rigtig mange som synes det er en dårlig ide . fordi der er altid nogen der synes det er en dårlig ide jo . det kan I godt se . så hvis der kun er enoghalvtreds procent der synes det er en god ide så er der rigtig mange som synes det er en dårlig ide . så nogen gange så siger man . hvis det her skal vedtages så skal de FLESTE synes det er en god ide så derfor siger man (pointing to the circle with thirds) hear har men et et tre tredjedele . så skal TO tredjedele være enige ... (he shades two of the thirds in the circle) og det vil sige ... (writing next to the circle) over . hvor mange procent er der i . to tredjedele?

Hussain: cirka tre og treds procent?

Fahran: nej fireogtreds

Hussain: vi kan blive ved

Nichlas: seks

A: **

A turns around and writes 66 % on the board

Nichlas: ligesom hvis du skal dele hundrede op tre gange

S: ja . lige præcis (nodding at Nichlas)

A: ja .. (walking back to the flip over chart) men det er forskellig hvad man gør students murmur

A: men i hvert fald pointen er . at der skal være et FLERTal . begge gange . man kan ikke ø ... man kan ikke vedtage noget hvis der ikke er et flertal der er enige . Godt

Students are restless and talking, calling out to Adam and talking amongst themselves

A: Shhhh .. vent vent . shhh . Jonas?

Jonas: Ligesom når man er fire personer .. og man skal enes om noget . [A: ja] så er det tre af dem der er enige

Appendices

A: ja det er man nok nødt til . ellers kan man ikke blive enige hvis der er to og to .. Godt
A turns back to the flip over chart, ending the discussion. He draws a circle/oval around the word 'demokrati' which he has written in large on the top middle of the page.

'Democracy vs. not a democracy'

[00:37:22.03]

A: øøøm (looking at the flip over)

S: vi kom fra det der demokrati i Danmark

A: ja ... (turning to look at the group) øøm . hvordan kan man . jeg tænker .. hvis nu . at man forestiller sig et land . som IKKE har demokrati Vi er enige om at vi har demokrati i Danmark . det er at som vi skrev på den anden at der er nogen politikere . som blev stemt ind .. og så er de i folketinge . ja de er inde i Ishøj .. øø bystyre . eller hvad hedder sådan noget . Ishøj kommune . Så enten kan man være i folketinget eller så kan man være i kommunen og de bliver stemt ind .. af os . ikke af jer . men af os der er over atten år ...

A: kan I forestillie jer hvordan . kunne man have et land som IKKE var demokrati? . hvordan kunne et land . hvordan kunne et land SÅ blive styret?

Several boys start calling out, but quietly

A: Hvad?

S: shhh

A: op med hånden hvis man kan forestille sig en måde at et land kan blive styret som IKKE er demokrati . altså hvor man IKKE . alle folk IKKE stemmer nogen ind som sidder i folketinget der sidder og bestemmer det hele . hvordan kunne det ellers

S: (cutting A off) Dem findes der rigtig mange af det er lige at ø Danial siger at det kan man ikke

Danial: kan man godt være i et land der ikke er et demokrati?

S: det kan jeg love dig for

A: i Danmark i gamle dage der var der ikke demokrati

Several students have their hands up, several of the usual boys are calling out some answers

[00:38:36.19]

S: Jonas hvad siger du?

Jonas: **

S: hvad siger du?

Jonas: krig? .. når der ikke er demokrati .. ** tre tredjedele

it's getting louder in the room

A: Hej hej . shhh

S: Adam spørger . kan man være i et land uden demokrati . så rækker du hånden op og siger . krig

several students giggle, others start talking

Jonas: nej altså ****

[00:38:56.16]

S: kan man det?

Boys calling out: ja

S: Jonas .. kender du nogen lande hvor der ikke er demokrati?

Jonas: Afghanistan

several students/girls giggle, some of the boys call out comments

S: (in a quiet voice) der er faktisk rigtig rigtig mange muslimske lande hvor der ikke er demokrati

(NOTE: why is she so quiet when saying this... is it because it's sort of tabu to talk explicitly about muslim jf. Laura Gilliam's phd?)

students mumble

S: Saudi Arabien . og ... og også fordi hvis man foreksempel kun beslutter at det er mændene der må bestemme . så er det jo ikke demokratisk ...

[00:39:25.28]

A: hvordan laver man love i et land der ikke er et demokrati?

students mumble

A: Hvem bestemmer lovene når man ..

boys calling out: kongen, kongen det er rigtig, ministrene

A: vent vent lidt en af gangen . Hvis der er en konge ja .. hvordan bliver man konge bliver man stemt ind når man er konge?

Students/boys calling out: nej,

Fahran: nej så skal man være født i en kongefamilie

Stb: hallo du skal række hånden op

students giggle

A: i Danmark har vi også et kongerige jo

students call out different things, unclear

A: hvorfor ikke?

Fahran: fordi der ikke er nogen konge

Nichlas: der er en statsminister

A: en af gangen en af gangen prøv at hør jeg gider ikke mere ... (looking away from the boys, Nichlas and Fahran right in front of him)

Behaviour

[00:40:01.00]

A: Jeg synes at det her det går lidt over gevind nu jeg synes folk der er nogen her der sidder og snakker i munden på hinanden og der er nogen der over der ikke deltager

Appendices

Stb: hvad er bedst?

A: ingen af delene

students quiet down.

A: jeg synes lige vi tager den ... lige forfra og så tager vi lige at de folk derovre (indicating the students near the windows who haven't been participating) de melder sig in i kampen .. okay?

[00:40:26.12]

S: Kunne I ikke tænke jer at bestemme noget . i jeres liv?

Students: jo

S: Kig her .

several students, especially the boys in the front are still talking

A: Hussain ***** ... okay? (telling him to be quiet/behave)

S: Skal I bare adlyde manden og lykke munden? .. Hvad? ... Hvad siger du?

Stbg: **

S: Hvad synes du, synes du det kunne være rart at du selv måtte bestemme noget?

Stg: jeg er ligeglad

S: Hvad? Du LIGEglad? okay (looks around at de other students)

one of the boys calls something out. S responds to him

S: Hvad tror du jeg er

Students answer/mumble no

S: Nej det er jeg i hvert fald ikke (she laughs a little, shifts around a bit and then looks around at the students)

[00:41:03.13]

S: Hvis man lever i et demokratisk samfund og man er en mand eller dame så har man lige meget at skulle have sagt

Stb: i Danmark

S: Og man kan lige meget påvirke lovene til om de skal gå som kvinden vil have det eller som manden vil have det

Stb: calling something out

S: De fleste muslimske lande er det manden der bestemmer derfor må manden så også kun stemme

some students/boys in front respond/ask a question

S: der er i hvert fald sådan lidt . derhen af i Pakistan . man siger at det er lidt presset i Pakistan men så er der nogen . hensyn eller noget som måske *****

[00:41:41.25]

S: ja?

Jonas: ** demokrati i klassen *****

S: ja men jeg tænker hvornår har vi et demokrati her inde i klassen?

several students put their fingers up, some call out some answers

S: Gül . hvornår har vi et demokrati herinde i klassen?

Gül: nu?

S: har vi det?

some students giggle, others mumble answers

S: er det ikke mig der står og siger . luk munden? .. Jo ... det kalder man et totalitært (laughing and looking at Adam) Ej hvornår bruger I et demokrati hvornår er det I må være med til at bestemme noget? .. Og hvornår er det at en gang i mellem at det kun er (indicating the pie chart with halves) . lidt over halvdelen .. der bare skal have ret så vedtager vi det?

Nichlas, Danial and Hussain all have their fingers up eagerly in the front row

S: Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at se fire andre end Danial

S: (looks over to the part of the room near the windows where the quiet students are) nu siger jeg . Renata . hvornår . har vi demokrati her i vores klasse?

it's quiet. Renata is quiet/thinking, one student whispers something to another

Renata: nåår .. ****

S: (looks like she didn't understand what Renata said) (turns to A) Jeg tror vi tager et minut . ikke . pause men hvor man lige vender hovederne med sin makker og så siger man hvornår er det er vi har demokrati i danmark

Students talk amongst themselves

[00:43:58.17]

S: GODT . så er der gået et minut

Some students put up their fingers

S: og så skal der være FULDstændig ro igen

More students put up their fingers

S: Jeg starter selvfølgelig med at spørge Renata fordi det var Renata der ikke kunne svare

Renata: Elevrådet

S: Når man vælger til elevrådet . Hvordan fungerer det her inde i vores klasse?

Renata: øm vi skal, man skal altså den der skal gå til elevrådet de skal ** sammen og så skal de andre vælge

S: Så skal de stemme om det, ikke? .. Så der har vi faktisk vores to politikere, hvem er det vores to politikere er herinde?

Students call out: Hussain og Nichlas

S: Hussain og Nichlas I er vores politikere . I er FOLKET . i klassens repræsentanter .. Så vi forventer I opfører jer ordentligt og er nogle gode eksempler ikke?

(students mumble)

[00:44:47.03]

S: Samyra hvornår kender du til demokrati herinde?

Appendices

Samyra: I frikvarterne?

S: I frikvarterne hvad tænker du på i frikvarterne?

Samyra: At man selv bestemmer hvad man laver

S: Er det demokrati man selv må bestemme hvad man har lyst til at gøre?

Students callin gout: ja, nej

S: Hvad siger du Fahren?

Fahren: emmmm, jeg siger *****

S: Når I hvad?

Fahren: når vi samles og når vi ** hvad vi kunne gøre bedre i frikvarterne

S: Og hvad gør man så?

Fahren: Såååå, så siger man en masse ting hvad man kan gøre og så . em så ø så kan man gøre det?

S makes a face like she is thinking about the answer while she looks around. She then calls on Hussain

(NOTE: indicating this is not the correct answer)

[00:45:27.29]

S: Hussain

Hussain: Når vi skal holde foreksempel sommerfest og sådan noget . Hvis der ikke kommer mange så er det ligesom så er det under halv . Og så, så bliver det ikke accepteret . Så bliver der aflyst

S: Det kunne faktisk godt være lidt derhen af, ik? Når man tilmelder sig til noget . og vi har sagt hvis der ikke kommer . lidt over 50 procent .. Så aflyser vi .. Så det kan man faktisk godt sige på nær at vi ikke har siddet og stemt om det . Det er noget vi (gestures to A) har stemt om i vores team . Og vi er fire med femogtyve procentes rettigheder, og vi er enige 100 procent ... Så det er .. hvad hedder det . det er flerstemigt . etellerandet

S: Jonas

Jonas: for eksempel hvis man har sådan et emne om at man skal være ude i frikvarterne

S: ja

Jonas: og .. så skal barnet stemme om det ik'?

S: ja

Jonas: Og over halvtreds procent stemmer . nej

S: ja.

Jonas: Såå . så må man stadig være inde i klassen

[S: Hvad skal vi så? skal vi så være inde eller ude?]

S: Jeps . Det var et godt eksempel . og elevrådet var et godt eksempel.

[00:46:32.01]

S: Samyra?

Samyra: Dem øøø forældre, de der fire som har arrangeret sommerfesten

S: Ja?

Samyra: er det ikke også demokrati?

S: Jo . faktisk det er det . Faktisk når vi sidder til de der forældremøder ... Så tager vi selvøflelige ikke de forældre der ikke er der . det . de ø har ikke nogen stemmer . Man kan godt komme med en stemme og tage et papir også . Men ellers så sidder vi her og så er der faktisk nogen herinde der siger . nåmen vi vil gerne .. være forældrerepresentanter for klassen .. og så er det alle de andre forældre der siger ok det synes vi er i orden eller vi stemmer om det ... Det er også demokrati .. Så faktisk er de forældre .. jeres forældres . talerør til os ... Eller hvis der er noget de er utilfredse med så kan de faktisk skrive eller ringe til kontakforældrene ikke?

[00:47:18.26]

S: (looks around nodding) Det er rigtigt . Har du flere . eller er der nogen der har noget mer?

A: Adal

S: Adal?

Adal: øø det der elevrådet

S: ja

Adal: hvis nu en af dem bliver syge .

S: ja

Adal: så er der en der overtager deres **

S: (interrupting) ja suppleanter

Adal: ja

S: (pointing to a student in front of her) er det ikke dig der er suppleant?

Several students start to talk at once, commenting on who the alternates/deputies are.

S: så vi har faktisk ikke fået nogen suppleanter

Students calling out: jo. jo. naming children

S: nååå ok.

Students are mumling / talking amongst themselves. Adal says something to S, which is unclear on the video. S responds, also unclear. Adal says something as he point to Ismail, sitting in front of him (Ismail and Adal were buddies throughout the unit).

S: hvad snakkede dig og [

Ismail: (cutting S off) Valgmuligheder

S: (loudly, aimed at the whole class, probably to get their attention again) Valgmuligheder

S: (looking at A and the flip over chart) demokrati det har vel også noget med valgmuligheder

A writes 'valgmuligheder' / choices on the flip over

[00:48:13.07]

S: Faktisk det der med frikvarteret hvor man selv bestemmer hvad man har lyst til ik'? ... det er faktisk nærmere sådan noget der hedder anarkisme.

[Stb: Anarkisme!]

Appendices

S: hvor der ikke er nogen love
students, especially boys, comment on this, calling out at the same time.
S laughs as she looks at A.

[00:48:31.02]

S: Godt! Skal vi lige gå videre til det næste .. har vi [

A: (cutting off S) Jeg tænkte bare lige hurtig . hvad . er det marte ved foreksempel at . at . at vi
vælg vi stemmer . vi vælger TO der går i elevrådet . i stedet får ø .. ville det ikke være federe
hvis vi allesammen gik derover? Alle alle eleverne fra alle klasserne gik derover og så alle
skulle få lov til at sige deres mening?

Students/boys comment, call out answers, talking at the same time.

A: Men altså ..

Nichlas: Så er der bare to der akn føre det hele **

A: (looks at Nichlas and nods, then looks at the group) Kan I se det?

Noone answers

A: Det er lige som i Danmark ik'?

Students are quiet

A: det ville ikke give nogen mening hvis alle .. skulle sætte sig ned og beslutte ALT ... faktisk
ude på Shristiania kender I det?

Students call out: jaaa

A: derude der har de . der er de sådan en ø der har de sådan en øø måde de bestemmer på som
er . at de sætter sig . ALLE der bor derude .. De kommer . til sådan nogen møder ..

S: Fællesmøder

A: fællesmøder ... og så skal de vælge skal de beslutte ALT ting sammen .. Og der har de også
. jeg ved ikke om de har .. De har altså der skal være mere end halvtreds procent som er enige
... jeg ved ikke hvor meget det det er rigtig mange der skal være enige . det er nærmest .. det er
også mere end seksogtreds tror jeg

Stb: en million

A: ej der er VIRK de skal VIRKELIG være enige derude for at [

Stb: **

A: hvad?

A: ej jeg tror ikke det er hundrede procent men . men det er altså ..

Students/boys call out guesses: mere end halvfjerds

A: ja, men det er MEGET i hvert fald. Prøv at tænke på .. hvor BESVÆRLIGT . det er .. når
man har et system hvor ALLE skal komme og tage beslutninger sammen og diskutere . og
man skal være enig om alt.

Students are quiet, but shuffling around in their seats

A: det er derfor det så smart at vi har elevrådet . at vi vælger TO ... så man siger alle os vi siger
. Jeg siger GOD for Hussain . jeg siger god for Nichlas .. De kan godt tage øø det kan godt

passe på vores øø hvad kan man sige . sørge for at vi har det godt i klassen og sige det videre ..

De vil det bedste for os ik'?

Students are quiet

A: Hussain (I think Hussain must have been fidgeting or something, as he hasn't said anything.

A's tone of voice sounds like he is telling Hussain to behave)

A: ja (taps the flip over with his marker as he says this. It sounds like an 'ok, enough on that topic' kind of 'ja')

(NOTE: it seems to me that asking students to imagine what it must be like for a community like Shristiania to have their full democracy where everyone must agree before a decision is made is pretty abstract and hard to do, especially when this is quite removed from what they were looking at and reading about in the sat ud unit. I realize A is trying to illustrate the advantages of a representative democracy and using examples such as the student council to make it as relevant for the students as possible, but even so the 'discussion'/ie his talking about it 'at them' as it were, isn't really engaging. Especially considering that this is 50 minutes into the lesson, where the kids have been sitting (quietly) for that whole time on their buckets. Most of the students look like they are bored or not following along and even the group of boys who have been especially active in calling out for the past 30 minutes or so, look like they wish the teachers would stop talking already. Perhaps A picks up on this as he taps the flip over and ends the conversation. Perhaps that 'ja' actually is more of an 'well I tried to explain it' 'ja' in addition to an 'we're ending this topic now' 'ja')

[00:50:28.25]

A turns to a blank page on the flip over.

S: SÅ kommer vi til . FAGFORENING piger

(the last word / girls is aimed at a group of girls, who, like most of the other students are talking amongst themselves to make them be quiet) Most of the students are talking now, sounding discontent. One of the boys near me asks 'er vi ikke snart færdige med detder'/aren't we soon done with this? A and S look at each other, students shuffle around on their seats, some of them moving their buckets around a bit. A starts to write the word 'fagforening'/union on the blank page of the flip over chart. Several boys have their fingers up.

Students are talking, several are engaging S in a discussion along the lines of how long they have to keep going / why they have to do this. Because of the ambient noise in the room it's unclear what the student says, but S's responses are audible:

S: Shhhh

S: fordi I skal fortælle hvad en fagforening er

S: du kan ikke forstå noget af det?

S: (turning to A) Adal forstår ikke noget af det

Appendices

A: Af hvad?

S: af det vi laver

The teachers exchange a look

A: Adal vi er i gang med at forklare de ord der står her (indicating the three words on the blackboard)

Adal: jeg forstår det stadig ikke

S: forstår du ikke at når vi står og snakker om hvad det er de ord betyder?

Adal: det er bare *(underligt?)

S: (looking at A) nå

A: Du må meget gerne spørge hvis der er noget du er i tvivl om

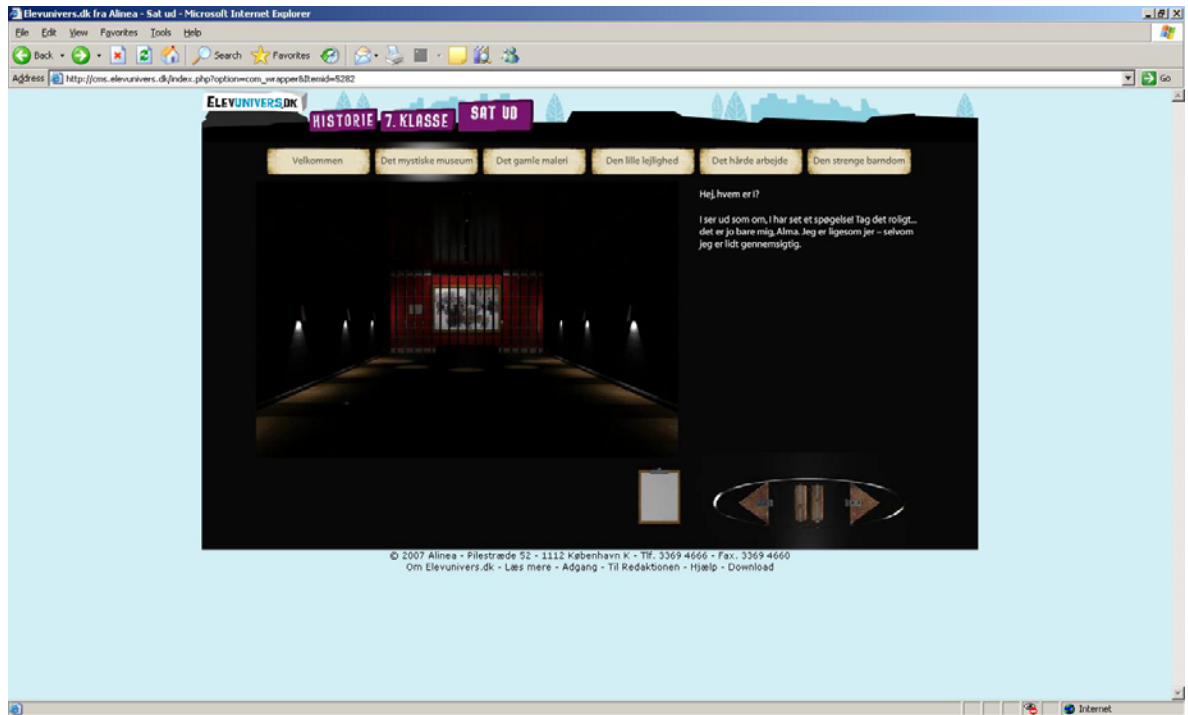
Adal is sitting with his knees up, his feet on the bucket with his bum. After A tells him to just ask, Adal puts his head down on his knees.

Appendix 4: DVD with video recordings

The DVDs here provide documentation for a portion of the raw data collected. It has not been possible to render teachers and students anonymous in these recordings (which otherwise has been done as far as is possible in the research, i.e. through changing names etc.). These recordings, therefore, may only be viewed by the evaluation committee in order to maintain anonymity as far as this is possible, and the DVDs are not to be made publicly available upon publishing of this work.

Appendix 5: Examples of screen shots from Sat Ud

This appendix provides several screen shots from the online teaching materials, Sat Ud (Alinea, 2007). The shots chosen are from the beginning of the materials, showing how the material introduces itself to students. This is complemented by several screen shots from the middle of the materials, showing both screen shots with text (ie. those screen shots providing information for students about the historical time period being studied) and screen shots exemplifying some of the tasks students were asked to complete. As much as possible, these supplement the analyses done in the articles of the PhD, by providing evidence of the discussed / analyzed tasks relevant for the articles.



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Opgave 1:
Alma har brug for din hjælp til at komme ind til sin familie.
Hold øje med den store røde knap og tryk på den, når du ser den!

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Fantastisk! Nu er vi inde i billedet. Jeg sagde jo, at det kunne lade sig gøre. Jeg tror ikke, at manden er fulgt efter os. Vi er sikre her.
Lagde I for resten mærke til skiltet? Nu leger vi gætteleg, og jeg stiller spørgsmålene. Hvorfor? Fordi jeg er den klogeste!

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Opgave 3

Diskuter titlen "Sat ud"

Hvad mon det betyder at blive sat ud?

Og hvorfor tror du, at Erik Henningsen har valgt netop den titel?

Skriv svarene ned på et stykke papir og klik på pilen, når opgaven er løst.

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Erik Henningsen

Sat ud
1892

Opgave 2

Hvad tror du årstallet på kortet står for?

Klik på den rigtige sætning

Det år billedet blev malet?

Det år maleren blev født?

Det år maleren døde?

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F: "Hvor hjerteløst. Her midt om vinteren. Hvis min familie skal bo på gaden, dør vi jo af kulde."
 B: "I kan prøve at gå hen til fattiggården. De kan måske sørge for, at din datter og svigermor kan få lidt at spise og sove et varmt sted."
 F: "Hvad så med mig og min kone?"
 B: "I kan melde jer som daglejere til at skovle sne. Der er masser af arbejde til dem, der gider!"

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Opgave 5

Skriv selv en sætning på et stykke papir, hvor du bruger ordene "sat ud". Prøv at få ordene til at betyde det samme som de gør på maleriet.

Klik på pilen, når opgaven er løst.

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Er det ikke en flot lejlighed? Her har jeg leget meget - når jeg altså ikke skulle hjælpe min mor med husarbejdet.

Vi havde to værelser. Stuen lå ud til gaden og til gården var soveværelset og det lille, men hyggelige køkken.

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Opgave 7

Hvad betyder følgende ord fra dialogen?
Svigermor, arbejdsløs, fattiggården og daglejere.

Slå ordene op i ordbogen, hvis du er i tvivl.

Skriv en sætning på et stykke papir; hvor du bruger et eller flere af ordene.

Klik på pilen, når opgaven er løst.

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Hov, hvad er det.
Det er jo en del af opskriften. Måske får vi pandekager alligevel!

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Hvordan bor I selv? Det kunne jeg altså godt lide at vide.

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Prøv at se lidt nærmere på min far og mor. Der er noget, jeg gerne vil forklare jer.

De rige havde råd til at ansætte min mor til at gøre det hårde arbejde. Jeg kan huske, at jeg engang var med oppe i en lejlighed for at hjælpe min mor. De havde en fin dug på bordet og flotte møbler. Det fik mig til at skamme mig over min egen lejlighed, selvom jeg var så glad for den.

Min far arbejdede mange forskellige steder, fordi han var ufaglært. Det vil sige, at han ikke var udlært i et håndværk, men lavede mange forskellige ting. Hvis fabrikken kom i vanskeligheder, var det altid de ufaglærte, som blev fyret først.

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Mine forældre arbejdede faktisk hele tiden. Det var de nødt til, for ellers havde vi ikke penge nok. Min far var ufaglært arbejdsmand på en fabrik. Så han arbejdede ti timer om dagen. Alle dage undtagen søndag. Det var hårdt, men han var stolt af den indsats, han gjorde for os.

Næsten alle de penge, min far tjente, gik til huslejen – og så til mad til os alle. Hvis vi skulle have noget ekstra, måtte min mor også arbejde. Hun var vaskekone for nogle fine fruer på Østerbro. Det gav lidt ekstra til tøj og andre ting.

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Det er altså meget uhyggeligt. Det er som om det hele bliver blandet sammen.

Måske er det fordi, min fortid er ved at komme til live?

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Nu tror jeg, at jeg forstår det hele meget bedre!

Min far blev fyret, fordi han kæmpede for bedre forhold. Det var ikke fordi han bare brokkede sig, som de sagde. Men min mor blev alligevel sur på ham, fordi han blev fyret.

Jeg ved ikke, hvem af dem, jeg skal holde med. Måske ønskede de begge to det bedste for mig?

Men det er jo forfærdeligt, det min mor siger om tobaksfabrikken. Eller børnehjemmet!

Nu begynder jeg at huske.

Fordi min far blev fyret, fik jeg arbejde på tobaksfabrikken. Og der var beskidt og larmende ...og ...og ... Nej, jeg vil slet ikke tænke på det!

Lad mig være alene et øjeblik...

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Opgave 20

Prøv at finde ud af hvor meget tid du bruger på at gå i skole, holde fri, arbejde og sove.

Lav et ur, der viser hvordan et døgn ser ud for dig.

Sammenlign dit liv i dag med dengang og lav en liste over forskelle og ligheder.

Skriv et indlæg til skolebladet om forskellen på børns liv i dag og for hundrede år siden.

Klik på pilen, når opgaven er løst.

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Jeg kunne faktisk godt tænke mig at få noget mere at vide om den måde, I lever på.

Det virker som om, at jeres forældre synes, at I er meget vigtige. I har meget plads og tid til at lege. Men for mig og de andre børn var det altså anderledes.

Vi havde ikke meget tid til at lege, for vi skulle hele tiden gå i skole, hjælpe vores forældre med arbejdet, eller selv gå på arbejde. Det var mest om søndagen, vi havde nogle timer fri. Så legede vi i gården. Men vi måtte ikke larme, for så kom viceværten.

Vi skulle holde vores mund og kun tale, når vi blev spurgt. "Kæft trit og retning", kaldte de det. Og vi fik en lussing, hvis vi ikke opførte os ordentligt.

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Bedstemor, kan du høre mig?

Ja, Det kan du godt?! Hvor er det fantastisk.

Du virker så levende nu og jeg husker det hele. Jeg husker, hvordan du passede på mig, da jeg blev syg, fordi jeg havde arbejdet på tobaksfabrikken. Du prøvede at trøste mig og berolige mig. Stakkels bedstemor, og stakkels far og mor. I ville det bedste for mig, men det var for hårdt. Jeg kunne ikke holde til det.

Men kære familie. Jeg er glad for at være hos jer igen! Det er som om, alt det onde forsvinder, som om jeg falder helt til ro. Jeg behøver ikke drive omkring længere. Og jeg er ikke mere rastløs. Jeg behøver ikke være spøgelse mere.

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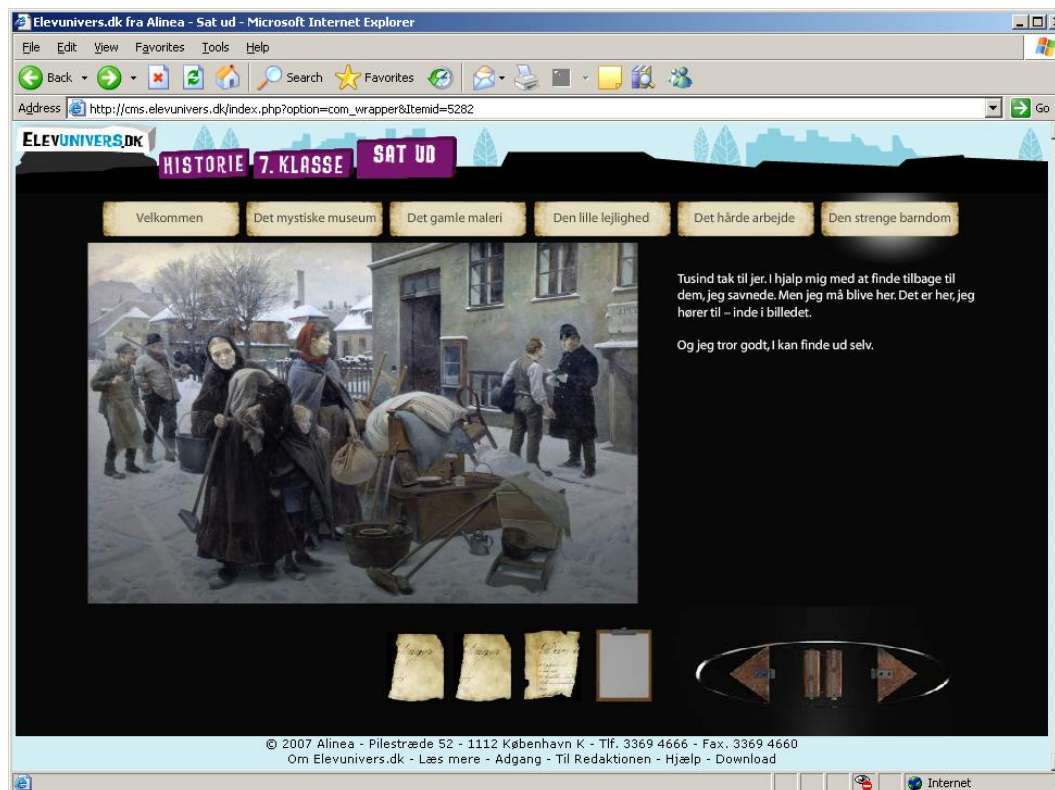
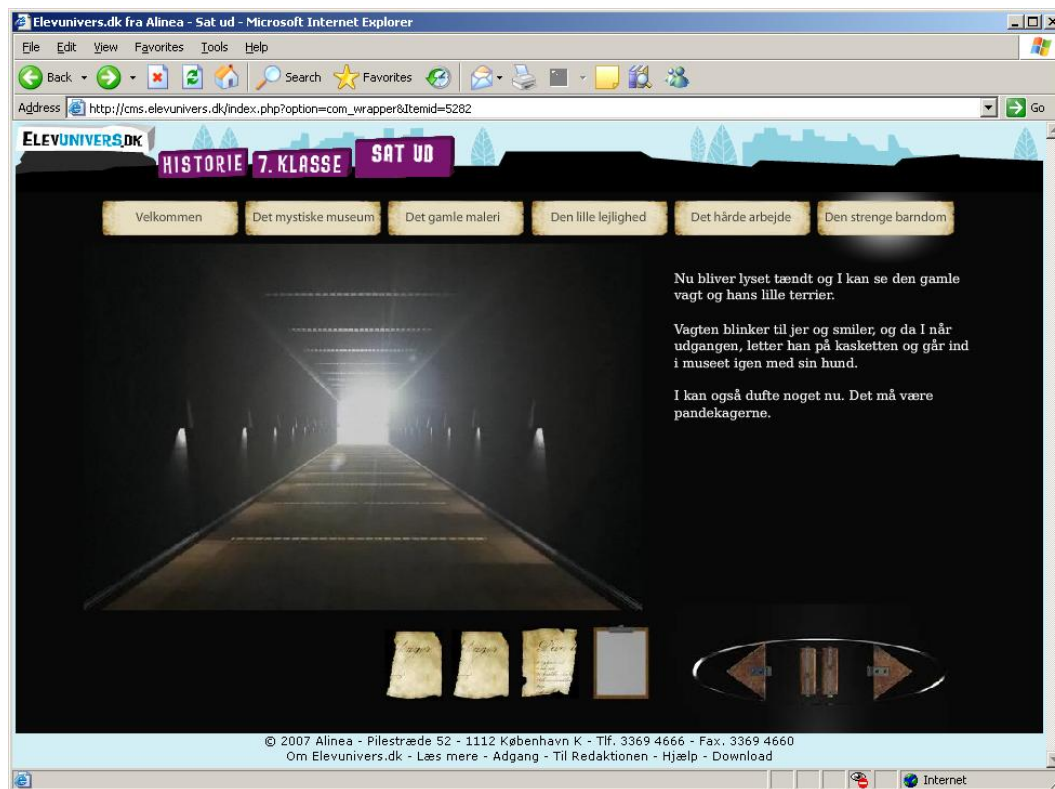


Nå, skal vi ikke snart se at få nogle pandekager?

Jeg har næsten hele bedstemors opskrift.

Åh hvor jeg dog savner hende. Nu vil jeg altså vide, hvad hun tænker på!

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Appendix 6: Excerpts from the teacher-guide for Sat Ud

The following are several excerpts from the teacher-guide for the Sat Ud materials. The excerpts include several pages from each of the major sections (described in the introductory chapter), and give an indication of the kind of help teachers can get in these materials. Upon request, the entire teacher-guide can be made available to the evaluation committee.

INGER M. CLAUSEN

Lærervejledning til

SAT UD

– et online undervisningsforløb i historie og dansk for mellemtrinnet



Oversigt

- 4 Om undervisningsmaterialet
- 6 Praktisk guide
- 8 Målgruppe og mål
- 11 Undervisningen med opgaveeksempler
 - Læseforståelse – af tekster i historiefaget
 - Skriftlighed
 - Mundtlighed
 - Ordforrådsarbejde
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- 43 Kildekritik og netsikkerhed
- 45 Adresser og links
- 47 Litteraturliste



Om undervisningsmaterialet

SAT UD er et tværfagligt undervisningsforløb i historie, dansk, dansk som andetsprog og billedkunst for mellemtrinnet. Forløbet udnytter de digitale medier og henvender sig til klasser med tosprogede elever på mellemtrinnet. Men det kan sagtens anvendes også i klasser uden tosprogede elever.

Vi har taget fat i billeder i forbindelse med historieundervisningen, fordi billeder er gode til at formidle for forståelse til tekst og kan give viden uden kendskab til de danske ord. Men samtidig bruges til at udvikle kompetencer på andetsprog og viden på et fagligt område, der er relevant i skolesammenhæng. Vi har lagt stor vægt på, at der er mulighed for undervisningsdifferentiering i forløbet, og at eleverne kan arbejde selvstændigt og selvstyrende.

SAT UD er startet som et forsøgsarbejde og udarbejdet af en projektgruppe i Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen, Københavns kommune. Projektgruppen bestod af:

- Bo Sørensen, lærer
- Inger M. Clausen, pædagogisk konsulent, Integration og Mangfoldighed
- Ingrid Skovgaard Andersen, afdelingsleder i det tidligere Center for Undervisningsmidler
- Kristine Herning, pædagogisk vejleder på Center for Informatik
- Marianne Frederiksen, tidligere skoleleder på Blaagaardsskolen
- Mona Engelbrecht, pædagogisk konsulent, Integration og Mangfoldighed

SAT UD-forløbet blev i første omgang produceret i Power Point. Det blev afprøvet i københavnske skoleklasser, hvor det viste, at det fængede eleverne og var velegnet til klasser, med stor differentiering. Derefter er det blevet videreudviklet af konsulent Inger M. Clausen.

Det er nyfortolket og tilføjet narrative elementer af it-produktionsselskabet Congin. Congin har også stået for transformationen fra Power Point til Internetversion og den efterfølgende pædagogiske afprøvning, samt usability test med elever i folkeskolen.

Produktionen er økonomisk støttet af Undervisningsministeriets udviklingsprogram: "En skole i bevægelse" og af Børne- og Ungdomsforvaltningen i Københavns Kommune.

Forlaget Alinea er udgiver af materialet.

Crossroads Copenhagen har stået for at samle, rådgive og koordinere de forskellige partshavere.

Billedet „SAT UD“ er malet af Erik Henningsen i 1892. Det hænger på Statens Museum for Kunst i København. Museet har givet tilladelse til at bruge en reproduktion af billedet, fotograferet af SMK Foto, i forbindelse med dette undervisningsforløb.

Bo Sørensen har leveret fotos fra Familien Sørensens lejlighed på Arbejdermuseet.



Målgruppe og mål

Målgruppe

Målgruppen er elever på 4.-7. klassetrin, herunder klasser med tosprogede elever. SAT UD-forløbet kan også anvendes i slutningen af opholdet i modtagelsesklasser og på holdundervisning i den supplerende undervisning, hvor dansk som andetsprog er en dimension i historieundervisningen.

Mål

Historie

Billedet er valgt, fordi det giver mulighed for en god indlevelse i københavnske arbejderes situation omkring 1900-tallet. Epoken er væsentlig pga. migrationen fra land til by, tidlig industrialisering og kampen for demokrati. Ydermere indgår Slaget ved Fælleden i historiekanonien.

Forløbet kan suppleres med besøg og oplevelser på Arbejdermuseet, Københavns Bymuseum, Nationalmuseets Klunkehjem og på kunstmuseer som f.eks. Statens Museum for Kunst og Ordrupgård.

I forhold til Undervisningsministeriets fælles trinmål efter 6. klassetrin vil det kunne opfylde følgende:

- fortælle om forandringsprocesser fra Danmarks historie, som knytter sig til kongemagt, kirke, landbrug og industri.
- fortælle om historiske personligheder og den betydning, de tillægges for udvikling af politiske og kulturelle fællesskaber.
- give eksempler på emigration, immigration og mobilitet, og den betydning det har for familier.
- give eksempler på betingelser for varefremstilling i forskellige samfundstyper, herunder selvstændige håndværk og landbrug, industrialisering og kollektivisering.
- beskrive magtforhold mellem samfundsborgere og magthavere reguleret gennem lovgivning, forhandling og revolution.
- gengive hovedindholdet af en historisk fremstilling og præcisere de vigtigste budskaber.
- anvende relevante informationskilder fra filmklip, Internettet og avisartikler.
- formulere historiske fortællinger, som lægger sociale og kulturelle perspektiver på historiske begivenheder.
- etablere historiske scenarier i form af drama, rollespil og udstilling.
- placere emner og temaer, som klassen har arbejdet med, på klassens tidsfrise og angive geografisk område.
- give eksempler på tidstypiske fremstillingsformer og opfindelser, der er begrundet i udvikling af værktøj, materialer og videnskab.



Undervisningen med opgaveeksempler

Denne del af lærervejledningen indeholder følgende afsnit til inspiration

- **Læseforståelse – af tekster i historiefaget**
- Skriftlighed
- Mundtlighed
- Ordforrådsarbejde
- Arbejde med billeder

Læseforståelse af tekster i historiefaget

I undervisningen af læseforståelse af historiske tekster må man både arbejde generelt med læseforståelse og med de mere specifikke træk ved tekstgenren i historiefaget.

Det generelle ved læseforståelse er f.eks. kendskab til ordforråd, at aktivere sin baggrundsviden og at arbejde med forforståelse, at kende tekstens opbygning og genre, samt at kunne danne følgeslutninger og danne mentale forestillingsbilleder. Desuden skal læseren have en aktiv læseindstilling til teksten i form af krav til egen forståelse og anvendelse af egnede læsestrategier i forhold til læseformål. (Se også M. Brudholm 2002 s.29).

Ordforrådstilegnelsen og opgaver i forbindelse med ordforråd er omtalt andetsteds i denne vejledning.

Billedstøtte til forståelse

Historietekster kan lettere forstås, når der først er talt om billederne, ordforrådet er blevet gennemgået, de er blevet tolket, og der har været udformet hypoteser om, hvad billederne kan handle om, hvad der sker før og efter osv. Det vil sige at eleverne har fået en forforståelse og nogle redskaber, der gør det lettere at læse teksten til billederne. Gætning på et billede giver en mere aktiv indgang til læsningen og forståelsen af teksten. Bøger, hvor der er en tæt relation mellem tekst og billeder, er lettere at forstå end f.eks. tekster uden billeder, eller hvor billederne kun har en lille relation til teksten.

Den historiske fortælling

Tekstgenren og tekstopbygningen er i historiefaget kendetegnet ved at den er fortællende. Enten som genfortællende begivenheder i en kronologisk rækkefølge eller som en beretning fortalt som en blanding mellem fakta og fiktion. Det vi kalder faktion. Tekstopbygningen i den fortællende genre i fiktion og faktion er kendetegnet ved en indledning, en handling og en slutning. Det kronologiske forløb i faghistoriske tekster er kendetegnet ved hændelser,

der er en konsekvens af, eller som får indflydelse på, andre hændelser. Det kronologiske forløb kan tydeliggøres ved fremstilling af en tidslinje (se nedenfor). Der fortælles oftest i datid og tekst-forbinderne er ord som først, dernæst, efter, siden, endelig. Handlingen i begivenhederne indebærer, at det er verberne, som bliver de centrale, det er dem, der bærer beretningen frem. For forståelsen af teksterne er det derfor vigtigt, at læseren kan gennemskue, hvem der er de handlende, og hvem det påvirker.

I undervisningen kan man bl.a. arbejde med to-kolonnenoter (se nedenfor) for at få tydeliggjort dette. I ordforrådsarbejdet er det vigtigt, at eleverne forstår de verber, som forekommer i teksten.

Forklarende historietekster

En del tekster i historiefaget er desuden forklarende. F.eks. i forhold til sociale fænomener. Forklarende tekster er kendetegnet ved en årsag/følge opbygning af teksten, som er med til at forklare, hvorfor noget sker. Teksten er bygget op om en række af hændelser, der indbyrdes er karakteriseret ved, at de kan forklares ud fra en årsags-følgeslutning. For tosprogede vil det være en hjælp, at teksten udpensler årsags/følge sammenhængen, selvom teksten i så fald bliver længere. Som lærer er det vigtigt, at man er opmærksom på, at teksten klart angiver, hvem der handler, og hvilke følger det får. Der fortælles i datid, og forbinderne er typisk tidsbindeord (da, dernæst, efter, så) eller årsagsbindeord (fordi, derfor, således).

I undervisningen kan der arbejdes med årsag/følge-kort (se nedenfor) og understregning af årsagsbindeord i teksten.

Eksempler på opgaver til læseforståelse af historiske tekster

Når der arbejdes med læseforståelse i en klasse med mange tosprogede elever, er det meget vigtigt i undervisningen at gøre meget ud af forforståelsen og aktivering af baggrundsviden. Både forforståelse og baggrundsviden er indlejret i en kulturel kontekst, og oftest bygger læreren uforvarende på dette, således at det ikke kommer eksplicit frem i undervisningen. En undervisning der er opdelt i før-, under- og efter-læseaktiviteter sikrer, at den kulturelle kontekst bliver kendt og gøres til genstand for undervisningen.

Førlæseaktiviteter

VØL-skema

Elevernes forhåndsviden om et emne eller en tidsperiode kan forhåndsaktiveres gennem det såkaldte V-Ø-L skema. V står for "det ved jeg", Ø står for "det ønsker jeg at få at vide" og L står for "det har jeg lært". V og Ø udfyldes før læseaktiviteten, og L skal udfyldes som efterlæseaktivitet. Skemaet kan være medvirkende til, at eleverne læser aktivt og bliver bevidst om deres læsestrategier (metakognitiv viden om læsning).

Skemaet kan se således ud brugt f.eks. på afsnittet "Børneliv – Leg og boldspil forbudt" i "Familiens liv og hverdag år 1900".

V Dette ved jeg	Ø Dette ønsker jeg at vide	L Dette har jeg lært
Børn skulle arbejde for 100 år siden	Kunne de lide at arbejde? Hvor længe arbejdede de? Hvad tjente de?	Det var meget hårdt, men de synes det var naturligt. Mange arbejdede op til 6½ time efter skoletid. 3 børn tjente tilsammen 14 kr. på et år.

Stille spørgsmål til teksten

Elevernes opmærksomhed på forståelse af en tekst skærpes, når de først skal danne sig en forestilling om tekstens indhold. En sådan forforståelse kan begynde med, at man taler om billederne og billedteksten og læser overskrifterne. Dette aktiverer også elevernes baggrundsviden. Det er en fordel, at denne aktivitet foregår som klassesamtale, da elevernes forskellige baggrundsviden kan inddrages. Det man allerede ved, kan være udgangspunkt for det, man ikke er sikker på, og derfor gerne vil undersøge. Eller det kan skærpe interessen for at få noget yderligere belyst. Elevernes spørgsmål vil mange gange falde uden for teksten eller ikke have mulighed for at blive belyst i teksten. Her må læreren på forhånd tage stilling til, om tekstvalget skal udbygges, evt. med søgning på Internettet til at belyse de spørgsmål, eleverne er fremkommet med.

Aktiviteten kan efterfølges af, at eleverne individuelt udfylder et VØL skema (se ovenfor).

Under læseaktiviteter

Tidslinje

Lad eleverne lave en tidslinje fra f.eks. 1850 til 1920. Tidslinjen kan evt. hænges op i klassen og efterhånden som årstal og begivenheder bliver kendt gennem læsningen, kan de hæftes på/føjes på tidslinjen.



Tidslinjen hjælper eleverne til visuelt at forstå begivenhederne i deres rækkefølge.

To-kolonne notater

To-kolonnenotaterne er velegnede, når eleverne skal skelne mellem hovedidéer og detaljer eller overordnet/underordnet information. Det kan hjælpe eleverne med at organisere og huske informationer.

Arbejde med billeder

Billedkunst kan med fordel inddrages i undervisningsforløbet med SAT UD. Billedkunst som fag stopper i folkeskolen efter 5. klassetrin. Der er mulighed for at vælge faget som valgfag på de ældste klassetrin. I billedkundskab præsenteres eleverne for forskellige stilarter og udtryksformer. Disse sættes i relation til tidsperioden. Med billedet SAT UD af Erik Henningsen kan man fortælle om tiden og miljøet, som skildres i det moderne gennembrud i den danske malerkunst. Læreren kan vise andre billeder af Erik Henningsen, som viser hans sociale indignation og også vise kunstneres malerier fra perioden, f.eks. L.A. Ring med motiver fra landet.

Beskrivelsen nedenfor af billedet SAT UD stammer fra Statens Museum for kunst. Det kan være læreres baggrundviden til formidling af billedet. I øvrigt har vi under **Opgaver** indføjet mulige elevopgaver.

Billeder og sprog

Billeder er gode til at producere og lære sprog ud fra. De repræsenterer i det enkelte billede et helt univers, der kan sættes ord på og tales om, men som alligevel er afgrænset og fastholdt med billedets rammer. Et billede kan hurtigere aflæses end en lang historisk tekst, og det kan give langt flere informationer med et enkelt blik end en læst tekst.

Arbejde med billeder kan ske via at tømme billedet for ord (masser af navneord, udsagnsord og adjektiver). Hermed sikres, at det er et fælles og kendt ordforråd, der tales om. Det kan uddybes med længere sætninger og beskrivelser af, hvad der foregår på billedet. Endelig kan man snakke om, hvad der var sket i situationen før billedet, og hvad der vil ske efter billedet for at få den tidsmæssige dimension ind og få det fabulerende ind.

Snak om billeder er motiverende for eleven, idet han/hun selv lægger oplevelser og indhold ind i tolkningen af billedet.



Sat ud 1892



I maleriet SAT UD vender Erik Henningsen tilbage til en af tidens mere aktuelle emner, dog ikke så kontroversielt som „Summum jus“, hvorfor det kunne accepteres på Charlottenborg.

Henningsen kunne desuden nu deltage i Charlottenborg-udstillingerne uden for censur, idet han to gange havde modtaget Eckersbergs Medalje (Akademiets års-medalje i 1887 og 1890), og derved blev medlem af Akademiets plenarforsamling.

Maleriets handling udspilles i et gaderum, der kan identificeres som Blågårdsgade på Nørrebro, et af de nye tætbefolkede arbejderkvarterer, som skød op i takt med det hastigt voksende antal af tilflyttere til København. Trods byggematadorer og spekulation i små lejligheder (25 m²), blev bolig manglen imidlertid kun delvis afhjulpet af de nye „brokvarterer“.

I SAT UD står to kvinder og en pige midt på gaden med deres sparsomme bohøve, mens en mand diskuterer med en betjent inde på fortovet. Kunstneren har valgt at forstærke den alvorlige situation ved vinter og kulde, så mennesker og indbo er endt i den kolde sne, idet den store bolignød og manglende boliglovgivning betød, at blot en enkelt manglende husleje kunne medføre, at lejerne straks blev sat ud af kongens foged.

Her har fogeden afsluttet sin forretning og er i baggrunden på vej bort, mens han tænder sin pipe.

Den gamle bedstemor og den unge mor, der holder sin datter i hånden, ser efter deres mandlige beskytter, familiefaderen, hvis magtesløshed over for ordensbetjenten, symboliseres både af hans fagter og af hans påklædning, idet han trods vinterkulden ikke har overtøj på. Han er skildret helt i overensstemmelse med vendingen om „at være klædt af til skindet“.



Opgaver til Arbejdermuseets hæfte: Familiens liv og hverdag år 1900

Gå ind på Arbejdermuseets hjemmeside:

www.arbejdermuseet.dk

Under >Skolebesøg>skoletjenesten>undervisningsmaterialer finder du pdf-filen med materialet om familien Sørensen: Familiens liv og hverdag år 1900.

Du kan også direkte kopiere denne sti:

<http://www.arbejdermuseet.dk/Skolebesog/skoletjenesten/undervisningsmateriale/uvsorensen.asp?menu=5>



Opgave til afsnittet „Boligen – Tag over hovedet eller trykke rammer“

s. 10-11 i „Familiens liv og hverdag år 1900“

- Tegn en lejlighed i København som den så ud ved 1900-tallet.
- Prøv at finde ud af hvordan lejligheden var møbleret, hvordan køkkenet og toiletet så ud, og hvordan lejligheden var opvarmet.
- Tegn derefter det hus/den lejlighed, du bor i.
- Prøv at lave det rigtige målestoksforhold. Snak med klassen om ligheder og forskelle på boligen dengang og nu.

(Svarer til opgave 11 og 12 i SAT UD).



Opgaver til afsnittet Børneliv – Leg og boldspil forbudt

Forforståelse

Gå hen til side 4-5: Børneliv – Leg og boldspil forbudt.

- Print siderne ud.
- Der er kun én overskrift: „Børneliv - Leg og boldspil forbudt“. Hvad tror du overskriften vil fortælle? Snak om det i klassen.

Kig på billederne.

- Forestil dig hvordan børn havde det den gang for 100 år siden.
- Læs den tilhørende billedtekst.