

Original Paper

Improved Intersubjectivity—Does it also Helps to Facilitate the Other Learning Acquisitions Skills in Vulnerable Groups of Adolescents?

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Abstract

The Alternative School Day (ASD) is a project for adolescents who have difficulties in several areas. Nine pupils (14-16 years old), their parents and teachers were interviewed at autumn and spring. The pupils attended ASD one day per week. None of them was coming from academic homes. Bandura's (1982) self-efficacy and social cognitive learning theory were utilized in order to investigate which kind of learning processes that seem to be involved in the positive outcome measures, found through the participation in this special program. This as well as the concept intersubjectivity. Do the teachers in the special program (ASD), share another intersubjectivity with the participants, both logically and emotionally? The ASD is more unconventional and each student gets more attention, the atmosphere is more unbound and playful. A whole body of research is employing the importance of play in children and adolescent's development (Glynn & Webster, 1993; Barnett, 1990, 1991; Basi & Hurwitz, 2012). And an ongoing debate, ought to be whether, adapted education, should be incorporated within an earlier stage through the school curriculum for children and adolescents at the risk zone.

Keywords

Alternative School Day (ASD), self-efficacy, social cognitive learning theory, intersubjectivity, adapted education

1. Introduction

The schools in Norway and Scandinavia have been, and still are, strongly influenced by policy and ideology of equality and democracy. The school should be a good place to be and a good place for learning and personal growth for everyone. Class, gender and ethnicity should therefore not influence how the pupils experience the school. Although, not all students express that they fit into the Norwegian school, and there have been argued that the school reproduces differences that already exist in society. And eventually, in some cases, the gap increases (Nordahl, 2010; Nordahl, 2013). High status in the school is highly connected with good marks, which offer opportunities' in the educational system, and later, in the labour market.

Pupils, who engage in antisocial behaviour, are exposed to different forms of adjustment pressure. For example, in Norway, 7-12 % of all children aged 10-17 demonstrate such a high degree of undesirable behaviours that it, can be considered as having a behavioural problem. Of these, about 2% of the pupils are having severe antisocial behaviour (Nordahl, Sørli, Manger & Tveit, 2005). Those who are regarded as a problem for the class or the school are often directed towards special treatment options. Earlier we had B-classes for students who were not as "clever" or "adjusted" as those in the A-classes, and there existed more special schools. Today, many of these special initiatives have been moved into the ordinary schools, and the initiatives are more directed against the individual with support from the Norwegian Learning Plan from 1997, and with a strong focus on individual training programs (KUF, 1996). This can include extra teachers or assistant resources. As early as in 1987 it was decided that students who had problems at school, should as a principal rule, get education within the framework of regular classes. Inclusion was formulated as a key-value and grounded in the principle of democratic participation (Arnesen, 2002, p. 55). This aim is not only a slogan, but a statement that can be traced in the Education Act from 2006 (Opplærings-loven, 2006).

Through this paper are we endeavouring at answering the following research questions: Does the participation in the Alternative School Day (ASD) improve the students' self-efficacy? Research question two: May the participation in the ASD facilitate improved condition to benefit from the social cognitive learning theory? Furthermore, research question three: Are the teachers working at the ASD, in possessing of better abilities and skills to share a more significant and appropriate intersubjectivity with the pupils, in comparison to the teachers within the regular school? In the way that the communication becomes easier, and the understanding and respect towards the pupils, at the ASD runs smoother? These are the research questions that we are endeavouring at answering throughout this article.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Adolescence and Marginality

The concept of marginalization is widely used in research and debate in social science today, though

without any precise definition. The term was originally used in economics but was adopted by social science in the 1870s and sociology, through Robert Park and the so-called Chicago school of the 1920s (Park, 1967). The etymological origin of the concept is found in the Latin term *margin*, which means outskirt or border. In youth studies, the concept of marginalization is often tied to employment (Hammer, 1992; Nyssölä, 1999; ref. in Heggen, 2000). An important contribution to youth research shows that youth transition is extended in time, that it is quite likely to include different roles and stages such as pupil/student, employee versus unemployed, as cohabitant/married etc. roles which may be consecutive or simultaneous, and phases which may have a different sequence from what used to be normal. Concerning such lengthy, individual, changeable, and at time complex youth transitions, there may be good causes to look for criteria of marginalization. Marginalization is dependent not only on youth's position in or outside the labour market but also on their degree of integration or isolation concerning several of other important arenas, such as school, family organisations and groups. Only when a youth has a weak position in several of arenas simultaneously can we talk of marginalization. Such positions limit their access to economic, social and political resources (Heggen, 2000). When it comes to children and youths, many researchers have claimed for studying marginalization, more as a process than a permanent state.

Today, the trend is that adolescents must struggle hard, to get a position in society. As never before, marks are of importance for what the future might bring. The conditions were considerably different 40-50 years ago since one could terminate school after seven years and begin to work. It can be discussed how satisfactory it was to start working so early since many wanted to take further education, but economic conditions did not allow it. However, today there exist normative demands that one should at least complete high school, and many from the working class and the lower middle class get university degrees. Social mobility through educational "class journeys" has therefore increased and given youth new possibilities (Solvang, 2002). At the same time, those who do not feel that they belong in the school will become even worse off. One challenge is therefore that many pupils consider the school to be meaningless (Nordahl, 2003, 2010, 2013).

3. Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity is an appellation on a common understanding between two or more people. And it is a concept in which problematize objective knowledge since objectivity as a concept is a rather controversial field. Within scientific disciplines, it is common to posit that it is intersubjective agreement concerning something, if competent professionals, agree upon that something is valid and correct. Like for example, in terms of treating cancer, there seems to be a strong consensus that chemotherapy is the most adequate treatment in most cancer care. This is based upon massive research and testing over many years, so there seems to be a strong intersubjective agreement that this is the most adequate and convenient treatment to treat cancer among doctors and scientist.

However, intersubjectivity is a major topic in philosophy. The duality of self and others has long been contemplated by philosophers, and what it means to have an intersubjective experience, and what sort of lessons, that can be drawn from them. Ethics, for example, deals with how one should act and what one owes in an intersubjective experience where there is an identifiable other. According to Rommetveit's point of view, intersubjectivity is a basic assumption which is taken for granted to participate in the communication. The communication is taken part in a contemporary shared social world, therefore, that is, something that happens within the space in which communication creates (Helgevold, 2011; Helleve, 2008, ref. in Solbue, 2014; Mortimer & Wertsch, 2003). Intersubjectivity can be defined by a way to learn to see, to hear, to be mindful of other people, and to strive to be alerted and open in a perspective of diversity and not of differences. This calls for the recognition and experience of otherness, an experience that is acquired and, that is practised (Abdallah-Preteille, 2006, p. 478). The human mind, language, and action are nowadays understood and studied as thoroughly social and intersubjective phenomena in many fields of research. Simultaneously, human sociality and intersubjectivity per se have become topics for multidisciplinary studies. Intersubjectivity can be defined as "the sharing of subjective states by two or more individuals" (Scheff, 2006). It refers to shared emotion (attunement), shared attention, and as well as intention.

The ASD can be described as a temporary shared social reality. In this social reality, we find a multitude of different backgrounds that engage in dialogue with each other: a class that is a good place to be, precisely, because the pupils are given more attention, and the teachers respect the students more and have positive expectation towards each of them. As well as the subject, are more practical oriented. The monumental work, to our knowledge, by Mortimer and Wertch (2009) empathizes that in school, the teachers are not skilful enough in meeting the students inductive and deductive reasoning. Or spelt out in another way, the individual student's model of the phenomena. Often the teachers see themselves in charge of the education and doesn't show enough refinement in adapting to where the individual students are in theirs, for example, inductive reasoning, within the model of matter, for example in chemistry.

Specifically, they are concerned with categorizing abstract semiotic objects in the form of "decontextualized word meaning" (Wersch, 1985). That emerges in connection with uses of language associated with literacy. As in the syllogistic reasoning studies, the non-schooled participants demonstrated an inability or unwillingness to engage in theoretical forms of discourse and thinking.

The sort of difference we have in mind are reflected in the following dialogue between Luria and the non-schooled participants from experiments. Luria conducted in the 1930s in Central Asia (Luria, 1976; ref. in Mortimer & Wersch, 2009).

[The participant is shown drawings of a hammer, a saw, a log, and a hatchet, and the experimenter poses question]:

Which of these things could you really call by one word? "How is that? If you call all three of them a "hammer", that won't be right either?"

Rejects use of a general term.

But one fellow picked three things—the hammer, saw and hatchet—all have to work together. But the log has to be there too!"

Reverts to situational [empirical thinking].

Why do you think he picked these three things and not the log?

"Probably because he's got a lot of firewood, but if we'll be left without firewood, we won't be able to do anything". True, but a hammer, a saw, and a hatchet are all tools.

"Yes, but even if we have tools, we still need wood- otherwise, we can't build anything".

And using the same words but understands them differently. Nevertheless, when the teacher explicitly suggested that they could leave behind their everyday phenomena to think about a general category of matter, the student experienced much more difficulty in considering the task as something meaningful for them. In the end, they resisted participating in speech genre proposed by the teachers, a speech genre concerned with the second reality of abstract objects. Bakhtin (1986) empathizes different utterances in the different speech genre's, as well as the active dialogue as opposed to teacher's monologue. The researcher has demonstrated that the private world students bring to science instructions is often not the same as that introduced by the teacher. However, when the teachers were asking the students to use a scientific model to explain everyday phenomena (for example gas) for which they had their own explanation for, the student apparently was able to consider the teacher's questions as authentic and *make it them their own*. They were also able to use the general features of particulate models (Mortimer & Wertsch, 2009).

When asked about how they experienced the learning situation, the students said that the logical explanations were easier to understand during the ASD. Most of them reported that this was due to the that for example mathematical magnitudes and equations, were displayed in more concrete examples. For instance, when they learned about *phi*, *they had to draw a circle in the forest*, and then they had to draw a line through the circle which indicate the diameter. Further on, they must write the equation in the ground; a circle's circumference divide on the circle's diameter gives *phi* (3, 14). In fact, this was something that they remembered at later time, when they were questioned about the equation.

Secondly, the pedagogues at the ASD showed more patient, if the students were not able to understand the equation right away, and they also came up with more appropriate questions, when questioning about a task, and a kind of leading them in the right direction through the conversation with the pupils. However, intersubjectivity was firstly connected within the study of phenomenology and empathy, in which is connected to *pathos*. Edith Stein was a Jewish student that studied German literature and history, and in 1913 she was taken up as a scientific assistant by Edmund Husserl, at the University of Freiburg. And in 1916 she delivered her doctoral dissertation with the name: "Zum Problem der

Einfühlung. Entwicklung und in Phänomenologischer Betrachtung". "On the problem of empathy" (1917/1989). Noteworthy, by that time intersubjectivity was mainly connected to the despairing of empathy (Meneses & Larkin 2012). Further on, the German psychologist Theodor Lipps, born in 1851, best known for his theory of aesthetics, particularly the concept of Einfühlung, or empathy. He elaborated Stein's work and proclaimed that empathy is the act of projecting oneself into the object of a perception.

For Stein, an *empathie* (German spelling), understanding is an experiential intuitive knowing of someone else's present experience that is not lived as a personal, sympathetic or intellectual form of social understanding. This form of interpersonal understanding is a natural everyday form of relating with other people and their experiences. Recently, there has been a revived interest in Stein's phenomenological claims about the nature of empathy, principally in phenomenological and phenomenology-informed theories.

Then, the empathy field, would surely benefit from some conceptual revision and clarity. There may be an alternative route for interpersonal understandings that might deserve to be empirically investigated, firstly qualitatively, to gather evidence of its presence in people's experiences of their social understandings; and then also from within experimental and neuropsychology paradigms, so that the underlying processes may be put to test. As Gurmin (2007), we propose that "Stein's phenomenological approach can offer neurologists a comprehensive account of empathy that will aid them in so far as they 'reflect' on scientific explanations" (p. 100), and that its implications have the potential to extend some way beyond this.

In the ASD, the students reported that they felt like they were respected and understood to a greater extent compared to in the normal school arrangement. Merely, this could be a sign of better employed intersubjectivity and empathy from the pedagogues at the ASD. The students said that they felt that their well-being was important to the teachers in the ASD. They had time to talk to them, and it also seemed that they were interested in finding out if the pupils were not thriving at the ASD. And eventually, what could be done for them to feel better, both at school and in other areas as well. This was in great contrast to how they were treated in the normal school, some of the pupils said that they just felt that they were in the way. It was like because they were not clever, therefore the teachers did not bother to pay attention to them. Further we are aiming at explaining which learning procedures that take place in a normal school arrangement, and how they can be enhanced and promoted through the participation in the ASD.

4. Social Cognitive Learning Theory

Children are normally like sponges, sucking up knowledge, both from parents, peers and teachers. Albert Bandura's theory does not decline the stimuli-respond- learning, but he integrates more concepts like for example, expectation, in which belong to cognitivism (Imsen, 2005). The learning becomes a result of the interaction between three factors: behaviour, the condition within the person (cognitive,

emotional and biological) (Krumsvik & Sälj , 2013, p 156) and social circumstances (Imsen, 2005). Bandura called this interaction for reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1997, in Krumsvik, S lj , 2013, p. 156). The social cognitive learning theory contains element from the theory about self-efficacy, or expectation regarding one's ability to master a specific task.

4.1 Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy has been defined as “judgments of how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with the prospective situations” (Bandura, 1982). Further on, Bandura has suggested that self-efficacy vary along the dimensions of magnitude, generality and strength (1986). Kok et al. (1991) suggested that if one measures a person's perceived ability to perform a behaviour, due to several different situations, one captures both the dimension of strength and magnitude. Further on, self-efficacy is shown to be the most significant variables affecting academic performance (cf. Multon et al., 1991; Schunk & Pajares, 2005 cited in Manger et al., 2013, p. 247). The teacher has, therefore, an important role in increasing the mastery expectation of the student. Individuals with high self-efficacy seem to choose performances with more challenging tasks. They set themselves higher goals and stick to them (Locke & Latham, 1990). Actions are pre-shaped in thought, and people anticipate either optimistic or pessimistic scenarios in line with their level of self-efficacy. Once an action has been taken, high self-efficacious persons invest more efforts and persist longer, than those with low self-efficacy. When setbacks occur, the former recover more quickly and maintain the commitment to their goals. A positive self-efficacy also allows people to select more challenging settings, explore their environments, or create new situations. A sense of competence can be acquired by mastery experience, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, or physiological feedback (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy, however, is not the same as positive illusion or unrealistic optimism, since it is based on experience, and does not lead to unreasonable risk-taking. Instead, it leads to venturesome behaviour that is within the reach of one's capabilities. Self-efficacy makes a difference in how people feel, think and act. In terms of feelings, a low sense of self-efficacy is associated with depression, anxiety and helplessness.

4.2 Model Learning

In fact, very much of what we do is learned through model learning from our parents, trainers and teachers. Like for example, “Why do you make the white sauce in this way? Yes, this is because my mother taught me to do it like this”. “And how do you know how to repair a bicycle wheel? I do it this way because this is the way my dad thought me to do it”.

Humans can remember and recall earlier experiences. Observation, imitation, the child can remember what he has seen, and then accomplish the imitation, and do himself that he has observed. Secondly, are that the child must be motivated to do it. The child must feel that he has something to benefit from it, which means a positive result (Imsen, 2005).

4.3 Self-regulating and Reflexive

The theory has changed the name from social learning theory to social cognitive learning theory. The theory has also changed its outfit in terms of referring to that in terms of planning, execute action and forming expectation, one continuously evaluated, regulate and appraise one owns behaviour. If here negative anticipations are expected from others, it is necessarily difficult to keep up with having positive expectation oneself. And what seems so crucial is that these expectations are rather fragile, and easy to destroy during early years (Therefore, we have been questioning whether the principal within ASD, should be implemented during an earlier phase in the school curriculum for some of the students in order to prevent such negative outcome seen in some of the students.).

4.4 Internal Control or Controlled by Others?

Bandura postulated that motivation is characterized by what the individual believes he/she can manage, and not of what is objective. This is significantly in his theory. He put great attaches to personal expectation concerning coping, in English self-efficacy (Krumsvik & Säljö, 2013, p. 156; Imsen, 2005, p. 456). He differentiates between two types of expectation concerning coping: *efficacy expectations*, that our expectations about what is needed to solve a certain task, and *outcome expectations* in which are expectations about the result from what one has achieved from a pedagogic perspective. These two expectancies which are crucial whether a student dares to do an assignment or not (Imsen, 2005, p. 466; Krumsvik & Säljö, 2013, p. 158).

The expectation of mastery is developed in the students' based on four factors. The first one is authentic coping experiences. The student becomes motivated to solve a specific assignment if he previously has managed to solve a similar task. He will thereby expect to cope with the task, and therefore work harder and perform better (Krumsvik & Säljö, p. 156; Manger et al., 2013, p. 251). Secondly, vicarious experiences, happen when the pupils are observing others, in which he/she can compare oneself with, manage to cope with a field or problem area.

On some occasions, there are pupils that has few previous experiences with similar tasks, or who are unsure, who learns from others (Krumsvik & Säljö, 2013, p. 157; Imsen, 2005, p. 466).

The third factor is verbal/ social persuasion, in which, involves support others can give to the pupil. In order to function, such support must be realistic, is it within an area where the student will master? (Krumsvik & Säljö, 2013, p. 157; Manger et al., 2013, p. 255).

The fourth factor is a somatic and emotional condition like for instance anxiety, shivering, and stress. In the case of high emotional reaction, will the level of performance be impaired? This will again lead to negative thoughts and low self-efficacy (Krumsvik & Saljo, 2013, p. 158; Imsen, 2005).

People learn through observing others' behaviour, attitudes, and outcomes of those behaviours (Bandura, 1977). "Most human behaviour is learned observationally, through modelling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions, this coded information serves as a guide for action" (Bandura, 1986). Social learning theory explains how

human behaviour in terms of continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioural, and environmental influences can develop.

Bandura believed in “reciprocal determinism”, which means, that the world and a person’s behaviour, cause each other. While behaviourism essentially states that one’s environment causes one’s behaviour (Bandura, 1986). Bandura, who were studying adolescent’s aggression, found this too simplistic, therefore he suggested that behaviour causes environment as well (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961).

Later Bandura considered personality as an interaction between three components: the environment, behaviour, and one’s psychological processes (one’s ability to retain images in minds and language). Social cognitive learning theory has sometimes been called a bridge between behaviourist and cognitive learning theories because it encompasses attention, memory, and motivation. The theory is related to Vygotsky’s Social Development Theory as well as Wenger and Lave *Situated Learning*, in which also emphasize the importance of social learning (1991). The ASD offered a totally different learning situation, and this may have contributed to extended well-being, better self-esteem and learning outcome. However, we have chosen that situational learning to be out of the scope of this specific article.

5. The Context

Eight boys and one girl, their parents and teachers, were interviewed about several topics connected to ASD. The pupils were interviewed twice, during autumn (T1) and spring (T2). In this program, the emphasises are to make the tasks more concrete. In that way, it can be easier to visualize for example mathematical magnitudes. Likewise, the pupils and teachers are playing pool, and this kind of playful and competitive activity form a kind of positive experience that gives a very positive atmosphere that might transcend into the whole learning environment. Therefore, elements from situated learning are incorporated into the pedagogic setting, and since children and teenagers are like sponges, they easily benefit from this positive experience and gain self-confidence and assertiveness that can have a positive spill over-effect to another learning domain. Further on, the teacher shows how much 10 dl of milk and 600 grams of butter is, during the school kitchen session. As shown in the school-kitchen session with for instance the milk carton and the butter (with cl versus gram), the student can then make a logical decision between the two different way of measuring. And when all the senses are activated, and the learning is in all senses. The students find more options to remember, as shown in the experiment by multi-dimensional learning. And from there the students can find more options in remembering the learning.

6. Method

The qualitative interview is defined as a dialogue to obtain descriptions of the life world of informants concerning their interpretation of important phenomena (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The interview

form is a semi-structured interview; it has a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. At the same time, it is open to changes of sequence and forms of questions to follow up the answers given, and the stories told by the subjects, and the method at use is inductive reasoning. The interview has the advantage that it can cover deeper essential meaning compare to more quantitative approaches. In this study, meaning condensation or an abridgement of the meanings expressed by the interviewees into shorter formulations were utilized. For example, several teachers formulated “he does not understand anything regarding theoretical subjects, but he is very clever in gymnastics and mechanical subjects”. This statement was condensed to “he is very weak in theoretical subjects, but he manages quite well in practical subjects”. Regarding trustworthiness. There was a relatively strong correspondence between what the pupils, their parents and teachers reported. However, it must be noted that regarding school problems, the students and their parents often meant that the teachers or the school represented the challenge, while the teachers, on the other side, looked upon the students as being problematic. Further, it is possible that the questions were not always adequate since it was relatively common that the students answered, “I don’t know”, or “I have not thought about this”. So probably the intersubjective validity wasn’t so good formulated/relevant through this study.

6.1 The Interview Guides

At both T1 and T2, three interview guides were constructed. These contain questions to the pupils, their parents and teachers. The first interview with the pupils covers topics such as the school situation, relationships to parents and friends, and their leisure time. At T2, it was focused on possible changes since T1, for example, if the students more or less shirked school, if their relationships to parents and teachers had changed, and if they had changed themselves in any way. Questions directed to parents at T1 involved if they thought their children would benefit from participating at the ASD, and conditions regarding their children’s school and family situation. They were also asked about what their children did in their leisure time. The questions to teachers at T1 involved what kind of influence they think ASD will have upon the students, then social competencies, school subject management, and shirking. Additionally, they were asked if they had been involved in mockery and if they were in conflict with teachers and other pupils. At T2, questions were primarily focused on potential changes in the students’ lives since T1, from the perspectives of both parents and teachers.

6.2 The Data Analysis

At T1 all the pupils were interviewed face to face in a location at the ASD. At T2, five were interviewed at the same place, one at home and three per telephone because they had travelled away on summer vacation. The teachers received the question via e-mail before they were interviewed. Because a tape recorder may distract the respondents, it was decided to do the notetaking on the spot. The interviews were transcribed, and the written texts become the materials for subsequent interpretation. Through transcribing the interviews from an oral to a written mode, we do make the interview conversation more amenable for closer analysis. Structuring the material into text facilitates an

overview and comprises a preliminary analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The pupils were split into three groups spread on three days. As mentioned, there was one girl in the sample. This represented an anonymity problem, and the solution was that all the pupils acquired boy names. All the students had a working-class background. None of the students was coming from families with academic background.

7. The Participants

The pupils were divided into three tentative groups: The marginalized (M-group), the twilight zone (T-group), and the integrated (I-group). This was one way to structure the material. Some of the pupils were easy to place while others were not. Two of the students could, for example, be referred to as marginalized, but were placed under the twilight zone, because they were better off in some areas. The integrated students were easier to place. However, all the students had two factors in common. First, they did not cope with the theoretical subjects at school, and secondly, they did not feel at home in the regular school environment.

7.1 The Marginalized

Joachim, Jonas, and Tom showed a negative development during the school year. Joachim and Jonas had quitted school and Tom had attended a special school. Heggen and colleagues (2003) found that marginalized adolescents who had problematic relationships with their parents developed close relationships with friends. Tom resided with both parents while Joachim and Jonas cohabited with their mothers. Among friends, they got confirmation on themselves, and such positive experiences were important regarding the adolescents' sense of belonging and identity. All three had a bad relationship with their parents. This was not the case for Tom and Joachim. They gave the impression that friendships were not important; they seemed to have problems with establishing close relationships with both friends and adults. Further, they were depressed and seldom took initiatives themselves. The distant relationship between Tom and his parents might have been the reason that he found excitement in a drug-taking company and worsened an already bad relationship. For Jonas, the situation was somewhat different. His mother had psychiatric problems and they were poor. Additionally, he seldom met his father. Jonas was also into drugs, but he had friends outside this milieu as well. He was conflicted with his mother, but they had contact and he often brought friends to his home. Tom chose another strategy; he was seldom at home to avoid quarrelling and fuss. Tom and Jonas had been in contact with the police several times. Tom was arrested for drug use and Jonas for stealing. All three boys had withdrawn from family and school, which might be interpreted as an attempt to avoid social control in areas that are important for adolescents' integration in society.

7.2 The Twilight Zones

Lars and Adrian quitted school. Lars started to work, and Adrian attended a special school. Even though they were not at the ordinary school any longer, they were better off in other arenas than the marginalized. This was the case especially with regards to relationships with their parents. Both Lars

and Adrian reported that they had close and good relationships with both of their parents. Lars lived together with both parents while Adrian resided with his father. It was common that the students had most contact with their mothers, so the bond between Adrian and his father was an exception. Lars played football, and this meant a lot to him, although he had few friends in this group.

7.3 The Integrated

Andy, Sam, Martin and Tony were still at the ordinary school and they did not work hard, but they sometimes came late to school. All four showed a positive development during the year. Moreover, all were engaged in sports activities that meant a lot to them, and they had friends in these milieus. They had relatively good contact with their parents but felt more attached to their mothers. All of them, except for Andy, reported that they quarrel with their parents. Andy was the only one who did not reside with both parents. All of them also had good relationships with other students and had a relatively good connection to the teachers. This changed from T1 to T2, which will be discussed in a later section.

Table 1. Overview over the Pupils Participating

Marginalized	Twilight	Integrated
Joachim, Jonas and Tom	Lars and Adrian	Andy, Sam, Martin and Tony

8. Reflexivity

The second researcher in this paper was conducting the interview and doing the transcription of the interviews, as well. Her background was as a sociologist and she invited me into the project to get a more psychological understanding of the research field. We have been having close cooperation. And during the interviews, she told me about the different informants through a daily basis. Unfortunately, she is deceived now. As a sociologist, I would assume that she was affected by her theoretical background, with discourses like the agency-structure perspective. In which I found very interestingly, because of my background as a psychologist, where I was trained within a tradition preoccupied with looking after pathology and putting up diagnosis on people.

9. Findings

The social interaction during the participation in ASD was characterized by a joyful and light atmosphere, with a respectful and reciprocal interaction. This was in great contrast to how the pupils experienced the feedback within the regular school. Secondly, the subjects were extensively more practical oriented. For instance, during the school kitchen session, the teachers showed how much 250 grams of butter is, and 5 dl of milk are while backing a cake. In this way, it is easier to get a visual picture of the unit at the task. According to the behavioural perspective on learning, the interaction during the sessions is more rewarding and characterized by an open, respectful and nurturing

interaction between pupils and teachers (cf. Rosenthal, 1968). The expectations are here important, the teachers have positive expectations towards these earlier neglected and overseen students, and the positive expectation tends to be mutually reinforced by the pupil.

These seem to be in great contrast with how the student experienced the normal school. Like for instance the M-group and Adrian had a relatively high status in the class because they did not follow the rules. All for them had resigned; they did not participate and did not want to have any contact with the teachers within the regular school setting.

The teachers, especially on of them, treat us differently. The clever ones are never criticized, but I have never been treated well (Joachim, T1).

I feel comfortable with my classmates, but the teachers are very annoying. They don't treat us equally; I am scolded when the guilty ones are not. I think it's because they are much cleverer than I am. If I am in trouble with the teachers, I can't do anything because they don't care anyway (Martin, T1).

These statements illustrate that some pupils feel that they are unequally treated because they are not clever, and they think that the teacher's favour's those who are skilful.

The teachers do not treat me respectfully. I am dissatisfied with everything at school, especially the teachers. I'm continually in conflict with them (Tom T1).

I have a bad relationship with all teachers. They don't like me, and I don't like them (Adrian, T1).

He nags about nothing, and criticize the teachers, but he has a good relationship with his mates. But when we are alone, he is very kind (Tom's teacher, T1).

Due to the fact, that the pedagogues at the ASD treated them respectfully, in which was in total opposite compare to the teachers in the ordinary school. They also play as substantially better role models, compare to in the normal school arrangement. The tasks were more oriented towards a more practical reality, and these two factors seem to facilitate extensively to an environment where a positive model learning can take place.

Many of the students reported that the school were boring. This boringness may happen when the pupil's withdrawal from the teaching in the ordinary classroom. This boringness might also reflect that the teachers are not skilful enough in sharing the pupil's intersubjectivity. Theorists have proclaimed that when one can share a nourishing intersubjectivity, this will lead to another motivation in the pupils, because they feel that they are taken seriously in the pedagogic setting (Mortimer & Wertsch, 2003). This is in line with Paulo Freire (2011), in which claimed that all learning is dialogic. And true dialogue depends on love, humility, faith and mutual trust. According to Giroux (2001), in the behaviour of subordinate groups, as well as marginalized youths, there are moments of cultural and creative expressions that are informed by a different logic, whether it is existential, religious or otherwise. Moreover, looking on oppositional behaviour in school, Giroux argues that there is a need to reformulate the relationship between ideology, culture and hegemony to make clear how these categories can enhance the understanding of oppositional behaviour, as well as how such concepts can

form the theoretical basis for a radical pedagogy that takes human agency seriously.

Regarding self-efficacy with the school subjects, the result seems somehow various. For the pupils in the M-group, it seems like the intervention was coming a bit late. An exception was for Tom, because for him, changes appeared after he attended the special education at school. Tom's new teacher says that he copes much better with his anger, and that he is more persevering in new situations. The teacher says that this to a great extent can be interpreted as a result of the ASD because he feels comfortable there, but he also thinks that this is because Tom gets special education at school.

For Joachim, Jonas and Lars, the ASD's influence on the school situation has had minimal effect. But for one student (Adrian) that started too participated in a special school, he learned more in that school year, compared to all the other school years, his father reported.

However, the ASD seems to have a positive effect on the I-group. All four have got better marks, they do not shirk school anymore, and they function better socially. Their teachers are very positive when they talk about the ASD, and what it has meant for the students. Andy's teacher says that he has become more motivated for working with different subjects, and she relates this to his role at the ASD: He says that at the ASD he's a resource and that he's an important person. He feels that he is very clever there, and that is very different from what he feels at the regular school. For Tom (marginalized) and Adrian (twilight), who moved to a special school, they reported being incredibly satisfied with this. Finally, they felt that they did something meaningful. For Lars, who had begun to work, life had become much easier. It is although provoking that only four out of nine adolescents were still in the normal school, at the end of the school year.

While we have gone through our data, we have debated whether participation in the special pedagogic program was coming a bit too late. For some of them, it seems like a pattern has been made, so we have been questioning whether these interventions should have been intervening earlier, due to become more effective. Over time the pupil may become associated with social roles that are unbearable for themselves, but also others. It may create a need for escape, away from the school, to a milieu where one can achieve a minimum of approval. Since there are only four students left in the ordinary school, this may have happened here.

The social cognitive theory empathizes self-efficacy believes, in which seems to be the greatest predictor of school results. During the earliest years in school these expectations' are very much fragile and needs to be build up step by step. When pupils have been able to build up positive learning expectations and anticipations, they also build up internal control over their learning acquisitions and starts to feel like they can influence their own learning process.

When these learning conditions take place, the pupils also start to reflect in a positive manner about their own learning abilities and skills. The students may start to believe, that they can master even difficult tasks if they just put enough effort into it. If this is happening, the learning process may become self-rewarding, which means that the pupils feel like receiving a reward, when they manage to

learn new things and get good grades. The opposite is that some pupils do not have the motivation and are lacking positive outcomes expectancies, this again, will affect them to not to try so hard. These students are deliberately more dependent upon support and guidance from their teacher's as well as external motivation, and a lot of positive appraisal from others when they achieve positive results. These students have been having years with setbacks and negative experience within the ordinary schools. And this pattern seems to be difficult to change, after years of failures, setbacks and disappointments during the school curriculum. Therefore, an ongoing debate ought to be whether this special pedagogic program ought to be implemented within an earlier stage at the school curriculum, for the student to have a much more benefit from it. Other researchers have empathized that intervention at an earlier stage, might play an important role due to correct a negative school development, and in terms of later preventing drop-out from high school (Hardy- Fortin, 2012). Many years of defeat and failure's is not easy to change, therefore early interventions seem essential in terms of building internal beliefs regarding self-efficacy, and internal motivation in contrast to external.

10. Limitation Connected to the Study

One limitation in this investigation was that only students coming from non-academic homes participated in this study. It is therefore not possible to say anything about how students from the academic homes experience the school. Many students coming from academic families also experience the school to be boring too, and they may have problems in different areas as well. Further, the individual under investigation has problems in one or several areas, which means that they are not representative of pupils coming from non-academic homes in general. Another limitation in this study is that the concept "intersubjectivity", doesn't seem to be well enough operationalized. Because some of the students claimed: I have not thought about that domain, or I do not know. When questioned about that field...

11. Conclusion

As we have seen, the majority in this study have had a problematic relationship to school for many years. The school years have become a project without meaning. None of the students coped with the theoretical subjects. In some cases, this resulted in shirking school for long periods, that they are only physically at present when at school, and they do not pay any attention during the lessons. Self-efficacy is also something that is formed and developed during the early years at school. The pupils in the ASD did not have so good self-efficacy, due to many negative experiences in the ordinary school. Even though expectation and efforts are possible to influence by others, and we refer hereby to the well-known Rosenthal—effect, described and discovered by Robert Rosenthal (1968). Where some student became smarter and with higher IQ after a year in school when the teachers thought that these children were extraordinary gifted. The extended positive expectation from the pedagogues at the ASD,

can describe some of the positive outcome variables found through this study. However, during the school year, while the study was going on, five of the students have quit school, and only four of them are still in regular school. This may be due to pupil's reactance towards a school system that do not arrange for a school environment that doesn't meet their needs, abilities and interests (Christie, 1973).

Tom and Tony, who have attended a special school, are satisfied with this. Finally, they feel that they do something meaningful. For Lars, who has begun to work, life has become very much easier.

One of the pedagogues in the ASD said: *We have to confess we can't help all the student, but for most of them, I think we can prevent a further negative development.*

The school is foreign for the students in this study; it represents a "detour". The students cope "relatively well" socially, but this is not enough. Since the credibility and ideals are middle-class based, theoretics' like (Bourdieu, 1993) proclaims that pupils with another habitus will struggle in uphill all the time. The principle "equality for all" that ideally should exist in Norwegian schools, seems to function badly. Some are "more equal than others", and this may concern first and foremost children coming from academic background. *They possibly adjust to school because they to a greater extent feel at home there.* Ogden claims that "the student's failure also is the school's failure when it can't give a qualitative good offered and adjusted education" (1998). The public eye should, therefore, be directed towards the ordinary school as a problem, in such a way that the complicated relationship between "the ordinary" and "the special" can be challenged.

Brown and Duguid (1996) used the evocative phrase "stolen knowledge" to refer to all knowledge that learners glean from teachers beyond or despite their pedagogical intentions. The ASD seems to change their look on themselves, because their teacher now invested more in them, and they now started to feel like important pupils, and that their efforts matter. Therefore, we can hypothesize that the pupils have got another "stolen knowledge" through the participation at the. They do not feel like losers to the same extent as they did within the regular school.

In the ASD they took part in the joy- and playful activities, like kayak paddling, playing darts and pool. Research has shown that participating in playful, joyful and challenging activities develop both cognitive, social and physical learning, as well as self-esteem (Hurwitz, 2002/2003). Further, researchers have proposed: for children to be Successful—Let them Play! Due to the fact, that there is a lot of interpersonal learning in play. Like for example turn-taking, how to show empathy as well as cognitive and physical learning also develops through play (Glynn & Webster, 1990; Barnett, 1990).

The ASD has had a positive effect on the majority in this study. It is primarily the close contact with the adults who spend time with them, and who are engaged in them that is important. Through this, the ASD manages to make them believe that they can manage and that they can learn. Furthermore, ASD offers them concrete coping experiences, and this has affected their self-esteem positively. At the same time, ASD has some serious weaknesses. Since the ambition is integration, it is alarming that five have quitted school after they attended the ASD. The ASD can thus maybe have increased these pupils'

aversion towards the school. On the other side, the schools get rid of a problem less, i.e., lodging them. This situation can thus be a pretext for doing nothing. On one side the ASD's ghetto-resembling feature increases, and on the other side, schools get reasons to avoid carrying out a serious integration work. It is difficult for schools to find resources, and the teachers reported that ASD is a unique offer for the pupils, but also the classes, because the teaching is functioning better when those pupils are absent. One may, therefore, ask if projects like the ASD legitimate status quo in the schools.

That the ASD can be characterized as a ghetto or a "renewing oasis" is not necessarily a problem. The school as a middle-class arena has, and will still have, huge problems with offering "difficult" pupils fundamental support. If this is the case, students exposing antisocial behaviour will be those who need the ASD the most, as protection. The problem is, however, that this protection is too weak. The ASD should, therefore, develop into a more comprehensive project, for example through a full-time arrangement. Or be implemented within a much earlier phase through the pupils' school curriculum. Due to correct to many defeats and failure through those early and vulnerable schoolyears.

Two of the students in the ASD had started to attend a special school and was very satisfied with this solution. For the others, especially those in the I-group, the ASD functions very well. But for these students, the integration work could function better if the ASD was included in the schools. On this basis, it would be interesting if the ASD develops a both- and offers, i.e., a fulltime educational offer for those who do not fit into the school, and an arrangement in the schools for those who will benefit from integration. However, to establish a fulltime offer represents a considerable challenge not only economically, but also because the professional-pedagogical arrangement must be changed significantly compared to the existing praxis. Alternatively, could an earlier implementation of the ASD contribute to a better and more ancillary effect of the program in order to build up good self-efficacy believes at an earlier point.

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