

Original Paper

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

Lillian Lundstrøm^{1*} & Lisbet Øygard¹ (deceased)

¹ Dept. of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen, Christies gate 13, 5015 Bergen, Norway

* Lillian Lundstrøm, Dept. of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen, Christies gate 13, 5015 Bergen, Norway

Received: December 30, 2020 Accepted: January 14, 2021 Online Published: February 1, 2021

doi:10.22158/ct.v4n1p43

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/ct.v4n1p43>

Abstract

The Alternative School Day (ASD) is a project for adolescents with difficulties in several arenas. Nine pupils (14-16 years old), their parents, and teachers were interviewed in 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 to investigate which kind of learning processes seem to be involved in the positive outcome measures found through participation in this unique program. This, as well as the concept of intersubjectivity. Do the teachers in the unique 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 employs the importance of play in children and adolescent's development (Glynn & Webster, 1993; Barnett, 1990, 1991; Basi & Hurwitz, 2012). An ongoing debate ought to be whether adapted education should be incorporated within an earlier stage through the school curriculum for children and adolescents in 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 not influence how the pupils experience the school. Although not all students express that they fit into Norwegian schools, it has been argued that the school reproduces the differences already existing 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 labor market. Pupils who engage in antisocial behavior 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 behaviors that they can be considered behavioral problems. About 2% of the pupils have severe antisocial behavior (Nordahl, Sørli, Manger & Tveit, 2005). Those regarded as a problem for the class, or the school, are often directed toward special treatment options. Earlier, we had B-classes for students who were not as “clever” or “adjusted” as those in the A-classes, and more special schools existed. Today, many of these special initiatives have been moved into ordinary schools, and the initiatives are more directed against the individual with support from the Norwegian Learning Plan from 1997 and a strong focus on individual training programs (KUF, 1996). This can include extra teachers or assistant resources. As early as 1987, it was decided that students who had problems at school should, as a principal rule, get an 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 a slogan and a statement that can be traced in the Education Act from 2006 (Opplæringsloven, 2006). Through this paper, we aim to answer the following research questions: Does participation in Alternative School Day (ASD) improve the students’ self-efficacy? Research question two: May participation in ASD facilitates improved conditions to benefit from the social cognitive learning theory? Furthermore, research question three: Do the teachers working at the ASD possess 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 communication becomes easier and understanding and respect towards the pupils at ASD runs smoother. These are the research questions we are aiming to answer through this article.

2. Theoretical Framework

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 and sociology in the 1870s 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, 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, 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 times, complex youth transitions, there may be good causes to look for criteria of marginalization. Marginalization depends not only on the youth's position in or outside the labor market, but also on their degree of integration or isolation concerning several other important arenas, such as schools, family organizations, and groups. We talk of marginalization only when a youth has a weak position in several arenas. Such positions limit their access to economic, social, and political resources (Heggen, 2000). When it comes to children and youths, many researchers have claimed that studying marginalization is more of 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 important 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, normative demands exist 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 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 that many pupils consider the school meaningless (Nordahl, 2003, 2010, 2013).

3. Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity is an appellation of a common understanding between two or more people. It is a concept that problematizes objective knowledge since objectivity as a concept is a rather controversial field. Within scientific disciplines, it is common to posit that it is an intersubjective agreement concerning something if competent professionals agree 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 for cancer among doctors and scientists. However, intersubjectivity is a major topic in philosophy. Philosophers have long contemplated the duality of self and others, what it means to have an intersubjective experience, and what sort of lessons can be drawn from them. Ethics, for example, deals with how one should act and what one does in an intersubjective experience with an identifiable other. According to Rommetveit's point of view, intersubjectivity is a basic assumption taken for granted when communicating. Communication takes part in a contemporary shared social

world. Therefore, that happens within the space in which communication is created (Helgevold, 2011; Helleve, 2008, ref. in Solbue, 2014; Mortimer & Wertsch, 2003). Intersubjectivity can be defined as a way to learn to see, hear, be mindful of other people, and strive to be alert 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 practiced (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006, p. 478). Nowadays, the human mind, language, and action are understood and studied as thoroughly social and intersubjective phenomena in many research fields. 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 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 expectations towards each of them. The subject is also more practical-oriented. To our knowledge, the monumental work by Mortimer and Wertsch (2009) emphasizes that in school, the teachers are not skillful enough to meet the student’s inductive and deductive reasoning. Or spelled out in another way, the individual student’s model of the phenomena. Often, the teachers see themselves as in charge of the education and don’t show enough refinement in adapting to where the individual students are in theirs, for example, inductive reasoning within the model of matter in chemistry. Specifically, they are concerned with categorizing abstract semiotic objects as “a decontextualized word meaning” (Wertsch, 1985). What emerges in connection with the 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 is reflected in the following dialogue between Luria and the non-schooled participants from the experiments. Luria was conducted in Central Asia in the 1930s (Luria, 1976; ref. in Mortimer & Wertsch, 2009). [The participant is shown drawings of a hammer, a saw, a log, and a hatchet, and the experimenter poses the question]: Which of these things could you 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 must work together. But the log must 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 much firewood, but if we’re 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 understanding 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 students experienced much more difficulty considering the task as something meaningful. Ultimately, they resisted participating in the speech

genre proposed by the teachers, a genre concerned with the second reality of abstract objects. Bakhtin (1986) emphasizes different utterances in the different speech genres, as well as the active dialogue as opposed to the teacher's monologue. The researcher has demonstrated that the private world students bring to science, instructions are often not the same as that introduced by the teacher. However, when the teachers asked the students to use a scientific model to explain everyday phenomena (for example, gas) for which they had their explanation, they could consider the teacher's questions authentic and make them their own. They could also use particulate models' general features (Mortimer & Wertsch, 2009). When asked how they experienced the learning situation, the students said the logical explanations were easier to understand during the ASD. Most reported that this was because 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 a line through the circle, indicating the diameter. Further, they must write the equation in the ground; a circle's circumference divided by the circle's diameter gives phi (3,14). This was something that they remembered at a later time when they were questioned about the equation. Secondly, the pedagogues at the ASD showed more patience if the students could not understand the equation right away, and they also came up with more appropriate questions when questioning about a task, leading them in the right direction through the conversation with the pupils. However, intersubjectivity was first connected within the study of phenomenology and empathy, which is connected to pathos. Edith Stein was a Jewish student who 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: "Zum Problem der Einfühlung. Einwicklung un in Phänomenolgischer Betrachtung". "On the problem of empathy" (1917/1989). Noteworthy, intersubjectivity was mainly connected to the despairing of empathy (Meneses & Larkin 2012. Further on, the German psychologist Theodor Lipps, born in 1851, is best known for his theory of aesthetics, particularly the concept of Einfühlung, or empathy. He elaborated on Stein's work and proclaimed that empathy is projecting oneself into the object of perception. For Stein, empathy (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. Interpersonal understanding is a natural everyday form of relating to others 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 field of empathy 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 neuropsychological paradigms so that the underlying processes may be tested. As Garmin (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 feeling like they were respected and understood to a greater extent than in the normal school arrangement. This could be a sign of the better employment of intersubjectivity and empathy among the pedagogues at the ASD. The students said that they felt 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. Eventually, what could be done to make them feel better at school and in other areas? This greatly contrasts with how they were treated in the normal school; some of the pupils said they just felt that they were in the way. It was because they were not clever, so the teachers did not bother to pay attention to them. Further, we are aiming to explain which learning procedures take place in a normal school arrangement and how they can be enhanced and promoted through participation in 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, which belongs to cognitivism (Imsen, 2005). Learning becomes a result of the interaction between three factors: behavior, the condition within the person (cognitive, emotional, and biological) (Krumsvik & Säljå, 2013, p 156), and social circumstances (Imsen, 2005). Bandura called this interaction for reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1997, in Krumsvik, Saljå 2013, p. 156). The social cognitive learning theory contains elements 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, Bandura has suggested that self-efficacy varies 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 behavior due to several different situations, one captures both strength and magnitude. Further on, self-efficacy is shown to be the most significant variable 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 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, highly self-efficacious people invest more effort and persist for longer than those with low self-efficacy. When setbacks occur, the former recover more quickly and maintain commitment to their goals. Positive self-efficacy 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 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 behavior 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

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

4.3 Self-regulating and Reflexive

The theory has changed from social learning theory to social cognitive learning theory. The theory has also changed its outfit in planning, executing action, and forming expectations; one continuously evaluates, regulates, and appraises one's own behavior. If negative anticipations are expected from others, it isn't easy to keep up with positive expectations. What seems so crucial is that these expectations are rather fragile and easy to destroy during the 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 to prevent such a 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 they can manage, not what is objective. This is significant in his theory. He emphasized personal expectations concerning coping and English self-efficacy (Krumsvik & Säljö, 2013, p. 156; Imsen, 2005, p. 456). He differentiates between two types of expectations concerning coping: efficacy expectations, which are our expectations about what is needed to solve a certain task, and outcome expectations, which are expectations about the result of what one has achieved from a pedagogic perspective. These two expectancies are crucial whether a student dares to do an assignment (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 expect to cope with the task, work harder, and perform better (Krumsvik & Säljö, p. 156; Manger et al., 2013, p. 251). Secondly, vicarious experiences happen when the pupils observe others, in which they can compare themselves and cope

with a field or problem area. On some occasions, some pupils have few previous experiences with similar tasks, are unsure, and learn from others (Krumsvik & Säljö, 2013, p. 157; Imsen, 2005, p. 466). The third factor is verbal/ social persuasion, which involves support others can give the pupil. 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 a 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' behavior, attitudes, and outcomes of those behaviors (Bandura, 1977). "Most human behavior is learned observationally, through modeling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions, this coded information serves as a guide for action" (Bandura, 1986). Social learning theory explains how human behavior can develop in terms of continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental influences. Bandura believed in "reciprocal determinism," which means that the world and a person's behavior cause each other. Meanwhile, behaviorism states that one's environment causes behavior (Bandura, 1986). Bandura, who was studying adolescent aggression, found this too simplistic. Therefore, he suggested that behavior also affects the environment (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961). Later, Bandura considered personality an interaction between three components: the environment, behavior, and psychological processes (one's ability to retain images in mind and language). Social cognitive learning theory is sometimes called a bridge between behaviorist and cognitive learning theories because it encompasses attention, memory, and motivation. The theory is related to Vygotsky's Social Development Theory and Wenger and Lave's Situated Learning, which also emphasize the importance of social learning (1991). The ASD offered a different learning situation, contributing to extended well-being, better self-esteem, and learning outcomes. 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 emphasis is to make the tasks more concrete. In that way, it can be easier to visualize mathematical magnitudes. Likewise, the pupils and teachers play pool, and this playful and competitive activity forms a positive experience that creates a positive atmosphere that might transcend the whole learning environment. Therefore, elements from situated learning are incorporated into the pedagogic setting. Since children and teenagers are like sponges, they easily benefit from this positive experience and gain self-confidence and assertiveness, which can have a positive spillover effect on other learning domains. 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 measuring methods. When all the senses are activated, learning is in all senses. The students find more options to remember, as shown in the experiment by multi-dimensional learning. From there, the students can find more options for remembering what they have learned.

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 (Kvaale & Brinkmann, 2009). The interview form is a semi-structured interview; it has a sequence of themes to be covered and suggested questions. At the same time, it is open to changes in sequence and forms of questions to follow up on the answers given and the stories told by the subjects, and the method at use is inductive reasoning. The interview has the advantage of covering deeper essential meaning compared to more quantitative approaches. In this study, meaning condensation or an abridgment of the meanings expressed by the interviewees into shorter formulations was 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, 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. In contrast, the teachers, on the other hand, looked upon the students as problematic. Further, it is possible that the questions were not always adequate since it was common for the students to answer, “I don’t know” or “I have not thought about this”. So, probably, the intersubjective validity wasn’t so well formulated/relevant through this study.

6.1 The Interview

Guides At both T1 and T2, three interview guides were constructed. These contain questions for the pupils, their parents, and teachers. The first interview with the pupils covers the school situation, relationships with parents and friends, and their leisure time. At T2, it was focused on possible changes since T1, for example, if the students shirked school, if their relationships with parents and teachers had changed, and if they had changed themselves in any way. Questions directed to parents at T1 involved whether they thought their children would benefit from participating in the ASD and the 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 on the students, social competencies, school subject management, and shirking. Additionally, they were asked if they had been involved in mockery and if they conflicted with teachers and other pupils. At T2, questions primarily focused on potential changes in the students’ lives since T1

from the perspectives of parents and teachers.

6.2 The Data Analysis

At T1, all the pupils were interviewed face-to-face in an ASD location. At T2, five were interviewed at the same place, one at home and three by telephone because they had traveled 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 became the materials for subsequent interpretation. By transcribing the interviews from an oral to a written mode, we 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 over 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 came from families with academic backgrounds.

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 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 second, they did not feel at home in the regular school environment.

7.1 The Marginalized

Joachim, Jonas, and Tom showed negative development during the school year. Joachim and Jonas had quit 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 of 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 unimportant; they seemed to have problems establishing close relationships with friends and adults. Further, they were depressed and seldom took the initiative 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 seldom went home to avoid quarreling and fussing. 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 important areas for adolescents' social integration.

7.2 *The Twilight Zone*

Lars and Adrian quit school. Lars started to work, and Adrian attended a special school. Even though they were no longer at the ordinary school, they were better off in other arenas than the marginalized. This was the case, especially about their relationship with their parents. Lars and Adrian reported that they had a close and good relationship with their parents. Lars lived 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, which 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 sometimes came late to school. All four showed 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 quarrels with their parents. Andy was the only one who did not reside with both parents. They also had good relationships with other students and a relatively good connection to the teachers. This changed from T1 to T2, which will be discussed later.

Table 1. Overview of the Pupils Participating

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

8. Reflexivity

The second researcher conducted the interviews and transcribed them. Her background was as a sociologist, and she invited me to participate in the project to gain a more psychological understanding of the research field. We have had close cooperation. And during the interviews, she told me about the different informants daily. 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. I found this absorbing because of my background as a psychologist, where I was trained within a tradition preoccupied with looking after pathology and putting up diagnoses 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 greatly contrasted 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, and five dl of milk there are while baking a cake. In this way, getting a visual picture of the unit at the task is easier. According to the behavioral 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 important here; 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 contrast greatly with how the student experienced the normal school. For instance, the M-group and Adrian had a relatively high status in the class because they did not follow the rules. All of 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 one 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 (Martin, T1). These statements illustrate that some pupils feel unequally treated because they are not clever and think the teachers favor skillful ones. 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 the teachers. They don't like me, and I don't like them (Adrian, T1). He nags about nothing and criticizes the teachers but has a good relationship with his mates. But when we are alone, he is very kind (Tom's teacher, T1). Because the pedagogues at the ASD treated them respectfully, which was the opposite of the teachers in the ordinary school. They also play substantially better role models than in the normal school arrangement. The tasks were more oriented towards a more practical reality, and these two factors seem to facilitate an extensive environment where a positive learning model can take place. Many of the students reported that the school was boring. This boredom may happen when the pupil withdraws from teaching in an ordinary classroom. This boringness might also reflect the fact that the teachers are not skillful enough to share pupils' intersubjectivity. Theorists have proclaimed that when one can share nourishing intersubjectivity, this will lead to other motivation in the pupils because they feel they are taken seriously in the pedagogic setting (Mortimer & Wertsch, 2003). This aligns with Paulo Freire (2011), who claimed that all learning is dialogic. And true dialogue depends on love, humility, faith, and mutual trust. According to Giroux (2001), in the behavior of subordinate groups and marginalized youths, there are moments of cultural and creative expressions informed by a different logic, whether existential, religious, or otherwise.

Moreover, looking at oppositional behavior 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 behavior, as well as how such concepts can form the theoretical basis for a radical pedagogy that takes human agency seriously. Regarding self-efficacy with school subjects, the results seem somewhat different. For the pupils in the M-group, it seems like the intervention was coming a bit late. An exception was for Tom because changes appeared after he attended special education at school. Tom's new teacher says that he copes much better with his anger and is more persevering in new situations. The teacher says that this can be primarily interpreted because of the ASD. Because at ASD he felt comfortable there, but he also thinks that this is because Tom gets special education at school. For Joachim, Jonas, and Lars, ASD's influence on the school situation has had minimal effects. However, his father reported that one student (Adrian) who started to participate in a special school learned more in that school year than he did during all the other school years. However, the ASD seems to have a positive effect on the I-group. All four have got better marks, do not shirk school anymore, and function better socially. Their teachers are very positive when discussing ASD and its meaning for the students. Andy's teacher says that he has become more motivated to work with different subjects, and she relates this to his role at the ASD: He says that at the ASD, he's a resource and an important person. He feels he is very clever there, which is very different from what he feels at the regular school. Tom (marginalized) and Adrian (twilight), who moved to a special school, reported being incredibly satisfied with this. Finally, they felt that they did something meaningful. Life had become much easier for Lars, who had begun to work. Surprisingly, only four out of nine adolescents were still in normal school at the end of the school year. While we reviewed our data, we debated whether participation in the special pedagogic program was coming too late. For some, it seems like a pattern has been made, so we have been questioning whether these interventions should have been intervening earlier to become more effective. Over time, the pupil may become associated with social roles that are unbearable not only for themselves but also for others. It may create a need for escaping from the school to a milieu where one can achieve minimal approval. Since only four students are left in the ordinary school, this may have happened here. The social cognitive theory emphasizes self-efficacy beliefs, which seem to be the greatest predictor of school results. During the earliest years in school, these expectations are fragile and must be built up step by step. When pupils have been able to build up positive learning expectations and anticipations, they also build internal control over their learning acquisitions and start to feel like they can influence their learning process. When these learning conditions occur, the pupils also start to reflect positively about their own learning abilities and skills. The students may start believing that they can master even difficult tasks if they just put enough effort into it. If this happens, the learning process may become self-rewarding, which means that the pupils feel like they are receiving a reward when they learn new things and get good grades. The opposite is that some pupils do not have the motivation and lack positive outcomes expectations; again,

this will affect them and make them not try so hard. These students are deliberately more dependent upon support and guidance from their teachers, external motivation, and much positive appraisal from others when they achieve positive results. These students have had setbacks and negative experiences within ordinary schools for years. This pattern seems 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 should be implemented earlier in the school curriculum so that the students can benefit from it. Other researchers have empathized that intervention at an earlier stage might play an important role in correcting a negative school development and later preventing dropouts from high school (Hardy-Fortin, 2012). Many years of defeat and failure are 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 ones.

10. Limitation Connected to the Study

One limitation in this investigation was that only students coming from non-academic homes participated in this study. Therefore, it is impossible to say anything about how students from academic homes experience the school. Many students from academic families also experience school as boring and may have problems in different areas. Further, the individual under investigation has problems in one or several areas, which means they are not representative of pupils from non-academic homes. Another limitation of this study is that “intersubjectivity” doesn’t seem well enough to be 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, most of the participants in this study have had a problematic relationship with 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 results in shirking school for long periods, where they are only physically present when at school, and they do not pay any attention during the lessons. Self-efficacy is also 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 others can influence expectations and efforts, we refer hereby to the well-known Rosenthal—effect, described and discovered by Robert Rosenthal (1968). Some students became smarter and had higher IQs after a year in school when the teachers thought these children were extraordinarily 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, five students quit while studying was going on, and only four are still in regular school. This may be due to pupils’ reaction to a school system that does 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. Finally, they feel that they do something meaningful. For Lars, who has begun working, life has become much easier. One of the pedagogues in the ASD said: We must confess we can't help all the students, but for most of them, I think we can prevent 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 insufficient. Since the credibility and ideals are middle-class based, theoreticians like (Bourdieu, 1993) proclaim that pupils with another habitus will always struggle uphill. The "equality for all" principle that should ideally exist in Norwegian schools seems to be malfunctioning. Some are "more equal than others," and this may concern, first and foremost, children coming from academic backgrounds. They possibly adjust to school because they largely 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). Therefore, the public eye should be directed towards the ordinary school as a problem so 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 seem to change their look on themselves because their teachers now invest more in them, and they now start to feel like important pupils and that their efforts matter. Therefore, we can hypothesize that the pupils get another "stolen knowledge" through participation. They do not feel like losers to the same extent as they did within the regular school. In the ASD, they participated in joy- and playful activities, like kayaking paddling, playing darts, and pool. Research has shown that participating in playful, joyful, and challenging activities develops cognitive, social, and physical learning and self-esteem (Hurwitz, 2002/2003). Further, researchers have proposed that for children to be Successful, let them Play! This is because there is much interpersonal learning in play. For example, turn-taking, empathy, and cognitive and physical learning develop through play (Glynn & Webster, 1990; Barnett, 1990). The ASD has had a positive effect on most of this study. It is primarily 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 quit school after they attended the ASD. The ASD can thus maybe have increased these pupils' aversion towards the school. Conversely, the schools eliminate 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 serious integration work. It is difficult for schools to find resources, and the teachers reported that ASD is a unique offer for the pupils and the classes because the teaching functions better when those pupils are absent. One may, therefore, ask if projects like the ASD legitimate the status quo in the schools. That the ASD can be characterized as a ghetto, or a

“renewing oasis” is not necessarily a problem. As a middle-class arena, the school has, and will still have, huge problems with offering “difficult” fundamental support to pupils. If this is the case, students exposing antisocial behavior will be those who need 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 many defeats and failures during those early and vulnerable school years, two of the students with ASD started to attend a special school and were very satisfied with this solution. For the others, especially those in the I-group, the ASD functions very well. However, the integration work could function better for these students if ASD was included in the schools. On this basis, it would be interesting if the ASD develops a both- and offer, i.e., a full-time 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, establishing a full-time offer represents a considerable challenge economically 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 to build up good self-efficacy beliefs earlier?

References

- Abdallah-Preteille, M. (2006). Interculturalism as a paradigm for thinking about diversity. *Intercultural Education*, 17(5), 475-483. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980601065764>
- Arnesen, A. L. (2002). *Ulikhet og marginalisering*. [Inequality and marginalization.] Universitetet: Oslo.
- Barnett, L. A. (1990). Developmental Benefit of Play for Children. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 22(2), 138-153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.1990.11969821>
- Berger, A. H. (2000). *Som elevene ser det. Hva får elevene til å bråke eller lære?* [As the pupils see it- What makes the pupils to disturb or learn?]. Oslo: Cappelen Akademiske Forlag.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). In Emerson, & M. Holoquist (Eds.), *Speech genres and other late essays* (V. W. Mc Gee. Trans.). Austin. University of Texas Press.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Bandura, A. Ross, D., & Ross, S. A. (1961). Transmission of aggression through the imitation of aggressive models. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 63, 575-582. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0045925>
- Basi, M., & Hurwitz, S. C. (2012). For parents particularly: To be Successful—Let Them Play! *Childhood Education*, 79(2), 101-102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2003.10522779>

- Buchmann, M. (1989). *The script of life in modern society. Entry into adulthood in a changing world.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production.* Oxford: Political Press.
- Brown, J. S., & Duguid. (1996). Stolen knowledge. In H. McLellan (Ed.), *Situated Learning Perspective* (pp. 47-56). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications.
- Barstad, A. (2016). *Opphopning av dårlige levekår. En analyse av levekårsundersøkelsen EU-SILC 2013.* [Accumulation of bad living conditions. An analysis the living condition investigation EU-SILC 2013.].
- Christie, N. (1973). Hvis skolen ikke fantes—ville barn og unge trives bedre? [If the School did not exist- Would children and adolescence thrive better?]. In T. Tamburstuen (Ed.), *Trivsel i skolen.* Ide - hefte basert på to seminarer arrangert av Kirke-, forsknings- og utdannings dept., Oslo.
- Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society.* New York: Norton.
- Fogarty, J. S. (1997). Reactance theory and patient noncompliance. *Social Science and Medicine*, 45, 1277-1288. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(97\)00055-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(97)00055-5)
- Furlong, A., & Cartmel, F. (1997). *Young people and social change.* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Giroux, H. A. (2001). Teachers as intellectuals. Towards a critical pedagogy of learning. *Introduced by Paulo Freire.* USA: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Gurmin, H. (2007). Edit Stein and Tania Singer. *A comparison of Phenomenological and Neurological Approaches to the "Problem of Empathy" Maynooth Philosophical Papers*, 4, 99-122. <https://doi.org/10.5840/mpp200748>
- Hardy-Fortin, K. L. (2012). Looking at Students' perceptions of why they did or didn't Drop Out of New Bedford High School. *Doctoral Thesis to the college of Professional Studies.*
- Hebdidge, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style.* London: Methuen.
- Hirschi, T., & Gottfredson, M. R. (1995). Control theory and the life course perspective. *Studies on Crime and Crime Prevention*, 4(2), 131-142.
- Heggen, K. (2000). Marginalisation: On the fringe of the periphery—Youth as a risky life stage? *Young*, 8(2), 45-62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/110330880000800203>
- Heggen, K. (2004). Risiko og forhandling. *Ungdoms sosiologiske emner.* Oslo: Abstrakt forlaget.
- Heggen, K., Båevik, F. O., & Olsen, G. M. (2000). *Kompetanse. Yrkesutdanning i to regionar etter Reform 94.* [Competence. The vocational education in two regions after the Reform 94]. Rapport 41. Høgskolen i Volda/ Møreforskning Volda.
- Helgevold, N. (2011). *Å lære å kommunisere i det moderne klasserommet: en kvalitativ studie av interaksjonsformer på ungdomstrinnet* (Doktoravhandling). [To learn to communicate in the modern classroom: a qualitative study of different forms of interaction during the junior high-school years.] Doctoral dissertation. University of Stavanger.

- Helleve, I. (2008). *Productive interactions in ICT supported communities of learners* (Doktoravhandling). [Doctorial dissertation]. University of Bergen.
- Imsen, G. (2005). *Elevens verden: innføring i pedagogisk psykologi*. [The student's world: introduction to pedagogic psychology] (4. utg.). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- KUF. (1996). *Læreplan for grunnskolen (L97)*. The learning plan for the primary school (L97). Oslo: Nasjonalt læremiddelsenter.
- Krumsvik, R. J., & Sälj, R. (2013). *Praktisk—pedagogisk utdanning: En antologi* [Practical pedagogic education: an anthology]. Fagbokforlaget: Bergen.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Inter Views. An introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815355>
- Manger, T., Lillejord, S., Nordahl, T., & Helland, T. (2013). *Livet i skolen I* [Life within the school I] (2.utgave). Fagbokforlaget.
- Meneses, R. W., & Larkin, M. (2012). Edith Stein and the Contemporary Psychological study of Empathy. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology: Atlantic Highlands*, 43(2), 151-184. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15691624-12341234>
- Møller, T. M., & Nygård, M. (2000). *Edith Stein. Filosof og mystiker* [Edith Stein. The philosopher and mystic]. Emilia viten.
- Mortimer, E. F., & Wertsch, J. V. (2009). The architecture and Dynamics of Intersubjectivity in Science Classroom. *Mind, Culture and Activity*, 10(3), 230-240. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327884mca1003_5
- Multon, K. D., Brown, S. D., & Lent, R. W. (1991). Relation of self-efficacy beliefs to academic outcomes: A meta-analytic investigation. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 38, 30-38. [doi:10.1037/0022-0167.38.1.30](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.38.1.30) <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.38.1.30>
- Møller, T. M., & Nygård, M. (2000). *Edith Stein. Filosof og mystiker* [Edith Stein. The philosopher and mystic]. Emilia viten.
- Nordahl, T. (1998). *Er det bare eleven?* [Is it just the pupil?] Oslo: NOVA. Report no, 12d/1998. <https://doi.org/10.7577/nova/rapporter/1998/12e>
- Nordahl, T. (2010). *Eleven-som aktør* [The pupil as an actor]. Oslo: Universitets forlaget.
- Nordahl, T., & Sørli, M. A. (1996). *Prosjekt Skole og samspills vansker* [The project School and interaction difficulties.]. Oslo: Barnevernets utviklingssenter.
- Nordahl, T., Sørli, A. M., Manger, T., & Tveit, A. (2005). *Atferdsproblemer blant barn og unge*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- NOU. (2003). *Forsterket kvalitet i en grunnopplæring for alle. Nr 16* [Strengthening the quality concerning the basis of training for all].

- Ogden, T. (1998). *Elevatferd og læringsmiljø Læreres erfaringer med og syn på elevatferd og læringsmiljø i grunnskolen* [Pupil behaviours and learning milieu. The teachers experience with, and view upon pupil behaviours and learning milieu in the primary school.] Oslo: Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdept., Rapport 98.
- Opplæringsloven. (2006). *The Education Act*. Retrieved from <http://www.Regjeringen.no/no//documenter/opplæringsloven/id213315/>
- Park, R. (1967). *On social control and collective behaviour—Selected papers*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Roberts, K. (1995). *Youth and employment in modern Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosenthal, R., & Jacobsen, L. F. (1968). Teachers Expectations for the Disadvantaged. *Scientific American*, 218(4). <https://doi.org/10.1038/scientificamerican0468-19>
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to Labour. How Working—Class Kids get Working Class Jobs*. Hampshire: Gower Publishing Company Limited.
- Kunnskapsdepartementet. (2013). *St.meld.nr 20. På rett vei. Kvalitet og mangfold i fellesskolen*. Oslo: Kunnskaps departementet.
- Rommetveit, R. (1974). *On message structure: A framework for the study of language and communication*. London: Wiley.
- Rommetveit, R. (1979). On the architecture of intersubjectivity. In R. Rommetveit, & R. M. Blakar (Eds.), *Studies of language thought and verbal communication*. New York: Academic Press.
- Rommetveit, R. (1985). Language acquisition as increasing linguistic structuring of experience and symbolic behaviour control. In J. V. Wertsch (Ed.), *Culture, communication and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives*. Cambridge (Bookcapter): Cambridge University Press.
- Scheff, T. et al. (2006). *Goffman Unbound!: A New Paradigm for Social Science (The Sociological Imagination)*. Paradigm Publishers.
- Solbue, V. (2014). *Dialogen som visker ut kategoriene [The dialogue that earase the categories]*. Doktorgradsavhandling. Doctorial dissertation. Universitet i Bergen.
- Solvang, P. (2002). *Annerledes. Uten variasjon, ingen sivilisasjon. Different. Without variation, no civilization*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Stern, D. (2004). *The Present Moment in Psychotherapy and Everyday Life*. Norton Books.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Sørli, M. A. (1991). *Alternative skoler. Lokale kompetansesentra for utsatt ungdom*. Alternative schools [The locale competence competence-centres for adolescents in risks.]. Barnevernet's rapport serie 4/91.