

Mind the Gap



# Mind the Gap

Ethnography about cultural reproduction  
of difference and disadvantage in urban education

Osa Lundberg



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## Abstract

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This thesis examines cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage in the pedagogical content and practices in urban education. Cultural differentiation is seen as a social and ideological practice that is constructed institutionally in the organization and structure of pedagogy. The objectives of this study are threefold. I examine: 1) how cultural difference is formulated, enacted and conveyed in policy and practice, 2) how pedagogical practices contribute to the (re)production of social and cultural inequalities, and 3) where opportunities for change and transformation in the pedagogical practice can occur. The empirical data is produced by participant observation and interviews with teachers and students. Three different ninth grade classes and the teachers, at the same school, were observed for three years consecutively between 2006 and 2009. A fifth grade class was also observed for one semester. The analysis is informed by theories of sociology of education (Bernstein, 1990, p. 165) and critical race theory (Leonardo, 2009). The analysis of this study highlights the social and cultural reproduction (Bernstein, 2001) in the formulation, realization and transformation arenas (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). Specific attention is given to the relationship between the macro power, in the formulation arena, and the micro practices of pedagogy, in the realization arena, that are intended to compensate for social and cultural differences and disparities. Based on findings, I claim that *cultural racism* (Ryan, 1976, p. 190), in the *pedagogical discourse*, allows race and racism to go under the guise of culturally acceptable forms of institutional racism. I argue that 'culture' is used as a metaphor for race and as a rationale to employ *compensatory pedagogy* (Gitz-Johansen, 2009) as a solution that does not alleviate, but rather accentuates inequality and disadvantages. This study discusses how differentiation along the lines of 'culture' has bearing on allocation of government funding, urban development, school reform, bilingual education, hiring and retention of bilingual teachers, and pedagogical practices aimed at reforming the students' through compensatory measures. These measures which are intended to enable integration into the mainstream "Swedish" society paradoxically reify and accentuate 'Otherness'. The academic contribution is geared towards development of the sociology of school knowledge in pedagogical work, critical pedagogy and social justice education.



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Osa Lundberg

## Use of quotation marks etc.

### Clarification on the use of symbols in the text:

- “Quotation marks” are used as a direct quote, or to indicate that certain expressions and labels are socially constructed, value-laden, ideologically contentious, i.e. “Swedish”, “Finnish”, “immigrant”, “race”, “black/white”.
- *Cursive* style is used for emphasis and titles, i.e. *pedagogical discourse*.
- `Single quotes´ are used on terms that can connote different meanings, but are used in a specialized sense, i.e. `Othering´ , `elsewhere´ , and `culture´ but not necessarily from one specific source.
- Translations into Swedish are provided within parenthesis with the abbreviation (Sw.).



# PART ONE: RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND DESIGN

Part One includes the aims and intentions, research questions, theoretical impetus and methodology. It also includes key concepts and previous research relevant to studies in educational sciences dealing with 'Othering', exclusion and marginalization of students, and of people of color in urban areas in Sweden.



# Chapter 1: Education and cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage

## Why study race-relations?

Race and racism are considered to be anti-democratic and unacceptable in public and private institutions; yet, differentiation along lines of culture is pervasive both publicly and privately. Making cultural distinctions and differences is socially acceptable, whereas race and racism is not. But where do we draw the line? How do educators in a liberal and democratic educational system manage social and cultural diversity without reproducing cultural racism? That is to say, how can educators avoid ethnocentric and essentialist notions of race in the pedagogical discourse? Is it possible to avoid cultural racism in pedagogical work? Could it be that avoidance of all types of isms, that is to say discrimination based on race, gender, class, sexuality, age, ability and so forth, actually contribute to social inequality? Ideally educators are to teach and instruct students on norms and values characteristic of liberal democratic societies; yet, avoidance or color-blindness seems to be the culturally and socially acceptable form of [not] dealing with discrimination (Leonardo, 2009a).

Not identifying or discussing race seems to be the norm in liberal democratic societies. In the public arena such as: politics, schooling and academics, race is a no-go area. Simply naming or discussing the topic is a provocation. As a result, alternative misnomers and euphemisms, which denote people of color, crop up in various forms and culturally acceptable configurations with labels such as “immigrants”, “the disadvantaged”, “bilingual”, “new Swedes”, and “new arrivals”, but the terms race and racism are avoided. They are the elephant in the room. As with the emperor’s new clothes, discussion about race is avoided, color-blindness is the dominant ideological norm for dealing with diversity (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Critical theorists’ use of race and racism can be equaled to Harry Potter’s insistence on naming Lord Voldemort by name instead of saying “he who must not be

named”<sup>1</sup>. To speak his name is a direct provocation to those who wish to deny Lord Voldemort’s existence, or, in this case, the existence of race and racism as part of the fabric of Swedish society.

Cultural racism, the belief that cultural differences are inherent and immutable traits and characteristics of individuals and social groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b; Essed, 1991), in education can be seen as an enactment of norms and power embedded in learning practices in schooling. In particular how the educational content constructs, conveys and reproduces normative assumptions about race, class, gender and language. Whether the content of learning is constructed for or by the students, these constructions of knowledge depict norms about race that reproduce the *status quo*. The construction of school knowledge is an important resource for those interested in exploring relationships of power embedded in educational practices.

Educators in liberal and democratic societies are confronted with what Stuart Hall calls “the multicultural question”<sup>2</sup> and are in need of guidance with issues concerning diversity, equity and race. The social practices of color-blindness and omission of racial knowledge (Goldberg, 2009) is problematic in relation to the construction and reproduction of school knowledge. The students, the teachers, the subject matter all convey and construct pre-existing racialized subjectivities. Examining race-relations and the construction of knowledge about race can shed light on how cultural racism contributes to the reproduction of social inequalities that exist even in liberal democratic societies such as Sweden (Pred, 2000).

## Disposition of thesis

This thesis is divided into five main parts. Part One deals with the research background and design. It includes the research questions, theoretical impetus and methodology. In Part Two, I discuss the significance of race and place and the fabrication of a divide between the location of the school and

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<sup>1</sup> In J. K. Rowling’s books about Harry Potter, the existence of Lord Voldemort is denied by the authorities. Therefore, simply mentioning his name is threat to the reigning social order established after Lord Voldemort’s disappearance. Similar to The Emperor’s New Clothes, challenging the official discourse is a direct provocation to widely held sanctions and beliefs.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart Hall (2000) refers to “the multicultural question” as “the double demand for greater equality and social justice and for the recognition of difference and cultural diversity” (p. 10). [http://red.pucp.edu.pe/ridei/wp-content/uploads/biblioteca/Stuart\\_Hall\\_The\\_multicultural\\_question.pdf](http://red.pucp.edu.pe/ridei/wp-content/uploads/biblioteca/Stuart_Hall_The_multicultural_question.pdf)

## CHAPTER 1

surrounding areas. It is the beginning of the results and is important in that it provides a macro perspective to the interpretation and analysis of the data and an introduction to the school leadership, formulation and implementation of the school's philosophy in relation to government intervention strategies for schools and people of color living in so-called disadvantaged. In Part Three, I examine the realization of difference and disadvantage within schooling practices and how the schooling practices attempt to bridge the divide between Woodbridge and outside areas. In Part Four, I discuss how the pedagogical discourse is used to bridge and (un)do the divide between students in Woodbridge and the surrounding areas and where potential gaps for transformation are possible. In Part Five, I discuss the conclusions and summarize the main findings and implications.



## Chapter 2: Aims and research questions

### Aim of the study

The principal aim of my study is to examine cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage in the pedagogical discourse in schooling and to see where potential gaps for change and transformation can occur. Specifically, I seek to understand how social and cultural differences are constructed and conveyed in the pedagogical discourse between teachers and students in the ninth grade and to derive from this what the social and pedagogical implications are. The primary objectives of this study are threefold. I seek to understand: 1) how cultural difference is constructed socially and discursively in policy and practice, 2) how pedagogical practices contribute to the (re)production of social and cultural inequalities, and 3) where opportunities for change and transformation in the pedagogical practice can occur.

My overarching academic aims, to produce new knowledge, are threefold. Firstly, to apply race and racism, as analytical constructs, to examine cultural reproduction in education. Secondly, to examine how the organization and structure of the pedagogical practice institutionally contributes to social inequalities and disadvantage. Thirdly, to make a substantive contribution to the sociology of education in which social inequalities are addressed and discussed as objects of learning with regards to the distribution, recontextualization and evaluation of school knowledge.

Race and racism are well established fields of educational research in the United States and UK (Gillborn, 2008; Leonardo, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2004). It is my intent to introduce *race* as an analytical concept (Hübinette, Hörnfeld, Farahani, & León Rosales, 2012) into the discourse and theory within Swedish educational research where it seems to be lacking (Beach & Lunneblad, 2011; Broman, Rubenstein Reich, & Hägerström, 2002; Rubenstein Reich & Tallberg Broman, 2000) and to highlight and examine the social implications of pedagogical practices that contribute to social and cultural inequalities for urban youth of color (Gillborn, 2008).

## Research questions

- How are social and cultural differences constructed and conveyed in education?
- What are the social implications of social and cultural differences that arise in the pedagogical practice?
- Where do opportunities for change and transformation in the pedagogy occur?

Cultural difference and disadvantage are examined from both a critical race theory and sociology of knowledge perspective. A critical race theory perspective in this case means that knowledge about race and racism is examined in relation to aspects of power/resistance, privilege/marginalization, and inclusion/exclusion in the pedagogical discourse (Bernstein, 2000). The pedagogical discourse refers to a set of principles that govern the pedagogical communication. These principles include the distributive, recontextualizing and evaluative rules. The meaning and purpose of these rules are explained in Chapter 4. The combination of these theoretical perspectives is intended to highlight how knowledge about race and racism, ontologically speaking, can be examined as a system of practices that occur within a particular socio-political location. Goldberg (2009) uses the concept 'racial knowledge' to discuss how knowledge about race and racism is constructed in the making of difference. The making of difference refers to practices of naming, silencing, and Othering people of color.

In my thesis, the concept of schooling is used in a broad sense similar to the sociology of knowledge and critical social theory (Anyon, 2009; Apple, 2004). According to Bernstein, schooling involves the transmission and acquisition of official knowledge (Apple, 2004). However, knowledge is not simply facts, skills, information or descriptions, but rather a social construction that reflects human ideas, values, interests and beliefs that are socially and culturally<sup>3</sup> situated. With regards to pedagogy, Bernstein uses 'symbolic control' as a term to describe the means to relay power that can construct and legitimate different forms of consciousness, disposition and desire (Bernstein, 2001). Hence, racial knowledge (Goldberg, 2009) and

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<sup>3</sup> Here, the concept of culture is used to denote symbolic power, ideas and beliefs that are shared or common within a social group. This usage is similar to the ways the concept of culture is applied in Cultural Studies.

## CHAPTER 2

knowledge construction are examined as part of a pedagogical discourse defined and negotiated within a postmodern social, economic and historical context.

From a macro-perspective, the reproduction of school knowledge occurs within different *arenas* or what Bernstein calls “fields of practice” (Bernstein, 2000). According to Bernstein, these “fields of practice” are sites of contention and struggle over symbolic control within different levels of the educational system. Lindensjö and Lundgren (2000) refer to these fields of practice as “arenas” in which symbolic control has the power to formulate, realize and transform pedagogy. According to Lindensjö and Lundgren there are three interrelated and hierarchical levels of the educational system: the *formulation*, *realization*, and *transformation* arenas.

Bernstein’s theory of knowledge is used in combination with critical race theory in order to examine the *formulation* of cultural differences in policy and practices, the *realization*, or implementation of social and ideological practices that construct and convey social and cultural differences in everyday school life, as well as, interruptions or ‘gaps’ in the fields of practice that can lead to social *transformation* and consciousness about race and racism. A more detailed presentation on Bernstein’s theory of the Sociology of Knowledge and educational arenas are presented in Chapter 4.

In my study, I have given emphasis to the teacher narratives in order to understand the choices and the rationale for the pedagogical discourse, how the pedagogical discourse racializes the students and the subject matter, and what some of the social implications of the pedagogical discourse are for students of color living in so-called disadvantage urban areas.

### Delimitations

My interest lies in the transmission and construction of prescriptive and ideological conflicts embedded in the pedagogical discourse. According to Bernstein (2001), schooling is a means of cultural production and reproduction. The focus is on *what* and *how* social and cultural differences are constructed and conveyed in the practice of schooling and how this conceptualization of difference reproduces inequalities in education. The issue is not necessarily achievement, grades or academic performance of the

individual or groups. Students' motivation and ability are important topics in teacher discourses that supply a rationale for the pedagogy.

It is not my intention to demonize, nor denigrate the teachers' qualifications or skills. Although, I am directly critical of *what* and *how* knowledge about difference is constructed, I am not trying to critique the teachers' subject matter knowledge, classroom management skills, or social relations with individual students. This is an important point to remember with regards to the ambition and intention of teachers to improve and develop students' learning. Many of the teachers are skilled in classroom management, subject matter and strive to maintain positive social relations with their students, but, as we will see, schooling is a crucial site of cultural reproduction and production of the dominant curriculum (Bernstein, 1990, 2001).

## Chapter 3: Previous Research: Critical race theory

The purpose of this chapter is in part to provide a background for the research questions at hand and provide a point of departure from previous and concurrent research on race and racism in education. Here I present studies conducted in Sweden, the United States, the United Kingdom and Netherlands that are related to the construction and experience of race and racism in schooling and society that are related, but not necessarily limited to educational research. I have divided this chapter into three sections, as follows: 1) Critical Race Theory, 2) Cultural Racism and 3) Race and Racism in Education. First, I present a short introduction into critical race theory and the concept of color-blindness as it is conceptualized and used in American research and as it is applied to studies conducted in Sweden. Second, I present European and American research on cultural racism. Third, I present educational research in Sweden that concern race and racism directly or indirectly.

### **Critical Race Studies**

Critical Race Studies provide an empirical and theoretical frame for contemporary studies on race and racism in liberal and democratic societies such as Sweden. Critical Race Studies uses theoretical concepts such as “stereotyping” and “Othering” in order to understand how racialization and objectification of black and brown bodies can continue even in societies believed to be, or conceived as post-racial.

Critical Race Theory examines the pervasiveness of race and racism in all spheres of society and all knowledge areas. It is an interdisciplinary research that began with law and has expanded into social sciences and educational sciences<sup>4</sup>. Even though Critical Race Theory is peripheral in educational studies, it can be seen as a continuation of the civil rights movement and educational research that is emancipatory and transformative. Other branches

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<sup>4</sup> See Leonardo (2009) for a more in depth account and description about the development of Critical Race Studies.

of Critical Race Theory include Social Justice Education and Whiteness Studies.

Critical Race Theory begins with the premise that race and racism are normal and profound aspects of society even in liberal democratic nations such as Sweden (Leonardo, 2009; Pred, 2000). This premise is undeniably a provocation to well-intentioned educators in Sweden and elsewhere who are dedicated to teaching democratic values such as tolerance, equality and human rights. Asserting that race and racism is *normal* is a direct provocation to color-blindness - the belief that racism should not play a role in inter-personal relationships and the exchange of goods and services – especially in liberal and democratic nation states (Leonardo, 2009a; Wise, 2010). Color-blindness avidly asserts that race<sup>5</sup> should not make a difference. Calling out color-blindness and race is not only a provocation, but also directly antagonistic to the status quo (Dumas, 2009). It challenges ingrained notions and beliefs of national identity, tolerance and social democracy. Critical race theorists contend that it is necessary to expose and examine the workings of race and racism in everyday life in order to transcend and abolish racism (Leonardo, 2009).

Race is no longer considered to be a legitimate natural phenomenon; yet it continues to have social and material consequences and therefore can be used as a legitimate object still open for research. From a critical race perspective, race is *performed* on individual, group and symbolic levels. People perform and enact racialized subjectivities. That is to say, people *do* race and enact subjectivities concomitant with a racialized social order. Race is a way of constructing group membership. We “do” race<sup>6</sup> similar to “doing gender” in Judith Butler’s theory of performativity (Butler, 1999/1990).

Contrary to biological and socially essentialistic definitions, race is neither an inherent, nor immutable trait nor characteristic of people or groups. Race is viewed as a socially constructed concept in which phenotypes, i.e. eye, hair, skin color etc are ascribed generic and arbitrary social traits. These traits and characteristics are arbitrarily assigned to social groups in order to construct an artificial group identity (Loomba, 1998). It is a social construction assigned to

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<sup>5</sup> Here, I use race to express the commonsense definition of race as a socially essentialistic and biologically determined.

<sup>6</sup> Race even by biological and medical definitions is considered to be socially constructed. See Ann Fausto-Sterlings article “Racial Categories in Medical Practice. How Useful Are They”, link: <http://www.plosmedicine.org/article/info:doi/10.1371/journal.pmed.0040271>

and by different groups in the struggle for power and privilege. Zeus Leonardo (2009) asserts that race is an ideological construct that has material consequences. Even if race is not real, the privilege and social disparities between racial groups are (Leonardo, 2009, p. 57). “Race may be a social construction without biological validity, yet it is real and powerful enough to alter the fundamental shape of all our lives (Gooding-Williams 1995; Taylor 1996; Alcoff 1996)” (Alcoff, 1998, p. 3).

Historically race can be understood as a mechanism to secure power and privilege to whites based on (quasi)scientific grounds. “[R]ace was invented in order to accomplish certain social goals. In order to rationalize their place in the world and then justify the treatment of others, white Europeans invented a classification system that put people of darkest skin tones at the bottom of the human hierarchy and lightest at the top,” (Leonardo, 2009, p. 41). From this perspective, race is not simply a matter of identity or cultural politics (Butler, 1997; Fraser, 1997). Race is also an ideological mode along class lines in the production and distribution of labor and commodities<sup>7</sup>.

### **Color-blindness**

Color-blindness is the belief that race doesn’t matter and that it should not be taken into account on matters concerning social policies, goods and services, or interpersonal interactions (Leonardo, 2009, p. 131). This also seems to be true of teachers and pedagogues within educational systems (Derman-Sparks & Ramsey, 2006; Howard, 2006; Paley, 1979). The premise of the color-blind ideology is that it is best to ignore the issue of race if we want to get beyond racism (Leonardo, 2009). With regards to contemporary color-blindness, Leonardo quotes Lopez (2006) who maintains that:

...color-blindness continues to retard racial progress. It does so for a simple reason: It focuses on the surface, on the bare fact of racial classification, rather than looking down into the nature of social practices. It gets racism and racial remediation exactly backward, and insulates new forms of race baiting. (Lopez, 2006, p. 6 in Leonardo, 2009, p. 131)

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<sup>7</sup> For an extended analysis on the intersection of race and class see Jean Anyon (2005), *Radical Possibilities: Public Policy, Urban Education, and a New Social Movement*. For a socio-economic and political of racial disparities see Nancy Fraser (1997) *Justice Interruptus*.

Attempting to, or claiming that skin color “doesn’t matter” is an affirmation of whiteness<sup>8</sup> because only whites can claim racial neutrality. Denial that a racial order exists reflects how whites uphold a dominant position effortlessly. Color-blindness hides the active domination, exploitation and aggression towards people of color while securing the social and economic privileges of being white. The color-blind discourse is fully endorsed by whites because it endorses and normalizes their dominant position in society. Color-blindness is easily perpetuated because it is both directly appealing and beneficial to whites. In contrast to the color-blind perspective, Leonardo argues that “whites do know a lot about race in both its everyday sense as a lived experience and its structural sense as a system of privilege” (2009, p. 107).

### *Critical race studies in Sweden*

Hübinette’s et. al. (2012) anthology of contemporary racism in Sweden provides an example from a variety of disciplines and perspectives about the way difference is constructed on the basis of race. The anthology examines how race is constructed performatively, that is to say, how people of color are racialized in symbolic representations in popular culture (see Hall, 1997). These representations are examined in conjunction to other social markers of class, gender, language and sexuality in order to understand how different power structures intersect and overlap one another. Race is not seen entirely as an independent marker of social identity. Race is applied from an intersectional perspective which examines how race works in relation to other kinds of categorizations and social hierarchies in specific contexts.

Hübinette’s (2012) anthology analyzes how race is enacted in advertisements, television programs, picture archives and theatrical performances. An ice-cream product called Nogger Black aroused debate in Sweden 2005 when the Center Against Racism reported the advertisement as racist. The debate centered on the discussion of what is to be considered racist. An advertisement with the words “Nogger” and “Black” were deemed banal and not a legitimate form of overt racism. Opponents to the report argued that time could be better spent on fighting real racism.

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<sup>8</sup> Leonardo means that whiteness is ideological in nature, it is not real or material, but it has real and material consequences.

The perception of Sweden as a non-racist society is a belief and a rationale used to disqualify the use of banal racism in advertising as discriminatory. Real racism was tied to biological and scientific categorizations and conscious intention to exert racist practices. The study concluded that banal, cultural and everyday racism are not considered to be really racist (Pripp & Öhlander, 2012). This is consistent with Bonilla-Silva's (2014a) analysis of "new racism" which tends to discount and minimize racism as an invalid reason for discrimination. The proponents of "color-blind racism" assert that race is no longer a factor in shaping peoples' lives.

Another study on racialized representations examined why stereotypes of the Asian male are accepted and laughed at in popular culture. Caricatures of the Asian male in logos, television shows and comedy performances are frequent in Swedish entertainment (Hübinette & Tigervall, 2012). The popular representation of the Asian male as meek, nerdy, weak or silly is closely connected to comedy and humor. Swedish television programs frequently include guests dressed as Asians, performing racist songs, or performing the Asian caricature, similar to Sambo's and artists in blackface (ibid, p. 149). The study compares these representations to other kinds of racial stereotypes. According to Hübinette and Tigervall, derogatory representations of Asian males are accepted and laughed at without much resistance and are, according to the study, on the increase, whereas racist illustrations of Jews, Arabs and African people are no longer tolerated (Hall, 1997; Van Dijk, 1987).

Why are caricatures and derogatory representations of the Asian male accepted and laughed at when racial stereotypes of Jews, Arabs and African people are not? Hübinette and Tigervall's (2012) analysis connects the historical colonial view of white imperialism to the new era of globalization in which the East is now seen as a threat to white domination and supremacy. Derogatory and insulting humor shows are normalized in popular culture as non-racist because of a desire to oppose a presumptive threat against the West and to maintain a racialized social order. Racist humor is therefore liberating and disarming (Hall, 1997). It allows an openly aggressive attitude towards Asians, disguised as humor, and works to subdue fears of Asian domination (Chisholm, 2005). Demeaning the Asian male through comedy is a subversive act to alleviate fear, but as with all stereotypes, it reaffirms racial divides and us-versus-them mentality (Lee, 2001).

In contrast to the reductionist representations of the Asia male, Lundström's (2012) study examines racial desire and exoticism of women

from South America. According to Lundström, representations of Latin Americans has increased in popularity. Lundström claims that it is through an Americanized representation in music and media that has come to symbolize a hyper sexuality and exoticism of Latin American women. The women interviewed in Lundström's study provided narratives of 'everyday racism' similar to the accounts in Essed (1991). Yet, the attention received was not deviant in a negative sense. Latin American women experience special attention from white, Swedes as different, exciting and desirable. This kind of special attention was not positively received by the informants who expressed that their femininity was an object of desire.

In sum, Critical Race Studies in Sweden examine how race is constructed and performed in everyday life. People's bodies are objectified and racialized through symbolic representations in media and entertainment. For example, the ice-cream "Nogger Black" is a labeling practice that is not overtly racist enough to be considered racist (Chisholm, 2005; Pripp & Öhlander, 2008). Stereotypes and caricatures of the Asian male are accepted because Asians are not viewed as racially inferior on a global scale and Latin American women in Sweden receive unsolicited attention as exotic and erotic objects of desire even when the feelings are not reciprocated (Hübinette & Tigervall, 2012; Lundström, 2012). It can be concluded from, these studies and others, that racialization occurs, but is also incongruent (Hübinette & Tigervall, 2008). Racialization serves different functions depending on who and what is the target of racism (Blackledge, 2006; Hall, 1997; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Overt racism towards people of color in advertisements is downplayed as banal racism<sup>9</sup> and nothing to be concerned about in a post-racist society such as Sweden. Likewise, stereotypes and caricatures of the Asian male permeate Swedish entertainment, which are accepted and laughed at. This allows aggressiveness towards a perceived Asian threat to continue without resistance. Also, the Latin female body projected as an object of racial desire creates unwanted attention and misconceptions. Critical race studies in Sweden examine how race and racism, from the banal to increasingly overt forms, in contemporary Swedish society can be seen as a system of practices which serve to maintain whiteness and white normativity in relation to a national Swedish identity (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011).

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<sup>9</sup> Banal racism is racism that naturalizes difference and is repeated in subtle rather than overt forms (Chisholm, 2005).

## Cultural Racism

The studies presented here concern cultural racism in its previous and current articulation. I have chosen to begin with presenting studies about cultural racism as it is experienced and presented in critical social research in Europe and the United States. These studies concern everyday racism (Essed, 1991, 2005b), color-blindness and studies that problematize race relations in liberal democratic nation states (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b). The common theme is the construction of knowledge about the 'Other' in everyday life. It is through the accumulative and aggregated accounts of everyday racism in previous studies which are the springboard for this study and necessary in constructing concurrent knowledge about race and how new racism is manifested in a color-blind ideology (Bonilla-Silva, 2014a). Narratives and accounts of banal forms of racism on the micro-level can be viewed as part and parcel of institutionalized racism on the macro-level (Essed, 1991 and 2005b).

Cultural racism refers to the way social and cultural differences are perceived to be permanent and inherent characteristics of a social group (Essed, 1991; Pred, 2000, Ryan, 1976). Although these traits and characteristics are derived from lived experience, they are perceived to be normal and natural attributes caused by social conditioning. It is readily assumed that on an individual level, cultural attributes such as: language, intellect, athletic ability, etc. are learned differences which then become permanent traits.

Cultural racism occurs when the same kind of reasoning is applied on a group level. For example, language skills, education, employment, health, and housing are viewed as a result of learned behavior, choices and accomplishments made by individual effort. When groups of people fail to prosper in these areas it is attributed to "their culture", not the unequal distribution of education, employment, health promotion and housing and other structural conditions which determine prosperity. In this sense, cultural racism is not necessarily referring to a hierarchy of cultures, but to a differentiation of normative and prescriptive ideals that are viewed as inherent and/or natural. I will continue my presentation of cultural racism as it has been used in previous research. Cultural racism will be presented from the following studies and perspectives: cultural deprivation theory, everyday

racism, banal racism, cultural racism in Sweden and the incongruity of cultural racism, in that order.

### *Cultural deprivation theory*

Ryan (1976) in his book *Blaming the Victim* provides a narrative and theoretical account of injustice and inequalities experience by people of color living in the ghetto of Americas cities such as Newark, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles during riots of the 1960's. Ryan's account explains how the symptoms of multi-dimensional poverty are attributed to culture, lifestyle and values of people of color living in the ghetto.

Ryan argues that the sociological explanation of poverty attributes the stigmas of slum life, and racial aggression to environmental deprivation and social conditioning rather than socio-economic and structural factors which create the living conditions (cf Kozol, 1991). The injustice is twofold. Firstly, people of color in the urban areas experienced violence and victimization first hand. Secondly, the theory of deprivation assigns blame to people of color and the urban poor. Ryan asserts that the liberal sociological explanation of poverty does not necessarily blame poverty on the poor directly, but it does hold the poor accountable for their actions and choices. This theory is also relevant with regards to free choice. Students from low income areas attend schools in outside areas that have a better reputation, higher grades and/or academic achievement. Those who attend schools in low income urban areas have then seen as having made a "free choice" to remain there.

The sociological explanation of victim blaming is in essence a form of cultural racism. The cultural deficiency perspective creates a need for remediation and compensatory measures on individual and institutional levels in schooling. Localizing the root of impoverishment and deprivation in the individual is convenient argues Ryan, as a means for liberals to avoid structural issues of exclusion, domination and exploitation of people of color and the urban poor.

The culture of deprivation thesis infers blame and consequently remediation of the victim. In the case of schooling, Ryan explains, "In education, we have programs of 'compensatory education' to build up the skills and attitudes of the ghetto child, rather than structural changes in the schools"(Ryan, p. 8). Kozol (1991) in *Savage Inequalities – Children in America's schools* provides a vivid and telling account of racial segregation and

impoverishment – material and economic - of children of color in urban schools. The cultural deprivation theory provides a basis for presuppositions and prescriptive measures for urban intervention, school reform programs and management of social and cultural diversity geared towards remediation of the deviant ‘Other’.

The culture of deprivation thesis is relevant to the analysis of residential ethnic segregation. In Sweden, there are urban areas in which so called visible minorities, i.e. foreign born people of color, predominately non-European background, live in immigrant dense neighborhoods (Andersson, Östh & Malmberg, 2010). Swedish researchers in urban geography claim that these residential areas with proportionately high levels of visible immigrants in Sweden are also subject to victim blaming sociological explanations (Andersson et al., 2009). In this study I discuss, in part, the formulation, implementation and realization of government intervention programs aimed at students of color living in segregated urban areas and how these fall short of the desired goals.

### *Everyday racism*

Philomena Essed coined the phrase “everyday racism”, which is a construct used to describe banal forms of racism that people of color experience repeatedly in daily life encounters (1991, 2005b). Studies on institutional discrimination reveal how everyday, commonplace practices in organizations hinder access to resources, help and support for people of color (Ahmed, 2012; Bayati, 2014; Essed, 2005b; SOU, 2006:40).

Essed’s (1991) thesis examines how women of color construct knowledge about racism in the United States and the Netherlands in everyday life. From personal narratives and accounts, the existence of everyday racism is a normal and regular reoccurrence in the lives of women of color. Similar to cultural racism, everyday racism is a seemingly banal and normalized process that has the same kind of impact on the individual’s self-esteem. Both serve to uphold white normativity as the dominant social norm.

Everyday racism connects micro and macro levels of racism. On the micro level, women of color experience various forms of objectification, ‘Othering’, denigration, belittlement, and doubt. On the macro level, structural discrimination denies access to service, support and resources that are necessary for progress and privileges in public institutions and commercial organizations.

Essed (2005b) claims that everyday racism is not merely anecdotal, but also a generic construct to understand marginalization, problematizing and repression of the 'Other'. A strong unifying experience was racism in education. Racism in education was intergenerational, that is to say, extensively experienced, not only by the individual women, but also by their parents and children. Obstructive and denigrating experiences in schooling included discouragement from college preparatory courses, punishment instead of reward for academic achievement, receiving unfairly low grades, public humiliation, and accusations of cheating, being ostracized, and lack of intervention by school authorities even when abusive racist language occurred. Mirza (2006) makes similar accounts of young women of color from the West Indies and their experiences of schooling in England. The accumulative accounts provide an experiential knowledge of everyday racism, as well as, knowledge about the abuse of power by school authorities.

Bayati (2014) and Ahmed (2012) examine how people of color experience institutional forms of everyday racism in higher education. Women of color experience silencing, exclusion, low expectations, linguicism and jealousy in group work, classroom discourse and evaluations of assignments in the teacher education program in Sweden (Bayati, 2014). The participants in Bayati's study experienced subtle and banal forms of racism that they had not expected. These accounts of banal racism in the teacher education program reaffirmed their experiences of everyday racism in Swedish society. Similarly, Ahmed (2012) explores the way diversity is institutionalize through the embodiment of people of color. Tokenism and a feel-good approach to diversity that does not contend with issues about racism of people of color is embraced. As a coping strategy, people of color adapt rather than confront white normativity in institutional settings. Ahmed writes that speaking out about racism becomes equivalent to being the problem rather than addressing the problem (Ahmed, 2012, p. 153).

Descriptive and experiential accounts of everyday racism can be used to build explanatory models about the reality and pervasiveness of racism in liberal democratic nations in which ideologies of tolerance undermine and delegitimize the experience of people of color. Accounts of everyday racism are dismissed because they do not coincide with a tolerant identity and democratic values of a liberal society. Furthermore these accounts are dismissed as too banal and ordinary to be considered offensive. Everyday racism can be seen as a lesser degree of racism that is often rejected as overt

racism because it's seemingly benign and harmless forms of representation. Denial of discrimination is stronger in northern European countries because it contradicts an antiracist identity (Essed, 1991; Hübinette & Tigervall, 2008; Schough, 2008).

### *Banal racism*

Similar to everyday racism, Chisholm (2005) applies the concept 'banal racism' to deconstruct colonial representations of the 'Other' in popular culture. Banal racism refers to subtle, reoccurring forms of symbolic violence against the black body and black culture. Symbolic violence occurs through the use of labels. Labeling practices indicate an essentialist notion of blackness that supports of black and white as binary opposites. Chisholm deconstructs essentialist ideas and labeling practices that portray people of color as primitive, deviant, disadvantage, and criminal, as well as, exotic 'Other' or noble savages in various forms in popular culture. Chisholm illustrates the amorphous and transient nature of banal racism. According to Chisholm, these colonial representations play on fears and threats to the dominant moral and social order.

In public debates and statements by authorities on "black crime", Chisholm observes how commercialized Hip Hop<sup>10</sup> and rap music is indirectly held accountable for crime and violence in the black community. The stereotypes of the black male, popular in Hip Hop and rap lyrics, are: the gangster, pimp, drug addict, and hyper-sexed male. The popularity of a dangerous and exotic 'Other' "whose images have been mass marketed, allowing the listener a taste of the ghetto" (Chisholm, 2005, p. 34) is exploited and used against the creators. Conversely, the text and lyrics against violence and oppression expressed in Hip Hop by people of color are neither marketable nor acknowledge in the struggle for social justice (Rose, 2008). Consequently, the counter discourses and voices against inequality are excluded. The voices of urban youth of color are (mis)appropriated for commercialization and "black-sploitation" of the urban 'Other'.

Another form of banal racism occurs in the use of mascots and advertisements that use racial stereotypes. A common example cited is the Native American mascot. The European constructed stereotype of Native

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<sup>10</sup> Hip Hop and rap music has its roots in political and social activism that is far removed from commercialized forms of rap music centered mainly on themes of gangsters and guns. Chang (2005) and Rose (2008) discuss the history and commodification of gangster rap.

Americans as a 'noble savage' is so ingrained and accepted that it is neither contested as racist nor considered politically incorrect by mainstream whites.

One method of accessing one's own prejudice is proposed by Ward Churchill who invites his readers to imagine an acceptable circumstance in which the image of a Jew could be suitably placed on the T-shirt of a German sports team, or the image of an African American on the jersey of an American hockey squad....Churchill continues, juxtaposing the plight of fictional teams called the 'niggers', 'Sambos', 'Spearchuckers', or 'slopes', 'gooks', 'dinks' with the employment of the term 'redskins', which he suggests is equally racist yet unlike his examples very real.

(Chisholm, 2005, p. 40 in reference to Churchill, 1996)

The ubiquitous image of Native American as a 'noble savage' occurs as a mascot for many sports teams - even here in Sweden for the hockey team Frölunda Indians<sup>11</sup> - and in many films. It is a banal form of everyday racism that repeats a colonial representation of the primitive, exotic, dangerous and savage as the uncivilized 'Other'.

Banal racism is typified in western films which portray historical events from the perspectives of the settlers and military. Portrayals of the Native Americans as brutal warriors in war paint attacking settlers was a common theme in western films typified by actors such as John Wayne in the movie *The Searchers*. These films sediment and even romanticize the conquest and ethnocide of the Native Americans in the past and continue to distort not only the history of the past but the contemporary lives of Native Americans as well.

Another form of typecasting in includes 'blacksploitation' in films produced by whites which depict African Americans in roles as urban savages. "The representation of black people within such films reinforced the public's idea of black culture being synonymous with drugs, sex and violence" (Chisholm, 2005, p. 64). Similar to the settlers' and military perspective mentioned previously, the urban ghetto is represented through a white gaze of fear and relief when the police (read cavalry) arrive to install law and order. The stereotypes of the pimp, pusher and prostitute originated from a film called *Birth of a Nation* made in 1915. This film produced in the early Jim Crow era after slavery also gave birth to the celluloid image "of the African Americans as violent, savage, criminal and overtly sexual stereotypes that are preserved in contemporary representations and that have origins within the colonial imagination" (ibid., p. 60).

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.frolundaindians.com/>

Disney has also perpetuated the subhuman image of people of color. In *The Jungle Book* King Louie (an adept jazz musician) sings about his longing to be “human too”. In *Pocahontas* a young Powhatan girl marries an English captain. Here, a Native American girl is removed from her own people and primitive culture and has to adapt to life in a modern society<sup>12</sup>. In both instances, the colonial representation is one of desire and change to acculturate to a more superior society.

Chisholm (2005) connects these colonial representations mentioned above to the contemporary imagery of urban communities of people of color in the United States and Great Britain. Contemporary imagery similar to colonial representations, essentializes deviance and naturalizes crime and poverty. Banal racism constructs people of color as inherently criminal through repetitive imagery of violence, drugs and gangs in segregated urban areas. As mentioned previously, criminalization of people of color and urban poor is naturalized in the discourse of culture of deprivation (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Ryan, 1976).

In sum, banal racism is so frequent and acceptable in its varying forms it is not recognized as racism. Banal racism is active in the formation of knowledge about race and racism through colonial representations. The purpose is to construct knowledge of the ‘Other’ as subhuman and in need of help, or as dangerous and rebellious and requiring domination. Colonial representations continue to construct knowledge of the ‘Other’ as dangerous and deviant. Through the eyes of the white colonial gaze, the urban ‘Other’ is, similar to indigenous people, inherently inferior and a threat to the social order. This notion justifies the rationale of surveillance, control and mass incarceration. Banal racism therefore has an indirect influence on the formulation of policies aimed at urban development, segregation, and control over people of color (Chisholm, 2005).

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<sup>12</sup> This theme parallels Gorge Bernard Shaw’s play *Pygmalion* and the film version *My Fair Lady* in which the main character Eliza Doolittle is transformed through education and language into a superior lady of refinement while doing away with her cockney English. Eliza’s transformation was also a change in her character and demeanor which can be interpreted as an attack on working class femininity.

*Cultural racism in Sweden*

Allan Pred's (2000) book *Even in Sweden* connects directly to Chisholm's claim that banal representations of race have a direct impact on social policy. Similar to Essed's and Chisholm's studies, Pred examines the accumulative accounts of everyday racism as it is articulated by the press, political leaders, government officials, people of color, immigrants, children of immigrants, and anti-immigrant propaganda. Anti-immigrant propaganda and random violence by extremist groups, as well as, the expansion of populist political parties and mandates in Swedish municipalities has continued to grow since the 1990's onward<sup>13</sup>. *Even in Sweden* documents the articulation of anti-immigrant sentiment and the experiences of xenophobia and hate crimes.

According to Pred, cultural racism is the construction of social differences through the essentialization of culture. These differences in turn become the justification and rationale for social inequality, *Even in Sweden*.

In Sweden, as anywhere else, it is through bodily engagement in locally situated practices, including exposure to mass-media images and narratives, that many women and men of the majority population become racists, that they wittingly or unwittingly become racializing agents, that they intentionally or unintentionally exercise racist power relations, that they knowingly or unknowingly contribute to the social construction of categories that make others different, that they amplify and perpetuate categories that keep others different, that they racialize themselves by way of racializing others.

(Pred, 2000, p.21)

Pred illustrates how cultural racism is expressed through the homogenization of both Swedish nationals and immigrant groups alike. He demonstrates how collectivism is violently asserted in discourses of a national "Swedish" identity that homogenizes Swedishness through unified, historical, ethno-racial sameness and how collectivism is violently imposed on people of color and immigrants as a collection of diverse attributes that indicate difference from the homogeneous dominant group. It is apparent how collective homogenization naturalizes both sameness and difference. In the cultural racist discourse, ambiguity, hybridity, variation is ignored in the construction of an 'Us-versus-Them' dichotomy. Affirmation and naturalization of sameness and difference is expressed in reductionist terminology that excludes variation and contradictions. This separation serves to justify social inequality, *Even in Sweden*, as cultural difference (Pred, 2000).

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<sup>13</sup> Ålund and Schierup (1991) predicted accurately in 1991 that right wing extremist movements are on the rise. The extremist groups of the early 1990's now have mandates in the national and municipal governments. In recent elections in 2014, the Swedish Democrats (a national populist party) increased to 12% in the Swedish parliament. The popularity of the Swedish Democrats parallels the development of nationalist and social conservative parties in Europe since the 1990's.

In Pred's analysis, cultural difference is also essentialized by discourses on race and place. Pred's narratives illustrate stereotypes and stigmas attached to the urban suburb, political decisions, policing and immigrant crime rates in neighborhoods such as Rinkeby, Rosengård and Angered. The analysis takes a critical race approach to discourses of urban neighborhoods as highly racialized spaces burdened with multidimensional poverty and territorial stigmatization.

A strong indicator of social inequality and racism concerns the social policies on housing and demographics in urban suburbs in Swedish cities (Andersson et al., 2009). The racialization of urban spaces in *Even in Sweden* (Pred, 2000) is similar to *Blaming the Victim* (Ryan, 1976). The discourse on cultural deprivation of people of color in American urban ghettos in the 1960's runs parallel to more recent studies of urban segregation in Sweden in which state interventions run the risk of blaming the victim (Andersson, 1998 ; Andersson et al., 2009).

### *Incongruity of cultural racism*

On a more personal level, Tobias Hübinette and Carina Tigervall (2008), have, similar to Essed's study, analyzed personal narratives and accounts of everyday racism in Sweden. Hübinette and Tigervall interviewed 20 adults who had been adopted from Asia, Africa and South America at a young age. It is through these firsthand accounts of growing up, and as adults, that adopted people of color experience racialization of the body, its social and symbolic implications as ambivalent members in Swedish society. As with Chisholm's study, it is the banal racism, racism that naturalizes difference and is repeated in subtle rather than overt forms, that ambiguity of belonging to the dominant majority is overtly questioned and put under scrutiny on a regular basis. Hübinette and Tigervall's study illustrates how the incongruity with racialized norms become explicit in several ways.

Firstly, a reoccurring experience for adoptees involved having to explain why their physical traits were different from the majority white population when meeting new people for the first time. Initial encounters and introductions commonly required explanatory clarifications of their social identity. Banal questions and platitudes such as: "Where do you come from?" "You speak Swedish very well." "Do you have any contact with Korea?" "Have you found your family?" "How do you like being in Sweden?" "Are you grateful that you got to come here?" tend to denote 'Otherness' and

essentialist notions of Swedishness in relation to a white body. Although the adoptees tried to avoid whiteness as criteria for Swedishness, they were constantly reminded that their phenotype was inconsistent with the expectation of whiteness (Habel, 2008).

Secondly, the adoptees self-identified as ethnically Swedish and spoke Swedish fluently. The ability to speak Swedish without a foreign accent aroused curiosity and patronizing comments of new acquaintances, such as: “Pardon me, I just have to ask. I am so curious, but how is it that you speak such good Swedish?” (Hübinette & Tigervall, 2008, p. 61). Although these kinds of interrogations were frequent they were perceived to be neither discriminatory, nor racist by the adoptees.

Proficiency in Swedish was used to compensate for suspicion of racial incongruity. Hence, fluency indicated status and as a marker for belonging to the ethnic Swedish majority despite appearances and expectations to the contrary. Using prescriptive forms of Swedish was a strategy consistent with the norm of non-broken compulsory Swedish as expected in work, education and social life (Borevi, 2002; Haglund, 2005; Milani, 2007; Sjögren, 1996).

Prescriptive Swedish was also used as a marker of dis-identification with immigrants<sup>14</sup> and foreigners. Language proficiency and clarifications of racial incongruity with whiteness were used to swarth assumptions of immigrant status and to abide to prescriptive norms of whiteness and obtain status as “honorary Swedes”<sup>15</sup> (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b; Hübinette et al., 2012).

Thirdly, overt forms of everyday racism occurred in public often in the presence of white friends or family members. Suspicion connected to racial profiling occurred in stores where store clerks became vigilant in their observations. One informant approached store personnel and requested help in order to demonstrate that he spoke fluent Swedish and was therefore not a foreigner. Yet language proficiency alone was not a strong enough deterrent to avoid suspicion in all circumstances. Incidences of racial profiling also occur in border controls to Denmark by custom officials who stopped and searched people of color. Adoptees experienced incongruity of race at border

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<sup>14</sup> Hübinette and Tigervall (2008) refer to research on discrimination which indicates that the labelling practice “immigrant” in colloquial language is used as a synonym for people of color regardless of whether or not the person in question is first generation, adopted or bi-racial native born Swede.

<sup>15</sup> “Honorary” is a term used by Bonilla-Silva to indicate a symbolic acceptance into the dominant society which does not create immunity against discrimination and inequality. “Honorary whites” receive a higher form of recognition, but retain a secondary status (2014b, p. 246).

controls. People of color holding a Swedish passport and having a Swedish name were grounds for suspicion.

Everyday racism occurred when in the presence of white friends when people of color tried to enter popular nightclubs. White friends were permitted entrance while adoptees and friends who were people of color were denied entrance on the basis of dress, membership or other arbitrary reason. Male adoptees experience discrimination to the same degree as other male people of color. The stigmatization of immigrants as undesirables in public arenas affected adoptees and contributed to their ambiguous status. These kinds of incidences were regarded as normal everyday occurrences as opposed to overt discrimination and racism.

Hübinette and Tigervall's analysis shows reluctance on behalf of adoptees to openly claim race as a grounds for discrimination and to view everyday racism as outright racist. Reluctance and hesitancy to denote everyday racism as overt racism had several conflicting reasons. Primarily, adoptees had difficulty speaking about themselves in racialized terminology as non-whites. Color-blind ideology effectively silences discourses on race and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014a). Race and racism were most frequently associated to Nazis and extremist political groups. Everyday racism experienced by adoptees: having to provide explanatory clarifications of racial incongruity to a white norm, being denied access to nightclubs and racial profiling at border controls, normalized overt racism. Also, the dominant color-blind ideology inhibited race as being a grounds for discrimination. Calling out<sup>16</sup> racist acts is a provocation to the liberal and democratic ideal that race should not matter. Therefore, when adoptees experienced racial slurs and insults these were viewed as bigoted and ignorant encounters of a minority, or overlooked as inconsistencies with the dominant belief that Sweden is a non-racist society (Pripp & Öhlander, 2012).

Furthermore, dis-identification with immigrant people of color and using language as a social status marker of being ethnically Swedish was a strategy used to actively conform to white normativity in order to gain acceptance as honorary whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2014a). Protesting everyday racism was avoided because it could be interpreted as a provocation which would jeopardize adoptee's conditional acceptance as members of the Swedish

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<sup>16</sup> "Calling out" is, in one sense, an idiomatic, colloquial verb phrase meaning to challenge and to denounce. In another sense, I also use it to express spotlighting, exposure and identification. See link: [http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/call\\_out](http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/call_out)

majority (Hübinette and Tigervall, 2008, p. 131). Protesting discrimination was also provocation to the expectation of indebtedness and gratitude adoptees were expected to demonstrate for being adopted to a modern country from a place they were no longer wanted. Platitudes of indebtedness and gratitude are consistent with colonialism, color-blindness, and paternalism that legitimize patronization of people of color from outside the European fortress.

In sum, discourses on race and racism, as well as, labelling practices of white and non-white people were avoided because of the silencing and taboo induced by color-blindness and the belief that Sweden is beyond racism (Pripp & Öhlander, 2008; Sawyer, 2000). Despite adoptees' daily reminders of their bodies as people of color, these everyday reminders were not acknowledge as racist. Yet, it is apparent that white normativity constructs an incongruity and incompatibility for people of color with an ethnic Swedish identity (Habel, 2008; Hübinette & Tigervall, 2008; Schmauch, 2006). An unwillingness to discuss race is consistent with the myth of equality and that Sweden is a liberal democratic society (Pred, 2000; Willhelm, 1998). Adoptees, along with the white majority, are inhibited from discussing race and race relations openly and effectively because of a color-blind ideology that claims that race is a thing of the past and should not matter in today's society (Bonilla-Silva, 2014a). Similar results have been found in Schmauch (2006).

### **Race and racism in education**

Studies on ethnicity and marginality presented here create a backdrop for the social and structural conditions that frame the pedagogical discourse<sup>17</sup> in education in Sweden. It is within this body of research that addresses racialized discourses about the ideal type of knower with regards to dominant norms in the *status quo* and the social order of learning process in schooling. These studies lay a foundation for the present analysis which examines the (re)production and performativity of difference as it takes place, how it is realized in the pedagogy and where potential gaps in the meaning making process can occur. These studies are useful for the analysis which examines the ideal kind of knower, whose voice and what knowledge receives validation in the evaluation process (Bernstein, 2000).

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<sup>17</sup> The pedagogical discourse is not a discourse on its own, but a principle used to describe how subjectivities, voice and subject matter get reconfigured into new modes of communication in schools. The pedagogical discourse includes three sets of rules that are hierarchically related: distributive, recontextualizing and evaluative (Bernstein, 2000).

*Educational research on ethnicity and marginality*

Educational studies in Sweden have in recent years examined how subordinate social groups and non-mainstream groups, i.e. people of color, migrants, minorities and non-native speakers are constructed in discourses as disadvantaged, deficient and/or deviant. Frequently, low-income students of color are positioned as deficient and/or deviant in relation to many different kinds of dominant social norms connected to race/ethnicity, gender, language, religion<sup>18</sup> etc.

Few studies in education seem to use race explicitly as an analytic category (Beach & Lunneblad, 2011; Broman et al., 2002; Dovemark, 2013; Sawyer, 2000; SOU, 2005:41, 2006:52). Race is made explicit in racialized discourses in schooling in which the body is a signifier of cultural as well as social difference (Bayati, 2014; Runfors, 2006; Sawyer, 2006). These studies indicate that race is pertinent to education in everyday life situations in which social identity comes into play. Sawyer (2006) examines how student counselors employ racialized discourses to rank white students and students of color with immigrant backgrounds against white Swedish normativity.

Likewise, Runfors's (2006) analyses racialized discourses of who constitutes a non-Swedish person in Sweden. Teachers tended to categorized students of color as non-Swedish in Sweden regardless of Swedish citizenship or being born in Sweden. Bayati (2014) observes that students of color in teacher education experience 'Othering' prior to admission to university, in Swedish society, and that teacher education compounds rather than diminishes exclusionary and discriminatory experiences related to race/ethnicity.

Other ethnographic studies in multi-ethnic schools foreground ethnicity and norms in relation to Swedishness. Gruber (2007) examines how categorizations based on birthplace and ethnicity are constructed and maintained in everyday life in a multi-ethnic school. Gruber focuses on ethnicity as a category that is central to the foundation and social organization of the school. Likewise, Runfors (2003) study also examines well-meaning pedagogues and teachers whose intentions are to promote integration of immigrant children into mainstream Swedish society. However, the

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<sup>18</sup> Being constructed as disadvantaged is similar to the concept of "cultural deprivation" coined by social scientists in the 1960's in which the poor were seen as not only economically deprived but also lacking in social and cultural capital. For a critical discussion on cultural capital see Yosso (2005).

categorization ‘immigrant child’, combined with a deficiency perspective, reifies difference as deviant from ideals and norms of Swedishness.

Gustafsson (2004) also problematizes attributes associated with Swedishness and other acquired characteristics needed in order to be accepted into the mainstream. Normativity and valorization as a legitimate Swedish citizen became visible when parents opened an independent Muslim school in the town of Jönköping in 1997. The Al Zehra School quickly became labeled “the school for immigrant children”. An artificial dichotomy, reified the categories “Swedish” and “immigrant”. Yet, these categorizations were fluid and situated to specific contexts. Simply put, those adhering to the demands of normativity won legitimacy and valorization as Swedish citizens, those categorized as “immigrants” were not. The debate and critique surrounding the school accentuated cultural racism by questioning Muslims’ ability to open and run an independent school, that the pedagogy was not progressive, and that migrant children were being kept apart from mainstream Swedish society<sup>19</sup>.

Studies of Swedish pre-schools highlight mono-lingual and mono-cultural discourses with young children in multi-ethnic areas. Investigations by Lunneblad (2006) and Ronström et. al. (1998) indicate mono-cultural ideologies on individual, institutional and policy levels with regards to managing diversity and putting integration into practice. On the front lines<sup>20</sup> of integration, young children of color with migrant backgrounds and their families are subject to intervention programs and compensatory pedagogy for the sake of equality. These studies indicate a tendency to realize integration through assimilation and acculturation to the status quo in their pedagogical approach to managing social and cultural diversity<sup>21</sup> (Bruner, 1997).

Scandinavian studies on compulsory education which address the issue of social and cultural diversity in education have focused on how schools in

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<sup>19</sup> For a deeper discussion on xenophobia and specifically Islamophobia in Western societies read Saunders (2012).

<sup>20</sup> The metaphor “front lines” is intended to indicate that pre-school education is a critical zone. Parents and teachers are not at war with each other. Yet, there are discursive and ideological struggles being played out in the pedagogical arena.

<sup>21</sup> Assimilation and acculturation theories are discussed in Bruner (1997) in *The Culture of Education*. Bruner discusses the cultural deprivation theory and the implementation of Head Start programs in the 1960’s. These programs focused on compensatory measures directed towards young children living in poverty. The goal of Head Start was to alleviate poverty through intervention directed towards remediation of the child and the family.

Scandinavia manage multiculturalism<sup>22</sup> (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Parszyk, 1999; Pihl, 2010). By examining the everyday life in schools, these studies provide an understanding for the structural and institutional conditions for learning for ethnic minorities, migrants, and students of color. Similar to studies mentioned above, these studies share common themes of deficiency discourses, ‘Othering’, self-‘Othering’, compensatory pedagogy, remediation and acculturation.

Typically, students categorized as non- Danish, -Swedish, or -Norwegian are viewed as “the problem”<sup>23</sup>, not the mono-lingual or mono-cultural yardstick by which development and learning are measured. Gitz-Johansen (2006) writes that bilingual children are encompassed in a deprivation discourse<sup>24</sup> built on the presupposition that bilingual students come from socially and culturally deprived homes and environments that are under-stimulating and lack resources. This parallels the culture of deprivation theory and psychological perspectives (Bruner, 1997) which focus on remediation of the child, as well as, sociological explanations that refer to the poverty of culture as a social inheritance (Goldberg, 2009; Ryan, 1976).

Pihl’s (2010) study on differentiation and tracking of Norwegian students confirms that multi-lingual students of color with foreign backgrounds are more frequently referred to special education than native Norwegian students. This corresponds to studies in the United States which confirm that practices such as tracking, dumbing down the curriculum (Gatto, 2005), and test bias occur more frequently for low-income students of color (Kornhaber, 2004; Kozol, 1991).

Parszyk’s (1999) study *A School for Others* examines minority students’ experiences of the work and living conditions in schooling. Through the perspective and voices of students, Parszyk discusses how social discourses position minority students as the ‘Other’. Parszyk uses the term ‘visible racism’ to describe students’ experiences of domination techniques that include silencing, ignoring, glances, or outright dismissal of ethnic groups or religion. From a micro-level perspective, these individual accounts provide an accumulative and aggregated account of institutional racism.

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<sup>22</sup> See previous reference to Stuart Hall (2000). Hall discusses, “How is the West managing the multicultural question?” Here I use the term multiculturalism as a synonym for social and cultural diversity.

<sup>23</sup> See Gitz-Johansen 2006, p. 47.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

*Educational studies on race and place*

Studies in Sociology of Education have increasingly focused on the importance of race and place. Although “race” is not used explicitly as an analytical concept, studies of schools in so called disadvantage urban areas include people of color, migrants, ethnic minorities<sup>25</sup> living under conditions that have been described as “multi-dimensional poverty” (see Borelius, 2004).

The term “territorial stigmatization” is used to describe the symbolic violence attached to specific geographical locations that are subject to material, social and economic constraints for people living in urban suburbs (Sernhede, 2009; Wacquant, 2008). Schools in segregated communities on the outskirts of urban areas can neither compensate for the social and economic divide between the haves and the have nots, nor can schooling circumvent subordination, marginalization and discrimination on a societal level. The spatial segregation of people of color, migrants and ethnic minorities feeds into a mental separation through discourses that construct the ‘Other’ as deviant, different, powerless, without status, farthest down on the societal ladder of the dominant social order (Sernhede, 2009, p. 13). Schools in urban areas can however begin to openly and candidly address issues of segregation and discrimination of urban youth and people of color in urban areas without further cementation and stigmatization as non-Swedish, second class citizens.

Similarly, Bunar’s (2001) dissertation examines the role of schools and schooling in four urban areas in Sweden during a period of economic crisis and stigmatization of these local areas. These schools have for the most part been unsuccessful in promoting integration where economic and stigmatic constraints were overriding. Bunar observes, “...the local community in these predominantly immigrant areas are often seen as the primary source of the problem, rather than its solution. The solution is thus to sever ties with the surrounding environments, not to expand cooperation” (Bunar, 2001, p. 304).

It is important to differentiate between marginality that is real, i.e. lack of social and economic resources, and symbolic marginalization. Bunar (2014) argues that statistical categories, although useful tools of measurement in

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<sup>25</sup> Sweden has five official ethnic minorities that are recognized by the state. These are: Jews, Roma, the Sami people who are indigenous to Scandinavia, Swedish Finns, and the Torne Valley Descendants (Tornedalians). For more information see the following link: <http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/stockholm/En/manniska-och-samhalle/nationella-minoriteter/Pages/default.aspx>

sociological studies, are artificial constructs which draw boundaries between 'Us' and 'Them', immigrant and Swede, as well as place, the urban suburb and city center. Bunar emphasizes the material socio-economic disadvantages/advantages over racial or ethnic differentiation that is imagined or symbolic.

Other studies examine how geographical and spatial segregation also plays an important role in the construction of gender identities. Andersson (2003) and Bäckman (2009) studies examine how young women in multi-ethnic suburbs view their identities in relation to place, gender and ethnicity. Although, these studies discuss the fluidity and arbitrariness of what is considered to be Swedish and female, a Swedish normativity prevails. Similarly, Hammarén (2008) dissertation examines how young men construct their identities in relation to class, race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality and locality. Discourses on gender are racialized by stereotypes of young men of color in urban suburbs as sexist, heterosexual and homophobic (Hammarén, 2008, p. 338; Jonsson & Milani, 2009).

### *Studies on language, ethnicity, and schooling*

Language studies are an interdisciplinary interest. Studies in socio-linguistics, bilingualism, social and educational sciences use schooling as a critical focal point for examining language policy formation, implementation and evaluation. This is of interest in understanding who and why particular social groups are positioned, in the formulation arena, as disadvantaged and what kinds of measures are taken to create equality.

Policy formulation and urban intervention programs emphasize language skills and acquisition as a means of civic assimilation (Axelsson & Bunar, 2006; Borevi, 2002; Lindberg, 2009). Policy formulation with regards to language skills and acquisition is an ongoing heated debate (Milani, 2007). Debates center on minimum requirements for citizenship and preserving Swedish as the dominant language. These debates express struggles between ideologies, a linguistic order, a social order, and social positions that language speakers occupy (Milani, 2007).

As mentioned above, language is an identity marker of race and place and a key criterion in the construction of the 'Other' in Sweden (Carlson, 2003; Pred, 2000; Sawyer, 2000). Linguistic 'Othering' is a means of racializing bodies through language in educational and political discourse (Blackledge, 2006, 2009; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Labeling practices and binaries

such as “Swedish” and “immigrant” connote difference not only in terms of culture and nationality, but also an unspoken norm of whiteness (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011; Runfors, 2009).

There are two separate issues related to racialization of language. The first is that language is used to construct and maintain binary categories of black/white, Swedish/non-Swedish in political and educational discourses. The second issue concerns the fluency with which a person speaks Swedish. Spoken Swedish is itself a racialized attribute (Runfors, 2009). Hence, language then becomes the tool with which racialized categories are constructed (symbolic power) and the spoken language becomes a criterion for assessment (evaluation). Language is both the medium and object of social differentiation. Milani (2008) explains,

“...language is not only the medium but at the same time the OBJECT [original] of discourses through which the social order is produced, reproduced, or contested. Simply put, the question is not just to understand how social differentiation is produced THROUGH language, but how social hierarchies are subtly enacted ON GROUNDS of linguistic practices, and how the latter become inherently associated with certain speakers and other cultural categories such as morality and aesthetics (cf. Blommaert 1999a, Gal & Woolard 2001, Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998)” (p. 33).

Language studies in schooling concern much more than language skills, proficiency and school achievement. The educational system is the arena in which language policy implementation is realized and put into practice in local documents, hiring of bilingual teachers, school profiling, bilingual education and more (Axelsson, 2013). In the realization arena, language policy with regards to bilingual education is implemented. It is also the arena in which debates and discursive struggles over the linguistic order, Swedish as the official school language, and Sweden as a multi-lingual nation state become acute (Milani, 2008).

With regards to implementation, research indicates that schooling is an arena in which language diversity is often viewed from a deficiency discourse that requires remediation and compensatory measures (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Holme, 2008; Pihl, 2010). Similarly, language studies in education address monolingualism and mono-culturalism in the pedagogical discourse and discuss how the ideal kind of student and ideal type of knower is expressed through cultural and linguistic normativity (Haglund, 2005; Sjögren, 1996, 2001). Runfors’s (2009) study examines the relationship between language and social relations in which ideals of Swedishness, and positioning oneself as Swedish, are limited by underlying norms of whiteness and un-broken Swedish.

As mentioned, the linguistic order and ideologies are deeply contested. The Swedish language as the official school language is a position that is both supported and contested<sup>26</sup> by educators and students alike (Haglund, 2005). Educational and linguistic studies recognize linguistic diversity in education, as it is performed and utilized by multi-lingual students in regards to schooling and identity constructions (Cekaite & Evaldsson, 2008; Haglund, 2005; Jonsson, 2007). These studies reveal a need for further studies in education which recognize and manage linguistic diversity in education that is not based on monolingualism, but has its starting point in polylingualism<sup>27</sup> in which policy, implementation and evaluation processes are based on proficiency of more than one language (Jørgensen, 2008).

## Summary

Previous research has been divided into three sections, as follows: 1) Critical Race Studies, 2) Cultural Racism and 3) Race and Racism in Education. Critical Race Studies provide the historical background and concurrent research on race in western societies. Critical race theory begins with the premise that race and racism are *normal* even in liberal democratic nation states. People *do* race as a way of constructing artificial group membership. I apply this conceptualization of race as a social and ideological practice as it is constructed and performed in social practices in schooling. Although the use of race as an analytical concept is greatly contended, critical race theorists argue that it is necessary to examine race critically in order to transcend and abolish race (Leonardo, 2009b).

Previous studies discuss how everyday racism is enacted in banal forms that are commonly accepted, go unchallenged or dismissed because the degree or severity of racism is too mild. Previous studies in cultural racism also take issue with banal and everyday forms of racism. Studies of everyday racism examine commonly reoccurring social practices. These studies often build on narratives of people of color and their lived experiences. It is the sum of these aggregated accounts that link micro-level experiences to the macro-level of systemic inequality. Similarly, I aspire to produce a narrative of everyday life in

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<sup>26</sup> Language debates over Swedish as the dominant language also reveals the instability of norms and how norms need to be renegotiated in order to maintain legitimacy.

<sup>27</sup> See Jørgensen (2008) for a discussion on polylingualism, language norms and norms of language behavior amongst urban youth in Scandinavia.

schooling, how it can convey cultural racism and what the larger social implications are for students of color in Sweden.

I have included previous studies in education which indirectly examine race and racism. Typically, race is not used as a legitimate or viable construct for analysis in educational sciences in Sweden (Beach & Lunneblad, 2011). Alternatively, concepts such as: racialization, marginality and 'Othering' are used to examine processes in which subjectivities are formed and differences become essentialized. Previous studies in education examine schooling and institutional practices that reveal how categories are constructed and maintained institutionally. These studies examine structural and institutional conditions for learning for ethnic minorities, migrants and students of color. Previous studies on race and racism in education provide a necessary foundation for understanding the significance of geographical location, language policy and school reform programs targeted towards low-income students of color. It is my intention to make race and racism more explicit in educational research as an analytical concept which can be used to analyze ideological and social practices that construct and convey difference, disadvantage and inequalities connected to race.

Although not always overtly racist, previous studies indicate how schooling practices in Sweden contribute to institutional racism and discrimination. In sum, these studies indicate how social and cultural differences constructed in the formulation of school policy and can also have direct bearing on the implementation of pedagogical practice. Deviation and deficiency perspectives of marginalized children and adolescents are realized in policy and social practices surrounding language, remediation and compensatory pedagogy. It can be concluded that, contrary to intended purposes, compensatory measures and remediation strategies often solidifies exclusion and marginalization of immigrant children.

## Chapter 4: Bernstein's sociology of knowledge

The sociology of knowledge perspective is useful for analysis and discussion on the social and political implications of different forms of pedagogical practices. In particular, Bernstein's theory has been used for examining the organizing principles of the educational content in relation to class and how different pedagogic modalities reproduced inequalities and disadvantages in the educational system (see Nylund, 2013; Varga, 2014; Wheelahan, 2007).

After a brief introduction to Bernstein's language codes and previous research I will present and discuss the theory and concepts that are relevant to the analysis of my study. The theoretical concepts presented in this chapter are: the pedagogic device and rules of the pedagogic discourse, classification and framing, pedagogic codes, visible and invisible pedagogy, recognition and realization rules, and interruption. I end this chapter with a presentation and discussion of Lindensjö & Lundgren's (2000) three arenas (formulation, realization and transformation arenas) which constitute the overarching themes and framework of the analysis. Lindensjö and Lundgren have a similar usage, but renamed Bernstein's three fields (Bernstein, 2000, p. 37) which are representative of the sociological structure of the pedagogic device: 1) the field of production, 2) the field of recontextualization, and 3) the field of reproduction. I have chosen to use Lindensjö and Lundgren's concepts for the sake of clarity and to emphasize transformation as opposed to reproduction.

### Language codes and previous research

Initially, Bernstein's interest began with the re/production of disadvantage in education (Moore, 2013). Bernstein first became interested in sociolinguistics and language as a mode of transmission of knowledge. Bernstein identified how specific language codes (elaborated and restricted codes) valorize official school knowledge. *Elaborated codes* are characteristic of highly specialized languages and knowledge. Whereas, *restricted codes* are more context bound and reflective of social relations in which language is tied to a specific place and

activity. Bernstein identified a bias in education towards elaborated codes used to produce decontextualized knowledge. This observation was often lost on critics who denounced Bernstein's code theory as a deficit perspective of working class students' dialect (Labov, 1972). Labov (1972) opposed the deficit perspective of African American children's language and conducted linguistic studies on elaborated qualities of Ebonics. Bernstein made it clear that the theory was not an evaluation of dialect, good and bad dialects, or social pathologies (Bernstein, 1990; Moore, 2013, p. 65; Nylund, 2013). The disadvantages working class children faced in schooling was primarily a social problem, not a linguistic or cognitive problem, and bias in the dominant curriculum (Bernstein, 1990, p. 104; 118).

Bernstein's criticism was geared towards how power and control over the meaning making process was biased, not necessarily in favor of the middle class, but as a bias embedded within the process of knowledge construction that privileges knowledge and meaning making based upon tacit criteria indirectly in favor of social class (compare Bernstein, 1990, pp. 118-119). All people use *restricted codes*. That is to say, communication and language that is tied to a specific context and functional in manual labor and knowledge that is situated. The concept of elaborated codes refers to an expanded vocabulary and elaborate language to convey decontextualized knowledge, which is characteristic of school knowledge and work that is more context free and universal in its application. In relation to Labov (1972), it is still relevant to consider not only *what* elaborated code, but *how* an elaborated code is at work and *whose* elaborate code is deemed *universal*. Bernstein's code theory provides analytical tools to discuss and examine the organization and structure of the dominant curriculum and to understand how this organization privileges certain forms of knowledge and meaning-making.

Organizing principles and code theory on the micro-level of the classroom practices can be connected to debates and issues concerning the formulation of learning targets on a macro-level (Bernstein, 1990, p. 119 ). This is particularly true with regards to Swedish as a second language (Axelsson, 2013; Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2013; Milani, 2007). Bernstein's focus on the middle class bias and dominance in education is a concern also with regards to segregated and multi-lingual schools in Sweden. Language can be seen as a key agent in the reproduction of social inequalities. Language acquisition and learning in a second language apply compensatory pedagogic strategies which often focus on developing the individual's innate competence (D. Rose, 1999),

but is often limited to remediation and basic skills towards acculturation (Gitz-Johansen, 2009). However, language development and learning is a concern for *all* educators and students in *all* subjects not just Swedish as a second language (Axelsson, 2013; Bunar, 2010; Holmen, 2009; Lindberg, 2011).

Language is the means by which knowledge is constructed and it is also an object of knowledge. Language is both a means and an ends in its' self (Milani, 2008). Bernstein's language code theory illuminates *how* language constructs and conveys knowledge. In the next section, I will present the pedagogic device which connects the *how* to the *what, where, why, and when*.

Recent studies, using Bernstein's code theory, continue to examine how the pedagogy in schooling reproduces disadvantage in relation to class and gender. Wheelahan (2007) argues that competency-based training in vocational education is a disadvantage for the working-class who lack access to higher order thinking and more academic, abstract knowledge. Similar claims have been made by Berggren (2013) and Rosvall (2011) in a Swedish context. Berggren's investigation confirms a strong division between an academic discourse and vocational discourse in different upper secondary school programs in the policy formulation and instruction of English. Students in natural science and social study programs received more academically oriented English than students attending vocational programs. Rosvall's investigation examines how pedagogic practices in an upper secondary vehicle program created obstacles to higher order thinking, competence and principles that the students desired, but were not utilized in the pedagogic practice. Varga (2014) examines how upper secondary schools unevenly distribute and re/produce writing repertoires and gender based expectations in attainment between vocational and academic programs. Nylund (2014) also indicates a shift in policy towards context bound knowledge in vocational education in upper secondary schools; this, in turn, creates an unequal access and distribution of knowledge between social classes.

Other empirical research on the reproduction of disadvantage through schooling include dimensions of both class and 'race' (Delpit, 1988; D. Rose, 1999; Singh, 2001). Although 'race' is not an explicit analytical category, research indicates how disadvantage is re/produced with students of color, minorities and immigrant groups in education. Delpit (1988) takes issue with progressive pedagogic reforms in literacy program for African American

children. Delpit argues that progressive pedagogy is based on pedagogic practices which obscure learning goals and criteria. According to Delpit, progressive pedagogy, aimed at recognition and affirmation of African American students' culture and dialect, did not change the criteria of evaluation, nor make the learning goals more visible or attainable. Similarly, Rose's (1999) study of indigenous Australian children, found that progressive pedagogy did not address the difficulties indigenous students faced in learning the discourse of schooling. Competency based English literacy programs that focused on pre-existing linguistic competency did not improve literacy amongst indigenous children. According to Moore (2013), the liberalist and humanist approaches to education appeal to the middle class values and the spread of progressive pedagogies that focus on intrinsic competence rather than extrinsic rewards and performance, or outcome based, models of pedagogy (see Visible pedagogy in this chapter).

Singh's (2001) study examines how Samoan para-professionals have experienced disadvantaging effects of school and classroom practices of Samoan children in Australian secondary schools. These studies indicate how schooling contributes to reproduction and a cycle of exclusion for students of color, minorities and immigrants whose language and communication differs significantly from the dominant culture and the academic language of the dominant curriculum. Again, difference is not to be interpreted as a deficiency perspective of minorities or working-class students, but rather as an indication of the preferences in communication and codes that privilege meaning making facilitated in schooling.

## The pedagogic device and rules of the pedagogic discourse

The Pedagogic Device refers to principles that order and disorder the pedagogising of knowledge in the pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2000; Singh, 2002). The pedagogic discourse is the communication which regulates other types of subordinate discourses. The pedagogical discourse is therefore not a discourse on its own, but a principle used to describe how subjectivities, voice and subject matter get reconfigured into new modes of communication in schools.

Where most approaches in the sociology of knowledge and education focus on *relations to* knowledge (of class, race, gender and so forth), Bernstein's approach pays attentions to *relations within* knowledge. Instead of simply

showing how identity shapes knowledge, this approach also reveals how knowledge itself specializes identity, consciousness and relations. (Maton, 2007b, p. 87)

The *pedagogical device* is a theory and analytical tool for making power and *symbolic control* in education visible (Bernstein, 2001). Bernstein (2001) defines symbolic control as, “the means whereby consciousness, dispositions and desire are shaped and distributed through forms of communication which relay and legitimate a distribution of power and cultural categories” (ibid., p. 23). In this study, *symbolic control* is an analytical concept used to examine how the formation of consciousness as the racialized ‘Other’ is shaped by the production, reproduction and acquisition of school knowledge. The content is not free from race, class, gender and so forth. It is viewed as a means to form consciousness and identity. The pedagogical discourse includes three sets of rules that are hierarchically related: distributive, recontextualizing and evaluative.

### **Distributive rules**

The distributive rules order and regulate the distribution of knowledge. This regulation and distribution is not ad hoc, but more and more controlled and ordered by the state (Bernstein, 2000, p. 31). Subjectivities, voice and subject matter are regulated by the distributive rules. “The function of the distributive rules is to regulate the power relationships between social groups by distributing different forms of knowledge, and thus constituting different orientations to meaning or pedagogic identities,” (Singh, 2002, p. 572). In this study the distributive rules are connected to the fabrication of intercultural pedagogy, bilingual education, and forms of compensatory pedagogy that concern remedial education and acculturation to dominant ideologies of language and learning to urban youth of color living in marginalized areas. I connect the distributive rules to the formulation arena and the ways in which the students of Woodbridge are constructed discursively as disadvantaged.

### **Recontextualizing rules**

The recontextualizing rules regulate and order the pedagogisation of academic knowledge into school knowledge. The purpose and function of the pedagogical discourse is to recontextualize other discourses into a new working discourse within a specific setting. The recontextualizing rules regulate how a pre-existing discourse is transformed into a new pedagogic

discourse, i.e. how Biology and Art Education are “transmitted” and “acquired” through the use of school textbooks and classroom communication by teachers and students. Within the recontextualizing rules Bernstein uses two forms of discourse the *instructional* and the *regulative discourse* to examine *who* controls *what* and *how*. Both of these discourses are embedded within the pedagogic discourse to create one discourse, but are often separated in terms of skills and values.

### *Instructional discourse*

The instructional discourse refers to the selection and distribution of specialized skills and knowledge being reproduced, transmitted, acquired and evaluated within the pedagogical discourse. *Classification*, both strong and weak, is apparent in the instructional discourse in which boundaries and separation between categories can be vague and diffuse, or strong and distinct. Without this distinction there is a loss and/or blurring of identities and fields of knowledge. *Classification* refers to the distance, strength and space between categories rather than the subject matter, voice, or person a category denotes. With regards to the students of Woodbridge, I will discuss how the classification of the students’ subjectivity impacts the selection and distribution of knowledge.

I also use the instructional discourse to refer to the academic knowledge or skills being performed and recontextualized in a *vertical discourse* in schooling. The *vertical discourse* refers to academic knowledge within the sciences that is hierarchical and based on systematic principles, as well as, highly specialized languages and discourses used for “interrogation and specialized criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 159). Depending on the field of knowledge and the type of knowledge being produced, in the instructional discourse there can be a stronger emphasis on the ideas and principles competing for recognition and legitimacy, or there can be a greater emphasis on the ideal kind of knower and the validity of perspective (Maton, 2007).

The instructional discourse can also include a *horizontal discourse* in instruction with weak classification. That is to say the selection and distribution of academic skills and knowledge are weakly defined and subordinate to subjective knowledge. Instead, the localized practices, knowledge, and experiences of daily life are foregrounded.

*Regulative discourse*

According to Bernstein (2000), the regulative discourse is the dominant discourse. The regulative discourse refers to norms and values that regulate the social base. It creates the social order that organizes who does what, where and when, i.e. individual or group work, time allotted, what sequence, the pace, as well as, the character, conduct and manner of students. The regulative discourse is visible in the *framing* of knowledge and the underlying criteria which control and regulate the behavior of the learner. The underlying criteria and norms that regulate the ideal kind of knower varies depending on the knowledge and knower structures. At Woodbridge school, as we will see, the recognition of the social order and adaptation to it is central to the classification and framing of the content, as well as, the social organization of learning. Central to the understanding of the regulative discourse concerns how the students of Woodbridge are constructed as disadvantaged 'Other'. I will discuss the pedagogical and social implications the formulation of disadvantage has on the regulative discourse.

**Evaluative rules**

The evaluative rules regulate and order the set of evaluative criteria of achievement. More specifically, they refer to the realization of skills in the instructional discourse (i.e. intellectual and practical knowledge) and regulative discourses of the social order (i.e. social conduct, classroom management, character, attitudes and behavior). For example, Home Economics, Social Studies, Swedish and Woodwork are official subjects in the Swedish national curriculum for compulsory education. With regards to the instructional discourse, the subject matter, knowledge and skills outlined in the Swedish national curriculum, are provided according to *distributive rules*, put into practice into practice according to *recontextualization rules*, and assessed according to the criteria of the *evaluative rules*. With regards to the regulative discourse, who is in control of the social base plays a central role in the evaluation of skills and knowledge. As with compensatory pedagogy, the distributive rules can be centered on individual development and competency; yet the evaluative rules remain relative to normative pre-set standards in the dominant curriculum.

## Classification

Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing are useful for examining issues concerning inclusion, exclusion, identity, knowledge, voice and power within the pedagogisation of knowledge.

Classification is an analytical concept concerning the pedagogising of knowledge (Bernstein, 2000). More concisely, classification refers to the relationship of power between social categories. It denotes the space *between* categories rather than the actual category itself. Classification is what separates one category from another. It is the empty space, the void, which keeps things apart and makes something distinct. The void reproduces divisions, identities, voices, stratifications and hierarchies between the subject (the knower) and the object of knowledge (the subject matter). Without this distinction there is a loss and/or blurring of identities and fields of knowledge.

*Strong* classification involves a more ridged and definitive separation, whereas *weak* classification involves a less definitive and thinner form of insulation. In Bernstein's theory, both weak and strong classifications always carry power relations. Classification, the empty space between categories, is a form of power because its integrity and authenticity does not have to be explained and is seldom called into question. It is an effective power because it constructs difference and exclusion. Classification makes it possible to establish distinct social and epistemic categories.

Classification plays a role in the subjectification (Phoenix, 2009) of the students and consequently the distribution, selection and recontextualization of subject matter. Classification is applicable to the separation of students' geographical location, the regional space, and to the racialization of the immigrant 'Other'. As we will see, in the formulation arena, classification of social categories also determines who has power and control over the rules underlying the instructional and regulative discourses depending on the kind of knowledge and knower structures that are desired. With regards to the formulation arena, I will discuss how the classification of the students' subjectivity impacts the organization of the pedagogical discourse.

## Framing

When social identities and divisions are established it is possible for specialized voices to take control over the content of learning. Framing in

Bernstein's theory is about *who* controls *what* in education and learning practices (Bernstein, 2000, p. 12). Framing refers to who is in control of the pedagogic codes (see collection and integrated codes below). Bernstein specifies framing as:

- The selection of the communication
- Its sequencing (what comes first, what comes second)
- Its pacing (the rate of expected acquisition)
- The criteria
- The control over the social base which makes this transmission possible (Bernstein, 2000, p. 12-13)

Bernstein identifies two primary agents: the “transmitter” and the “acquirer”, vying for control over the selection, sequence, pacing, criteria and the social context of knowledge construction. *Strong* framing occurs when control from external sources is framed by a “transmitter” who has explicit control over the type of communication, sequence, pace, criteria and the social order in which knowledge is constructed. *Weak* framing occurs when there is less apparent control on the outside and more control in the hands of the “acquirer”. There is less explicit control from the top-down and a seemingly more apparent control by the learner over the learning process (Bernstein, 2000). In relation to the knower structure, there is a blurring of lines between who regulates and controls the social base because the difference between teacher-student roles is less distinct. As a result, the teacher's control becomes more implicit and the process of evaluation multiple and diffuse (Rikaasen, 2010, p. 219).

The strength and weakness of the framing varies within the vertical discourse, that is to say, the vertical and horizontal knowledge/knower structures in which the framing takes place. Also, the expectations and demands vary according to the kind of knowledge being reproduced and the criteria for evaluation which underlie the regulation of the social base. I apply the concept of framing as to who controls the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and who regulates the social order.

## Pedagogic codes

Classification and framing are essential to understanding how transmission and acquisition of knowledge is organized within educational settings. These

are central concepts of Bernstein's theory and relevant to the analysis of this study. Strong and weak forms of classification and framing create a wide variety of *pedagogic codes* that are deemed legitimate and valid depending on their internal or external value.

According to Bernstein there is limitless number of variations of pedagogic modalities. How these modalities are arranged and organized are reflective of the educational system on a macro level. "Hence, the [*pedagogical*] *device* is *intrinsically* political in that it has to do with macro relations of power in society and forms of control within the educational process itself" (Moore, 2013, p. 155). Moore writes that what constitutes legitimate pedagogy must be approved on a societal level; yet the purpose of education is a deeply contested arena between different agents of control (see Biesta, 2010; Liedman, 2012).

Pedagogic codes refer to principles of *how* meaning-making processes in the pedagogical discourse regulate and distribute specific forms of knowledge. In other words, pedagogic codes can be understood as the rules or logic underlying how the pedagogical discourse and practice is performed and how knowledge concepts are conveyed within a variety of contexts. Bernstein (2000) claims there are two main types of organizational structures which dominate education. These are the *collection* code and the *integrated* code. *Collection code* refers to strong classification and framing. Strong classification refers to the separateness of subject matter and a strong distinction, or "insulation", separating fields of knowledge (Bernstein, 2000). *Integrated code* refers to weak classification and framing. Knowledge and knowers are brought closer together. The hierarchies that separate different fields of knowledge and the control over the transmission and acquisition is less explicit (see visible and invisible pedagogy below).

## Visible and invisible pedagogy

Bernstein (1975) identifies two basic kinds of pedagogical modalities: visible and invisible pedagogy.

### **Visible pedagogy**

Visible pedagogy is characterized by strong classification and framing. The relations between contexts, agents, discourses or social practices are clear and

distinct. *Who* is in control of the communication, sequence, pace, criteria and social order of knowledge construction is clearly outlined and accepted. Visible pedagogy means that the *who*, *what* and *how* in the process of knowledge construction is well defined and explicitly outlined in the communication and pedagogisation of knowledge construction. Visibility has to do with the degree in which the distributive, realization and evaluation rules are made explicit.

It can also be considered, that visible pedagogy is common to what Bernstein (2000) calls *performance models*. Performance models emphasize learning outcomes and achievement by learning skills and producing end results that can be clearly measured and evaluated. Evaluation is concerned with what is missing, or deviant. Learning is characterized as instrumental, generic and cost effective. Bernstein describes performance models as the most prevalent form of pedagogic model.

### **Invisible pedagogy**

On the other hand, invisible pedagogy is characterized by weak classification and framing. Distinctions (relations of power) between contexts, agents, discourses and social practices are not as definitive or precise. The “acquirer” or subject has a greater freedom to define what and how learning will take place; yet, this freedom is only seemingly apparent when expectations about the social order and rules governing the instructional and regulative discourse are implied, or unknown to the subject (Bernstein, 2000). Invisibility implies that the distributive, realization and evaluation rules are less succinct and more implicit.

Invisible pedagogy is comparable to *competence models* in education. Bernstein refers to competence models as “therapeutic” models which build upon the development of students’ innate competencies and capacity. Competence models appeal to liberal and progressive pedagogic strategies geared toward empowerment and emancipation of the individual. Competence models are process, not product, orientated. These models are costly; require more theory, resources and time.

### **Recognition and realization rules**

Before learners can appropriate the dominant curriculum context they need to be able to recognize the type of instructional theory and learner/teacher

model being used and possess the communication skills needed to produce official school knowledge. Bernstein refers to these two prerequisites as the *recognition* and *realization rules*.

### **Recognition rule**

The recognition rule refers to the individual learner, or 'acquirer', of knowledge who must be made aware of the relationships of power that control and distribute knowledge in that particular circumstance. Thus, the learner must understand the classificatory principle that determines *who* controls *what*. That is to say, who is authorized to select, organize and evaluate relevant meanings. "The classificatory principle regulates recognition rules, recognition rules refer to power relations," (Bernstein, 2000, p.17). The distribution of power will change from one context to another depending on the classificatory principle.

### **Realization rule**

The realization rule refers to the ability to produce legitimate texts and to communicate meanings that are deemed to be valid in a given context (ibid.). *What* kind of meaning is dependent upon the recognition rule. *How* relevant meanings are constructed and conveyed is regulated by the realization rule. Both recognition and realization rules are dependent upon strong and weak classification and framing, as well as, the degree of transparency in the pedagogic modality, i.e. visible and invisible pedagogy.

## **Gaps and interruptions**

In the regulative discourse, the rules which govern "the relationships between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice" lies a *potential discursive gap* (Bernstein 2000, p.30). The recontextualization of subjects and subject matter allows for the potential of alternative power relations, an alternative social order and an alternative society. "This gap is the meeting point of order and disorder, of coherence and incoherence. It is the crucial site of the *yet to be thought*," (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30). The gap is a potential site for changing existing power relations. For example, weak classification and framing allows for students own decision making and control, while strong

classification and framing can create strong opposition and resistance strategies.

Moore (2013) introduces the term *interruption* to illustrate the potential social and discursive gap in the pedagogic discourse. He argues that Bernstein's theory on the sociology of knowledge has more to do with *disruptions* and *interruptions* than reproduction. An interruption, explains Moore, allows for a "democratic space" between the esoteric and the mundane; the two basic forms of knowledge, according to Bernstein, that are universal.

Thus, in all societies there are at least two basic classes of knowledge; one class of knowledge that is *esoteric* and one that is *mundane*. There is the *knowledge of the other* and there is *the otherness of knowledge*. There is the knowledge of how it is (the knowledge of the possible), as against the possibility of the impossible (Bernstein, 2000, p. 29)

It is important to note that the content in these categories are arbitrary and vary over time and space. What is impossible at one time or place has the potential for becoming possible in another. Herein lies a *potential discursive gap* for constructing "an alternative order, an alternative society, and an alternative power relation" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30). It is within the pedagogical discourse, and the arenas of formulation, realization and transformation that change can occur. The rules governing the pedagogical discourse are not fixated or permanent in any way. Rather, they should be understood as analytical tools which explain the principles guiding the pedagogical discourse and possible disruptions in the power, regulation and control over whose voice and whose knowledge is official.

I use Bernstein's theory to seek out the spaces in the pedagogical discourse where there is opportunity for change and transformation of the white 'gaze' (Paechter, 1998; Yancy, 2008) over black and brown bodies. Bernstein uses the term 'gaze' to refer to the way cultural realities are realized in the *horizontal discourse* (2000, p. 165). Identifying and examining the ideal knower or pedagogical identity that is tacit in the subject, or explicit in the process of evaluation. Also, 'the gap' is useful for highlighting openings in the instructional discourse and recontextualization of school knowledge in which learning concepts can be introduced to promote social equality, a change in consciousness, recognition, allow for hybridity, and a cross-over in what is both esoteric and mundane (official versus commonsense knowledge) at the same time. There is a potential for discursive openings, interruptions, that can permit old and new discourses, and counter-discourses, about race and racism to be recognized, un-packed and re/constructed.

## Formulation, realization and transformation arenas

There are three superordinate “fields” or “arenas” which frame the results of this study. These three arenas are: the *formulation*, *realization*, and *transformation arenas* (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000). In the first arena, the formulation arena, or in Bernstein’s term: *the field of production*, the goals of education are formulated through local and national reforms and then realized by way of the pedagogical discourse. The *formulation arena* includes an array of interest groups within the political, economic, societal and educational fields. These interest groups can be seen as agents, vying for control over the educational system. These agents use their voice to gain symbolic control over the formulation arena, an arena in which political goals and aims of education are created (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000, p. 172). In this study, attention is given to the formulation of urban renewal initiatives which target schools in segregated and disadvantaged areas and how these initiatives are played out in the realization arena

The second arena, the *realization arena*, is the space in which educators or the “street level bureaucrats” implement school reform initiatives (ibid.). This includes *the field of recontextualization*, in which academic knowledge is “transmitted” and “acquired” (Bernstein, 2000). As mention above, this is an important site of symbolic control over the social base, the regulative discourse, which is superordinate to the transmission and acquisition of knowledge.

The realization arena is the arena in which policy and pedagogical guidelines are implemented. Learning processes and outcomes are not easily studied from an educational research perspective. Pinning down how knowledge is formed is not an easy undertaking. The relationship between the content, the mode of transmission, the means of acquisition and the acquirer are processes which are difficult to define, difficult to observe and difficult to assess.

I have chosen an emic perspective in order to illustrate the lived experiences of students and teachers who are both the targets and agents of educational reforms in the realization arena. Hence, in this study, the realization arena relates to the implementation of school reform, ‘Othering’ and cultural racism as it is enacted and conveyed (performatively) within the instructional and regulative discourse.

The third arena, the *transformation arena*, or *field of reproduction*, affords the opportunity for change in the formation of consciousness and control over the social base. The transformation arena refers to the arena in which cultural racism is recontextualized as school knowledge and which ‘gaps’, or interruptions, are possible. An *interruption* is an opportunity to recontextualize the formation of consciousness in new ways. It is a space in which symbolic control can be *interrupted* (Moore, 2013).

Interruptions mean making the relationship between the production, reproduction and acquirer visible. It affords changes in the criteria of legitimate texts. Renegotiation over what constitutes official school knowledge and what the criteria are for the ideal kind of learner are possible. Although the criteria for learning are pre-established, it is within the realization arena in which the goals of learning are carried out.

Within the transformation arena I discuss how opportunities for change and transformation, destabilization of whiteness, calling-out color-blindness and creating color-consciousness are possibilities of the ‘not yet thought’ (Bernstein, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2014b).

## Summary

Bernstein’s theory on the sociology of knowledge is highly relevant to questions dealing with diversity and the reproduction of disadvantage. Although previous research has primarily focused on ‘class’, Bernstein’s theory on the sociology of knowledge can also be applied to ‘race’ as an analytical construct and dimension of cultural reproduction (Bernstein, 1977).

Bernstein’s theory connects the individual learning processes to the social order, societal structures and social inequalities that are reproduced through pedagogy. The students of Woodbridge, teachers and leadership are subject to urban renewal and school reform initiatives aimed at fighting segregation and exclusion. On a macro-level, the pedagogical discourse can be seen as a consequence of a political discourse, an arena outside of the school, and directed towards improving the conditions and the lives of people living in Woodbridge. Both the political discourse (formation arena) and Woodbridge School (realization arena) are hot spots of public discourse and debates on issues of immigration, segregation, inclusion/exclusion, disadvantage and so forth. These are arenas which involve many contenders vying for control over ‘voice’ and influence over the realization arena. This is relevant to

## MIND THE GAP

understanding how knowledge about race and racism is constructed and what kinds of social implications there are for shaping educational identity and consciousness in different ways (Bernstein, 1977).

## Chapter 5: Ethnographic methodology

In this chapter I will explain how the research design was carried out, why I chose to do ethnography, and some of the difficulties and benefits of doing ethnographic research. I will begin with motivation for my choice of method and then discuss the other parts of this chapter which include: the selection of the site and informants, accessibility, ethical considerations, research design, observations, interviews, the importance of time in the field, analysis, and self-reflexivity.

Ethnography provides a means to link human agency to social structures (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). I chose ethnography because it is a form of qualitative research based on long term participation and experience within a specific social group (Beach, 2008). The purpose of ethnography is to provide a first person account and insider's view of people's everyday life (emic perspective) and to interpret or explain observed phenomena through a theoretical frame that can in turn lead to generating new theory (etic perspective). In this study, I have produced empirical data that is theoretically informed by critical race theory and sociology of knowledge. The ethnographic process has also required the addition of theoretical concepts as new events unfolded.

I chose to observe and participate in the everyday life of a particular school in order to observe the everyday life experiences of teachers and students and situations in which the cultural reproduction of difference operates. This is in accord with my principal aim *to examine the cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage in the pedagogical discourse in schooling*. More precisely, I have focused my empirical gaze on classroom observations through a theoretical lens to explain how *difference and disadvantage is formulated and realized* in the discourse between teachers and students in the ninth grade and *to see where potential gaps for change and transformation can occur*. In other words, I observed students and teachers in interaction and how cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage was constructed within a specific socio-geographical and political context.

## Selection of school, teachers and students

### Description of Woodbridge

The data production for my study was carried out at a school I refer to as Woodbridge School, during a three year period from 2006 to 2009. Woodbridge School was selected as part of another study called *School, community and culture. A multidisciplinary study of youth and learning in a context of social and ethnic segregation* which was funded by the Swedish Research Council (Omvärlden och Skolan: Vetenskapsrådet 2005-3440). This school was specifically selected because the study focused on how schools in urban suburbs dealt with multidimensional poverty and ethnic segregation. My contribution to the study is included and expanded upon in Part One of my thesis (Möller, 2010; Sernhede, 2011)<sup>28</sup>. I examined the way agents of control formulate and realize 'Otherness' and how 'Othering' is fabricated in a liberal and democratic view by way of a feel-good approach to diversity.

The study *School, community and culture. A multidisciplinary study of youth and learning in a context of social and ethnic segregation* (see Sernhede, 2010, 2011) included a team of five researchers spread out over two multi-ethnic urban schools and local contexts. The aim of the study, as already mentioned, was to investigate how two schools dealt with multidimensional poverty and ethnic segregation in two different urban suburbs. These schools are located in school districts farthest down on the social hierarchy scale and are characterized by segregation and multidimensional poverty (Borelius, 2010). Similar to the fabrication of a feel-good approach to diversity at Woodbridge School, the Riverdale school leadership worked on creating good relations to the media and local politicians at the expense of students' real pedagogical needs (Lunneblad, 2010). Diversity was embraced in one school and omitted in the other.

At Riverdale School, Schwartz (2010) found that one solution to the problems of segregation and poverty was to keep identity politics out of the learning arena and stress skills and performance instead. Schwartz (2013) observed, similar to my study, that the learning emphasized acquiring a specific set of knowledge and skills in order to change the student into an ideal type of knower.

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<sup>28</sup> I changed my name during the time of my research work from Åsa Möller to Osa Lundberg. The articles that refer to Åsa Möller in this study are in reference to me.

Both schools tend to blindside the disadvantages related to social and ethnic segregation and focus on student remediation instead. Albeit, with a radically different pedagogical stance to dealing with diversity. The disadvantages for students in disadvantaged schools cannot be compensated for by social remediation. Despite the attempts of the leadership to implement and communicate diverging ways of pedagogical reforms that attempt to improve academic achievements the students and the school remain in a geographical location considered to be outside of the mainstream society (Gustafsson, 2010; Schwartz, 2013; Sernhede, 2009).

My thesis and the study *School, community and culture* both address schooling as an institution embedded in a socio-political context that defines and extends beyond the social and geographical location of the school. However, the focus for my thesis is geared more toward the construction, (re)production and re-contextualization of racial knowledge (the making of difference) and the social consequences for the students who live there<sup>29</sup>.

Woodbridge School is in a community that is physically segregated, as well as, ethnically and socially segregated from white, middle-class, native born and non-native born who have acculturated into the mainstream Swedish society<sup>30</sup>. It is an area that is characterized by ethnic segregation, high unemployment, and livelihood support (Borelius, 2010).

Woodbridge community has approximately 8,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority (59 percent) are immigrants, many born outside of Europe. Many of the inhabitants are young, about 40 percent are younger than 24 years-old. Unemployment is at 7 percent and 22 percent need financial support for their livelihood (ibid.). These statistics are high in comparison to other suburbs within the same municipality where for example only 20 percent are foreign born, unemployment is 3 percent, and 6 percent need financial support

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<sup>29</sup> My thesis is not about achievement, or academic success. I have chosen to put my researcher's gaze on the pedagogy and the school as an institution and its role in constructing social differences and how it in turn attempts to compensate students of color, ethnic minorities and students with non-native backgrounds. I have published parts of my study dealing with compensatory measures of the 'ethnic' Other included in Part Four in an article and book chapter (Möller, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> The labels I use here "white, middle-class, native born, and Swedish" are categorizations of race, class, birthplace for the sake of description and identification. These labels are problematic because they reinforce socially constructed differences. From a Critical Race perspective, race and racism are *normal*. This position, I am aware, is counterintuitive and contradicts the dominant color-blind perspective.

(ibid.)<sup>31</sup>. These statistics are relevant to the role of schooling in relation to its surroundings, and challenges related to segregation and integration.

This social diversity is reflected in the student population. Woodbridge School is a multi-ethnic school with 359 students ranging in ages from 6 to 15 years-old. Of these students only 1 percent had both parents born and raised in Sweden. Two-thirds of the student population were registered for mother tongue education classes in 25 different languages.

### Duration of my study and list of informants

The empirical data was produced during three years of fieldwork in three successive ninth grade classes and one semester in a fifth grade class. During those years I spent on average four days per week, six weeks in the fall and six weeks in the spring for a total of 36 weeks producing data on site. I included a fifth-grade class because this was the first teacher I observed who first taught a ninth-grade class 2006-2007, but later became the head teacher of a fifth grade class in the fall 2007. I subsequently followed this teacher to the fifth-grade after the first group of ninth-graders graduated. I observed the fifth-grade class and the same head teacher for six weeks, but then later decided to limit my study to grade nine, the last year of compulsory education in Sweden.

2006-2007	2007-2008	2007 (autum)	2008-2009	
Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	
Students 18	Students 29	Students 17	Students 18	Total 82
Age 15-16	Age 15-16	Age 10-11	Age 15-16	

Figure 1 Classes observed at Woodbridge School

*The students ranged in ages from 10 to 16 years-old. In all 82 students, thereof 65 in ninth-grade and 17 in fifth-grade.*

Each class had a class teacher and worked in teacher teams within the same age level of students. The class teachers were my main informants along with their teacher teams who were also responsible for teaching the core curriculum and electives within each grade level. Other important informants included in my study were two school developers, the school leaders (headmaster and headmistress), the special education teacher, the student guidance counselor, and one other fifth grade teacher.

<sup>31</sup> These are official statistics from the region in 2009 (Borelius, 2010).

## CHAPTER 5

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Subject</b>
Martin	Teacher Class 1 & 3	Social Studies & Swedish
Mia	Teacher Class 2	Social Studies
Rosita	Teacher Class 4	English & Swedish
Linda	Grade 9	Mathematics & Science
Lars	Grade 9	Mathematics & Science
Tom	All grades	Art
Julia	All grades	Music
Carina	Grade 9	Social Studies & Swedish
Ina	Grade 9	Religion
Karl	All grades	Arts & Crafts
Ellinor	All grades	Home Economics and Consumer Studies
Mona	Grade 9	Mathematics & Home Economics and Consumer Studies
Jan	School Developer	
Pernilla	School Developer	
Marie	Headmistress grades 6-9	
Torvald	Headmaster grades K-5	
Susan	Special Education	
Ingrid	Guidance Counselor	
Petra	Teacher Grade 5	

Figure 2 Teachers and staff at Woodbridge School

*These are the key informants of this study.*

## Accessibility

As mentioned above, I received access to Woodbridge School through my participation in the research project *School, community and culture. A multidisciplinary study of youth and learning in a context of social and ethnic segregation*. This project was presented to the school leaders at the beginning of the fall semester in 2006 (see Appendix 1). I was present at this meeting and later at a presentation for the school staff. After the presentation for the school staff I approached Martin the class teacher for Class 1 and asked him if he would be interested in taking part of the project and explained that this would also be part of my thesis.

His willingness and approval allowed me access to the first ninth grade class that I was able to observe at Woodbridge School. After Martin's ninth graders graduated from Woodbridge I had a choice to follow Martin, or find a new class. I chose to follow Martin to his fifth grade class and find a new

ninth grade class. I got to know many of the teachers during my first year and made a direct request to Mia, teacher for Class 2, if she would be interested in participating. I used the same approach with Rosita, the teacher for Class 4. I made these choices based on the relationships I had formed, the teachers' explicit interest in my research, and their willingness to participate.

## Epilogue

The fieldwork for this study ended in June 2009. Since then there have been radical changes made to the organization and structure of the school. The major changes concern new leadership, new teaching staff, and reduction of economic support. The school principals who worked at Woodbridge school in 2009 left their positions in protest due to the economic cutbacks being made within the municipality. The teacher redundancies made it difficult for the principals to attain the goals outlined in the school's philosophy as describe in the school development plan (see Chapter 8). Several new principals have held positions at the school up until 2013. At that time, a new principal was appointed. The current principal dismissed the teaching staff who were then given the choice of reapplying for their positions. Many of the staff chose to seek employment elsewhere. The termination of project funding and economic cutbacks within the municipality had a severe negative impact on the leadership and staff to implement the goals outlined in the school development plan and to achieve the aims of the urban renewal initiative (Sw: Storstadssatsningen).

## Ethical considerations

### **Informed Consent**

Information was given to all of the teachers when the project first began. After that I approached each individual class teacher for their consent. This selection process was made easier by the key informants who gladly gave their approval and were enthusiastic and interested about being in the study. The other teachers, who were part of the same teacher teams, were also asked individually for their consent. These teachers, if not with the same willingness and enthusiasm as the class teachers, gave their consent to participation.

Participation was voluntary and they could discontinue at any time. However, none of the teachers withdrew their participation at a later date.

Students in each class were given verbal and written information about the study and a consent form (see Appendix 2). Students over 15 signed the consent forms themselves; children under 15 required a signature of a parent or guardian. I respected students who did not want to take part in my study by not including them in my documents, fieldnotes, and transcripts of class recordings or interviews. Only four girls in Class 1 declined. Participation was voluntary and they could discontinue their participation at any time. None of the students withdrew from my study at a later date.

Pseudonyms have been used for all people and place names. However, this does not guarantee full anonymity of the informants. All written fieldnotes, recordings, and digital data files were coded and stored in a theft and fireproof box that is not accessible to any unauthorized people. I am aware that it is my ethical responsibility to protect my informants and that participation in my study should in no way be detrimental to their well-being. I am also aware that it is my responsibility to protect my informants from any kind of harm and to honor their dignity and privacy. In practicality, this meant receiving ongoing consent by asking permission for interviews and recordings and reminding informants of my purpose in casual conversations and classroom observations when necessary (Miller & Bell, 2002). I could not assume the will of my respondents, but neither could I ask for their consent and remind them of my purpose there in every situation.

### **Communicating the research objectives**

In the beginning, information to the research participants included explaining the objectives when trying to gain access and as the fieldwork progressed. First, there was an initial information meeting to all of the teachers, then classroom presentations to each class and individual information to individual subject teachers and students. Other teachers who I met sporadically were reminded in conversation about my presence and the purpose of the study.

Communicating the research objectives was a process that was introduced and repeated along the way when new informants emerge or need reminding. I indicated directly or indirectly that our conversations are part of a study which has to do with their views on social and cultural diversity and pedagogy. I informed them that the study concerned social and cultural differences in

the pedagogy when I gave the initial class presentation and with intermittent intervals when necessary. An ethical dilemma occurred when informants spoke casually and informally about their work in a friendly and relaxed manner. Although this was my desire for the informants to speak candidly, I purposely made reference to my study in order to call attention to my role as researcher and that our conversation was not "off the record".

When clarifying the research objectives, I gave each class both verbal and written information. When students made casual queries about my presence at their school I explained, "I'm writing a book about learning in schools. What you learn and how you learn about different cultures." Terms such as "researcher" and "educational research" were met with raised eyebrows and looks of disbelief. However, in interviews and informal conversations with the students I explained the purpose of the study more in depth. To the teachers I explained that the study concerns what it is like to be a teacher in a multi-ethnic, segregated community, and how social and cultural diversity is included in the pedagogy. I also explained that this included their views on social and cultural diversity and how they teach students with diverse ethnicities and languages. Teachers who enquired about the methodology also received more detailed information about the purpose of the study. I spoke to key informants, who were curious, about my role as researcher and the necessity of reflexivity during fieldwork.

### **Safeguarding my Informants from harm**

Although the academic objective is to produce new knowledge that can be useful and beneficial in pedagogical work, it is still necessary to protect research participants from harm. Safeguarding my informants' rights, interests and sensitivities means predicting the consequences of my study and protecting my informants from unforeseen dangers and consequences. I have tried to show respect to my informants' personal privacy and integrity by showing them confidentiality, conveying the purpose of my research along the way, asking permission and respecting a "no" for interviews, informal conversations, recordings and observations.

### **How is my study of use for the informants?**

I have made it clear that my study is for research purposes only. Yet, this fact does not explain how my study is beneficial to teachers. I had numerous

conversations about pedagogy with the teachers during the time I did my fieldwork. During these conversations we often discussed the relationship between the content, (re)production and purpose of school knowledge. We talked about the way knowledge is reproduced and what purpose and function specific subject matter has for individuals and society. I got to know the key informants quite well during a long period of time and we spoke in depth on the topics of culture, ethnic diversity and pedagogy. In this way, informants benefitted from reflective conversations and discussions during the time of fieldwork.

Furthermore, part of my study (discussed in Part One) was presented for the key informants when the project *School, Community and Culture* was completed. These teachers received access to the article that was published and gave criticism and feedback at that time. I subsequently took their critique into consideration during the remainder of my study.

## Research design: an ethnographic quilt

Ethnography is the method which I believe best coincides with the research aims and objectives. I have applied a critical race theory and sociology of knowledge to the research design. Critical race theory and sociology of knowledge are the foundation for the research design that “sews” the empirical data and analysis together. To illustrate this point I would like to use a quilting metaphor. Mirza (Mirza, 2006) likens critical race theory to quilting. Mirza explains,

The women are marginal on the peripheries of their societies, yet in slow painstaking silent rhythm they take scraps of cloth making patterns for us to see. With care, warmth, and love they rework the quilt over and over again, remaking their story. The batting and back layers are unseen, but without them the quilt has no foundation. When we stand back and look at their finished quilt the whole experience becomes coherent.

(Mirza, 2006)

Similarly, my research design can be likened to an ethnographic quilt. The ethnographic quilt is comprised of personal narratives and first-hand accounts. The individual patches, when sewn together, form the different parts of the ethnographic story. Each individual patch creates different sections which then comprise a complete quilt. Each section also forms a pattern that is framed by a larger theme. These themes comprise the five different parts of my thesis. Cultural racism, the overriding theme, is the border that frames the different parts and aggregated accounts into a composite picture. This picture is set against a backing of critical race theory

and sociology of knowledge. The theoretical backing fastens each individual piece to the interpretation, the batting, if you will, which binds the narratives and theory together. The patchwork quilt combines both emic and etic perspectives through the narratives and experiences produced in the field (emic) that are then sewn together to the batting and backing by theoretical explanations (etic).

Despite an emic perspective (insider's view), ethnography can be considered to be a form of colonizing, in that it objectifies people and their activities by making ordinary everyday taken-for-granted activities as foreign and exotic for the purpose of research.

I have used a critical ethnographic approach to piece together individual accounts and observations of peoples' daily lives and lived social realities. In a context of ethnic diversity and marginality, I am an observer and a participant of school life in a social system that constructs marginality. Critical race theory, the backing and batting of my research, calls attention to processes of marginalization and repression within social systems.

### **Participant observation**

Participant observation is a powerful tool for invading people's way of life. It can affirm their rights, interests, and sensitivities or violate them (Spradley, 1980). It is not my intent to infringe upon any individual's rights or integrity in this study. The purpose is to examine the pedagogical discourse, that is to say how *cultural racism* is *constructed, preformed, evaluated* in the discourse between teachers and students in the ninth grade and where potential gaps for *transformation* can occur.

Participant observation in practice meant using a direct observation strategy in which I actively took part in the instruction and learning activities. I took part by asking questions and discussing students' work during class time when the students had individual or small group work. As opposed to being a passive/unobtrusive observer, observing from a distance only, I took a more active role through discussions in order to gain access to students' thought processes on the spot. For instance, I discussed the Israeli-Palestine conflict as it is represented in the Social Studies textbook with a girl in Class 4 who had migrated to Sweden from Lebanon. On the spot discussions were important for informants' ideas about their life experiences in relation to what

they were reading about in Social Studies. This is but one example of recontextualization of school knowledge.

By actively taking part in classroom activities I became part of the pedagogical discourse that regulates the content and instruction of learning (Bernstein, 2000). That is to say, the formation, distribution and valorization of particular kinds of official knowledge produced for a specific social group (Apple, 2004). I am aware that I became a participant in that which I was observing. I did so in order to call attention to specific subject matter and the relevance of race.

Teachers and students were aware of my documentation during class time. I made myself visible by asking questions to students and teachers to remind them of my presence, but also with the purpose of clarifying questions with regards to the content and topics related to race and racism. I made myself visible by asking about the blue iris in a demonstration with a model of the eye in. I also asked why Buddah was depicted as white during a lesson on religion. This tactic was not intended to manipulate data or intervene in the transfer of school knowledge, but rather to call attention to race and racism as it is constructed and recontextualized in the pedagogical discourse. This was in part to test the relevance of race as a social construct in the transmission of school knowledge. In these instances I made follow-up conversations with teachers about the subject matter and the relevance of race.

Many other observations of the environment were made of the building, the structure, classroom organization, materials and displays of student work in different parts of the school.

I did not limit the observations to the class teachers, but followed the class to each of their lessons during the day. I made observations in the following subjects: Social Studies, Swedish, History, Religion, English, Science, Mathematics, Home Economics, Arts and Crafts, and Music.

### **Interviews and conversations**

The empirical data produced comes primarily from direct observations of classroom activities. However, I did conduct interviews with students in each class, school leaders, and class teachers (see Appendix 4, 5 &6). Many informal conversations were carried out with teachers and students during and after lessons in the classroom, as well as, in the corridors, offices and staff only areas. Many follow-up conversations occurred in conjunction with a

lesson. I spoke with students and teachers during and after a lesson. These follow-up conversations were written down in my fieldnotes as I followed the class to their next lesson, or stayed behind to write. For the most part, I did not record and transcribe informal conversations. Under each excerpt I have indicated if the excerpts are fieldnotes or transcripts of recorded conversations. I also initiated conversations in teacher meetings and with groups of students outside of class. These conversations dealt with topics related to observations made in class. I initiated conversation at different points in time in order to follow-up on topics, themes and patterns that unfolded as time progressed.

### **Fieldnotes and writing-up empirical data**

I used a notebook and pen to write fieldnotes while making observations. As soon as possible after an observation was made I sat down in the corridor or staff room (between breaks) to expand on these notes. I did not attend mathematics and physical education classes. During these periods I went to the staff room or remained in the corridors. When observing a critical event I had to choose to stop and continue writing-up the observation in detail or continue with the students to their next class. This dilemma of writing-up or to continue observing helped me to limit my observations and to focus on themes and patterns that were reoccurring. Many times I had to make an executive decision as whether or not to follow an individual or group, or to continue observing the whole group activity, or go with smaller groups. In practice, participant observation meant that I alternated between observing, making written observations, and writing more expanded detailed description. I would carry on a conversation, or make an observation of a place and people for about 30-45 minutes, then write a more thick description as soon as possible afterwards, or continue with a new observation.

Thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) provide a context and background for explanation, as well as, room for interpretation. A key problem with written accounts of social discourse has to do with the representation (Beach, 2008). Observations are partial and incomplete. Not all details, words and activity can be captured in writing. I had to make choices on the spot as to whom and what I wanted to observe. Not all situations and words were deemed relevant. As time progressed, I became more adept at listening and recording the spoken word, as well as, focusing my gaze and selecting relevant situations.

Writing-up ethnography means turning messy verbal and social interactions into a neat and presentable format in writing. What is included and excluded in the writing-up process has to do with keeping the data production readable (Alldred & Gillies, 2002). Banter, quick retorts, colloquial speech are subsequently “tidied-up” for the sake of comprehension. Similarly, extraneous information that is irrelevant and burdensome to the reader is also excluded if it is not used for explanation or clarification.

## The importance of time in the field

Informal conversations with teachers developed into themes and conclusions in the writing-up and analysis of my fieldnotes. I was able to discuss recurrent themes and issues with teachers during the three year period. I observed three ninth grade classes in succession which allowed me the opportunity to observe the same subject matter, topics, assignments and learning activities repeatedly over an extended period of time. Although the class teachers and students changed, the curriculum remained the same. The students had the same curriculum goals and evaluation criteria for learning. This is relevant to understanding the kind of knower and knowledge structure being constructed. Extended time in the field allowed me to corroborate my findings and validate the teacher's perspectives on reoccurring topics and events. Extend time in the field also led to a saturation of data in which I felt it was no longer productive to further question the teachers, to affirm their views, to discuss the same topics, or pose new question on the same issues.

Another aspect of extended time in the field was the development of relationships, credibility and accessibility. My first year involved getting to know the school. I became over the course of time a familiar person. The second year the reoccurrence of events created a pattern. I began to see themes in my data production. The third year I had a reputation that preceded me and gave me greater accessibility to the students in grade nine. These students had been in seventh grade when I began my fieldwork. The third year was the most productive with regards to data production because of the accessibility and access to both teachers and students who did not question my being there as an intrusion.

## Analysis and interpretation of data

From an emic perspective, I have chosen to foreground the teachers' voices and accounts about the organization, structure, policy and curriculum. The analysis aggregates accounts of teachers' and students' voices that represent discourses on cultural difference and disadvantage constructed within a pedagogical discourse. Central to understanding the analysis is the context of ethnic diversity and marginality. Also central to the analysis is the perspective of students and how the curriculum constructs racial knowledge (the making of difference) and what the social and pedagogical implications are.

With regards to my ethnographic quilt, the analytical batting and backing of my research design, provides conceptual tools for thinking about race and racism. Combining critical race theory with sociology of knowledge can help construct knowledge about the (re)production of school knowledge and racialized differences. In addition to this I have applied sociology of knowledge to understand the racialization of school knowledge, knowledge and knower structures, as they are performed and (re)produced in a school context of ethnic diversity and marginality.

As mentioned before, critical race theory begins with the premise that race is normal (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b). Critical race theory examines how and why and in which contexts race is normalized. In line with critical race theory, the analysis, based on a first-hand account of teachers and students, is not intended to pinpoint individual shortcomings, blame teachers nor critique teachers' competency. The purpose is not to demonize or 'Other' the teachers and teaching strategies as inadvertently racist, but rather to take race, racism and racialization of knowledge as an explicit analytical point of departure (cf Leonardo, 2009a).

After writing-up the fieldnotes and expanding the fieldnotes into thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973), different themes began to emerge. I coded my fieldnotes and categorized observations that corroborated my themes. That is not to say I only chose observations in support of my analysis. I have sought to include 'discrepant cases' (Cohen et al., 2007) which problematize discourses about race and racism, the construction of school knowledge, and the ideal kind of knower. The discrepant cases are variations of discourses about race and racism that evolved throughout the study. For example, 'color-blindness' and 'deficiency perspectives' are two dominant discourses which are contested and contradicted by my informants.

Although I claim to use a naturalist qualitative research method, this is not to be confused with realism. It is important to understand that the analysis is not a portrait, a static picture, of real life. I have tried to construct a composite picture contrived of many voices and glimpses into a socially complex and irreducible social life.

## Self-reflexivity, positioning and difficulties in fieldwork

A critical self-awareness of one's own normativity is necessary when carrying out naturalistic and qualitative research such as ethnography. A critical approach to this type of qualitative data production meant, in practice, being aware of my own biases, norms, expectations and not assuming to know the informants' interests, will or intentions. For instance, I am aware that all aspects of my social identity: age, class, gender, ethnicity, race etc. influence how I choose to represent myself, how I wish to be perceived, and how I am categorized by others.

If critical race theory begins with the premise that racism is normal, I cannot assume my skin color to be a neutral category. The same can be said for age, gender, sexual orientation, language, ability, ethnicity and any other aspects of my social identity. Who I am and how I am perceived have bearing on the relationships with my informants, accessibility, and data production. As a white female researcher I was neither a suspect, nor an intruder. For the most part I was granted access by my informants to almost all areas of the school.

In order to win favor with the students in each class, I shared with them that I have a daughter named Jahmila whose biological father is African American. I played the race card<sup>32</sup> in order to gain credibility and win their approval. This strategy worked well with Class 1 and 4, but did not improve my credibility or accessibility with Class 2. In class 2, I observed a reluctance, or resistance on the part of the students. In class 2 my observations became directly obtrusive when I observed a student who stole chocolate from the supply cabinet in Home Economics class. When the students misbehaved I did not intervene, but I did discuss their antics with the teachers for the teachers' views, not on conduct and classroom management, but to

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<sup>32</sup> "Playing the race card" is an expression used to call attention to someone's skin color or assert the issue of race to one's advantage. [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)

understand the regulatory discourse (Bernstein, 2000) - the rules governing the social discourse – of the classroom in relation to issues of race and the ideal kind of knower.

I also monitored my own behavior, words, thoughts and actions by including self-reflexive passages in the writing-up process of my fieldnotes. After I made an observation, I also included reflections on my own biases when confronted by a norm-breaking observation. For example, I did not expect the boys in year nine to show signs of affection to one another by kissing each other on the cheek as is the custom in Middle Eastern countries and many other countries, but not in my own experiences of Sweden.

My role as researcher was not clear-cut. I had an ambiguous position in that I was neither teacher, nor student. During classroom observations I assumed a role as teacher's assistant; for instance, when students worked independently I could converse with them on their tasks. Outside of the classroom I tried to remain an unobtrusive, neutral observer. My credibility or legitimacy for being in the corridors was based on my relationship to the class I was observing at the time. The same can be said for staff only areas. I was permitted entrance to the teacher's lounge in agreement with the class teacher I was observing. Although, I did go there alone it was in the role of researcher in Martin's, Mia's, or Rosita's class.

## Summary of ethnographic methodology

In this chapter I have discussed my choice of research method and the research design in relation to the research aims and theoretical framework. I have broached the issue of reliability by putting emphasis on time in the field, the relationships, familiarity, depth, corroboration, comparison, and repetition of observations. The length of time in the field has allowed me to study teaching and learning from multiple teacher perspectives over a long period of time with the same age group, the same core curriculum and the same learning goals. Generalizability is possible by the aggregated accounts that represent a particular discourse, as well as, counter discourses, and the theoretical explanations.

Generalizability in this study is not equivalent to individual observations in a quantitative accumulation of evidence. Multiple voices and realities are ever present, yet the theoretical, or etic perspective frames the interpretation and limits the explanations that are made available. This has been remedied in part

## CHAPTER 5

through supervising, response and feedback from colleagues, but also by being in the field for a long period of time in which I had the opportunity to discuss topics repeatedly with the same subject teachers and new teachers.

Ethical dilemmas connected to time in the field had to do with familiarity, providing information and receiving ongoing consent with research informants as time progressed. By way of self-reflexivity I have tried to keep an awareness of issues over ambiguity, identity, and power in my role as researcher. The writing-up and analysis are by no means a portrait of real life. It is through the lens of critical race theory and sociology of knowledge that I have focused my researcher's gaze in observations, writing-up fieldnotes, constructing an informed analysis and social explanation for the construction and compensation of racialized differences in the pedagogical discourse.



## PART TWO: Formulation Arena

In Part Two I discuss the significance of race and place and the fabrication of a divide between the location of the school and surrounding areas. It is the beginning of the results and is important in that it provides a macro perspective and an introduction of the formulation arena in which Woodbridge is classified as elsewhere. The data analysis is based on school leadership and teacher narratives with regards to defining difference. These chapters discuss classification of students with regards to race and place. Race and place are closely linked to the implementation of the school's philosophy and government intervention strategies for schools in disadvantaged areas.



## Chapter 6: Estrangement: being, but not belonging

In this chapter I examine how the construction of ‘Otherness’ is fabricated and enacted through the urban renewal initiative “Storstadssatsning” and the school reform; both of which aimed at increasing integration and inclusion into the mainstream society. The place, socially and geographically, has a bearing on the kind of classification of the students of Woodbridge. How the students are classified is in many ways a positioning with respect to where they live. Here I examine leadership and teacher narratives on ‘Otherness’ (Boréus, 2006; Said, 1978) which place the students and inhabitants of Woodbridge outside of the mainstream Swedish society. There is a space of ‘Otherness’, of being in, but not belonging to Sweden (Minh-ha, 2011). The inhabitants and location are, as Trinh T. Minh-ha describes estrangement, an “elsewhere, within here” (2011).

### Woodbridge an elsewhere, within Swedish society

Woodbridge is a small community with a population of nearly 7000 people, 59 percent have immigrant backgrounds<sup>33</sup>, many born outside of Europe (Borelius, 2010). It is nested in a nature area high up on a plateau that is about a 15 minute drive from an urban city center. This community is part of a municipality which, at the time, was divided into over 21 separate districts. Woodbridge school and the community of Woodbridge were one out of three major metropolitan areas targeted by an urban renewal project called “Storstadssatsning” which was carried out between 2000 – 2005.

“Storstadssatsning” was a municipally and nationally funded project directed towards the improvement of work, education, language skills and living conditions in areas with large immigrant populations. The goal of the

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<sup>33</sup> These are official statistics from the region in 2009 (Borelius, 2010).

project was to improve the living conditions for people in communities characterized by segregation and multidimensional poverty (Borelius, 2010)<sup>34</sup>.

More precisely the project intended to increase employment, reduce dependency on welfare and raise the levels of education<sup>35</sup>. In all, a total of 345 million Swedish crowns (SEK) in government funding were distributed between four different communities within the same municipality. Of these, 60 million SEK went into improving employment and education in Woodbridge. The municipality estimates that co-financing of “storstadssatsning” was 1.2 billion SEK between 2000 – 2005.

Two principals worked together at Woodbridge during the time of my fieldwork. Marie, one of the principals at Woodbridge, had been a key figure in the planning of “Storstadssatsning” prior to starting work at Woodbridge school. Marie was responsible for the lower secondary school, grades 5-9. The other principal, Thorvald, had responsibility for the pre-school, the pre-school class and grades 1-4. I interviewed Marie about the school’s policy and profile in relation to the issues of exclusion that the urban renewal project intended to address.

Marie explained in depth about her involvement in the “Storstadssatsning” which had lead forth to school reform in policy and practice. The objective outlined in the development plan was to improve students’ bicultural identity and create a positive view of bilingualism. The school’s development plan formulated an intercultural pedagogy and bilingual program that was to be implemented, or realized, in the pedagogy. In a Bernsteinian perspective, the “Storstadssatsning” can be seen as the catalyst in the formulation arena, and the ideology implemented in the realization arena by way of the *pedagogical device*. The pedagogical device includes the logics, or rationale, underlying the social relations and knowledge construction which include a space for identity work and inclusion of the students living in so-called disadvantaged areas.

In Maries own words the “Storstadssatsning” was in part intended to compensate for a lack of common history and the lack of social networks. Marie explained that the goals of the urban renewal project could be achieved by creating a sense of security and trust through participation in society, and by creating dialogue and growth in the local community.

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<sup>34</sup> Multidimensional poverty denotes factors such as unemployment, poor health, low incomes, low grades, little participation in politics, and a high immigrant population (Axelsson & Bunar, 2006; Borelius, 2010).

<sup>35</sup> [http://www4.goteborg.se/prod/storstad/dalis2.nsf/vyFilArkiv/Storstad.pdf/\\$file/Storstad.pdf](http://www4.goteborg.se/prod/storstad/dalis2.nsf/vyFilArkiv/Storstad.pdf/$file/Storstad.pdf)

The “Storstadssatsningen” was based on taking a perspective from below. Working with active participation of the residents and working with people’s involvement to compensate for the fact that people come from all different places: Norrland, Iraq and Somalia and who do not have a common history or common network and that you can create a network within this little community, which then can have a huge impact on comfort and children’s security.

[Interview, 2009-01-14, Marie, principal, transcript of digital recording]

A bottom-up perspective was used to address social disparities. Marie indicated that “creating networks” and a “sense of security” amongst individuals could remedy segregation and poverty “from below”. Dealing with segregation and multidimensional poverty through remediation of the local inhabitants is problematic. This approach deals with structural discrimination on an individual and emotional level and indicates a degree of *dysconsciousness* (King, 2004) about the existing social order. It places the people of Woodbridge in the social order as “below”, but bypasses who is on top. The above and below metaphor is indicative of segregation, not just hierarchically, but also with regards to who is central and who is peripheral in the mainstream society. The urban renewal program, in which there seems to be a strong classification of the students as underprivileged and in need of intervention, has an impact on the classification and framing of the students’ identities, curriculum and the kind of instruction needed to carry out these reforms.

## The international profile a fabrication

In conjunction with the urban renewal project “Storstadssatsning”, the school had fabricated (Ball, 2004) a profile as the *international* school in Woodbridge. Ball (2004) uses fabrication to refer to the selective or partial representation that is desired but still has power to bring about change. It is not a comprehensive representation, but rather a desired goal. The school development plan refers to the profile as follows:

Woodbridge’s profile means that international questions and contacts receive extra attention. When choosing contacts abroad we will focus first and foremost on schools in the students’ countries of origin. We intend to provide students with confidence in their backgrounds and thereby strengthen their self-confidence and at the same time increase understanding for the background of their peers (School development plan, p. 17)

Teachers have taken initiative to get in touch with and visit places with children and adolescents in the Middle East, Europe and two countries in Africa. In all, six teachers have been in contact with nine different countries. Of these, students from Woodbridge had been involved in four exchanges. At

the time of the study, contact with a refugee camp in the Middle East and a school in sub-Saharan Africa was still active. During the fall of 2008, the school received visitors, adolescents and youth leaders, from a refugee camp in Jordan. Documentation with pictures and text were exhibited in a glass case in the school's main corridor (the Avenue) where everyone usually met.

For over 10 years Woodbridge School has had contact with the youth center. Three times we have made trips there [...] The 12-20 of September 2008 we received visitors, 7 students and 2 leaders. The parent association organized a party with good food and a dance performance by our students. The group from Jordan worked together with several classes and made study visits and field trips. They stayed with a few of Woodbridge Schools students. The week ended with a big dance performance.

[Fieldnotes, 2008-11-10]

A third school was to be included in the exchange program because the leaders from the refugee camp in Jordan had requested to meet "Swedish families". On account of this, Jan – one of the teachers in charge of school development – explained:

When you go abroad you don't want to meet other countrymen with the same language and culture. For example, if you go to South Africa you don't go and visit the Swedish school there, you want to go to a South African school.

[Fieldnotes, 2008-12-10, informal conversation with Jan, school developer]

Staying with Arabic speaking families in Woodbridge was thought of as too similar to home. The school development team intended to expand the exchange program by collaborating with a school in another part of the city. The school developers took contact with and presented the project for another school that was regarded as representative for "Swedishness" and "Swedes".

One of the school developers explained that the refugee camp in Jordan problematized the conditions for young people by stressing that the children were refugees. Woodbridge school, alternatively, avoided discussions about the social and ethnic segregation that the students and school experience here in Sweden.

There can be culture clashes here because we try to down play the exclusion. You don't talk about the social exclusion that is here.

[Fieldnotes, 2008-12-10, Jan, school developer]

Exclusion was not discussed because it appeared to be counterproductive for the students' self-image. Instead, the students' self-perception as citizens was endorsed.

You don't want to pull the students' down if they are up here [holds one hand at face level parallel to the floor]. The students have a good opinion of themselves. They are much stronger than I thought. They see themselves as

citizens, as people with a strong self-image [...] They don't want to be Swedish, they know they are citizens and that they have rights [...] You don't want to pull them down. They are up here in their self-perceptions and don't have any need to be Swedish.

[Fieldnotes, 2008-12-10, informal conversation with Jan, school developer]

Despite that the students' citizenship is endorsed the students are positioned as non-Swedes by the teachers and by the visitors from the refugee camp. What is interesting to note is that inclusion/exclusion as Swedish is not discussed in terms of ethnicity. It is assumed that the students have actively chosen a non-Swedish identity. The teachers claim that exclusion is a false identity. The school developer, Jan, claimed that the students chose a different identity than "Swedish". In the quote above, for example, Jan says that, "They don't want to be Swedish," and they "don't have any need to be Swedish." But the question is if this is a free choice. Do the students choose a cultural identity or is the identity *non-Swedish* an imposed reality?

### **Racialization of national identity**

A girl in Class 4 explained how her ethnic identity varied depending upon the place:

When I am in Europe I am from Sweden, but when I am in Sweden I'm a Kurd [...] With this face you can't say, "I'm Swedish" but "I'm a Kurd". If I had like blonde hair, then maybe I could be Swedish.

[Fieldnotes, 2009-02-04, informal conversation with Tabitha, girls, 15 years]

Tabitha, the girl in the quote above, explains that she actively chooses an ethnic identity as Kurdish in Sweden because she believes that whiteness plays a role in the identification as "Swedish". Her opportunity to choose a subjectivity is limited by racialized norms and white normativity embedded in the classification of Swedishness.

Tabitha's observes the importance of phenotype in relation to national and ethnic identity. In this discourse, the limitations on positionality are constructed by racialized subjectivities. Zeus Leonardo (2009a) explains that *counter discourse* is a way for people of color, ethnic minorities and immigrants to define themselves by constructing alternative discourses of race and ethnicity. Leonardo writes:

They know too well that their sanity and development, both as individuals and a collective, depend on alternative (unofficial) knowledge of the racial formation (Leonardo, 2009a, p. 83).

Consequently, it is not the lack of social and cultural capital (see Yosso, 2005) that is the basis for exclusion, but rather it is devaluation and

stigmatization of people that are not included in the dominant norms that comprise Swedishness. An important question to ask here is if the students see through the normativity that lies behind the positive multicultural rhetoric in the bicultural, bilingual policy and international profile. In answer to this question, it is apparent that students (as Tabitha above) have a consciousness of their 'Otherness', about their different background, that is not openly discussed as a basis for exclusion from "Swedishness". The students' racialized exclusion in Woodbridge is not given any explicit attention. But it is precisely this kind of exclusion, the social and ethnic segregation that the urban renewal projects and international profile were intended to counteract.

### **Social status, cultural capital and social exclusion**

In the formulation arena it is assumed that social exclusion, characteristic for the area, is caused by socio-essential<sup>36</sup> deficiencies and lack of cultural capital. Yet, these individuals possess social and cultural capital, but because of the operative norms, cannot be used in exchange as a form of capital in the current currency (see Yosso, 2005). Tara Yosso (2005) claims that social and cultural capital is a concept that has white, middleclass culture as its standard. Social status is also relevant here, not just cultural background. Pernilla, another teacher and school developer affirms the importance of social class differences:

[...] its more difficult with class [differences]. It's the general class climate as well. It's much easier to talk about cultures and ethnicities. But sometimes there's a glimpse of class differences. But you don't talk about it, you talk about their parent educational background [...] We have discussed this lots of times, that we need to meet ethnic Swedish schools as well. [But] it hasn't taken hold properly. There have only been single attempts. For example we responded to "Schools Against Racism". They wanted a school in a suburb and one in a wealthier district, or more Swedish was what they were looking for. [...] One of our students said, "I don't get it. Why do we need to have exchanges with rich kids? We don't have anything in common with them." The differences were too great. It resulted in our students feeling inferior and needing to compensate by being tough. It was an experience.

[Interview transcription, 2008-10-16, Pernilla, teacher and school developer]

Despite the teachers' reluctance to openly discuss social differences with students, there were not any obstacles for the students' awareness of class differences and where they stood in the social class hierarchy. One student could, according to Pernilla, easily recognize the difference between students in Woodbridge and the "rich kids" in "wealthier districts" and "ethnic Swedish schools". The social disparities experienced by the students seemed

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<sup>36</sup> Socio-essential refers to a social inheritance, for example: poverty, dependence on financial aid, short term educations, ascribed to an ethnic group or culture (see Bruner, 1996; Pred, 2000).

to exacerbate feelings of social and cultural inferiority. Despite the teachers' and administrative views that there is a need to develop contacts with "Swedish" schools, contacts with other schools have been terminated because of the affirmation rather than dissolution of difference. This can be seen as an attempt to realize the intercultural pedagogy outlined in the school development plan. Yet, the formulation arena and feel-good approach to diversity does not seem to adequately cover social disparities and why the students of Woodbridge are targets of urban renewal.

In a conversation with Class 4's teacher team, the teachers claimed that the students were in need of more contact with the society outside of Woodbridge, but this required extra resources for trips to the city or other areas. The expression "get out of" became apparent. The students were regarded as being fearful if not resistant to go outside of the area. One of the teachers claimed that this fear was believed to be based on insecurity and inferiority with regards to Swedish people and the society beyond Woodbridge. Carina a teacher in Class 4's teacher team referred to the students' general sense of insecurity at Woodbridge school:

Carina: [...] I mean, we don't have a basic foundation that works. I feel that before we can start working on our profile we need to have an organization that works. We are not there yet. That's my personal opinion. We're on our way but we're not there yet. And the foundation is multicultural because of our student population that we have here.

Osa: How would you describe the foundation?

Carina: That the students feel safe. That we have a good work atmosphere, that they achieve their targets, and so on and so forth. I feel that we're not there yet.

[Focus group interview, 2008-10-23, Carina, teacher year 9, teacher team Class 4]

It is the intention of school's policy and international profile to breach this fear and insecurity by way of social interactions with ethnic Swedes. A positive interaction could occur if it were not for the students' feelings of inferiority and unequal status. Exclusion, alienation from the dominant society became apparent when in the contacts with other schools in Sweden.

On the basis of the above and with connection to the international profile, I asked what would be possible to counteract segregation and its negative consequences. One of the teachers in Class 4's teacher team, Rosita, claimed that the school cannot fight segregation. However, it is possible to build self-confidence amongst students on a daily basis: "You're ok! I'm ok. We are both a part of society. You have just as much right to be here as I do," is the message Rosita tries to convey to the students.

The teacher and leadership discourse infers directly and indirectly that the students need to get out of the area and meet “Swedes”. The purpose is not to directly expose or combat social and ethnic segregation. Instead it is the students who are in need of contact with the dominant majority. This kind of approach to multiculturalism is what critical pedagogues and researchers refer to as the “Human relations approach”. Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant (2007) write:

The Human relations approach is directed toward helping students communicate with, accept, and get along with people who are different from themselves; reduce or eliminate stereotypes that students have about people; and helping students feel good about themselves and about groups of which they are members, without putting others down in the process. This approach is aimed mainly at the affective level – at attitudes and feelings people have about themselves and others (Sleeter & Grant, 2007, p. 78).

This pedagogical strategy, which is the basis for dealing and managing social and cultural diversity, does not in reality attempt to change the social conditions, but rather to get students to accept their situation and “feel good about themselves” (Sleeter & Grant, 2007). It avoids problematizing structural obstacles of integration. And neither does it problematize why different types of social and cultural capital are valued differently. “It asks people to get along within the status quo rather than educating them to change the status quo,” (2007, p. 106). Social and cultural differences are discussed with an emphasis on *acceptance* of differences. “You’re ok. I’m ok,” without critically examining how difference has occurred or what function differences fill within the dominant social order. Therefore, the rhetoric behind the feel-good multiculturalism, that celebrates social and cultural diversity, is an empty undertaking.

The feel-good multiculturalism is a simplified interpretation of culture and identity that emphasizes the celebration of social and cultural differences and at the same time tries to smooth over social injustice and inequality. Social class and race are both problematic aspects of the feel-good approach to diversity. In the meeting with the visitors from Jordan and more “Swedish schools” reaffirmed rather than reduced social disparities connected to social class and race; yet, this did not prompt the school to problematize these issues in a way that could give the students clarity.

## The international profile vaguely linked to the pedagogical discourse

The international profile arose from the urban renewal project “Storstadssatsning” (Proposition, 1997/98:165). Different projects at Woodbridge school were primarily devoted to language, such as: bilingual education, study support, employment of bilingual teachers and further education of teachers of Swedish as a second language. These aspects of the international profile are discussed in Chapter 8. It is these efforts that can be considered to be the intercultural pedagogy in the pedagogical discourse. However, in practice, the international profile was vaguely linked to the pedagogical discourse. The international profile was a fabrication (Ball, 2004), from the top-down, constructed by the previous principal to promote a positive image of the school outwardly. In practice the international profile was reduced to individual teachers’ initiative to create contacts and exchange with schools and educators abroad. In a focus group interview one teacher, Mona, explained:

When I came here to apply for a job I asked the principal who interviewed me why the school sees itself as “international”. If I remember correctly, she said it is called so because of the exchanges with other countries in the Middle East and Africa, amongst others. The exchange students, she told me. Now I’m in my fourth year here and haven’t had much contact with other schools. The refugee camp [from Jordan] has visited here once since I started. A few [teachers] have been to Africa, the principal and three teachers.

[Focus group interview, 2008-10-23, Mona, teacher, teacher team Class 4]

Amongst the teachers there is just a vague connection to the pedagogical discourse and practice and the international profile. In the same interview the other teachers for Class 4, Carina and Rosita, confirmed this.

- Osa: One and a half years ago there was a teacher development day about the school’s profile. I wanted to talk to you about that, how it was established and where you are with that now. There are according to this PowerPoint presentation basically three different kinds of approaches: mono-, multi- and intercultural approaches. The question is: How well is this profile established?
- Carina: What profile do you mean? The international?
- Osa: The multicultural or intercultural.
- Carina: The profile is international not intercultural or multicultural. The profile stands for international.
- Osa: What do you mean?
- Carina: Our assignment we received from the board when we were to make a profile was an international school, if I remember properly.
- Rosita: Yes, it’s called that.
- Carin: Yes.

## MIND THE GAP

Rosita: But you can say. And this is my opinion that this conversation is reflective of the vagueness about what our profile stands for. It feels like, do we have this or this? It isn't well established. Although, it's a fact that we have a multicultural school because of the student population we are working with. But this profile is not so explicit. When you say "Your profile" then I feel "Yeah, what profile do we have?" [dubious tone]. It's not so well established in me anyway. Our school developers, Jan and Pernilla, maybe have more of a plan and thoughts about this. But it's not so well established with me that I can say we are working on this and towards this. We have other things we are working on many other things that I feel are much more explicit for me.

[Focus group interview, 2008-10-23, teachers Mona, Carina and Rosita, teacher team Class 4]

The excerpt above raises the issue of multiculturalism in the pedagogical discourse and practice. Yet, in the pedagogical discourse there is little or no connection to the school's international profile. The fabrication and formulation of an international profile was formulated and imposed from the top-down. Individual teachers took initiative to build contacts with schools in other countries, but these initiatives did not appear to have any consequence within the ordinary core curriculum. Ball (2006) claims that policy documents are fabrications that hide as much as they reveal. The international profile can be viewed as a fabrication that is constructed to produce consensus on social and cultural diversity through the celebration of difference (Banks, 2008). As we shall see, the feel-good about diversity approach is a formulation that conceals rather than reveals racial and social tensions.

### Classifying Woodbridge as elsewhere

Cultural racism can be seen as an expression of cultural deprivation and the need to compensate for lack of mainstream experiences. In teacher and leadership narratives, life experience outside of Woodbridge is wanting. That is to say, despite negation of a deficit perspective of students' 'home culture' (Lunneblad, 2006), there remained a cultural deficit in need of amending.

Osa: There is often talk about the students' need to get out, that they need to get out of Woodbridge. This seems very important. It is an indirect way of saying, "There is no future here and that there is not much reason to stay." They need to get into the mainstream society.

Marie: You can see it like that, but I don't interpret it in that way. I could also see it that way with the view [Sw: *inställning*] that I have. But I don't interpret it that way. I have seen at this school, during the time that I have been here, that many of our students are enormously ignorant about life outside of Woodbridge and they are also very insecure and afraid. They need a greater sense of security if they do not go with their parents and private networks outside of Woodbridge and experience different situations that are necessary to live in the Swedish society. They are poorly prepared for life in the Swedish society outside of the Swedish school. They really are in need of that, but finding the right form for this is not easy.

[Interview, 2009-01-14, Marie, principal, transcript of digital recording]

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The emphasis on Swedish language and acculturation is not to be interpreted as a devaluation of students' home languages and cultural backgrounds. Yet, the emphasis on acquisition of Swedish and familiarity with "Swedish society" outside of Woodbridge is strong in the formulation and realization of the urban renewal program.

Osa: It came up during the theme week a lot. That the students are inexperienced [with the mainstream society].

Marie: Precisely. Not the gradation of the kind of experience, bad experience or wrong experience, no interesting experiences here, is not what counts, not that. Just that this experience is right and important for them. They live here, they need to manage here, but they are missing a tremendous amount. This leads to lack of knowledge of how the Swedish society works, how it is, and getting into the habit of socializing with Swedish people. That is what is worrisome. That teachers should talk about Swedes, what is a little different and strange etc. There is a lack of contact and knowledge and unaccustomedness.

Osa: A lack of habit and experience?

Marie: Yes, they are unaccustomed. We need to contribute in some way, we should plan, we talk about it in practice a lot, but it is only a few times a year that we actually do it. They should work, the school should be out in the society in a whole other way. And maybe find other forms rather than excursions. We have tried. Pernilla [a school developer] has been involved in exchanges with schools in other areas where there isn't any cultural diversity. If there is too great of a difference then it doesn't work either because then it is as if you are coming from two separate planets. They tried it. You know when there are very high income levels, those differences, the economic differences are so large that it really is as though you do not have any reason to meet. They come here with their cool, expensive clothes and expensive cell-phones, children from Mountainview or somewhere else. It is not just that you live different lives; that is where class background comes in. It is very interesting. The conclusion from that exchange was that we should probably seek a school in Maytown for example. Somewhere where there is greater heterogeneity so that it is not as homogeneous as it was at that school where they were. The Swedish society is very different [varying]. Why should you go from one extreme to the other? There is a place in-between somewhere. Maytown is such a place. There are both a lot of social problems, well-educated people; there are a number of people with foreign backgrounds that have moved in successively. It is a more heterogeneous community.

[ibid.]

Ironically, the emphasis on exposure, experience, knowledge and exchanges with students outside of Woodbridge tended to reaffirm Woodbridge and the residents thereof as a non-Swedish community. This parallels findings in a study of urban youth and their experience of study visits to wealthier suburbs in non-urban areas (Bäckman, 2009). Contact with the mainstream majority in middle class areas reaffirmed race and class based differences, as well as, the students' inferiority and "sense of (in)security" with the dominant society. This is discussed further in Chapter 9: Fieldtrips and difference.

The students and inhabitants of Woodbridge are not in the position to redefine their existing social and cultural capital as valid and legitimate.

Instead, their existing “private networks” are deemed inadequate and in need of compensation. Contact with the world outside of Woodbridge and the mainstream Swedish majority is viewed as a solution to segregation.

This construction of difference, a lack of contact with the mainstream “Swedish society”, can be seen as an inference to race and place. The labelling practices “Swedish people” and “Swedish society” are not neutral. They connote whiteness<sup>37</sup> and white normativity implicit in the label “Swedish”. Even if race is not real, the privilege and/or social disparities between racial groups are. Defining the inhabitants of Woodbridge as distinct and separate from native Swedes is problematic because it puts the burden of integration on the individuals defined as the ‘Other’. Defining and categorizing people into distinct social categories is part of the ongoing classification of people in relation to race and place. Classification as a social and ideological practice has an impact on the pedagogical discourse and the realization of compensatory measures for the ethnic ‘Other’ (Möller, 2012).

## Deficiency and compensatory narratives

I had a chance to speak with Ingrid, the student guidance counselor, about her views on “getting out of Woodbridge”(Runfors, 2004). Runfors (2004) has observed similar kinds of “get-out” and into “Swedish society” discourses. I had questions which stemmed from Ingrid’s presentation with Class 4 about future career and educational opportunities. Ingrid worked not only at Woodbridge, but served other schools within the municipality as well. I was curious to know her view of the students’ needs and expectations in relation to students elsewhere. In our conversation, Ingrid emphasized three aspects about the students’ needs: 1) increased contact with the world outside of Woodbridge, 2) more contact with ethnic Swedes, 3) more exposure to the Swedish language.

The students need more experience and contact outside of their own community. The students are isolated from the larger society. There are no ethnic Swedes here. They need to have more Swedish (i.e. input of the Swedish language) /... /The school is tough because they lack contact with the larger society and community. They are

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<sup>37</sup> Leonardo asserts that ‘whiteness’ is an ideology not a verifiable, biological group of people, which confers power and privilege within a racialized social order (cfr. Bonilla-Silva, 2005; Leonardo, 2009). These categories cannot be disconnected from the social context. As I see it the meanings and identifications given are inseparable from the social context in which they are created and the characteristics that are ascribed to them (Gruber, 2007, p. 190).

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isolated here, there is a lack of language skills and language experience. Parents here need a lot of support as well, to learn how the society works.

[Fieldnotes, 2008-05-07, informal conversation, Ingrid, guidance counselor]

Despite official policy on cultural and linguistic diversity, “society” does not seem to include the culturally diverse, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic inhabitants of Woodbridge. Woodbridge is an elsewhere within Sweden. Woodbridge students are described as isolated and lacking contact with Swedish people. Aside from class, the larger “society” that is being referred to is a homogeneous Swedish society. Woodbridge’s multi-ethnic and multi-lingual population, which by and large includes people with immigrant backgrounds, is indirectly categorized as non-Swedish. Therefore, it is stressed that the students of Woodbridge *need* contact with ethnic Swedish people, in order to succeed in school.

Increasing contact with Swedish people is a kind of assumption that is similar to assumptions about race and education in the United States in which black students would benefit from learning next to white students (Kozol, 1991). As we will see, compensatory measures tend to affirm, rather than abolish, racialized differences (see Chapter 8: Fieldtrips and Difference).

### Realization of Woodbridge as elsewhere

Every year eighth and ninth-graders receive information about future career and educational choices in preparation for secondary school. The individualized program (IV) is an upper secondary program for students not eligible for upper secondary school. The IV program offered vocational training for students looking to get into food management. The program was promoted as a preparation for work in the food industry, restaurants and cafés. The following is an observation of Mia, the head teacher, for Class 2 when she informed the class about the program. Mia read aloud an information sheet which stated:

Individual Program Café, restaurant and food industry in Woodbridge.

This program is for people ages 16-19 years old who want to work in a café, restaurant or food industry. The course is two semesters and combines theory and work experience in our restaurant in Woodbridge.

[Classroom observation, 2008-05-13, Mia, class 2, reads the hand-out for the food management program]

Mia read the note which she had received from the student guidance counselor. The deadline for upper secondary school applications had already

passed, but the application deadline for this program was extended. It was directed towards students who were not eligible for the national programs and going on to the Individual Program instead. Mia, the Social Studies teacher explained to Class 2:

- Mia: Work is built on networks. But you have to be interested in working with food if you are going to do this. Right?
- Osa: How long is it [the program]?
- Mia: Two semesters. You could do it if you are tired of school. You can be tired of school and need a break for a year and then continue. I don't know, but society is to give you the best possible chances to get work, right? You can find new possibilities and new collaborative projects that can lead to something. It might suit someone. I personally think you should go on new adventures in the city. Right? But if anyone is interested you can get a hand-out from me.

[Fieldnotes, classroom observation, 2008-05-13, Mia, Class 2]

The food management program is specifically directed towards students attending Woodbridge school. In 2009 only 40% of the ninth-graders were eligible for the national programs in upper secondary schooling. These results are typical for schools in metropolitan areas where a majority of the inhabitants are working class people of color with immigrant backgrounds. Yet, they are astonishingly low compared to national averages. A majority of the students at Woodbridge could therefore not apply for upper secondary schooling because of their failure to meet the core subject requirements in Swedish, English and Mathematics.

The head teacher suggests that this program is directed mainly towards students who are tired of school, "You could do it if you are tired of school", but an alternative solution could be to take a year off. Mia indicates to the class that the students need to widen their perspectives and not work in Woodbridge as suggested. This could also infer that low achievement is due to lack of motivation and academic exhaustion which can be cured by taking time off. Even though Mia informs the class about the program and states that it might be suitable for someone she makes her preference known, "I think you should go on new adventures in the city".

The purpose of the program is not directly negated. Mia answers that work experience is an important part of building a network and making new contacts. Getting a job is made through contacts emphasizes Mia. "Work is built on networks. You have to be interested in working with food if you are going to do this. Right?" said Mia. The intention is to combine theory and practice, build a network and gain work experience, which are viewed as necessary aspects of working life and steps toward future employment.

The issue at stake is the location. The course is situated in Woodbridge. Despite the fact that many students could benefit from work experience, network building and training, it is not viewed as desirable to remain in Woodbridge. Even taking a year off is suggested as an alternative as opposed to working in the same community in which the students live. “You can be tired of school and need a break for a year and then continue,” said the teacher. The desired preference, is life and work outside of Woodbridge, is a reoccurring theme in the teachers’ and leadership discourse. The formulation arena which places Woodbridge outside of the mainstream is reflected in the realization of school knowledge.

The instructional discourse, the knowledge selected, is about a food management program. However, the regulative discourse, changing the social order is the dominant discourse. The object of knowledge concerns the need to get out of Woodbridge and into the mainstream. Indirectly, the knowledge selected and transmitted conveys territorial stigmatization and a devaluation of urban poor. It can be understood that not remaining in Woodbridge is preferable to an apprenticeship in a food management program within the local community.

## Summary on estrangement – on being, but not belonging

Woodbridge is a geographical location that is characterized as a *non*-Swedish zone. Leadership and teacher discourses infer that the inhabitants and location of Woodbridge are not recognized as being a part of mainstream “Swedish society”. Strong classification of the social order puts the inhabitants of Woodbridge in a category separate and distinct from a (mono-cultural) national identity (see Borevi, 2002). Factors such as poverty, unemployment, poor health, financial aid and low levels of education can be seen as indicators of ‘Otherness’ that disconnect Woodbridge from an imagined community of prosperity and equality (Anderson, 1983). Woodbridge disrupts the imagined unity of the dominant social order.

Race, social status and place are conjoined factors in the classification of Woodbridge as ‘elsewhere’ (Minh-ha, 2011). This classification is a social and ideological practice that inscribes social disparities onto the bodies of the students and to where they live. In the formulation arena, a divide between

Woodbridge and the so-called “Swedish society” is constructed and maintained through a deficiency discourse and ‘Othering’.

Despite attempts to impose an international and intercultural profile from above, the leadership and teacher narratives indicate ambiguity and reluctance to the implementation in relation to the core curriculum. The classification of the school as international and positive towards social and cultural diversity can be viewed as a feel-good approach that diverts social and racial tensions and disparities to cultural deprivation onto the students rather than structural inequalities. The international and intercultural profiles do not address the underlying causes of segregation and exclusion which the “Storstadssatsning” intended to combat. In the pedagogical discourse, the students are expected bridge this divide between Sweden and elsewhere by becoming familiar with ethnic (read white) Swedes and preferably not remaining in Woodbridge.

In the following chapters, I will continue to expand upon the varying ways in which students of Woodbridge are classified as the ‘Other’ in relation to ideals of Swedishness and how the instructional and regulative discourse work to compensate for ‘Otherness’.

## Chapter 7: Defining deficiency

This section examines in teacher narratives and deficiency perspectives related to language, ability and motivation of poly-lingual students and minorities living in marginalized and disadvantaged environments. Here I examine the formulation of deficiency in terms of linguisticism (Carlson, 2003; Lindberg, 2011; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986) and individual perspectives of motivation and ability (Giota, 2001). The analysis examines the formulation and classification of the students in terms of individual and collective deficit perspectives (Carlson, 2003; Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Gruber, 2007) and oppositional culture (Ogbu, 2008b).

### Linguistic versus pedagogic deficits

In an informal conversation, Susanne, a teacher in special education, suggested that language deficiency played an important role in students' low achievement and that language skills were a reason for low achievement amongst students. "They lack language", she said and not only those who arrive here [from abroad], but also those who are born here [lack language skills]," she added [Informal conversation, 2009-03-11, Susanne, special pedagogue, fieldnotes]. These views correspond to findings in sociolinguistic studies about second language learners. Lindberg (2011) and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) claim that second language learners are subject to *linguicism*. Linguicism infers a language deficit perspective onto the individual or group who is seen as responsible for not having the necessary language skills to acquire the dominant curriculum. Linguicism occurs when students are viewed as language deficient even though they are born in Sweden. Lindberg (2011) explains that linguisticism occurs in schooling practices in which there is a widespread deficit discourse for non-standard varieties of Swedish.

Incorporation and inclusion of linguistic diversity is a social and political issue within the formulation arena (see Axelsson, 2013; Lindberg, 2009). Implementation of language policy in the realization arena depends on the kinds of language and pedagogic codes at work, teachers' experience and

knowledge about Swedish as a second language tuition, and the formulation and ideology towards mother tongue in the language policy. I will continue to discuss the gap between the formulation and realization arena with regards to language policy and implementation.

The topic of language deficiency was pervasive and consistent throughout my fieldwork. In a follow-up conversation with a science teacher, Linda, I broached the topic of language proficiency again after having discussed this topic with her previously.

Osa: When I was here earlier one time you said that students don't have a language. You meant that they don't have a school language?

Linda: No, I meant what I said. That they don't have any language. They only have half a language. One half and one half doesn't make a whole language. Many of our students don't get study help<sup>38</sup> [in their mother tongue] because they are very bad in their mother tongue. They believe that there isn't any point in going [to study help]. They only have two half languages, not a whole.

[Informal conversation, 2009-03-09, Linda, Science teacher, fieldnotes]

I had talked to Linda earlier about how she adapted her teaching strategies to the students' language proficiency. Linda understood the importance of second language teaching strategies in science and mathematics, but this had not always been the case. She realized the importance of teaching Swedish as a second language after she had come to the conclusion that students do not have sufficient language skills in any language.

We explain very, very much. Our children can't search for knowledge on the internet because they don't have the language. They lack the vocabulary to scan a text and to quickly find key words. They don't have the language. The students first need to be able to formulate their thoughts into words. They need words to describe their thoughts and then practice writing them down. First they have to formulate their thoughts themselves, put words on their thoughts, after that they are able to analyze. They need to formulate their thoughts, formulate questions, then the deeper understanding will come. When I first started working here, I didn't understand the necessity of working with Swedish as a second language. I thought, 'No, I'm a maths and science teacher. I don't need Swedish 2', but after a while I realized after many struggles that, 'This is the tool I need for them [students] to understand my subject'.

[Informal conversation, 2008-09-09, Linda, science and maths teacher, fieldnotes]

Linda's assertion, "They don't have a language," literally meant that the students had no fully functional language for school subject matter whatsoever. Students in grade nine were not only viewed as linguistically deficient, but entirely deplete in command of a language when seen as an innate competence (Lindberg, 2011). Lindberg (2011) discusses how linguisticism, similar to racism and sexism, stigmatizes non-native speakers and students with another mother tongue than Swedish. From a deficit

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<sup>38</sup> All students in Sweden who are entitled to mother tongue language instruction can receive study help in course subjects in their mother tongue as well.

perspective, the inability to master the school curriculum is reduced to a linguistic deficiency located within the individual (Gitz-Johansen, 2006). Recent research in second language learning has moved the focus from innate competence and development of the individual to the pedagogic practices that incorporate social and linguistic diversity in supportive environments (Axelsson, 2013).

The realization of applying second language learning strategies came after the teacher had drawn the conclusion that the students were only in command of “two half languages”. This insight had, however, caused the teacher to reflect on her attitude to second language learning and the need for instructional changes rather than remedial changes in the students. But changing attitudes and instructional approach did not occur right away. This came about after “many struggles” and initial resistance to accommodating subject matter teaching to students’ linguistic needs; as Linda said, “No, I’m a maths and science teacher. I don’t need Swedish 2”. This kind of sharp distinction is characteristic of strong classification and framing in which subject matter is kept strictly apart. The vertical discourse (academic, sacred and scientific knowledge) keeps subject matter and teacher identities apart. Language, mathematics and science can be integrated and interdisciplinary, but are separated as fields of knowledge in school subjects and in the practical and professional organization of the pedagogy. This separation has implications in the realization arena. Research concludes that despite positive outcomes, the dominant curriculum tends to marginalize and stigmatize second language learning (Axelsson, 2013; Lindberg, 2011).

In mathematics and science, strong classification and framing of school subjects and teacher identity comes first. Structural measures such as teachers’ attitudes and approaches to second language learners and knowledge about learning in a second language are a far second. Research indicates that Swedish as a second language tuition is also a concern for teacher training programs (Carlson, 2009). In a study of the teacher training programs in Sweden, it was observed that preparation for learning and teaching in socially and linguistically diverse environments was absent entirely or a peripheral aspect of the teacher education program (Carlson, 2009). Transforming teacher education to recognize, acknowledge, and manage social, cultural and linguistic diversity effectively has been an ongoing concern for theorists and supporters of critical pedagogy, social justice education and anti-racism

(Holmen, 2009; Lahdenperä, 1998; Rubenstein Reich & Tallberg Broman, 2000; von Brömssen & Olgac, 2010).

Language is but one aspect of social and cultural diversity and it is a central to the knowledge construction process. Questions such as: How should schools “manage” poly-lingual and socially diverse students and learning? How does Woodbridge School deal with social and linguistic diversity? These questions are very relevant and reflective of the pressing concerns of teachers to attain educational goals and meet the needs of students. Despite this reality and pedagogical concerns, the pedagogical discourse and the ordinary curriculum remains the same.

The ordinary curriculum and criteria for evaluation of school knowledge remain primarily monolingual and mono-cultural, despite the poly-lingual population, international profile and bilingual education program. At Woodbridge, the strong classification and framing of the vertical discourse is inconsistent with diverse, hybrid and dynamic nature of language and students’ poly-lingual ability (Jørgensen, 2008; Lindberg, 2011; Quist, 2008). There is a strong classification and framing of differences in languages and subject matter; yet, the student population can be characterized by weak classification and framing with regards to their poly-lingual, fluid and dynamic use of language in and across subject boundaries. The students’ mother tongue can be seen as a dimension of the horizontal discourse (students’ local and particular knowledge and common sense) that intersects with the vertical discourse (official, academic knowledge) when mother tongue tuition and Swedish as a second language is made available.

The inability to master language skills in the dominant language is seen as insufficient basic competence in the mother tongue and Swedish. Again, linguisticism is a form of ‘Othering’ that essentializes difference of language features and allows for an unequal distribution of power and resources (Lindberg, 2011). As Linda above expressed, “First they have to formulate their thoughts themselves, put words on their thoughts, after that they are able to analyze.” These language skills are viewed as a necessary prerequisite for learning. Therefore the assumption is that students, who cannot master the dominant language, cannot master school knowledge. Hence, students are deemed uneducable because of the language they speak (Mirza, 2006; Sjögren, 1996). As indicated in Chapter 6, deficit ideologies locate the problem within the student and consequently undergird compensatory pedagogy and remediation of the student to meet standards of evaluation based upon

monolingual and mono-cultural normativity (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Tesfahuney, 1999; von Brömssen & Olgac, 2010).

Language can be seen as a skill and a basis for not only constructing and conveying concepts in the process of recontextualization, but also as a means of legitimizing the cultural reproduction of difference (Milani, 2008). Similarly, Milani (2008) discusses how “language is not only the medium but at the same time the OBJECT of discourses through which the social order is produced, reproduced, or contested” (p. 33, emphasis in original). This parallels Bernstein’s theory of knowledge with regards to the instructional and regulative discourse. Language is the medium through which knowledge is reproduced. The selection and distribution of knowledge is subordinate the social base and cultural reproduction of the dominant social order.

Highly specialized disciplines require abstract and systematic concepts to construct theory, make generalizations, and to develop and communicate context-free knowledge. The students are required to master academic Swedish for “formulating questions” and constructing “deeper understanding”. According to Bernstein, the language codes, *elaborated* and *restricted*, also assist the recognition and realization rules of the way knowledge is communicated in a specific subject or setting (Bernstein, 1990, 2000). Students need to master a way of thinking and communicating knowledge concepts specific to each subject; that is to say, first recognition of the language and pedagogic code, then realization of how knowledge is communicated in the vertical discourse.

Bernstein’s theory of knowledge should not be misread as a deficit theory, rather Bernstein points to the structural principles that underlie formation of the knowledge and knower structures in the vertical and horizontal discourses. Language is integral to the function and purpose of reproduction and recontextualization of school knowledge which is not necessitated by innate competence of the individual, but rather by the transparency of the pedagogical discourse and criteria of evaluation (Bernstein, 2000). Making the knowledge structure and pedagogic code explicit is an important dimension of language acquisition for all teachers (Lindberg, 2011).

Learning in a second language is as important as learning academic Swedish (Carlson, 2009). This is a challenge for teachers who teach Swedish as a second language and teachers in other subjects who teach students with Swedish as their second language. Teacher education and teachers at all levels of education need knowledge and tools in Swedish as a second language in

order to meet the needs of poly-lingual students and to respond to the increase in social and linguistic diversity (Carlson, 2003, 2009; Lindberg, 2009, 2011).

In a group discussion with the language educators, the principal, Marie, pointed out that it is often the family that is ascribed blame for their language deficiency.

We put it on the students. We put it directly in the parents lap.

[Marie, principal, 2009-01-19, language teacher meeting, fieldnotes and transcript of digital recording]

The point here is that insufficient language is by and large a problem for the school, for the instruction and for achieving academic goals, but the origin of the problem is not problematized with regards to the practice of teaching poly-lingual students. Instead it is the students' lack of language that is regarded as the main problem in a predominantly monolingual and monocultural learning environment (Carlson, 2009; Runfors, 2009; Tesfahuney, 1999). Problematizing the distribution of knowledge, the type of knowledge selected, how it is conveyed by classification and framing, the criteria for evaluation, and recognition of what pedagogic codes are in use for the valorisation of school knowledge, are also dimensions of learning that involve language. These dimensions, or fields of practice, are not within the learner (acquirer), but are located within the formulation and realization arenas of social and ideological practices of schooling (Axelsson, 2013; Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2013). Accessibility, availability and provisions for mother tongue and Swedish as a second language are formulated and regulated within the macro-level and socio-political arenas which construct laws, regulations and curriculum for non-dominant language/poly-lingual students (Axelsson, 2013). Research indicates that there is great ambiguity, variation and indecision over implementation in the realization arena of mother tongue and Swedish as a second language subjects (Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2013). Hyltenstam and Lindberg (2013) observe that the mainstream curriculum has remained basically unchanged despite the addition of about 140 languages in the student population in Sweden.

## An intrinsic lack of motivation?

Another aspect regarding the deficiency discourse concerns the connection between motivation for schoolwork and the ability to achieve academically. In 2009 only 39 percent of the students in grade nine received passing grades in mathematics, Swedish and English<sup>39</sup>. These results are very low compared to the national average which in 2009 was 88.8 percent. In light of the previous discussion, learning outcomes are affected by second language learning and the degree to which social and political ideologies support such programs (Axelsson, 2013). Low school achievement was in part attributed to poor school motivation and students' attitudes towards schooling. I broached the topic of underachievement with the special pedagogue, Susanne, and Petra, a teacher in grade 5. In an excerpt from my fieldnotes, Susanne and Petra attributed low academic achievement to a lack of motivation. In my fieldnotes I wrote:

Susanne had made a compilation of the total number of students needing an intervention plan<sup>40</sup> (Sw: åtgärdsprogram). She said that she had all of the grades and report cards (Sw: kunskapsrapporter) accounted for and the results for each class. Susanne and Petra agreed that many of the students failed to get a passing grade because of the lack of motivation and lack of language skills. Petra indicated lack of motivation in an anecdote in which she had simplified the learning goals in a chemistry lesson. Petra said she had simplified a chemistry lesson to enable the least motivated students to pass. Petra explained, "Even though I lowered the level [in chemistry] many did not pass anyway." Petra continued, "After I had done that. I knew it wasn't my teaching. Those who couldn't or wouldn't before, couldn't or wouldn't afterwards either."

Petra and Susanne agreed that there are highly motivated students that achieve well and then there are those that "have just given up". The teachers meant that a large group of students just do not try anymore and that their parents "have also given up". Susanne explained that in an earlier report she had written for a special pedagogy assignment showed that there were students who worked hard to achieve high grades and that these were evenly distributed on a normal distribution curve (Sw: normalfördelningskurva) and then there was another group of students who were academically competent, but did not try hard enough. This resulted in another normal distribution (Sw: normalkurva) of those with lower grades.

[Informal conversation, 2009-03-11, Susanne, special pedagogue, Petra, teacher year 5, fieldnotes]

The low achievement is in part attributed to students' lack of motivation. The presupposition is that "motivation" is something intrinsic within the student, not in the curriculum, the pedagogy or the social context of schooling. The inability of the students to perform is viewed as a problem within the students, who are seen having a lack of academic motivation even when the teacher "bends the rules" and makes concessions to learning goals and requirements. Instead of highlighting the vertical discourse, making the

<sup>39</sup> These are the prerequisite courses necessary to apply to a national high school program. Results from the Swedish National Agency for Education for 9<sup>th</sup> graders at Woodbridge school in 2009.

<sup>40</sup> My translation of "åtgärdsprogram" which is a documentation by each individual subject teacher to document students progress in school and the necessary measures needed to improve students' performance.

learning criteria in chemistry explicit, as in visible pedagogy, the curriculum is simplified “to enable the least motivated students to pass”.

Lowering curricular standards, in other words, “dumbing down”(Gatto, 2005) the curriculum, parallels findings in studies in the United States in which expectations for poor urban students of color are low and the pedagogy is characterized by remediation and basic skills and drills (Kornhaber, 2004). Scandinavian research also indicates a tendency towards compensatory pedagogy and remediation for students with foreign backgrounds (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Möller, 2012; Pihl, 2010). Similarly, Swedish research indicates that non-dominant language students are arbitrarily assigned Swedish as a second language courses without proper assessment (Lindberg, 2011). Swedish as a second language is regarded as remedial and for students who are considered to be weak in terms of academic performance (Skolverket, 2008). Reductionism of curricular standards for poor, working-class, students of color and immigrants is a well-known phenomenon that scholars of multicultural education and critical pedagogy address and continue to critique as new education reforms are made (Apple, 2006).

The issue of motivation was seen as a sign of resignation in which the students simply “have just given up” and that this attitude was also manifested in the parents who “have also given up”. Why or wherefrom this resignation comes is not problematized in terms of social and ideological practices. Research in Swedish and Danish education confirms that deficit ideologies and negative attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity are widespread (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Gruber, 2007; Haglund, 2005; Holmen, 2009; Lindberg, 2011; Lunneblad, 2006; Runfors, 2009; Sjögren, 1996). A deficiency perspective falls close at hand when “educators do not understand, appreciate, or know how to work with students whose language, communication methods, or behaviors differ from their own ” (Kornhaber, 2004, p. 95).

The problematic student and the problematic family is a commonly reoccurring discourse in education (Nilholm, 2012). Individualizing problems is a perspective also confirmed in studies about linguistic and ethnic diversity in education (Bunar, 2010).

In the following section, I would like to provide an example of the individualization of problems perspective as it is manifested in teacher perspectives of poly-lingual students of color in marginalized urban areas. The example below provides a rationale for how the pedagogy is organized and structured. The pedagogical practices are adapted to the students based

assumptions about students’ needs and abilities individually and collectively. The example below is intended to exemplify the cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage in urban education through individualization of deficit and collective stigmatization.

## A motivation and ability typology

According to Susanne’s assessment, a majority of the students, in grades 6-9 were in need of an individual intervention plan (Sw: åtgärdsprogram). The Swedish National Education Agency’s findings from 2009 showed that only 22 percent of the 9<sup>th</sup> grade students at Woodbridge reached the educational goals in all subjects. Therefore, it can be said that 78 percent of the students were in need of extra support to attain the learning goals in one or more subjects in 2009.

As mentioned above, low academic achievement was often explained by students’ motivation and ability. In conversations with a teacher and school developer<sup>41</sup>, Jan, and the special pedagogue, Susanne, it became apparent that students’ ability and motivation (in conjunction with other structural factors) were used as an explanatory model for low school achievement. In an excerpt from my fieldnotes, the school developer Jan had explained that he had conceived a typology for students’ ability and motivation:

There is, according to the teacher, two primary groups of students: those who are school-motivated and those who are not. Jan affirmed this categorization and added that he would like to do a typology (Sw: *fyrfälstabel*) with four categories: 1) motivated high-achievers, 2) unmotivated high-achievers, 3) motivated low-achievers, 4) unmotivated low-achievers.

1a Motivated  High achievers	2a Un-motivated  High achievers
3b Motivated  Low achievers	4b Un-motivated  Low achievers

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<sup>41</sup> The school developer at Woodbridge School had the added task of working with pedagogical reforms such as, “intercultural pedagogy” and school exchange programs.

Figure 1

This figure places the students into four types: motivated and unmotivated and those with learning difficulties/special needs and those without.

[Summary of an informal conversation, 2009-03-12, with Jan, school developer, fieldnotes]

Motivation is a popular concept derived from psychology used to describe and understand the inner desires, goals, motives, needs, perceptions, beliefs and attitudes that regulate individual's thoughts, behaviors and actions on an individual and interpersonal level (Giota, 2001). Giota (2001) thesis on student motivation and achievement provides an informed account of achievement motivation theories. These theories apply psychological (Bruner, 1971; Deci & Ryan, 1991; Murray, 1938), developmental (Piaget, 1981), cognitive (Durkin, 1995; Fiske & Taylor, 1991), interactionist (Ford, 1992; Wentzel, 1989) and socio-cultural perspectives (von Wright, 1976; Vygotsky, 1962) of the individual's internal motives in relation to his/her surroundings.

According to Giota, "These theories of motivation try to explain why individuals initiate particular actions," (p. 22). Giota explains that a problem with these studies and theoretical perspectives is that they are too narrowly defined and reductive. These perspectives, which focus on the individual perspective, do not take into account multi-dimensional aspects and complexity of factors that influence students' behavior.

Students' achievement motivation is a concept often studied in terms of intrinsic or extrinsic and mastery or performance goal orientation (Giota, 2001). These perspectives examine motivation of the students' "inner worlds" and include an incremental or entity concept of intelligence which concern children's beliefs about their own intelligence (Dweck & Legget, 1988; Elliot & Dweck, 1988). The entity theory of intelligence is the belief that intelligence and ability are immutable and do not change over time. Incremental theory is the belief that intelligence is malleable (Giota, 2001, p. 42).

The motivational studies and theories presented in Giota's thesis take an individual perspective and analysis to ability, motivation and academic achievement. Similarly, the motivation and ability typology made by the school developer Jan at Woodbridge is also reflective of the psychological and educational theories on motivation which examine individual and interpersonal beliefs, thoughts, perceptions and behavior of academic

achievement and the individual's responses to schooling. Implicitly there also seems to be a concept of intelligence at play. According to the logic of this typology an overwhelming majority of the student body are either lacking in ability, motivation or both.

The individualization of problems perspective promotes a deficit perspective and cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage in urban education. Individualization does not take into account social and cultural complexity of the students in relation to ethnocentric and monolingual standards of achievement. Nor does the individualization perspective of problems take into account the material and human resources available to meet students. In the following sections the discussion will focus on the lack of resources and ethnocentrism in schooling and how these aspects accentuate rather than alleviate difference and disadvantages.

## Motivation: An intrinsic difference or social disparity?

The special pedagogue, Susanne, also referred to ability and motivation in relation to academic achievement, but did so, however, in relation to the broader political and social circumstances.

Students are in need of help, but this help is diverse in many ways. The students are not in need of the same kind of help. Motivated and unmotivated students need different types of aid in relation to their ability and social circumstances. The 25% of students who are functioning (receiving passing grades in all subjects) are a minority. The majority of students need help and support.

[Informal conversation, 2009-03-23, Susanne, special pedagogue, fieldnotes]

I asked Susanne what she believed was the reason behind the students' low achievement. Susanne related low achievement to linguistic difficulties, insufficient resources, politics and class differences. She explained that newly arrived students receive one hour of study support in their mother tongue per week. They are entitled to 5 hours per week, but this would equal the entire school budget for a year. Despite the Home Language Reform since 1977, Swedish research confirms that mother tongue instruction is still a marginalized subject that is secondary to the ordinary mainstream curriculum (Lindberg, 2011; Skolverket, 2008).

Should we have study support, or should we have a school? The students have had study support in the "Workshop", but this has been cut back. Almost all of the bilingual teaching is gone.

[Informal conversation, 2009-03-23, Susanne, special pedagogue, fieldnotes]

The bilingual program was a state financed project in which the teachers in Kurdish, Somalian and Arabic taught alongside teachers in primarily mathematics and science classes. Although there is a great need for mother tongue tuition, these teachers were made redundant when funding for the urban renewal program “Storstadssatsningen” was discontinued. Accessibility, funding and control of mother tongue tuition are regulated by the municipalities regardless of government intervention programs. Aside from language issues, Susanne indicated that social class differences and local politics have had an impact on students’ achievement at Woodbridge.

Osa: What would you say is the most important reason for this [low achievement] besides language?

Susanne: I would have to say that class is the most important [factor]. That class is the most significant aspect.

Osa: Can school compensate for this?

Susanne: I have to say yes, or it wouldn’t matter what we did here, but then I think the problem is a problem that is much higher up. It is a political issue. The students need help, but how can we provide help when we don’t have the resources.

[Informal conversation, 2009-03-23, Susanne, special pedagogue, fieldnotes]

Because of the large number of students in need of extra help and a lack of resources, teachers at Woodbridge were hard pressed to provide enough support and help for all of the students. It is apparent that motivation and ability issues are not solely connected to individual merit and innate capacity to learn. Many other factors, which frame the conditions for learning at Woodbridge School and which influence the motivation and ability to learn, include: the hours, teachers, and resources available in school to teach mother tongue classes and Swedish as a second language to newly arrived students and to the Woodbridge students who are born and raised in Sweden. Other factors which influence motivation and ability include a socially supportive environment and high expectations for students of color and non-dominant language speakers (Axelsson, 2013; Banks, 2008; Nieto, 2004).

A report from the National School Agency (2008), confirms that motivation for mother tongue tuition is high because it is an elective that students can choose. In contrast to the marginalization of mother tongue tuition, Swedish research indicates that instruction in mother tongue has positive correlation to students’ motivation in learning and overall learning outcomes (Lindberg, 2011; Skolverket, 2008).

The motivation and ability typology is problematic because it defers attention from the structural and pedagogical problems connected to the high

concentration of poly-lingual students and students with immigrant backgrounds. Provision and implementation of social and linguistic diversity as it is formulated on the macro-level is not readily transferable to the micro-level of the pedagogical discourse. On the one hand, providing adequate resources and mother tongue tuition is a political issue and a responsibility of the municipality. On the other hand, mother tongue tuition and Swedish as a second language are marginalized subjects in relation to the mainstream curriculum (Axelsson, 2013; Lindberg, 2011). Swedish as a second language has not received equal status as an independent subject. It is regarded as remedial and compensatory alternative to standard Swedish tuition (Skolverket, 2008). The problem with implementation can also be understood as denial and inability to accept poly-lingual students. There is a gap in the formulation and realization arenas with regards to diversity in education and, in particular, the realities of linguistic diversity (Lindberg, 2011).

Furthermore, the evaluation criteria are also not reflective of linguistic diversity as a matter of skill and competence in and between subjects. The evaluation rules formulate the criteria for learning and are used to measure the legitimacy of performance. Language(s) are seen as separate subjects that validate the individual's language competence, but not their ability to use their mother tongue languages, or utilize *translanguaging*, in and across the core curriculum. *Translanguaging* is a concept that refers to the use of more than one language in the pedagogic communication (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). As we will see in the next chapter, *translanguaging* does not occur in the ordinary curriculum. Poly-lingual students' competence cannot receive validation when the evaluation rules do not take into account students skills and abilities in their mother tongue to make their competence official. Mother tongue tuition and the students' language use and skill remain separate and apart from the ordinary curriculum.

The teaching staff at Woodbridge is in need of further education in teaching Swedish as a second language and poly-lingual students. Jørgensen defines 'the polylingualism norm'. Jørgensen explains:

"Language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know – and use – the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together," (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 163).

Jørgensen (2008) questions the necessity of delimiting language into neat packages that are independent and separate from one another. Polylingual

speakers use sets of linguistic features – language varieties – to meet their communicative needs, intentions and negotiation of identities. Strong classification and framing of languages and language tuition is characteristic of visible pedagogy and a collected code. This organizational structuring of pedagogy is inconsistent with the diverse, hybrid and dynamic social and linguistic reality of Woodbridge. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that *translanguaging* in pedagogic communication is a way to assert multilingualism and multiculturalism in socially and culturally diverse settings, but goes against the grain of monolingual normativity.

The following section moves from an individual deficit perspective and lack of human and economic resources to a discussion of collective deficiency. The case in point are the Romany students and how this particular group is singled out in teacher perspectives as being particularly problematic. It is not my intention to call attention to the Romany per se<sup>42</sup>. The point is to discuss how a collective deficit perspective is applied to a particular social group and the pedagogical implications. I have previously referred to the students of Woodbridge as ‘students of color’ and have actively avoided reference to any specific ethnic group. I do not wish to essentialize social and cultural differences as innate and immutable traits and characteristics of ethnic groups as a matter of social-biological inheritance. I seek to understand how difference is constructed as a matter of social and ideological practices and discourses in different levels (arenas) of the educational system.

## Ability and motivation perspectives of Romany students

In this section, I will use an observation of a lesson in art class and follow-up conversation with the Art education teacher Tom and the Woodwork teacher Karl to discuss how teachers respond to the perceived lack of ability and motivation in Romany<sup>43</sup> students. As already mentioned above, it is not my intention to call attention to the Romany per se. Here the Romany are an example of collectivism in which a deficit perspective as it is applied to a social group.

The students in Class 4 were now nearing the end of the school year. They were finishing off the last art assignment and preparing for a test in “art

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<sup>42</sup> Without referring to anything else.

<sup>43</sup> The Romany received official ethnic minority status in Sweden in 2000 (Proposition, 1998/99:143).

history from a western perspective”[Art History document collected 2009-04-15, Class 4]. Tom the art teacher instructs the students. In my fieldnotes, I made the following observation:

Javad wants to listen to music while he is reading. He asks the teacher if he can have the music on. Tom tells Javad to translate at least four terms in the hand-out on art history if he is going to have the music on. /.../ Roro (a girl in Class 4) takes Javad's beanie and speakers. She does not give them back. She tells Javad that he has to answer the four concepts in the hand-out first. “That’s good Roro,” reaffirms the teacher. Everyone is working in different ways with painting or studying for the test. Javad is playing music on his cell phone with the loudspeaker on. /.../ Towards the end of the lesson Tom tells the students to tidy up and stand behind their desks. Tom waits until all are standing quietly behind their desks before speaking. He tells the class, “Some of you have things that you need to catch up on (Sw: ta igen), Javad! You have all received your grade reports. You who are on the border know what is at stake. Don’t forget to study. The test is the first Wednesday after [Easter] break.” The students leave the classroom.

[Observation in art lesson, 2009-04-01, Javad, boy, 15 years, Roro, girl, 15 years, Tom, teacher, fieldnotes]

I brought up the topic of motivation, ability and resources with the art teacher Tom in a conversation after this lesson in art. Tom described the students Javad, Roro, George and Haady in terms similar to the typology Jan, the school developer had constructed:

Javad is a smart boy. He knew the definitions of these words. He found them fairly quickly. Roro is also a smart girl. Haady is actually a special education student. George is also a special education student. Javad and Roro are students that can attain the learning goals, but have low motivation. George and Haady don’t have the ability (Sw: förutsättningar) to attain the learning goals. They have too many big gaps [in their knowledge].

[Informal conversation, 2009-04-01, Tom, art teacher, fieldnotes]

Javad and Roro are described as students who have the ability to succeed in school, but are lacking in motivation. Similar to psychological and educational psychology perspectives (Giota, 2001), the ability and motivation of Javad and Roro reflect an individualized perspective of internal traits and processes. It is assumed that both could succeed academically, but do not want to.

The teacher, Tom, announced to the class and to Javad explicitly that they must complete assignments and study for the upcoming test. However, this imperative was directed mainly to the students “on the border”. It did not apply to the students well above or well below “the border” such as George and Haady. These two boys in Class 4, George and Haady, are deemed as not having the ability or preconditions to attain learning goals. Tom implies that they cannot compensate for “gaps of knowledge” from 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade. They cannot “catch up on” they have missed out on or not completed yet before the end of school. Tom linked ability and motivation to the matter of resources. He explained that:

## MIND THE GAP

We are soon there where we have to choose between those who need more resources and between the motivated and unmotivated students. We must choose between those who don't want to do the work (Sw: prestera) and those who are struggling to meet the school's demands. The Romany are like a fraternity (Sw: skrå). These students don't want to [perform]. The school is now in the position forced to choose between which groups of students it should put its resources.

[Informal conversation, 2009-04-01, Tome, art teacher, fieldnotes]

“The Romany” Tom is referring to, in this case, is a boy called George, who is also classified as a special needs student. There is a strong classification of students as motivated/unmotivated and high/low ability. These dualities high/low, motivated/unmotivated, ability/inability focus on traits and abilities are processes within the individual. It is problematic that motivation and ability is in this instance also being applied to a social group. The Romany people in Sweden have historically suffered from collectivism and the negative social stigma attached to their social identity as an ethnic minority group. As a coping strategy and to avoid the threat of stereotyping, Romany students under-communicate their ethnic identity (cf. Gruber, 2007; Rodell Olgac, 2006).

In the cafeteria, over lunch, I shared the discussion presented above with the woodshop teacher Karl. “I have the same views as Tom,” said the woodshop teacher when I mentioned that I had talked to Tom today about the Romany students. Karl agreed with Tom's views that the Romany are a particularly problematic group. The woodshop teacher said that these students are often classified as special education students.

The Romany are a group that have too much inbreeding (Sw: inavel). Several families have many children in which several children have some kind of “syndrome”. They cannot do the simplest instructions. George is a student that does not do anything during woodshop lessons even though he is there.

[Informal conversation, 2009-04-01, Karl, teacher, fieldnotes]

This also parallels Grubers (2007) findings on the construction of social and cultural differences in schools. Gruber found that the Romany were considered to be extra problematic for teachers. In Gruber's study the Romany girls were regarded as culturally different and problematic because they were viewed as being incompatible with success in school, as well as, lacking Swedish values with regards to gender equality (Gruber, 2007, p. 190). Collectivism is reflected in a negative group stereotyping of the Romany girls attitudes and behaviors with regards to gender equality.

The teachers in Gruber's study had limited patience for the Romany girls because the Romany girls personified a type of femininity that was difficult for teachers to accept and embrace. Their ethnic identity was viewed as a

handicap because it not only limited their success in school, but life prospects as well (*ibid.*, p. 188).

The Romany students at Woodbridge are viewed as a problematic social group who, according to the teachers, do not/cannot comply; either do not recognize nor realize the rules of the pedagogical discourse. This could also be interpreted as oppositional group culture (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) in response to institutional and societal discrimination. The obstacle for realization of the instructional discourse is viewed as group pathology, collectivism, rather than a problem within the instructional and regulative discourses. The pedagogical practice, the social environment and conditions for learning are left out of the analysis of the teachers' discourse on ability and motivation, as do many theories of academic motivation (see Giota, 2001 above).

Eksner (2015), on the other hand, examines motivation in urban youth and education from an ecocultural perspective<sup>44</sup> (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 2008a). Eksner applies an ecocultural approach in contrast to other ethnocultural studies that essentialize motivation as an innate and inherent trait within a social and cultural/ethnic group. Eksner observes that it is the social context of learning which itself constructs academic motivation, not the inherent values accrued by cultural transmission of a social group which influence students' attitudes and behavior towards education. The ecocultural perspective examines the relationship between school performance and the social opportunities and material reality in society for that particular group. The students in Eksner's study took into account diminished social and economic opportunities in the labor market in their response to schooling and motivation to achieve academically.

Similarly, Mickelson (1990) examined a paradox between positive beliefs about education and the low educational outcomes African American students. According to Mickelson, African American students were in agreement about the purpose of education on a macro-level about the purpose of education as a means for social advancement. But on a micro-level, African American students were skeptical about the social, material and economic benefits of education.

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<sup>44</sup> An ecocultural perspective in Eksner (2015) is informed by theories of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Weisner, 1984) that examines how meaning-making in people's everyday lives is framed by social, ideological and institutional contexts. In other words, meaning-making is situated. The socio-political, historical contexts influence the construction of attitudes, values and behaviors of people and people's perceptions about the nature of these environments.

Eksner (2015) and Mickelson (1990) studies observe how immigrant students and students of color are not unmotivated or negative in their attitudes towards education despite low achievement. The students in these studies were skeptical to the promise of education as a tool for social advancement. This corresponds to what Leonardo (2009) refers to as a counter discourse. The students accept the dominant ideology about the purpose of education as something good, but retain their own understanding about the unfulfilled promise of education for poor, working-class, people of color and immigrants for whom the social and material benefits do not correspond to the cost and effort required of education. Students construct their own explanations and strategies for dealing with marginalization and living in disadvantage areas (Eksner, 2015).

Bernstein's code theory "does not support the view that the sole origin of educational failure and success lies in the presence or absence of attributes of the student, family, community. Success or failure is a function of the school's dominant curriculum, which acts selectively upon those who can acquire it" (Bernstein, 1990, p. 118). This highlights the gap between policy formulations on the one hand and the implementation, realization of policy, on the other.

The pedagogical discourse distributes, recontextualizes and evaluates official school knowledge that is outlined explicitly in the national curriculum. At the same time, there is also an implicit distribution, recontextualization and evaluation of norms and standards of the dominant culture. According to Bernstein, schooling is the dominant mode of cultural reproduction. Bernstein writes, "I have maintained that the crucial social relation through which cultural reproduction and production takes place is a pedagogic relation," (Bernstein, 2001, p. 22). In this chapter, I have tried to highlight how the institutional context and the recontextualization of Swedish language, in a school with a majority of poly-lingual students, is not free from standards of cultural normativity. Especially, with regards to negative collectivism of Romany students, an ethnic minority and marginalized social group, the distribution of cultural normativity in the formulation and realization arena, epitomizes the essence of cultural racism (Essed, 1991; Pred, 2000).

Cultural normativity is an implicit knowledge construct about social and cultural difference conveyed in the instructional and regulative discourse. Making implicit knowledge explicit is a possibility through visible pedagogy. A radical visible pedagogy (Bourne, 2003, 2004) is an alternative that retains strong classification and framing of the instructional discourse, that can be an

advantage to students who cannot recognize, nor realize the rules of the instructional discourse (D. Rose, 1999), but still allows for interruptions in the distribution of cultural normativity.

According to Ogbu (2008), underachievement of minorities, immigrants, students of color in the United States is a complex issue that cannot be reduce to individual deficiencies, nor to an oppositional culture of an ethnic minority group. Ogbu and Fordham (1986) first raised the issue of societal and institutional factors that impact school performance of African American students in an article titled: *Black students' school success: Coping with the burden of "acting White"*. In their study, Ogbu and Fordam applied a cultural-ecological perspective to an ethnographic study about African Americans ambivalence towards academic success. The cultural-ecological perspective takes into account historical, structural and cultural forces which affect achievement outcomes. Ogbu and Fordam explain,

In the case of black Americans we suggested that the disproportionately high rate of low school performance is a kind of adaptation to their limited social and economic opportunities in adult life. (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986, p. 178)

Since the publication of this much debated article, Ogbu and many others have continued to study the disparities in educational systems and outcomes for students of color, minorities, and immigrants in order to “narrow the race gaps” (Ogbu, 2008a, p. 24).

Racialized difference and inequalities in education (SOU, 2005:41, 2006:40) persist even in liberal democratic nations such as Sweden (Pred, 2000) despite government propositions of greater equity (Proposition, 1997/98:165) and official minority status (Proposition, 1998/99:143). Critical social theory (Anyon, 2009) and critical race theory (Gillborn, 2005) are needed to examine formulation and consequences of school reforms and government initiatives that continue to reinforce rather than eradicate racial inequalities. These perspectives are needed in educational research to further the development of critical pedagogy (Leonardo, 2005b; Smyth, 2011).

## Summary of defining deficiency

Deficit perspectives are a dimension of the formulation arena that refer blame back onto the students. Cultural racism is reflected in the way students are positioned as deficient with regards to ability, motivation and academic

achievement. The deficiency discourses tend to locate the problem within the students rather than the social and ideological practices which construct linguistic and cultural differences.

The students are seen as lacking command of both Swedish and their mother tongue. It is the students' insufficient language skills that are deemed problematic for subject matter teachers. The inability of the students to master Swedish as the language of communication and learning falls directly under the cultural deficit model (Bruner, 1996; Banks, 2008).

Motivation and ability are discussed in terms of innate traits and intrinsic differences. Low academic achievement is attributed to inability and/or lack of motivation within the individual student and/or social group, such as the Romany students. The typology classified the students into four main types or categories of achievers: 1) motivated students with ability, 2) un-motivated with ability, 3) motivated without ability, and 4) un-motivated without ability. This classification could also be understood as a consequence of social disparities and racialization of ability. The school lacked resources and funding to adequately attend to all of the students with special needs, mother tongue education and extra support. In particular, the Romany were classified as un-motivated and without ability. This resulted in help and resources being redirected towards those with ability and/or motivation.

The regulative discourse is the dominant discourse. Who the knower is, or more precisely, how the knower is classified, influences teachers attitudes, thoughts and expectations. The teacher expectations with regards to language skills, ability, motivation and race/ethnicity also influence where resources are directed, who receives extra help and how extra help is given.

Strong classification of students within a deficiency discourse has an impact on the instructional and regulative discourse. Changing the instructional and regulative discourse involves foregrounding changes in the social and ideological practices of schooling. More attention is needed towards the selection of knowledge, the kind of academic language required and the purpose and function of specific concepts within each subject. Addressing the needs of special education students, teaching poly-lingual students, and further education in Swedish as a second language for subject matter teachers are but a few areas in need of intervention.

## Chapter 8: Formulation of and obstacles to bilingual education

In this chapter, the analysis focuses on some of the tensions between formulation and realization of bilingual education. The school development plan is a key agent within the formulation arena that is in favor of bilingual education. Yet, it is met with resistance and obstacles in its implementation. As we shall see, the school development plan is a document that exerts symbolic control (Bernstein, 2001) over the “shaping, evaluating, regulating and distributing forms of consciousness, disposition, desire and relation” (ibid., p. 30).

### Formulating bilingual education

In the school development plan, two of the goals to strive towards were to:

Create equal opportunities for all children, regardless of social or ethnic background to achieve the learning goals.

Create the conditions for children and pupils that do not have Swedish as their mother tongue to develop active multilingualism and bicultural identity.

[School development plan for 2008/2009, p. 5, school document, my translation]

The development plan goes on to outline the pedagogical and curricular approaches to aid and support language development for poly-lingual<sup>45</sup> students and the importance for the individual to maintain a bicultural identity. Under the theoretical section for bicultural and multilingual (Sw: *flerspråkig*) development the plan states:

Not being able to develop a mother tongue means not just an identity loss for the child, but also being deprived the opportunity to choose to keep in contact with his/her origins.

[ibid., p. 6, my translation]

The school development plan also lifts the concept of *active bilingualism*.

*Active bilingualism* [emphasis in the text] is a high goal to strive for. Simply put, this means using different languages with native speakers in all of the different situations and places that arise, i.e. at home, in school, in the workplace and in society at large. It is natural to master different areas of life more effectively in either one

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<sup>45</sup> I prefer the label ‘poly-lingual’ (Jørgensen, 2008) that pertains to the individual’s ability to use several languages interchangeably as opposed to a strict separation and use of languages. The term ‘multilingual’ is used in reference to the School development plan.)

language or the other. For bilingual pupils to succeed with their studies demands well adapted school teaching that is in Swedish as well as the mother tongue throughout their schooling<sup>46</sup>.

[*ibid.*, s. 6]

It is argued throughout the school development plan that “strong language skills and solid knowledge” are necessary to achieve the learning goals and to “participate in the Swedish society” (*ibid.*, p. 4). Both Swedish *and* the mother tongue are viewed as necessary in order to succeed in school and in social life outside of school. On a macro-level, mother tongue tuition is supported nationally by the steering documents in education<sup>47</sup>, the Education Act<sup>48</sup>, and the Language Act<sup>49</sup>.

Children with a foreign background who develop their mother tongue create better opportunities for learning Swedish, and developing their knowledge in other areas. The Education Act stipulates that the preschool should help to ensure that children with a mother tongue other than Swedish, receive the opportunity to develop both their Swedish language and their mother tongue.

(Skolverket, 1998 (revised 2010), p. 6)

These documents ensure the right for minorities to have access to mother tongue tuition and guard the rights of poly-lingual students to develop their mother tongue in languages other than Swedish and official minority languages (“Language Act,” 2009:600, section 14). The school development plan is in agreement with the Swedish national curriculum to uphold the individual’s rights to maintain his/her own language and culture (Skolverket, 1998; Education Act<sup>50</sup>). Bilingual education supports development of mother tongue while maintaining the necessity of the Swedish language as the primary tool for integration (see Language Act). The argument put forth in the development plan and the steering documents is that supporting the mother tongue language will also benefit the development of the Swedish language. The multilingual and bicultural pedagogy is intended to build a bridge between the students’ mother tongue and the Swedish language and culture.

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<sup>46</sup> The school development plan cites the following research in conjunction with the theoretical outline: Axelsson, Gröning, Hagberg-Persson; Organisation, lärande och elevsamarbete i skolor med språklig och kulturell mångfald [Organization, learning and student cooperation in schools with linguistic and cultural diversity]. Rapport 2001:1. Uppsala Universitet. See also Gröning (2006).

<sup>47</sup> Curriculum for the Pre-school (Lpfö 98, revised 2010). National Agency for Education homepage: [www.skolverket.se](http://www.skolverket.se)

<sup>48</sup> Education Act 1985: 1100. Website: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/>

<sup>49</sup> Language Act 2009:600. Website: [www.regeringen.se/informationsmaterial/2009/05/spraklag-pa-engelska/](http://www.regeringen.se/informationsmaterial/2009/05/spraklag-pa-engelska/)

<sup>50</sup> See footnotes 44-46.

It is mainly for the benefit of the individual to develop their mother tongue, identity and academic knowledge. Bridging the divide in this sense also contributes to maintaining a strong boundary between Swedish and the non-dominant language 'Other'. The concepts 'bicultural' and 'bilingual' denote a strong linguistic separation and dualism. The bilingual 'Other' and the monolingual Swedish language are kept apart and separate. Creese and Blackledge (2010) study examines different premises and rationales for different forms of bilingual education. Creese and Blackledge discuss how bilingual education programs often uphold a ridged separation of languages; thereby constructing *parallel monolingualism*. That is to say, a strict compartmentalization of languages and language use in which each language adheres to prescriptive norms (Heller, 1999).

A strict compartmentalization of language is consistent with strong classification and framing of the instructional and regulative discourse in which the mode and object of learning are highly insulated. Language is the mode of the pedagogic communication (regulative discourse) that also works to insulate (separate) the object of learning (instructional discourse).

The school development document emphasizes the development of the individual. With regards to knowledge construction in the pedagogical discourse, in the realization arena, the distribution of knowledge is controlled by a monolingual norm. Development and use of linguistic diversity is useful for the individual, but is not incorporated into the pedagogic communication in the construction and reproduction of school knowledge. The recontextualization of school knowledge constructs a space, or gap, that can interrupt the monolingual norm by allowing poly-lingual students to utilize their knowledge and construct knowledge in other languages in all subject areas (Axelsson, 2013; Bunar, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Holmen, 2009).

## Bilingual teachers as representatives of diversity

I asked Marie if multilingual and bicultural are the same thing.

Yes. They are the same./... / The bilingual teachers have, well there are many teachers at the school that have another linguistic and cultural background, but do not teach in their mother tongue. The Finnish teachers taught the Finnish classes at the school before. Now we do not have a single Finnish speaking student, but the teachers are still here. They have their experience of that. But they cannot teach in their mother tongue in school. But they have an understanding of what it means. They know what it means to learn another language and to learn in another language.

But when the Storstadssatsningen ended, the funding disappeared, then we received “Bylan” funding. This was the governmental funding to increase the goal achievement in core subjects. This was directed towards just that. It was very controlled, what goals, and what human resources were needed to attain learning goals in core subjects in year 9. We then employed bilingual teachers./... / My goal was, aside from Swedish as a second language, teachers who could work with the subject Swedish, was to employ bilingual teachers./ ... / This was from my perspective, and the development plan, a very conscientious decision. Now, when we know that the “Bylan” financing will be discontinued we must also remove these teachers who were employed because we no longer have the means in the budget any longer.

[Interview, 2009-01-14, Marie, principal, transcribed digital recording]

The Finnish speaking teachers and the multilingual teachers employed more recently were the physical and organizational manifestation of the multilingual and bicultural pedagogy.

When the government financing for the “Storstadssatsningen” ended new funding was introduced. It was the so called “Bylan”-funding that enabled the employment of bilingual teachers. “Bylan” financing aimed at improving academic achievement and learning outcomes for poly-lingual students. Teachers with language skills in Arabic, Somalian and Kurdish were employed in 2006. However, these teachers were forced to leave their positions due to cut-backs in government funding and within the municipality. Although the “Bylan” funding was ear-marked, funding for mother tongue tuition is not. It is up to the municipality to provide for mother tongue tuition.

From the school year 2009/2010, the whole school will change. Thirteen positions will have to be drawn in. There is no longer any space to work from the school development plan on an organizational level./.../ Those who will not be allowed to stay are those that were hired last which is by and large the multilingual teachers.

[ibid.]

The forced lay-offs of bilingual teachers meant for the most part a stop to the implementation of the bilingual and bi-cultural program. Marie interjected that the only tools left to work with now were supportive and constructive attitudes towards students’ multilingual ability.

Now if we cannot have a an optimal model with bilingual education then, without bilingual teachers, we can at least have a positive attitude towards students’ origins and have a supportive attitude of students’ experiences and knowledge, instead of a deficiency perspective that they arrive here with a lack knowledge of Swedish, and that they lack knowledge that other Swedish students have who have gone to school; we can support their competencies, provide positive and high expectations and not neglect their experiences and their culture and their language; even though we cannot provide more than mother tongue classes and study support in their mother tongue. We know that in research in Sweden, in many different contexts, and internationally that the monolingual majority teacher’s attitude and approach plays a very important role for their self-perception. This, in turn, plays an important role in their [students] motivation and driving force to succeed in school. That is what we are left with right now you can say.

[ibid.]

Marie’s arguments in favor of bilingual education are reflective of socially supportive environments (Axelsson, 2013). Axelsson (2013) confirms that

constructing a socially supportive environment for poly-lingual students, as opposed to prescriptive monolingual standards, provides means of managing diversity that promote equity and social justice. Axelsson (2013) describes three over-arching arenas that influence academic success for non-dominant language students: 1) power relationships in society, at school and between individuals, 2) the pedagogical profile or philosophy of the school, and 3) the development of language and literacy in learning. The formulation in the development plan takes an inclusive approach to poly-lingual students and changes in the instructional discourse. Linguistic studies also indicate a positive correlation between mother tongue and Swedish as a second language tuition and overall educational outcomes for non-dominant language students (Lindberg, 2011). The realization of the bilingual education program is, according to the principal, truncated by the lack of bilingual teachers.

Marie is aware of “the monolingual majority teacher’s attitude and approach”. However, a dualistic approach places the responsibility for change primarily on the bilingual teachers who are the representatives of linguistic and cultural diversity. In this sense, the bilingual and bicultural approach to diversity is essentialized in the embodiment of teachers, not in the use of language, variety of languages and the construction of knowledge in languages other than Swedish in the core curriculum.

The potential threat of lay-offs created an obstacle to implementing the school reform program initiated by the “Storstadssatsning” and outlined in the development plan. Because of the dependency on bilingual teachers, the monolingual, dominant language teachers never really actualized the intentions of the school development plan in the ordinary curriculum. Swedish research confirms that changes to the dominant curriculum are few (Lindberg, 2011). Despite a tremendous increase in linguistic diversity, the dominant curriculum has remained relatively unchanged (Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2013).

There is a gap, a potential for change, in the realization arena in which the responsibility for implementation of the school development plan can be a shared responsibility of all the teachers, not just the so-called bicultural or bilingual teachers. According to Bernstein, the variations in language, dialect or sociolect are not the problem. The problem lies in communicating school knowledge in a language that is unique for each subject. Each subject has its own knowledge structure, a hierarchical or *vertical* structure, which requires a highly specialized language to transmit and recontextualize systematic, integrated, abstract theories, principles and concepts. It is this specialized use

of language that Bernstein refers to as “sacred” knowledge, academic knowledge, above the mundane and ordinary language, that is unique for schooling.

Recognition and realization of collected and integrated codes (how the pedagogic communication is organized) is a pedagogical problem and concern for all teachers. The recognition rule concerns learning to recognize *what* type of knowledge is being produced and reproduced. The realization rule concerns *how* to apply theory, concepts, and principles to produce legitimate texts. The recognition and realization rules apply to the way knowledge is organized within different pedagogical codes. A *collected code* makes the classification and framing of knowledge explicit. An *integrated code* makes the classification and framing of knowledge less explicit. All teachers share a responsibility in making the “sacred” knowledge visible, help students construct consciousness about the knowledge field, provide language unique for that field and to help students how to realize knowledge within different pedagogical modes. Not being able to recognize the pedagogical code or realize the language code at work are disadvantages for the student (see Chapter 13), but can also be seen as a failure of the school in making the language and pedagogical codes visible in the process of acquisition and transmission of school knowledge.

Language is both the means and the ends of the pedagogic communication. It is used to construct the mode of communication, how knowledge is transmitted and acquired (Bernstein, 2000), and is central to constructing the object of knowledge, that is, the specific kind of knowledge being reproduced and evaluated in the realization arena.

## Obstacles to bilingual education

In the section above, I have discussed two limitations of the bilingual education program. First, how the school development plan formulates a dualistic approach to linguistic diversity as a both/and solution that is primarily beneficial to the individual student. Second, the bilingual teachers are the representatives of the bilingual education program who provide mother tongue tuition. In conjunction to these limitations, I would like to continue to discuss three more obstacles to the implementation of bilingual education on an institutional level within the formulation and realization

arenas: 1) teacher resistance, 2) insufficient study support, and 3) a monolingual norm.

## Teacher resistance

Mono-cultural and monolingual beliefs and values remained unchallenged. I questioned Marie, the school principal, what lay behind teachers' resistance to the bilingual education program.

Osa: There is still a strong emphasis on Swedish, Swedish culture and Swedish traditions and competencies. I find it difficult to see this bicultural belonging and support for linguistic diversity. In policy it exists, but it is not always expressed in the instruction.

Marie: I am aware of this and it is a long process to get all to "join the train". This is something that needs to be worked on constantly. We have been forced to focus on other issues./.../ This is something that must be worked on long-term with as I usually say with "a fool's stubbornness". Slowly but surely, turn the ship in another direction./.../ We are simply not in that phase where we have a focus on that. It doesn't work like that. I have worked with the development of the municipal schooling for over 20 years and if there is something that I have learned is that sometimes it is necessary to reverse or at least cease./.../ There are great changes underway, redundancies, in which people are deeply affected. It is very difficult to get attention for school reform work.

[Interview, 2009-01-14, Marie, principal, transcribed digital recording]

Marie describes the process implementation as a journey. She uses the metaphors "join the train" and "turn the ship" as descriptive expressions in which teachers' attitudes and perceptions are running parallel to, but not in sync with the school development plan. According to Marie, the teachers could not focus on school reform when their positions were threatened. The implementation of the school development plan had been put on hold. This meant that work on changing teachers' values and attitudes in support of bilingual education were discontinued. Although the threat of being made redundant was a real and concrete argument, there seemed to be an avoidance of school reform on an institutional level.

Educational research in Scandinavia indicates a pervasive institutional resistance to incorporating linguistic and social diversity into the dominant curriculum. Bunar (2001) describes in his thesis *Skolan mitt i förorten* (The Urban School, my translation) the social and economic disparities of schools in urban suburbs in Sweden. Language is but one aspect of the cultural reproduction of the social hierarchy reproduced in the structure of the educational system and the ideological and pedagogical base of the school (Bunar, 2001, p. 266). Because of the continued lack of integration, cultural difference is not yet regarded as a positive attribute. Bunar (2001) explains attitudes towards social and linguistic difference in education will change

when diversity in the labor market and housing sectors is acknowledged. However, since 2001 these disparities have increased rather than decreased (Andersson et al., 2009).

Political and ideological contentions surrounding linguistic diversity in education is well documented. Ethnographies which observe ideological conflicts and opposition towards linguistic diversity in education include Gitz-Johansen (2006), Gruber (2007), Haglund (2005), Runfors (2003) and Sjögren (1996). Runfors (2004) has observed pedagogical efforts to promote integration through linguistic and social homogenization. Monolingualism as the norm in the structure of the educational system stands firm despite growing linguistic diversity of the student population (Lindberg, 2009, 2011; Ronström et al., 1998; Runfors, 2009). The 'only Swedish' rule tends to have a negative impact on students' identity and school performance (Parszyk, 1999; Runfors, 2009). In light of this research, teacher resistance is not necessarily symptomatic of individual teachers' attitudes, values and beliefs towards bilingual and bicultural education. Rather, resistance to diversification and inclusion of linguistic and social diversity can be seen from an institutional perspective that involves restructuring in all three arenas - the formulation, realization and transformation arenas - of the pedagogical device (Bunar, 2001; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000).

The school development plan only pays lip-service to the dynamic, hybrid, poly-lingual student body. It is an inadequate formulation, or fabrication (Ball, 2004), that appeals to a 'feel-good' ideology about multiculturalism (Möller, 2010). It constructs a consensus that affirms a bilingual and bicultural duality, or parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999), while Swedish as the dominant language of transmission and acquisition of knowledge is maintained. It does not adequately address changes to the social structure of the pedagogical device, or challenge monolingual normativity. In the following sections, I will discuss two more institutional obstacles to the formulation and implementation of bilingual education: 1) insufficient study support and 2) monolingual normativity.

### **Insufficient study support and mother tongue tuition**

In a report from the Swedish school authorities (The Swedish School Inspectorate), states that Woodbridge school does not provide study support to the extent require to meet the needs of the students. In all, 256 students at

Woodbridge received instruction in their mother tongue in 25 different languages at the time of the study<sup>51</sup>.

The instruction for new arrivals at Woodbridge varies depending upon what kind of organizational solution the students are placed, [Project class or the Workshop group]. To a limited degree the students received individualized instruction. This is offered, for example to students that have had English as their school language and are offered English in a regular class; however, their competence in English is not utilized because of their lack of Swedish is a hinder. The students' knowledge in subjects other than Swedish, mathematics and English are seldom examined and they have limited access to the schools' subjects. Their prior school knowledge is not utilized fully (Document from the Swedish School Inspectorate [Skolinspektionen] 2009, p. 13, my translation).

According to the Swedish School Inspectorate, new arrivals that start at Woodbridge feel that the instruction is one-sided and mainly focused on Swedish as a second language and that their knowledge in other subjects is ignored. The Inspectorate's assessment observed that the instruction of new arrivals "is not based on students' collective knowledge, needs, preconditions or experiences" (Inspectorate's document, 2009, p.13).

According to the report, instruction in Swedish as a second language is not adequately tied to the learning and teaching in other subjects.

Research and previous inspections show that education for new arrivals is not always adapted to the individual's needs and prior knowledge. New arrivals often one-sidedly receive learning in Swedish as a second language while access to other subjects is limited. The experiences of the inspection also show that students are not adequately offered mother tongue tuition or study support in their mother tongue to a necessary extent (Document from the Swedish School Inspectorate [Skolinspektionen] 2009, p. 2, my translation).

The School inspectorates report confirms research, already mentioned previously, that implementation of Swedish as a second language and mother tongue tuition are marginalized subjects within educational institutions (Bunar, 2010; Lindberg, 2011; Skolverket, 2008). Previous inspection reports have found that implementation of Swedish as a second language has been a disappointment (Skolverket, 2003). Many schools have not been able to provide instruction in Swedish as a second language in accordance to the intentions of the regulations (Lindberg, 2011).

Access to study support is a political issue that needs to be addressed by the local government and municipality (Axelsson, 2013; Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2013). It is up to the politicians, not the school, to take measures to amend these issues according to the Inspectorate. The school still has a majority of students with another mother tongue language than Swedish and there is a great need for second language teachers, as well as, bilingual teachers.

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<sup>51</sup> Document from the language center collected 2009-01-02.

The findings made by the school inspectorate are not surprising. The distribution of Swedish as a second language is concentrated to new arrivals. Yet, the overwhelming majority of the students at Woodbridge are poly-lingual students with immigrant backgrounds with one or both parents born abroad. All of the ordinary classes include students in need of study support and tuition of Swedish as a second language, not just the classes for new arrivals. This stands in stark contrast to the aims formulated in the school development plan to support bilingual and bicultural education in the ordinary core curriculum, not just classes for new arrivals or mother tongue tuition separate from the regular classes.

The lack of study support and mother tongue tuition is a complex problem that transpires the formulation, realization and transformation arenas. Lindberg (2011), for instance, explains that language policies and support for mother tongue tuition varies from school to school. There is great confusion and ignorance amongst school leadership and teachers about the purpose, function and curriculum of Swedish as a second language (Lindberg, 2011). Similarly, Bunar (2010) in a research overview of new arrivals discusses the confusion, ambiguity and ambivalence about the content and purpose of Swedish as a second language. Studies indicate that Swedish as a second language has low social status as a school subject and often strengthens an 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy (Bunar, 2010). Despite critique of 'Othering', stigmatization and remediation in practice, Swedish as a second language is supported by students and seen as necessary subject that should be integrated into all subjects. Hyltensam & Lindberg (2013) observe that because of the negative associations to Swedish as a second language many students choose "mother tongue" Swedish even though it is not adapted to the needs of second language learners.

Hyltensam and Lindberg (2013) and Axelsson (2013) confirm that there is much contention and dissonance in the formulation arena about the curriculum goals, who it is intended for, and how the selection processes are carried out. Hyltensam and Lindberg suggest integration with other subjects and better assessment and selection practices. Axelsson (2013) points to the social and political ramifications of policy and regulations for poly-lingual students. Children and families are sensitive to the signals from their surroundings with regards to language and culture. In connection to minding the gap, Axelsson writes that policy regulations indicate what is possible in society, or in Bernstein's words *the not yet thought*. Incorporation of Swedish as

a second language into the ordinary curriculum is an ideological and pragmatic concern that requires further education of *all* subject matter teachers.

On one level, the lack of study support and mother tongue tuition appear to be the main obstacles to the implementation of the bilingual education program at Woodbridge. However, on further analysis with the use of Bernstein concepts, strong classification of Swedish as a second language for new arrivals creates a problem of distribution of Swedish as a second language throughout the curriculum. Research indicates that there is a lack of clarity in the formulation arena which creates confusion and ambivalence about the content and purpose of Swedish as a second language in other subjects as well (Hyltenstam & Lindberg, 2013). The bilingual and bicultural education program, as it is formulated in the School development plan, can also be a reason why Swedish as a second language has not been fully implemented. The bilingual education program as it is formulated promotes both Swedish and mother tongue tuition. These are seen as parallel monolingualism. The bilingual education does not specifically promote the need for *Swedish as a second language* designed for the needs of poly-lingual students. Lack of study support and distribution of Swedish as a second language is a human and economic resource issue that is dependent upon the institutional organization of Swedish as a second language, how it is formulated in policy texts, and how it is realized in the pedagogical discourse; that is to say, the distribution, recontextualization and evaluation of school knowledge in relation to the needs of the students and a poly-lingual social reality.

### **Monolingual norm**

Linguistic diversity is a cornerstone in the school development plan in which the students' mother tongue requires room to develop alongside Swedish. The school's intercultural approach to diversity is intended to support bilingualism and bicultural identity by all of the staff.

Affirm and support the children's bilingual and bicultural development. Highlight and build upon the child's experiences, knowledge, needs and interests, as well as, focus upon what the child *knows* and strengthen and support a positive self-image. The physical environment, materials and teaching aids should reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity and provide opportunities for positive identification. Greet children and parents first and foremost as individuals with different personalities, values and experiences, not as just representatives of a culture. The pedagogy should have its starting point in the diversity of languages and cultures (School development plan, p. 9, cursive in the original document).

However, Swedish is the primary language used in the ordinary subject matter instruction. The students are aware of the 'Swedish only' rule and

transgress from it occasionally. It is when students transgress this rule that it becomes visible. The “Swedish only” norm is made visible in teacher situations in which the teacher is instructing and the students are focusing on the teacher’s instructions. The following is an example from a science demonstration.

The teacher, Linda, demonstrates how she holds the transformer to the PID reader. She takes a glass tube and connects it. Jamal whispers to his friend in Arabic.

Linda: You must speak Swedish. I am curious. I also want to know.

Jamal: I said we’re going to town tonight.

Linda: That doesn’t have anything to do with this.

[Fieldnotes, participant observation, 2008-05-27, Jamal, boy 15 years, Linda, science teacher]

The teacher’s curiosity is used to call attention to the lecture. It is also an indirect means of indicating that the instructional language is Swedish. During a lesson in music class, I observed a more direct order given to a girl speaking Arabic.

The teacher, Julia, is going through each of the music instruments the students have accomplished according to the criteria and what they have left to learn. After the teacher explained what each student is to work on the students get their instruments and begin practicing.

Julia: Let’s see where we are. Ava, can you put your feet down. Then we have Diyana, you are practicing the drums [...] Lakecia, you are working on the gitarr. Sabiya isn’t here. Can you stop speaking and especially Arabic because I don’t know what you are saying.

Roro: Ok.

[Fieldnotes, participant observation, 2008-11-17, Julia, music teacher, Diyana, Lakecia and Roro, girls, 15 years]

In this example the teacher is reading and thinking aloud, and assigning individual assignments for the girls in Class 4 to get started on. She is irritated with Roro who is also speaking out of turn and asks her to be quiet. In addition to this the teacher requests that Roro stops “speaking and especially Arabic”. The girls comply to the teacher’s request for the remainder of the lesson and adapt their language accordingly. This is a frequent occurrence. At the time of the study, when observations were made, the teacher requested that the students not speak in their mother tongue, then the students refrained without protest. Despite the recommendations in the school policy that all staff should support bilingual education and bicultural identity, it becomes apparent that the teachers in ordinary subjects have different degrees of tolerance for use of mother tongue depending on the context. A Somali speaking girl in Class 2 explained:

Osa: Do you speak the same mother tongue (as her friend)?

## CHAPTER 8

- Saadia: Yes, we all speak Somali, but at home I speak Swedish 24/7.
- Osa: Are you allowed to speak your mother tongue during lessons?
- Saadia: Yes, as long as we don't bother anyone.
- Osa: I heard you speaking during Art class, but you spoke Swedish to one another.
- Saadia: Only curious teachers tell us to speak Swedish. They want to know what we are saying and ask us to speak Swedish.

[Informal conversation, 2008-05-22, Saadia, 15 year old girl]

It is not only on account of talking and noisiness that students are reprimanded, also it is their mother tongue that is subject to rebuke. Talkative students and the classroom noise are thwarted with orders from the teacher. Students object to the social rules on silence and ban on speaking in their mother tongue. However, the students adapt their language to the teachers' preference preemptively. There is a problem between affirming and supporting the students' mother tongue in the ordinary subjects and, at the same time for the teacher to uphold the social order in the classroom.

The regulative discourse controls the social order and supersedes, according to Bernstein (2000), the instructional discourse. In other words, mother tongue language use is marginalized and subordinated by the regulative discourse.

Upholding Swedish as the norm can also be seen as a means of acculturation and as subordination to the social order. Swedish and Swedishness as a norm is taken for granted by the teachers and students. It is given that the students must master the Swedish language to attain learning targets and facilitate social interaction in "Swedish" society. On the one hand, the instructional language is Swedish. On the other hand the ordinary instruction is to: "Affirm and support the child's bilingual and bicultural development", and "The pedagogy should have its starting point in the diversity of languages and cultures".

Students have seen through the fabricated "feel-good diversity" philosophy with regards to language use. As the Somali speaking girl, Saadia, said, "At home I speak Swedish 24/7". The students realize that their mother tongue is included in the "feel-good" about diversity rhetoric, but is at odds with the 'Swedish only' rule in the instructional and regulative discourse. The solution to managing linguistic diversity and a complex poly-lingual reality, as it is formulated in the school development plan, is directed more towards the students' identity cross-over and dual language acquisition, or parallel

monolingualism, rather than creating socially supportive environments (Axelsson, 2013) for mother tongue languages in the pedagogical discourse.

Bilingualism can be seen as a *no win* situation for the students. They lose out if they choose to use their mother tongue, which can be interpreted as being against integration. But, on the other hand, when student adopt the dominant hegemonic culture as Saadia says, “I speak Swedish 24/7”, it can be interpreted as rejection or distancing from biculturalism; and, therefore, deviating from the dominant discourse of “feel-good” diversity. This means a loss of identity without the opportunity to retain contact with one’s origins according to the school policy.

## Summary of bilingual education

The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a complete conceptual analysis of policy formulation of the school development plan in action, but rather to understand some of the obstacles, or gaps, in the implementation of bilingual education on an institutional and organizational level.

The pedagogical discourse in everyday practice makes the dissonance and opposition of the language policy visible. Support for the bicultural and multilingual development of students’ language and culture was never fully incorporated into the ordinary teaching and instruction. The lack of support was seen as a lack of teachers who represented diversity, yet it was also put forth that values and attitudes to social diversity could not be addressed because of the current unrest amongst the teachers.

In practice, the bilingual education is reduced to the employment of bilingual teachers and a fixation on Swedish in the ordinary subjects. The bilingual education is mainly a remediation program for students with another mother tongue than Swedish to achieve learning targets and to integrate into the dominant “Swedish society”.

Even though bilingualism has a value for the individual, the mother tongue is an indicator of non-Swedishness, someone who is an ‘Other’. The mother tongue is not valued as highly as Swedish and is seldom the starting-point for instruction in ordinary subject matter. Paradoxically, the “feel-good” diversity, that is to say linguistic diversity as a resource for the individual, is in direct opposition to the official school language in which learning occurs within a monolingual norm and Swedish imperative. Students are sensitive to the cultural norms regarding language (Axelsson, 2013). Swedish as a second

language tuition is viewed with skepticism (Bunar, 2010; Lindberg, 2011) by students, even though it is supposed to be tailored to the needs of non-native speakers of Swedish.

In practice the bicultural and bilingual education is based on language development that has encountered several stumbling blocks. First, the teachers are in need of further teacher education in Swedish as second language tuition. Second, bilingual education has been omitted because of resources to employ bilingual teachers has been withdrawn. Third, the resources at the school are not enough to supply study support to all of the new arrivals to the extent they are entitled to.

The school development plan is a fabrication (Ball, 2004) of a feel-good-about-diversity-approach to social and linguistic diversity. It constructs consensus around non-controversial or less controversial ideas, such as transforming the individual into a “bicultural” person who can navigate two separate cultures, i.e. the Swedish culture and the non-dominant culture through codeswitching (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). The plan focuses on changing the knower structure to a competent bilingual speaker of Swedish. This idea constructs consensus necessary to maintain Swedish as the dominant language of instruction.

Less popular is the idea of changing the knowledge structure from monolingual to poly-lingual. In the above examples, the art, science and music teachers, along with other core subject teachers, did not strive to incorporate other languages into their teaching. Changing the instructional and regulative discourse to a poly-lingual norm would require changing the language of transmission and acquisition. To do so would also require changing the distributive, recontextualization and evaluation rules of the pedagogical discourse. That is to say, how knowledge is selected, distributed, recontextualized and evaluated.

Poly-lingualism is not a criterion for evaluation. There is little incentive to incorporate poly-lingual education practices into the instructional and regulative discourses when evaluation and assessment practices only put a premium on Swedish. If Swedish is the only valid language of transmission of knowledge and the only valid linguistic criteria in the process of evaluation, then poly-lingualism is null and void. Languages, dialects and sociolects can only become a valid currency in the realization arena if they are also included in the criteria of assessment. Along with ambiguity in the formulation arena,

resistance in the realization arena, I argue that bilingual and mother tongue tuition can only gain legitimacy when the evaluation rules are changed.

The institutional transformation needed requires a paradigmatic shift from a monolingual Swedish norm to a poly-lingual norm in the dominant curriculum and a strengthening of Swedish as a second language tuition in all subjects. The realization of the bilingual education program is not dependent upon individual teachers per se; it requires an institutional transformation to the social structure of the pedagogical device and in all three of the overarching arenas of education, i.e. the formulation, realization and transformation arenas.

## PART THREE: Realization Arena

In this part I examine how the pedagogical discourse is used to bridge the divide between the students of Woodbridge and the surrounding areas. This section deals with the continuation of 'Othering' and its pedagogical and social implications for students of color. Here I discuss how cultural difference is *realized* in the attempt to bridge the divide between here and elsewhere. I discuss how the pedagogic strategies, which are intended to alleviate and minimize disadvantage, paradoxically have an adverse effect.



## Chapter 9: Fieldtrips and difference

An important and significant strategy to bridge the divide between here and elsewhere are fieldtrips, study visits and excursions to local institutions and activities<sup>52</sup>. Although these kinds of visits are not unique to the students of Woodbridge, the aims of these visits are. In this chapter I will expand upon the intent and purposes of fieldtrips and how these meetings tend to reify cultural difference and disadvantages.

### Going to the movies and learning to act “Swedish”

It is the intention of the school leaders and teachers to minimize the differences between the students of Woodbridge and the society at large. As I have discussed previously the students and residents of Woodbridge are already dispossessed, positioned figuratively and literally in a place of non-Swedishness. According to this rationale, it is viewed as necessary to increase contact with the dominant Swedish population outside of Woodbridge in order to aid integration and acculturation to the mainstream society. As one of the principals said, “They are poorly prepared for life in the Swedish society outside of the Swedish school. They really are in need of that [experience outside of Woodbridge], but finding the right form for this is not easy,” [Interview, 2009-01-14, Marie, principal]. The following accounts point to the difficulties that occur when attempting to bridge the divide between the students at Woodbridge school and the dominant Swedish society.

### Learning to be Swedish when at the movies

In the fall 2007 I attended a lesson in Life Orientation with the fifth grade class (Class 3). The lesson in Life Orientation<sup>53</sup> was a follow-up lesson for

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<sup>52</sup> This chapter is in part published in an earlier article (Möller, 2012).

<sup>53</sup> Life Orientation (Sw: *livskunskap*) is a subject that has been added to the curriculum in many schools in Sweden in recent years. The content and objective of Life Orientation varies in themes and perspectives covering a variety of social and interpersonal issues. The main objective can be described as (pseudo) developmental psychology with emphasis on individual cognition and skills (von Brömssen, 2011).

Class 3's fieldtrip to the movie "Ratatouille" the week before. I had not followed the class on this fieldtrip, but did follow along to another movie a few weeks later. At the movie "Ratatouille" the Class 3 had misbehaved by running in the aisles, talking loudly, throwing popcorn, taking extra soda pop from the dispenser without paying, running to the bathroom and going into other movies in the same movie complex. Because of the disturbance some of the other paying customers had left and demanded a refund.

As a follow-up to this fieldtrip, the teachers planned a Life Orientation lesson that focused on making implicit social rules explicit. Two fifth grade teachers, Martin and Ellinor, held a lesson on written and unwritten rules. On the board Martin had written, "rules and unwritten rules".

- Martin: Do you know what the difference is between a written and an unwritten rule? It is written that you are not allowed to hit children. That is a written law.
- Martin: What are the unwritten rules when you are at the movies?
- Yusef: You have to sit still and not run to the bathroom 1000 times.
- Dimitri: You have to stand in line when you shop.
- Martin: Has anyone ever noticed a difference in rules when you are in another country? In Germany, the Swede is always left standing last because everyone rushes forward saying, "I get to, I get to", but the Swede is left behind waiting for his/her turn. What do you do if you need to throw away garbage and there is no waste paper basket? What do you do?
- Amy: I drop it on the ground.
- Martin: Many do this [Pretends to unwrap and eat gum and drops the pretend wrapper onto the floor.]  
Now let's divide up into groups and talk about unwritten rules.

[Life Orientation lesson, 2007-11-07, Martin, teacher, Dimitri, boy, 10 yrs., Amy, girl, 10 yrs., Class 3, fieldnotes]

The class was divided into three groups. Their assignment was to write down as many unwritten rules that they could think of. Two persons in each group were assigned a role, one as facilitator and one as secretary. The facilitator was to make sure everyone in the group got a chance to talk and had to read the list of unwritten rules out loud to the class. I went to a group of five boys in sitting at the corner table. André was the secretary, no one was the facilitator. I stayed and talked to the boys about how to behave in the library, if it is ok to change places at a soccer game and that it is not ok to mistreat books etc. These aspects were made into unwritten rules and jotted down by the secretary. After the discussion time André read the list out aloud to the whole class. The list contained the following points:

- Do not eat candy in school.

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- Do not point your finger in school.
- Do not swear.
- Do not shout in the movie theatre.
- Do not steal soda pop.
- Do not throw popcorn at other people in the movie theatre.
- Do not take other peoples places at a soccer game.
- Do not ride your bike in the store.
- Do not shout in the library.
- Do not abuse books.
- Do not throw rocks at other people’s window panes.

[Fieldnotes, 2007-11-07, Class 3]

Three points on their list were in direct reference to the field trip to the movies: not shouting, not stealing soda pop and not throwing popcorn. Martin their head teacher also provided an example of an unwritten rule. On the board Martin wrote:

Unwritten rule

1 coffee 15 kr.

1 refill 5 kr.

Before the groups read their lists aloud Martin provided an example having to do with the unwritten rule on limitations of refills.

An unwritten rule is that everyone has to be quiet before going out on break. Is there anyone who knows what a refill (Sw: *påfyll*) is? If you are at a Café and you pay for a cup of coffee or tea and you want some more then you can ask if refills are included. If they say ‘yes’ then it is included, but it usually means just one cup. You can’t bring a thermos and shout to your friends “Free drink! Come and get it!”

[Martin, teacher, Class 3, 2007-11-07]

Getting a refill is a key issue. Pointing out the difference between when a refill is charged and when a refill is free is a point that the teacher makes explicit as well as the limitation on how much of a refill is allowed. This lesson was about making implicit social rules explicit. It is assumed that the students lack an understanding of the social rules based on their unruly behavior. However, the boys in the group I observed came up with ten rules, prohibitions, on social conduct in public places. At this time, the boys indicated, or had been made aware that shouting, throwing popcorn and “stealing” soda pop were not allowed at the movies.

Martin asked a few times initially how Swedish rules can differ from norms in other countries i.e. such as waiting in line is a Swedish custom. One boy mentioned that standing in line is a Swedish custom. Martin used an analogy of Swedes waiting in line compared to waiting in line in Germany where the rule is “push your way to the front”. The Swedes are left waiting because they don’t apply the same rules as German people when waiting in a queue. The unwritten rules, socially implicit behavior and conduct, is connected to ethnicity and culture. It is implied that ethnic groups, i.e. Swedish and German, have different social rules. The inference here is that the students in Woodbridge are a separate ethnic group that need to learn to apply Swedish ways.

Martin rounded off the lesson by letting each group listen ‘quietly’ while each group facilitator read their list aloud. Each group was given an evaluative comment i.e. “I think that ‘Do not cheat’ is a good rule”. The teacher also pointed out the discrepancy between what we ought to do contrary to what people really do and that people don’t always abide by social rules. After the lesson I asked Martin if the students know what the unwritten rules are when attending the movies and do not follow them, or if they simply don’t know any better.

They just don’t know any better. Many of the students have never been to the movies before. They had no idea how to behave.

[Martin, teacher, 2007-11-07, fieldnotes]

This view affirms the principals statement that the students at Woodbridge are “extremely ignorant” and inexperienced with life outside of Woodbridge. Fieldtrips and excursions when looked at in this way can be seen as a form of compensatory pedagogy that is needed in order to acculturate into the mainstream society. Labeling practices such as “ambassadors” and “immigrants” infer non-Swedishness. The Woodbridge students are by appearance and behavior constructed as different, belonging to somewhere else. The learners of Woodbridge are it seems being constructed as separate and distinct knowers in relation to the mainstream dominant white group. The pedagogical content is recontextualized in relation to a racialized social order and, ironically, within a color-blind ideology that denies the impact of race.

A few weeks later I followed Class 3 to the movies to see the movie “Hoppet”. This movie was about a 10 year old refugee boy who idolized the Swedish high jumper Kajsa Bergqvist. The boy’s aspiration in the movie was

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to be reunited with his parents and to become a high jumper. This showing occurred in a large theatre with 300 other school children. There were no disturbances, noises, or moving about in theatre. The students in Class 3 demonstrated that they were experienced travelers and had gone downtown by public transport many times. Traveling to and from the movie took approximately 45 minutes each way.

The 17 students in Class 3 behaved similarly to all of the other moviegoers at the movie “Hoppet”. The number of teachers and the absence of soda pop and popcorn had an effect. On return to the classroom Martin asked the students to reflect upon the difference between this movie and the previous one.

Martin: It was nice that everything worked out well today. What was the difference between today and the last time? Think for 30 seconds. Think what was good and compare to last time.

Ahmed: There wasn't any popcorn or drinking.

André: It was good that it was quiet. It was a better movie. A little “softer”, more exciting.

Hamid: It was fairly... it was you who said that if we don't behave then we cannot come along (next time).

Amy: Everyone behaved well.

Martin: Were we just lucky today?

Hamid: We `thieved` (stole) soda pop last time. We ran back and forth the whole time last time.

Dimitri: We threw too much popcorn last time.

André: When we went to the movies you said we only have one chance.

Martin: Stand up quietly behind your desks. Before you leave I want to take the chance to thank you. As far as I can see there isn't any hinder to go to the movies next time.

Ahmed: With popcorn.

Martin: We will have to test a regular movie next time, without popcorn.

[Fieldnotes: Class discussion, 2007-12-04, Martin, teacher, André, Hamid, Dimitri, Ahmed, boys, and Amy, girl, 10 yrs., Class 3]

The students connected talking, popcorn throwing and soda pop refills to the expected norms and rules that were made explicit in the Life Orientation class. Compliance to social norms is important for the students because it can affect their opportunity for future fieldtrips. It was apparent to André and Hamid that the threat of being denied future movie visits was a coercive force. This and the desire for more popcorn were an incentive to demonstrate the desired behavior.

It appears reasonable that punitive measures, i.e. the threat of withholding future visits to the movies, or just the popcorn, are a suitable form of punishment. However, this type of punishment is also paternalistic. The students must change their ways or lose out on mainstream experiences. The classroom discussion can be seen as a form of negotiation over resources in which the teacher uses threats and punishment to obtain compliance (Essed, 2005b). “Characteristic of the teacher’s power is amongst other things the ability to provide or withhold rewards,” (Essed, 2005b, p. 79). In Bernstein’s terminology, the regulative discourse controls the content of learning and the social order. Here, the regulative discourse is set firmly in the hands of the teacher. The students have little control or influence over the choices or options available. Compliance to the social norms is more or less compulsory.

The problem is defined in terms of social and cultural deficiency, or in Martin’s words, “Many of the students have never been to the movies before. They had no idea how to behave.” When the problems surrounding urban youth are believed to be cultural, scholars and policy makers “are likely to suggest ‘assimilation’ efforts aimed at re-socializing the urban poor into the so-called mainstream” (Leonardo, 2009, p. 155). The Life Orientation lesson emphasized the need for assimilation and accommodation to mainstream norms. The problem and the solution to the problem were the students and behavior modification strategies characteristic of behaviorism.

Visible pedagogy, strong classification and framing of the instructional and regulatory discourse, parallels previous studies of students from so called “disadvantaged” backgrounds which claim that students are better able to develop the recognition rules, that is to say, recognition of the learning criteria in each specific subject matter (Rose, 1999; Wheelahan, 2010). Herein lies the gap of transformation. A radical visible pedagogy could include a critical understanding of race in the recontextualization of learning and evaluation criteria (Bourne, 2004). The teacher has the symbolic control (Bernstein, 2001) over the pedagogical discourse to find the gap and interrupt racialized discourses. A concern for all educators with regards to the cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage is how to discuss, confront and challenge everyday racism (Delpit, 2006; Derman-Sparks & Ramsey, 2006; Essed, 1991; Howard, 2006; Ramsey, 2004).

## Affirmation of cultural stereotypes

The implicit cultural differences became clearer and more decisive in a conversation with the head teacher (Petra) in another fifth grade class at Woodbridge. I spoke with Petra about the subject Life Orientation and the matter of “written” and “unwritten rules” that Class 3 had recently discussed. Petra had also attended the same movies with her class together with Martin’s class.

- Petra: We work with social competency and how to behave such as asking what the rules are or just going ahead until you get a telling off.
- Osa: What did they (the students) say?
- Petra: They felt that you should ask first because it would be less embarrassing.
- Osa: Martin brought up the difference between written and unwritten rules with the class.
- Petra: We talked about what the rules are when you go to the movies and if you are allowed to take more drinks (from a drink dispenser) or fill up a container. It can be a bit unclear, but if you are dark haired and people, you know, look and think “immigrant kid”. There were some kids who said that Swedes also do that, but then people think “badly brought up kid”. They need to remember that they are ambassadors for this area.
- Osa: How did they take that?
- Petra: Some thought it was unfair, but that is how it is. They must understand.

[Fieldnotes, informal conversation, 2007-11-21, Petra, teacher, grade 5]

There seems to be an assumption that the children are unaware of their ethnicity and identity as it is perceived by the dominant group. The teacher draws attention to the negative connotations associated with being viewed as “immigrants”. Although the desired goal may be behavior modification, there is no acknowledgement of stereotyping by whites. Negative collective stigmatization and stereotyping held by whites is reaffirmed rather than called out.

The students I interviewed in grade nine were well aware of the negative stigma associated to living in Woodbridge and the stereotypes of immigrants. George, a boy in grade nine explains:

- George: A lot of people think it is dangerous in Woodbridge. It has a bad reputation, but it’s not like that.
- Osa: What is worst about the reputation?
- George: The crime.

[Interview, 2009-04-01, George, boy, 15 yrs., Class 4, transcription of digital recording]

The reputation of Woodbridge is a false representation in the perspective of the students who live there. Students are positive to the school and their

experiences of growing up in the urban suburb. However, the students' lives and experiences are the "wrong kind" of urban when viewed from the perspective of the mainstream. Leonardo (2009) maintains that urban areas with largely immigrant populations are not imagined as areas of sophistication and cosmopolitanism. Rather these areas are imagined "as dirty, smelly, crowded immigrant enclaves where few people speak English and residents are hostile to whites or outsiders" (ibid., p. 156). The way people imagine urban in a positive light - bilingual, cultural savvy, "urban without the burden" - versus being imagined as poor, lazy, deviant, criminal, and antagonistic to the dominant culture has an impact on the schooling experiences of young people in urban areas (Goldberg, 2009; Leonardo, 2009).

The fifth grade students' racial knowledge (the making of difference) is affected. As a result of compensatory pedagogic strategies, the students learn about collective stigmatization and the negative social stigma inscribed by whites on the bodies of people of color, "...if you are dark haired and people, you know, look and think 'immigrant kid'".

The ninth grade students are aware of collectivism and 'Othering' associated with the immigrant label. Lakecia in Class 4 explains:

There are good and bad (people) in all races. There are good and bad Swedish people and good and bad immigrants. But if an immigrant does something wrong then they say all immigrants are alike.

[Interview, 2009-03-16, Lakecia, girl, 15 yrs., Class 4, transcribed digital recording]

It is interesting and hopeful that the students recognized social injustice when confronted with it. In the teacher's words, "some thought it was unfair". There is a racialized social order that is both stigmatic and misrepresentative of Woodbridge. The students in grade nine indicated that the reputation of the area and the stereotyping of immigrants are misrepresentations of themselves and the area in which they live. However, the fifth graders learned through epistemic violence that racialized labeling practices are the order of the day. The objective of the lesson was to avoid being labeled as "immigrant". Instead of helping them challenge social stereotyping the school experience added its weight to a dominating and oppressive discourse. Attaching a negative stereotype to social identity can affect school performance negatively (cf. Phoenix, 2009). The paternalistic and punitive measures intended to reduce the gap between the students and the society at large actually contributed to the racial stigmatization and the

construction of difference. This parallels what Joyce E. King (2004) calls ‘dysconscious racism’.

Dysconsciousness is an uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given... Dysconscious racism is a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges. (King, 2004, p. 73)

[Dysconscious racism] rationalizes the existing social order by omitting any ethical judgment about the privileges white people have gained as a result of subordinating black people (and others). These explanations thus reveal a dysconscious racism that, although it bears little resemblance to the violent bigotry and overt white supremacist ideologies of previous eras, still takes for granted a system of racial privilege and societal stratification that favors whites. (King, 2004, p. 77)

Joyce King and other critical race theorists apply a theoretical frame based on empirical studies and history of the United States. It can be argued that the race relations in the United States are unique and that critical race theory is not transferable to conditions in Sweden. However, there are a growing number of scholars in Sweden that indicate that race is an important identity marker that has social and material consequences even in Sweden (Bayati, 2014; Hübinette et al., 2012; Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014; Sawyer, 2000).

The next section provides further example of fieldtrips and experiences with the society at large. These episodes are intended to reveal some of the advantages of being positioned as part of the white Swedish majority and the disadvantages of being positioned as the urban or “immigrant” Other.

## Advantages of “Swedishness” and disadvantages of the “immigrant” urban ‘Other’

This section will continue to explore how fieldtrips contribute to the construction of difference. The aim of fieldtrips as I have already mentioned is to bridge the divide from Woodbridge to the society at large. However, encounters with the mainstream are not always a positive experience. “Finding the right form” is not easy because of the advantages of being positioned as part of the dominant white Swedish society versus being positioned as the urban ‘Other’, the negative kind of urban, often reveal social inequities. The sections below provide examples of how Woodbridge students are perceived as deviant and experience subjectification (Phoenix, 2009) as the urban other when in contact with the mainstream.

## The urban 'Other' as suspects of deviance

I had an informal conversation with the art teacher Tom about students and fieldtrips to the art museum in the city. I began the conversation by sharing with Tom that I had recently been to Madrid and visited the art museums Del Prado and Sofia Reine. At Sofia Reine there was a class about the same age as Class 4 on a fieldtrip. They had had notebooks and a compendium in which to read, take notes and answer questions about Picasso's painting *Guernica*. It was a teacher lead excursion in which these students were given the opportunity of viewing great works of art first hand, conversing with their friends and teacher, and doing smaller group projects. I had observed the class while waiting in line to see *Guernica* and throughout the rest of the day in the same museum. It struck me that this group of French students on a fieldtrip to Spain could have been Class 4 with regards to age and ethnic backgrounds. I wanted to ask Tom why the students at Woodbridge do not go to the art museum or any other art exhibits connected to modern art history and the topics covered in class. This was a question I had been harboring but had not had the opportunity to discuss. Tom answered my question by replying to the anecdote above with an account of previous fieldtrips to the art museum.

The students at Woodbridge had previously been given assignments to do at the art museum in the city center. They were to go to the museum on their own, without a teacher, and do an assignment there. This assignment was abandoned when the students from Woodbridge were not permitted to bring pencils with them into the museum. The guards at the art museum had told the students from Woodbridge to put away their pencils because they were afraid that the students would scribble (Sw: *klottra*) on things in the museum. Tom explained that this was not the case with the Finnish students.

Up until approximately 10 years ago there had been Finnish speaking students and Finnish classes at Woodbridge school. There are still Finnish speaking teachers but no longer any Finnish classes and only a handful of students with Finnish backgrounds.

According to Tom, the Finnish students and ethnic Swedish students had not been told to put away their pencils while doing the art assignment at the art museum.

The guards were on the students from Woodbridge to put their pencils away because they were afraid they would scribble on something. That was not the case with the Finnish students from the school or the Swedish students. Only our students were asked not to use pencils so we decided to drop it.

[Fieldnotes, informal conversation, 2009-05-20, Tom, art teacher]

The nominal phrase “our students” is in reference to the students at Woodbridge who by and large have immigrant backgrounds and are people of color, that is to say not positioned as white. The identities Finnish and Swedish are code for whiteness. In Tom’s account race and racism, the color and ethnicity of the students, is the basis of discrimination and the reason for discontinuing the art assignment in the art museum. The students of color are suspected of deviant behavior. It is assumed that inappropriate behavior, scribbling on things in the art museum, is expected behavior of non-white urban immigrant other. It is clear to Tom that the white students, Swedish and Finnish students, received preferential treatment, yet the terms race and racism are not brought up.

The response to racism is to refrain from visiting the art museum. The teacher’s decision is to withhold exposure to this type of experience. This has consequences for students’ learning and place in society. The consequences are twofold. First, the students are denied access to great works of art. They are denied the experience of learning and (re)producing knowledge about modern art history that is available to them first hand. The students of Woodbridge are denied the experience and resources outside of school because of discrimination. Mainstream white students, i.e. Finnish and Swedish students, are allowed access to and given the resources to (re)produced knowledge in locations outside of school. Neither do they experience collective stereotyping nor negativism attached to their social identity, whereas the students of Woodbridge experience subjectification as the urban other when in contact with the mainstream.

Second, the color-blind perspective, the pretense that color does not or should not play a part in the exchange of goods and services, or any kind of interpersonal relationship (Leonardo, 2009) hinders acknowledgement of the social order and hinders addressing racism head on. The students experience racist practices, but are not given tools to fight social injustice or to help create greater social equity for people of color. By not acknowledging or challenging racism the school in effect affirms the status quo. The students learn not to challenge the status quo, but to accept their position in society as the urban other.

Withholding the art museum experience is a form of institutional racism in and of itself because the students are denied access to resources otherwise available to mainstream “Swedish” students. Furthermore the issue of white normativity is not brought up or challenged. The color-blind

perspective reaffirms white normativity and the benefits of having a social identity that is not viewed as deviant or suspect. The learning process in this case can be viewed as epistemically violent because the students are not allowed to negotiate access to resources, call out white normativity, or challenge prejudice. The subjectification of students' social identity as deviant remains unchallenged.

In this example, the gap in the pedagogical discourse is never opened for exploration. The students are denied an opportunity to confront institutional discrimination and everyday racism. The gap, the space of the not yet thought, is the space in which students could gain knowledge and skills to confront racism, demand equal opportunity and renegotiate access to resources and learning opportunities outside of school (Bernstein, 2000; Essed, 2005b).

### Subjectification even when compliant to social norms

The Class 4 was finishing up their first lesson of the day when the teacher asked "How was the movie?" The class had recently been on a field trip to see the movie "Juno".

- Rosita:       What did you think of the movie?
- Makin:        I couldn't concentrate.
- Deshne:       It was good but a little bit bad (Sw: *tråkig*).
- Lakecia:       Why were they throwing candy?
- Rosita:        I don't know why they did that. I don't understand why their teachers didn't tell them off. It was a bad (Sw: *tråkig*) experience.

[Fieldnotes, Classroom observation, 2008-12-10, Rosita, teacher, Class 4]

The reflections from the class discussion prompted me to inquire into what had happened at the movies and how the teacher, Rosita, and the students in Class 4 had handled the situation. Rosita explained about the fieldtrip to the movie for schoolchildren in the city. This is the same movie theater that I had been to with class Class 3 to see the movie "Hoppet". This time the ninth graders had been to see the movie "Juno". During the film there were several other schoolchildren and their teachers. These classes were described as "only Swedish" (Sw: *belsvensk*).

There was not another immigrant as far as the eye could see.

[Fieldnotes, informal conversation, 2008-12-10, Rosita, teacher, Class 4]

The students from the "only Swedish" schools had thrown candy at Christiano, Fahd and Adam who sat a few rows in front of the candy

throwers. They were struck with candy during the film. The boys in Class 4 did not react to the bombardment. After a while Rosita was made aware of this and moved to a seat between the candy throwers and the boys in her class. She glared at the candy throwers who then stopped throwing candy.

I told Rosita about the fifth graders in Class 3 when they had been to the movies last fall. They had behaved badly and were blamed for their bad behavior, as well as, “acting like immigrants” and confirming negative beliefs about immigrants. Rosita responded that this is unfortunately true.

If our students are on a fieldtrip then they are looked at with a keen eye.

[Informal conversation, 2008-12-10, Rosita, teacher, Class 4, fieldnotes]

Being looked at with a “keen eye” is reflective of ‘the gaze’ (Paechter, 1998) and asymmetry of power relations. The gazer has the power to objectify and define what is being gazed upon. Here, the student’s social conduct is being gazed<sup>54</sup> upon and defined in relation to their bodies and white normativity.

Rosita continued to explain that Woodbridge students had been very badly received by attendants at a public swimming pool. Rosita had explained to a parent on that trip that she is “embarrassed to be Swedish when our children are treated in this manner.”

The students from the “only Swedish” school were not reprimanded by any other adult or teacher according to Rosita.

Rosita: I don’t understand why no adult told them off.

Osa: Do you think it was racist?

Rosita: Yes, there was not a single immigrant kid from there.

[Fieldnotes, informal conversation, 2008-12-10, Rosita, teacher, Class 4]

The students from the “only Swedish” school were not stopped from spoiling the experience for the boys from Woodbridge. The Woodbridge boys were patient with the candy throwers for a while before notifying their teacher. In comparison to Class 3, the ninth graders had demonstrated that they did not act like “immigrants”, but doing so did not inhibit their

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<sup>54</sup> The black body is a suspect of deviance in relation to a white normality. This is discussed in the book *Black Bodies, White Gazes* (Yancy, 2008) in which the gaze of the Black body occurs within the context of whiteness and white normativity.

subjectification or stop them from being treated like immigrants. The white Swedish students, and the teachers who did not intervene, made the boys from Woodbridge the targets of assault.

The candy bombardment can be seen as simply banal and playful, but it can also be seen as a form of everyday racism. It is demonstrative form of being ‘Othered’ by more privileged white Swedish students. The white Swedish students talked on their mobile phones and shone lasers in the movie theater. This and the candy throwing were not met with reprisals by the other teachers.

Despite that this behavior is unacceptable and is not representative of Swedish norms the white students do not have to contest with stigmatization of ethnic Swedes as a group. The candy throwers are not representatives of an ethnic group and do not have to deal with negativism attached to their social identity. On the other hand, the students of Woodbridge are ‘Othered’. They are subjected to the negative urban identity if they break the codes of socially accepted behavior, or as in this example shows, even if they do not.

### **Is it rejection or is it resistance to racialization?**

Three days after the fieldtrip to the movies I had an opportunity to talk to the boys. I had some questions in my notebook because I wanted to talk to Chris and the other boys about what had happened when the class had gone to see the movie “Juno”. They agreed to talk to me so I stopped them on the way out of the cafeteria to ask a few questions. At first Chris did not know what I was referring to. He thought I just wanted to talk about the movie. Another boy, Aadam explained I wanted to talk about what he called “the incident”.

Chris, Aadam, Makin and Fahd (boys 15 years old, Class 4) then explained that there were students from another school that had thrown candy at them. This was seen as a direct provocation, but they did not take it too seriously.

Osa:           What happened when you were sitting there in the movie theatre?

Chris:        There was almost a fight [Sw: Det skulle bli bråk nästan.]

Makin:       There was nearly a fight.

Aadam:       They threw candy at us the whole time. They threw stuff at us.

[Spontaneous interview, 2008-12-12, Aadam, Makin, Fahd, Christiano, boys, 15 years old, Class 4, digital recording, transcript]

Even though the boys viewed the provocation as trivial, they all expressed disappointment that none of the other school teachers than their own

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intervened. Had she not intervened then the “incident” would have escalated to an all-out conflict.

- Chris: We didn't see who was throwing. There were teachers there. If there hadn't been any teachers there then there would have been a fight. But we had a teacher with us. She looked at them and told them that she didn't want to get angry and yell, and to look at the film.
- Makin: She calmed them down.
- Osa: Were you angry that the other teachers didn't react?
- Makin: Yeah.
- Aadam: Yeah.
- Chris: The other teachers looked at them [the candy throwers] but didn't say anything.
- [Fieldnotes and spontaneous interview, 2008-12-12, Aadam, Makin, Fahd, Christiano, boys, 15 years old, Class 4, digital recording, transcript]

All of the boys had experienced the same thing and all of the boys were in strong agreement that they were direct targets for the candy throwers, but they viewed the incident in slightly different ways.

- Osa: Why do you think they threw candy?
- Aadam: To cause trouble. [Sw: Busade.]
- Makin: Cause trouble. [Sw: Busade.]
- Chris: No, no, no, no. It is because we are from Woodbridge.
- Makin: That's not a reason.
- Aadam: They just wanted to make trouble. They thought it was fun and wanted to cause trouble for us. That's all.
- [Fieldnotes and spontaneous interview, 2008-12-12, Aadam, Makin, Fahd, Christiano, boys, 15 years old, Class 4, digital recording, transcript]

Chris asserted during the discussion that the candy bombardment did have something to do with bullying and that they were from Woodbridge. This assertion was brushed off by Aadam and Makin who said, “That's not a reason.” The candy bombardment was viewed as an irritation and mischief by Makin and Aadam, but they did not view the assault as an act of racism. In their view the assault was simply for the fun of causing trouble and that this behavior is not any different than their own.

- Osa: You don't think it was racist?
- Makin: No, no.
- Aadam: No, it wasn't racist like that.
- Osa: You didn't feel like you were singled out?
- Boys: No.

The boys did not feel like they were singled out because of race or ethnicity. There is a differentiation between Swedes and non-Swedes, but this is not regarded as an explanation as to why the boys from Woodbridge were targeted. Aadam meant that these students were just up to mischief and wanted to cause trouble for the fun of it.

I explained to the boys that when the fifth-graders went to the movies last year they were blamed for their bad behavior and that they should behave properly because they are immigrants and must avoid giving immigrants a bad reputation. When I asked if there are greater demands on students from Woodbridge to live up to societal norms for acceptable behavior both Aadam and Makin asserted that their behavior is not any different from anyone else's. Even Chris agreed that the expectations on students from Woodbridge are the same as mainstream Swedish students.

Osa: Do you feel that you have to behave better than everyone else?

Aadam: No. We are like everyone else.

Chris: There isn't any difference from everyone else. They thought it was fun to throw stuff at us.

The boys are not in agreement with the two points that I have made previously. First, they disagreed that there is greater pressure on them to conform to mainstreams norms, and second, they did not feel like they were singled out because of their race or ethnicity. Their rejection of these two standpoints can be interpreted as dysconsciousness and as a sign of acculturation to the mainstream norms. Makin asserted that they would not have thrown candy at other people at the movies. The candy bombardment is deemed as inferior behavior because of "childishness" and that the boys from Woodbridge are more "mature".

Osa: You just thought it was mischief?

Christiano: No.

Aadam: It was childish.

Makin: They were childish.

Chris: They threw stuff but we didn't do anything. But there are people who flip out. Who get angry.

Aadam: They get angry. We aren't as stupid as others who get angry.

Makin: We act maturely.

The provocation was viewed by the boys as a sign of "childishness" that they had the "maturity" to withstand. Chris stated that he would have

confessed his guilt even if he had thrown candy. He did not distance himself from the behavior but asserted that he would at least have been honest enough to admit such a transgression. In this sense the Woodbridge boys have internalized the codes for social conduct and respond appropriately even when provoked to do otherwise.

Another interpretation is that Makin and Aadam reject identification as “immigrants” and the negative social stigma attached to this label. This inference can be drawn on their view that there is not any difference in behavior within or between groups.

Swedes throw stuff at Swedes. Immigrants throw stuff at immigrants. Everyone throws stuff at everyone.

[Spontaneous interview, 2008-12-12, Aadam, boy, 15 yr., Class 4, fieldnotes]

The codifications “Swedes” and “Immigrants” are used, but not in a hierarchical sense. There is the underlying belief in social equality in Aadam’s earlier statement, “We are like everyone else” which parallels the myth of social equality (King E., 2004) in which conformity to norms and societal expectations will enable access to entitlements and benefits. The myth of social equality inhibits analysis and understanding of a racial social order. Leonardo asserts that when minorities refuse to acknowledge the social order they contribute to their own oppression (2009, p. 117). This also parallels Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony in which subordinate groups actively support the status quo and their own subjugation (Forgacs, 1988).

The boys did not feel that they were singled out on the basis of their race or ethnicity. Their rejection of racialization is similar to the findings made by Hübnette and Tigervall (2008) in which adoptees were continuously singled out on an everyday basis because of their non-white appearance. Yet, this was not perceived to be racist. This standpoint can be interpreted as resistance to subjectification as the racialized ‘Other’. They resist the Self versus ‘Other’ dichotomy and in particular being positioned as the subordinate ‘Other’. This parallels a point made earlier that Woodbridge is misrepresented as criminal. The students acknowledge being from Woodbridge, but resist the negative connotations attached to race and place. All of the boys agreed that they were intentionally targeted by the candy throwers, but this was not viewed as an act of racism. The candy bombardment was deemed as a direct provocation that they had the “maturity” to resist. The boys also made clear that the presence of their

teacher and her intervention was a decisive factor in inhibiting an all-out conflict in the movie theatre.

It can be argued that the boys resist racializing the “incident” because recognition of a racialized social order would mean recognition of an inferior and unfavorable social status. Being used as targets in the cinema is less stigmatizing than being singled out as inferior. Yet it is still the stigmatization, the collective stereotyping of immigrants and people of color being singled out as a “problem group” that is being resisted. Christiano’s assertion, “It is because we are from Woodbridge,” reveals a conscious awareness of race and space as social identity markers that are persistent despite Adam’s and Makin’s beliefs in social equality. The belief in social equality does not refute sociological analysis to the contrary.

The lack of intervention on the part of the teachers who did not inhibit the candy throwers is also indirectly a form of institutional discrimination. The white students can continue to break the rules and norms of propriety without fear of social repercussions on their ethnic identity. Their transgressions, however trivial, are not a reason to collectively stigmatize or blame ethnic Swedes as culturally deviant. In a racialized social order whites have a structural advantage (Bonilla-Silva, 2005; Gillborn, 2008; Leonardo, 2009a; Wise, 2008). The students at Woodbridge cannot rely on race as a pretence towards structural advantages.

## Racializing borders and border crossings

The class gathered in their home room with their class teacher Rosita. The lesson began with information about their planned trip to Denmark next Tuesday. Class 4 was rounding off the end of the year and the end of their grade school years together with a trip to Denmark on one of Stena Line ferry boats from Gothenburg. The class planned to go Denmark by ferry on a one day trip. The ferry leaves port in Gothenburg and takes 3 hours to reach Fredrikshamn in Denmark on the other side of the Kattégatt<sup>55</sup>. The class teacher Rosita presented the class with information in preparation for this final field trip together. For this trip the teacher requested that the students should bring their passports. The class did not protest this request. Only Adam a boy asked if he should take his passport with him. Rosita responded

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<sup>55</sup> The Kattégatt can be seen as a bay of the North Sea or a bay of the Baltic Sea in the area between Denmark and Sweden. See Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kattégatt>

that she will take care of all of the passports, “When we went to Poland I had a handbag full of passports.” Everyone in the class who intended to go on the day trip to Denmark was required to bring their passports with them and give them to the teacher for safe keeping.

Rosita explained to the class that they will need to bring their passports with them just in case, “Someone gets the idea that you are not from Sweden,”[2009-06-04, Rosita, class teacher, Class 4, fieldnotes]. I asked Rosita if this had happened earlier. Rosita answered, “No, but I want to be on the safe side. The European Union has opened up within EU but is closed to countries outside.” We discussed how the EU has enabled travel within Europe for European citizen but has raised the boarders for non-Europeans.

I told Rosita about a friend from Iran who had recently missed the train because she went home to get her passport when we were on our way to Denmark together. Rosita in turn also shared with me that she had a friend from Bolivia who had a Bolivian passport and was not allowed to enter Denmark ten years ago. Nowadays, going to Denmark by car, bus, train or ferry is an ordinary, everyday occurrence for many people living on the west coast of Sweden. In the Oresunds Region there are 3.7 million inhabitants living on both the Danish and Swedish sides of the strait<sup>56</sup>, many of whom regularly commute back and forth. This type of commute does not require a passport for citizens of Scandinavia<sup>57</sup>.

The students in Class 4 were asked to bring their passports in order to enter Denmark and Sweden because they might not be regarded as Swedish, or in Rosita’s words, “Someone gets the idea that you are not *from Sweden*.” The adverbial phrase “from Sweden” is indicative of race, but is (re)coded as place (Schough, 2008; Tesfahuney, 1998). Being “from somewhere” is code for a racialized body, not just a geographical location (Tefahuney, 1998). The seemingly innocent question, “Where are you from?” is a euphemism for race. “[K]nowing how to invoke the concept of racism without having to utter the word is a trademark of even the liberal white discourse,” (Leonardo, 2009, p. 113). As a precaution the class teacher requested them to bring passports so that they would be guaranteed permission not only to enter Denmark, but to enter Sweden on their return as well (Tefahuney & Schough, 2010).

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<sup>56</sup> See link in footnote above.

<sup>57</sup> Swedish Police website 2010-03-25: <http://www.polisen.se/Service/Pass-och-id-kort/Fragor-kring-pass-och-id-kort/Nar-beshovs-pass/>

## Reflections on racialized borders and border crossings

White privilege is a daily un-reflected reality in the everyday, taken for granted experiences of whites (McIntosh, 1998). The freedom to travel without fear of being called into question is not just a privilege, but an entitlement. Border crossing is in legal terms connected to citizenship and to an ideology of whiteness that is closely linked to norms of nationality.

Karin Borevi (2002) discusses the connection between *ethnos* and *demos* in her thesis titled *The Welfare State in the Multicultural Society*<sup>58</sup>. The conflict that Borevi describes is one that indicates the vagueness and murkiness between *ethnos* and *demos*. *Ethnos* is the cultural heritage of a group and *demos* is the collective political community that citizens within a particular state share. However it is difficult to separate ethnic identity from the political and civic identity of the state. Borevi clarifies:

According to the ethnic notion the belongingness of the people consists of common descent, history, language and cultural beliefs and habits (*ethnos*). Following the liberal democratic understanding, the people constitute citizens sharing a political community (*demos*). The concept of the *liberal* welfare state relates to a principle of equal concern and respect, which means that the state cannot ask its citizens to assimilate to a certain ethnic or religious belief that is thought to constitute the identity of the nation. However the dividing line between *ethos* and *demos* line is not that obvious. Modern democracies are permeated by elements that are not ethnically neutral. The official language is one clear example. There is thus an inherent tension between *ethnos* and *demos* in a liberal democracy characterized by cultural diversity.

(Borevi, 2002, p. 322, my translation)

The ideology of whiteness in connection to nationality, or to use Borevi's terminology the tension between *ethnos* and *demos*, has social, economic and political consequences because the wider shared community (macro culture) is not ethnically neutral in a liberal democracy.

National borders and boundaries are racialized spaces (Tesfahuney, 1998; Tesfahuney & Schough, 2010). The racial gaze is applied to the students' bodies when crossing national borders regardless of citizenship. This is affirmed by the safety precaution the teacher takes to guarantee freedom to travel in and out of Sweden. For the students this is affirmation of them as non-Swedes not only ethnically, but also socially and politically. The students do not by default belong to Sweden as a nation state (Schough, 2008). They must bear the burden of proof. It is not a given that people of color, regardless of citizenship, can cross borders with the same sense of entitlements as whites (Tesfahuney & Schough, 2010). At border crossings Swedishness is associated to phenotype i.e. hair, eye, skin color. Racialization

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<sup>58</sup> My translation. The original title in Swedish is *Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturellt samhället*.

of borders occurs when these external features are linked to social identity, ethnicity and nationality and inhibit freedom of travel within and across borders.

The EU boundary insulates European countries but this does not necessarily guarantee freedom to travel for people within the EU who are still perceived to be non-European (Tesfahuney & Schough, 2010). For many of the 3.7 million people living in and around the Oresund Region commuting back and forth between countries is an ordinary taken for granted experience that does not require much more than a train ticket. However, this freedom to travel is not taken for granted by people of color whose national identity is questionable. Borders and border crossings are racialized spaces that reaffirm white normativity. White Europeans receive a preferential treatment such as the freedom to travel without a passport because their ethnic identity (ethnos) is in alignment with the assumptions and norms related to nationality (demos) (Tesfahuney, 1998). White normativity is a privilege that goes unnoticed to most whites. With regards to white racial privilege Zeus Leonardo explains, “Racial privilege is the notion that white subjects accrue advantages by virtue of being constructed as whites /... /Privilege is granted even without a subject’s cognition that life is made a bit easier for her” (2009, p. 75).

## Summary of fieldtrips and difference

The accounts above point to the difficulties that occur when attempting to bridge the divide between the students of Woodbridge school and the dominant Swedish society. It is the intention of the school to minimize the gap between Woodbridge and life outside of Woodbridge by bringing students in contact with the mainstream society. The objective is to aid integration and assimilation, as well as, acculturation and acquisition of Swedish norms. According to the school leaders this is not intended to devalue the life experiences of the students in Woodbridge, but to aid integration with the society at large. However, from a critical race perspective the students and inhabitants of Woodbridge are already dispossessed. They are denied full citizenship and recognition as members of the dominant society. Positioning oneself as a member of the larger society is seen as a given when the criteria for social norms and expectations are met.

The students are dispossessed because they are from the outset positioned as non-Swedish and suffer the subjectification of a negative social

stereotype. They must contend with negativism attached to their social identity. Epistemic violence, punitive measures of shaming and blaming the students for unacceptable behavior, occurs when the students' social identity is connected to the stereotype of immigrants. "The clearest available example of such epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as the Other," (Spivak, 1988, p. 280-281). The immigrant identity is reified in the bodies of the students. The students must contend with subjectification when they comply with the expected norms and even when they do not. The students of Woodbridge experience subjectivity as the urban other when at home in Woodbridge and when in contact with the mainstream Swedish majority.

I argue that everyday racism and cultural racism are at work in the sense of social and ideological practices that construct and create difference between social groups. These seemingly trivial accounts of making difference are like pieces of a quilt. Each separate piece on its own is not a quilt. Likewise, banal racism is often dismissed as too mild to be deemed as racist (Chisholm, 2005; Pripp & Öhlander, 2012). I argue that it is the aggregation of benign or trivial accounts of discrimination of people of color that lay the foundation for everyday racism (Essed, 1991; McIntosh, 1998).

The next chapter examines the gaps in the pedagogy in which the unknown is not yet said. The spaces of contestation in which accepted norms, standards and beliefs can be called out and questioned.

## Chapter 10: Learning about race, gender and sexuality

Bridging the divide between here and elsewhere includes a grey zone in which cross-fertilization, hybridity and diversity in the learning processes (can) occur. In the pedagogical discourse there is a space, a void, that is not an empty space but an arena in which the multiplicity of students' voices can potentially challenge normative knowledge constructs of official school knowledge. Here, I turn my gaze upon teachers and students in which racialized and gendered differences are made visible in the pedagogical discourse.

This chapter focuses on knowledge construction of race and gender in Art Education. Factors such as language and class are not foregrounded in the analysis although they do indirectly contribute to the production, recontextualization and transmission/acquisition of the kind of knowledge about race, gender and sexuality being reproduced (see Hammarén, 2008; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2008).

### Sexism and stereotypes in “Our common culture”

During the Fall term, the ninth graders did a picture analysis assignment which focused on communication through pictures and signs (semiotics). The assignment focused on the denotations, connotations, and private associations that advertisements convey through pictures and text. The objective of the picture analysis according to the art teacher, Tom, was the acquisition of skills and tools (analytical concepts) to critically analyze advertisements in order to be able to interpret overt and subliminal messages in pictures and to understand the commercial purposes of advertisements [Informal conversation, 2008-11-12, Tom, art teacher, fieldnotes].

Tom teaches art to full sized classes. In the other aesthetic and practical subjects such as Home Economics and Woodwork the class size is reduced to a one half the normal size. Despite having large classes, Tom emphasized the importance of theory and process oriented learning even when teaching to a

whole class [Informal conversation, 2008-11-12, Tom, art teacher, fieldnotes] [Interview, 2008-06-04, digital recording].

Tom focused on theory and analysis of signs. He explained that he has a greater emphasis on theory than most other art teachers because he includes a picture analysis assignment which focuses on the importance of language and symbols (semiotics) as a way to communicate and influence people. Other teachers at Woodbridge also view this assignment as important because it gives the students an opportunity to reflect on their own thought processes through critical analysis of advertisements [Informal conversation, 2009-03-09, Linda, science teacher, field notes]. Tom wants the students to have an increased understanding for modern art today, as a form of expression with a deeper meaning than realistic pictures and earlier artwork such as Michelangelo's statue David. He explained that he wants the students to broaden their knowledge, understanding and appreciation for art. By doing the picture analysis, it is intended that the students will deepen their appreciation of art [Informal conversation, 2009-03-11, Tom, art teacher, fieldnotes].

The overall pedagogical aim of the picture analysis is to develop students' understanding of communication through signs and symbols in advertising. The title of the assignment is "Picture analysis" and sub-heading "Picture communication". The following excerpt is from the handout that the students received:

A picture is known to be built of several signs. Each sign has its own meaning in a situation, context with other signs new meanings are made. The sign for a hand can in one situation give a friendly impression of openness, but become threatening and scary in another. The meaning of a sign varies depending on its context. The associations a picture gives can also differ from person to person. Nevertheless, there are ***basic associations within our common culture***. Private associations can occur for example if someone has been beaten at some time.

[Handout, 2008-11-19, my translation of picture analysis excerpt and bold text and cursive my emphasis].

The assignment is to do a picture analysis of a commercial picture from a contemporary popular magazine typically available in local supermarkets or convenience stores. The students are required to write one page on what the advertisement *denotes*, *connotes*, and any kind of personal *associations* they might have to the illustrations. From the analysis they are to come to some kind of a conclusion. Tom introduces the assignment in class and the students are expected to work on the assignment both in class and at home. Tom presents the picture analysis assignment to Class 4 as follows.

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Tom: A picture analysis is a deeper examination. When you go to the doctor's they examine the blood by taking a blood test to determine what it looks like. A picture analysis is a deeper examination. You must write a conclusion otherwise it is rather meaningless to do an analysis if you don't conclude anything.

[Classroom observation, 2008-11-19, Tom, art teacher, fieldnotes]

Tom provides the class with handouts of the picture analysis assignment. On the handout are two drawings illustrating the concepts 'denotation' (direct meaning), 'connotation' (suggested or implied meaning) and 'private association' (personal thoughts) [Art handout, 2008-11-19, fieldnotes]. The two pictures illustrate a hand being held above a person/child looking toward the hand with an expression of fear. The second picture illustrates two hands, one right and one left hand, parallel to one another, almost about to shake. Tom explains to the class that both illustrations denote a hand, but each has different connotations and associations.

Tom: Denotation means that you write what you see on the picture. Connotation means you write what you associate with. After that you write a conclusion, "This is about physical violence".

Diyana: What is a 'private association'?

Tom: That is if Lakecia gets a beating over the weekend. Only she can know that. If you compare this hand with this hand here, it can be threatening or friendly depending on the connotations.

Ava: What is a 'private association'?

Tom: Depending on the man's facial expression the hand can appear to be threatening or friendly. Now we are going to look at an advertisement. Think about the grade for once! The text is important, what it says and what it denotes. You also have to make a conclusion.

Tom continues the introduction with an example analysis of an advertisement using the concepts: denotation, connotation, private association and conclusion, presented above. The advertisement selected is for Seagram's Extra Dry Gin. The heading on the advertisement says, "Here's to another summer of hidden pleasures from Seagram's gin". At the center of the picture is a bottle of Seagram's gin standing between two oversized glasses filled to the brim. The bottle is situated in the middle of two glasses, which are tilted and coming together in form of an inverted 'V'. One with a lime wedge in the glass and another with a lemon wedge on the rim, toasting together and splashing drops of liquid up out of top of the glasses as they clash together. Beside the bottle head are the words "Serve one" with a male figure in the

## MIND THE GAP

bubbles of the glass on the left hand side performing a tennis serve and on the other side the words “It’s a hit” and a female figure, in the bubbles of the glass on the right, returning the serve. Farthest down on the page is the line, “Those who appreciate quality enjoy it responsibly” [document, 2008-11-19, see appendix ?]. Tom shows the gin ad to the class and talks to the class about what the picture denotes and connotes.

Tom: There are many things included in this picture. Why are there things that don’t belong? What is in the picture?

Makin: Sex.

Tom: It is important that you have a conclusion. How do they use things to sell things? What does this picture connote? It is actually quite smutty.

At this point the class started talking noisily. I made an interjection to get Tom’s analysis of the gin advertisement.

Tom: Quiet. Osa wants to say something.

Osa: No, I just want to hear the explanation. You were about to get to the smuttiness.

Tom: This picture can represent two things.

Class: AHH! AHH!

Tom: There isn’t anything in an advertisement that is not carefully thought out. Now you will each get your own advertisement.

Tom hands out advertisements from ordinary Swedish magazines such as: *‘Kom I form’* (eng. ‘Get in Shape’) and *‘Spa’*. Ava, a girl in Class 4, shows me two advertisements, one for Telia (a telephone company) and one for Organics (shampoo brand) that she will choose between [Classroom observation, 2008-11-19, Tom, art teacher, fieldnotes].

The talking in the classroom escalates when the teacher begins to request the suggested meaning and explanation for “things that don’t belong” in the advertisement. One boy in the class, Makin, does observe that the advertisement connotes “sex”. However, the class, as a whole, interprets the Seagram’s Gin advertisement as explicitly sexual only when the teacher

indicates that the “picture can represent two thighs”. Here, the class reacts in unison with a loud “AHH!” to the revelation that the bottle is a phallic symbol and the conjoined glasses of gin, splashing fluids together are symbolic of (female) “thighs”.

Unfortunately, the teacher’s analysis stops here and the students were then given time to choose their own advertisement from an assortment of convenience store magazines.

### Whose “common culture” represents “us”?

The Seagram’s Extra Dry Gin advertisement denotes a man and a woman playing tennis, two glasses of gin toasting and a bottle of gin placed strategically between the two. The teacher makes it plain that the advertisement has sexual connotations, but what about the connotations “basic associations within *our* common culture”? Whose common culture are *we* referring to? It is the intent of the teacher to highlight the deeper meaning for modern art today and to develop students’ thought process through critical analysis of i.e. advertisements. Yet, the teacher’s analysis of the Seagram’s Gin advertisement does not specifically highlight whose “common culture” is being represented. Although this is an objective of the assignment, the cultural referent is not explicitly made out. It is ambiguous what the referent to “*our* common culture” in the assignment is. The selection of magazines are representative of today’s commercial popular culture.

Advertisements are ubiquitous and permeate nearly every aspect of society and media. Yet, it is obvious that the Seagram’s Extra Dry Gin commercial is not a universal message applicable to all members of a homogeneous “common culture” with a uniform core that all can identify with. But it is still assumed that people may share “basic associations within a common culture”. The cultural representations in the symbolism are tied to particular norms, values and expectations. Yet, there are normative assumptions conveyed in the Seagram’s commercial that are left hanging in the teacher’s analysis, but recognized in the students’ analyses.

It becomes apparent that the bottle is representative of the male body when the glasses are labeled “thighs” by the teacher. In the glasses are the figures of a man and a woman playing tennis. Overall the picture alludes to sex because the bottle is placed directly between two glasses which connote “thighs”. More specifically it alludes to heterosexuality from the male

perspective. The bottle of “the perfect gin” is center stage and draws the eye directly downwards toward the label and then up again to the “thighs”. The teacher does not name the “thighs” as female. It is assumed, based on normative assumptions, that the “thighs” are female. Whether or not the “thighs” are female or male, the sexual connotations more or less specifically denote a male perspective.

The “basic associations within *our* common culture” can also be observed in the stereotypes used in advertising. The Seagram’s advertisement builds on the premise that men and women are binary opposites that mutually attract to one another. It can be concluded that the “basic associations within *our* common culture” are directed specifically towards heterosexuality and from a male. It can be said that Seagram’s not only endorse drinking gin and playing tennis “responsibly”, but also fully endorses the “hidden pleasures” of heterosexual men.

The basic associations within *our* common culture depicted in the advertisement also play on the “private associations” that individuals have of tennis and gin. Gin and tennis connote experiences related to leisure time experiences, atypical of multi-ethnic youth in marginalized urban areas. However, it can be argued that, although not all people enjoy the pleasures of playing tennis and drinking gin, the individual reader may be able to make this kind of “private association”. Yet, I found this not to be the case. Neither, the teacher, nor the students made this plain in the class analysis of Seagram’s Gin. In the analysis below of the students’ work there were no references to class or socio-economic status.

One of the objectives is to get the students’ to comprehend the commercial purposes of advertisements. Advertisements are directed towards an intended reader, someone who will buy the product or service, by way of identification, i.e. “private associations”, as well as, readers who desire to emulate the identity on display.

## Student’s analysis of advertisements

The students’ analysis of their own choice of advertisement picked up on representations of the body, female gender stereotypes, (hetero)sexuality, race and whiteness to sell everything from skin and hair care products to makeup, perfume, underwear, clothing, Fujifilm and chocolate [Students work, collected 2008-12-15, grade nine]. Many of the students’ work made

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references to the female body as “sexy”, “pretty” and the need to be attractive for men. Only one of the students held a kind of critique of the type of representation of women and potential female buyers. Below are three excerpts of male students’ picture analysis that exemplify representations of the female body, (hetero)sexuality and race used in advertisements. The excerpts below are from the students’ picture analysis assignment.

Ex. 1a

Conclusion: With this picture, they entice women who want pretty clothes for summer or men who want to buy pretty clothes for their wives, they have put two girls that look prettier, so the people buying clothes will notice them. Men in particular will want their wives to wear these clothes or simply buy something nice for their wife or their girlfriend/.../ There is also a text and prices which show how much [the clothing] costs. Both of the women are blonde and white.

[Boy, ninth grade, clothing advertisement, 1A]

The student’s “conclusion” makes reference to aspects of race and gender that indicate heteronormativity: “men who want to buy pretty clothes for their wives”, as well as, whiteness: “Both of the women are blonde and white”.

Ex. 1b

Denotation: 4 legs with shoes on, soap, faucet, white walls, bathtub. It says “Fujifilm for whatever pops your shutter and dip into daring side with Fujifilm. You’ll get the picture you want – any way you want to take it.

Connotations: They are lying in a bathtub with their legs on the outside. They are lying on top of one another. You cannot see their faces only legs. They are maybe having intercourse. I think they are happy.

[Boy, ninth grade, advertisement for Fuji film, 1B]

The student analysis here makes denotations and connotations about a Fuji film advertisement but does not have any conclusion. Yet there is an indirect association to the slogan “sex sells”.

Ex. 1c

Denotation: On the picture you see a woman lying with a balconette bra and matching white shorts. She is even wearing a cowboy hat. She is lying on hay.

Connotations: The woman wants to show her body. She wants to look pretty and sexy. If you put on this underwear then you are sexy.

Conclusion: If you have this underwear then you are attractive. The underwear is comfortable. The advertisement is for women who want to be sexy for their husbands. The woman is lying on hay because the underwear is in contrast to the hay comfortable.

[Boy, ninth grade, underwear advertisement]

This student follows through on all three key points of the assignment: denotation, connotation and conclusion. There are concise observations of stereotyping and objectification of the female body, as well as, the “private

association” and assumptions about “*our common culture*” of heterosexuality and marriage. Beneath this last example, the teacher wrote the comment:

Maybe women believe that they can seduce “real” men

(cowboys).

[Teacher’s comment, student work, collected 2008-12-15]

The teacher’s written comment used citation marks around the word ‘real’ and thereafter in parenthesis the word ‘cowboy’. The phrase ‘real men’ is alluding to the word ‘cowboys’.

The girls’ analysis also followed along similar lines with reference to race, gender and heterosexuality, but less sexually explicit. Below are excerpts from four female students’ picture analysis assignments.

Ex. 2a

Connotations: Thoughts that come to mind sometimes are, in case you use the right hair product, that you can “break” other girls whatever you are wearing. The product “Organics” makes hair pretty and healthy with 5 different oils.

Conclusion: If you use this product then your hair will be thicker and prettier and everyone else’s hair will look lifeless. The girl in pink looks like a blonde, but the other girl looks like a brunette. I get the idea that it is an ordinary girl who is prettier than the other [blonde girl] which makes the other girl jealous.

[Girl, ninth grade, hair shampoo advertisement, 2A]

The student’s analysis makes observations about females and specific forms of femininity conveyed through this particular advertisement. It is interesting to note the assumed competition between women and the “private associations” to hair color. The hair colors “blonde” and “brunette” can be interpreted as indirect references to race.

Ex. 2b

Denotation: In the middle of the picture is a blue armchair; on the armchair is a pretty/sexy girl wearing dark red underwear and a gold bracelet on her right arm...

Connotation: The girl is pretty and sexy.

Conclusion: They entice young girls to put these on because the underwear looks pretty on the girl in the picture, so everyone thinks that they too will be pretty in this underwear.

[Girl, ninth grade, underwear advertisement, 2B]

Here, again, the student connotes that the female body represented in the advertisement is “pretty and sexy”. There is a specific form of femininity that is connoted as desirable, not specifically heterosexual, but an inference to the student’s “private association” about “*our common culture*” in which “so everyone thinks they too will be pretty in this underwear”.

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Ex. 2c

Connotations: I believe the woman is happy because the advertisement wants people to get the impression that the facial cream will make you happy. Or that it will make you happy after you have used it and gotten softer skin. They want people to buy the cream. I don't believe that just as many people would have noticed the advertisement if the woman was not with, she also takes up a large part of the picture.

[Girl, ninth grade, skin care product advertisement]

This student observes that advertisements sell products by way of well-being and increased pleasure. In this analysis the student writes: “the facial cream will make you happy”. Here there is a relationship between a specific form of femininity and contentment.

The fourth excerpt below is the only ninth grade girl, from the students' work I collected, who indicated that she was openly critical of the kind of representation of women in commercials. Her critique focused on the obsession with looks.

Ex. 2d

Denotation: /.../ In dark green text on the top of the page it says “natural, ecological”, and ethical beauty care since 1921”.

Connotations: /.../ The flower represents the contents of the product, that it is natural and the flower is natural.

Conclusion: The text they used that is green reminds me of life, grass and nature. This advertisement is directed towards women who are obsessed with their looks and for women who care about the environment and do not want to harm our world. That is to say environmentally conscious women who do not want to cause harm to the world.

[Girl, ninth grade, skin care products]

The above analysis indicates that there is a female obsession with appearances: “women are obsessed with their looks”. This critique is directed more towards women as potential consumers of skin care products rather than the assumptions made by the advertisers. The student's analysis interprets the relationship between a particular kind of femininity that is conscientious of “looks” and “environmentally conscious”. This product is marketed on “private associations” about being “pretty” and “happy” as well as “environmentally conscious” women.

The products in themselves, the way they are marketed, and the students' analysis indicated specific and desired forms of femininity that are socially constructed. There are “private associations” and inferences about “*our common culture*” that indicated a specific and specialized way of doing gender in *our* so-called *common culture*.

All of the excerpts of students' picture analyses focus on the body, in particular the female body; to not only endorse a product, but also the communication of a specific kind of female subjectivity.

Norms about the female body are communicated through advertisements and the "basic associations within *our* common culture". The students observed that the female body is often represented as "sexy" and "pretty". Students also indicated that advertisers play on "basic associations" because "they want people to buy the cream" (example 2c) and that the consumers also desire to purchase the product because "everyone thinks that they too will be pretty in this underwear" (example 2b).

The representations of the female body play a superordinate role. It is the female body that has a vital role of identification. As one girl wrote, "I don't believe that just as many people would have noticed the advertisement if the woman was not with". The student observed that without the female body no one would notice the advertisement. This is an astute observation. Without the body there is no medium for identification. It becomes just a product. With the body there is hyper-feminine representation that appeals to consumers. In these advertisements, the female body is objectified, clothed/unclothed, manipulated, stylized, retouched and put up for public display.

The female body is mainly represented alone with the exception of one or two advertisements. In an Organics hair shampoo advertisement a student wrote, "in case you use the right hair product, that you can 'break' other girls whatever you are wearing". In this case, if you are an ordinary brunette you can still be more attractive than a blonde. "I get the idea that it is an ordinary girl who is prettier than the other [blonde girl] which makes the other girl jealous" (example 2a). Here, the female body is not only objectified, but in competition with other female bodies. A question, begging to be raised here is, for *whom* is all this objectification, display of hyper-femininity and competition being carried out? Are advertisements enacted for the male body and the manifestation of heterosexual norms? Again, the advertisements build on the heteronormative assumption that the male body and the female body are two binary opposites that mutually attract. Heterosexual norms are unsurpassed in so called popular women's magazines. It is in ordinary popular magazines that norms of race, gender, class and language are mediated and play on stereotypes about "*our* common culture".

Norms surrounding sexuality and femininity regulate a specific and particular kind of female subjectivity. Advertisements in popular women's magazines are not representative of all types and kinds of femininity. The "basic assumptions in *our* common culture" conveyed through these advertisements construct representations of a specific kind of female body; namely, a blonde, thin, blue-eyed, white female body. It is this body that is on public display and is at the head of the competition vying for the desire of male bodies. Most of the women are thin, healthy, able-bodied. Most of the women are young. Most of the women are white. Most of the women are blonde. The "basic assumptions in *our* common culture" that are communicated in these advertisements convey a kind of femininity that is exclusive, reductive and sexist. Students seem to be highly aware of these norms yet lacking in concepts (whiteness/racism, heterosexuality, sexism) to discern these norms more concisely and to develop a critique of social reality.

## Summary of dominant social and cultural norms in Art

The dominant social and cultural norms prevalent in popular culture through media and advertising are discernible for both the teacher and the students in the examples mentioned above. The teacher provides the students with conceptual tools to practice analysis in semiotics. The students pick up on the sexually explicit connotations given in the Seagram's advertisement and use the concepts 'denotation' and 'connotation' to conclude how meanings are ascribed to signs in other commercials.

In the examples above, the students' analyses indicate that the female body is used to convey a very specific kind of hyper-femininity for the purposes of consumerism. The adjectives "pretty" and "sexy" are used to describe the type of female represented. The students' analyses also indicate that the role of the female body is important in several ways. First, the female body is objectified. It is on public display to be viewed by the general public. Second, the female body is an important form of representation. It creates a form of identification for the potential buyer. Third, the female body is in competition with other female bodies in the attention and appreciation of male bodies. Fourth, there is a common assumption that the representation of women and the consumer is heterosexual. Fifth, the representations are not universal, but are reflective of a white, thin, blonde female body. The students'

analyses reveal that signs used in commercials, i.e. the female body, are not neutral, but highly charged with normative assumptions. As the teacher commented, “Maybe women believe that they can seduce “real” men (cowboys)”.

The overall pedagogical aim to develop students’ understanding of communication through advertising is well sought and implemented. It is the intention of the teachers to aid the development of students’ ability to reflect on their own thought processes through critical analysis of advertisements; the intended purposes being to enable students’ meta-cognition, learn new concepts and to practice analysis. I do not have a problem with this. Yet, the learning process seems to fall short of the goal when the analysis is left hanging. The analysis is not fully followed through by the neither the teacher nor the students. What is missing?

One of the aims of the assignment was to identify the “basic common assumption of *our* common culture”. Conceptual tools to identify “basic common assumptions” are missing, as well as, a critique of “*our* common culture”. The commercial popular culture, as indicated by the analysis of the students work above, infers that the so called “common culture” is very heteronormative and white. The underlying assumptions are reflective of male heterosexuality on the one hand, and hyper-femininity, objectification and reduction of the female body on the other. The representations, signifying practices (Hall, 1997), used in the advertisements that the students picked up on revealed sexist, racist and heterosexual normative assumptions about “*our*” so called “common culture”; yet they lack to conceptual tools to discuss these kinds of discourses. Conceptual tools such as “stereotyping”, “Othering”, “sexism”, and “racism” are not beyond the scope of the assignment at hand, nor the level of difficulty.

This example of school work comes close to being transformative pedagogy. Transformative pedagogy seeks awareness of racism and sexism in all forms, whether banal, prescriptive, moralizing, normative, absurd or commercial. Whether it may be benign and benevolent, patronizing, humorous, or blatantly misogynistic and racist, acknowledging the different forms and manifestations of sexism and racism is the first step. The first step in doing so involves discernment of racist and sexist discourses and then to deconstruct these discourses in the recontextualization of school knowledge. The point is not to seek blame, but to transform school knowledge from a dysconsciousness about race and gender to a conscious awareness of the

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implications of racism and sexism in cultural reproduction. In the following section I will continue to explore the implicit social and cultural norms within the curricular content and the recontextualization of school knowledge and where interruptions in cultural reproduction are possible.



## Part Four: Transformation Arena

The transformation arena refers to the pedagogical discourse and work geared towards (un)doing the divide between here and elsewhere. This part examines the grey zone in which cross-fertilization, hybridity and diversity in the learning processes (can) occur. There is a space, the empty space, the void, that is not an empty space but an arena in which the multiplicity of students' voices can potentially challenge normative knowledge constructs of official school knowledge. Here, I turn my gaze upon teachers and students in which racialized differences are made explicit in the pedagogical discourse. I discuss the racialization of school knowledge, contestation of students' subjectivities, and how an alternative pedagogic strategy is employed to bridge the divide between here and elsewhere.



## Chapter 11: Racialization of school knowledge: black, white & grey

In the colorblind classroom there is an elephant in the room that is so ubiquitous it is not called into question. Neither the knowledge constructed in the classroom, nor the students and teachers are race neutral. Yet this distinction is rarely made explicit. This section examines color-blindness in the pedagogical discourse in a biology lesson. More specifically, I examine racialized knowledge constructs that are implicit in the recontextualization, in this instance knowledge about human biology, and how strong classification and framing of knowledge contributes to universalization of white normativity in the reproduction of school knowledge and color-blind discourse.

### Calling out white normativity

In a biology lesson, Class 4 received instruction about the parts and functions of the eye. During this lesson I could not resist the temptation to call out white normativity reified in the model, with pink skin and blue iris, used for the purpose of demonstration. From my fieldnotes, the teacher Lars gives a lecture to the class.

Lars is holding a lecture on the parts of the eye. The students are seated in u-form in front of the teacher's desk. The teacher is standing in the center and is explaining the parts of the eye. He takes out a model of the eye with a blue iris. I ask Lars a question while he is lecturing. He has paused and the class is waiting quietly for him to continue. I notice that the model has a blue iris and cannot resist asking the teacher, "What is the most common eye color?" Lars answers, "I would have to say brown because most of Africa's population has brown eyes and most of Asia as well. But we Northerner's [*sw' nordbor*] have blue". I point to the model and say, "And that too". Lars answers me, "We are a Swedish school".

[Filednotes, biology lesson, Class 4, Lars teacher, 2009-03-09]

In this conversation I initiated with the teacher, I deliberately called attention to the model in order to call out white normativity in the object of learning. The reason I asked the question about the most common eye color was to see how the teacher would respond to the reification of whiteness, manifested in the eye model with its' blue iris and pink skin; a stark contrast in comparison to the eye color of the students. All of whom had dark brown or hazel colored eyes.

On the one hand, the blue eye model can be viewed as a representation of whiteness that is normative, taken for granted and trivial in relation to the learning objectives. The eye color is neither the objective of learning nor a central topic. It is the name and function of the parts of the eye that are to be transmitted and acquired. On the other hand, from a critical race perspective, whiteness is *never* explicitly taught or mentioned. As with the model, it is a de facto representative of humanity (Gillborn, 2008; Leonardo, 2005a, 2009a; Mills, 1997).

### **Color-blindness and knowledge (re)production**

Bernstein (2000) asserts that knowledge and social identities are relational. The strong classification of academic knowledge in the vertical discourse, creates knower structures that are subordinate the knowledge structures in 'hard' sciences. That is to say, the knower's subjectivity is not relevant to the theories or specialization of language and generalized concepts. In comparison to the 'soft' sciences (Arts and Humanities), that are compartmentally specialized and not aggregated into one theory, the knower's subjectivity is more central. The students' and teacher's subjectivities are not central to learning about the parts and functions of the eye. Yet, in the recontextualization of academic knowledge, the phenotype plays a significant role in the classification of the students' subjectivities.

The students and teacher are not race neutral. "Northerners" and "Swedish" are labeling practices for socio-geographical and national identity. The students and teacher accept these implicit assumptions with regards to the model of the eye without contention. White normativity does not call for clarification. Whiteness is accepted as the norm without contestation. This allows for cultural racism to be perpetuated in the name of universalism.

The European and Western claims on neutral, objective and universal knowledge have been firmly rejected by post-colonial and feminist scholars. This claim is also questioned by James Banks (2008), a critical multicultural educational theorist, who defines knowledge as a social construction that has social, political and normative assumptions. Sandra Harding, a feminist theorist, challenges the claim that science is culturally neutral by asserting that conceptions of nature are inter-linked with shifting religious and political ideals (2006, p. 46).

## Universalization

As already mentioned above, the objective of the biology lesson was to identify the different parts of the eye and explain each function separately. After the teacher's presentation, the students were presented with the following assignment to do in class:

The students each receive a biology textbook. On page 224 they are to write the function of each part of the eye. On the board Lars writes:

P. 224  
 Where in the eye each part is found.  
 What function does it fill? = What do the different parts do?  
 Sclera (´sw´ senhinna)  
 Iris (´sw´ regnbågshinna)  
 Cornea (´sw´ hornhinna)  
 Pupil (´sw´ pupill)  
 Lens (´sw´ lins)  
 Ciliary muscle (´sw´ ringmuskel)  
 Retina (´sw´ nâthinna)  
 Macula (´sw´ gula flâcken)  
 Scotoma (´sw´ blinda flâcken)  
 Optical nerve (´sw´ synnerv)  
 Cones (´sw´ tappar)  
 Rods (´sw´ stavar)

[Fieldnotes, Lars teacher, biology lesson, 2009-03-09]

When the students had worked approximately halfway down the list, the teacher stopped the students from individual work and redirected their attention to a teacher lead group discussion. The students were asked to present their explanations and given the opportunity to ask any clarifying questions.

Lars continues to explain each part of the eye that he has written on the board, where it can be found, and its function. He explains about the lens and how the ciliary muscle contracts when reading up close. He explains, "Around the pupil is the iris. You know that this can be different colors". Lars also adds why some people have red eyes. He explains that albinos are people without any pigment at all and that it is blood in the iris that shows.

[Fieldnotes, Lars teacher, biology lesson, 2009-03-09]

The model is not intended to exemplify a preference for blue eyes, it is supposed to be seen as a universal generic representation about the construction of the eye that is applicable to all. The knowledge conveyed is intended to be race neutral. Although, Lars does call attention to the eye color. He states, "Around the pupil is the iris. You know that this can be different colors". Indicating that the eye color is a biological occurrence in which variation is normal. In a follow-up conversation with the teacher, Lars states:

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- Lars: In my subjects knowledge is universal. You study what is inside the body. I emphasize similarities and all the things people have in common. Inside we are all alike. We mostly talk about similarities.
- Osa: But deviations from the norm are still made. Today for example you talked about albinos.
- Lars: I explain the differences and why there are differences by talking about the functions of the body. I know what questions the students will ask. When we talk about homozygotes and zygoten then I know there will be questions about homosexuality even if it doesn't have anything to do with the subject. They will want to know why there are homosexuals.

[Fieldnotes, Lars teacher, 2009-03-09]

In this biology lesson there are many contradictions to the universalism and generic 'one size fits all' approach when examined from a critical race perspective. The blue iris is indicative of "Northerners" and being "Swedish", as when Lars replied to my initial question, "We are a Swedish school," when I called out white normativity with regards to the model. In this instance, the blue iris denotes a racialized identity and nationality common to Scandinavians. This indicates a presupposition about phenotypes and eye color in particular. The blue iris is a marker of regional, national and social identity. Indirectly, the students are taught that brown and hazel colored eyes are indicative of non-Swedishness. The presupposition of white normativity is not called into question neither by the teacher nor the students.

Cultural racism becomes manifested in the reification of the eye model, how it is performed in the recontextualization of school knowledge in the pedagogical discourse. Calling out white normativity can be seen as a direct provocation. It calls attention to whiteness in relation to the universalism of school knowledge, the myth of race neutrality in knowledge (re)production, and confronts colorblindness enacted by both teachers and students in the pedagogical discourse.

Although Lars claims that in his "subjects knowledge is universal", the students are keen to know about labeling practices connoting deviance. Lars states, "I know what questions the students will ask. /.../ They will want to know why there are homosexuals". On the one hand, the students accept, or do not openly question the white normativity knowledge reproduction in the biology lesson. Yet, on the other hand, they are also inquisitive about 'Othering' in the knowledge construction and how deviance is constructed and conveyed.

## The gap between black and white knowledge structures

In Bernsteinian terminology, social deviance is transmitted and acquired in the recontextualization, the discursive and regulatory discourse, of academic knowledge. That is to say that the classification of knowledge as race neutral paradoxically hides the centrality and universality of whiteness. In this example, eye color becomes a marker of Swedishness and non-Swedishness.

But what would happen if universal whiteness was called out in the knowledge structure? If students and teachers discussed the centrality of whiteness as it is presented in learning objectives, whiteness could be called out and brought into consciousness of the knower and the knowledge structure. Questioning what is representative of “a Swedish school” is a means of challenging implicit norms about race and ethnicity. Also, calling-out white normativity exposes the exclusionary practices in the knowledge structure that reaffirm social inequalities and/or privilege about the knower.

Calling-out white normativity can also be used as a means to challenge a black-white binary, a dichotomy between a normative universal whiteness and deviant ‘Other’. Exposing whiteness and its de facto representation of humanity as universal also exposes the subjugation and silencing of non-whites through the exclusion of the black body (Ahmed, 2012; Mills, 1997). Exposing the black-white binary embedded in knowledge structures can create dimensions of greyness to become visible. Meaning making and specialized concepts of learning do not only obtain meaning from binary opposites, but also from variation, ambiguity and complexity in social sciences, as well as, natural science. An Either/or and And approach to learning can reveal not only the deference to whiteness and exclusion of blackness, but also permit greyness, that which is not yet thought, to become part of recontextualization. This is where the void, or gap, in the recontextualization of school knowledge can make the relationships of power between knowledge and knower structures explicit.

In the regulative rules, the rules which govern “the relationships between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice” lies a *potential discursive gap* according to Bernstein (2000, p.28-30). The recontextualization of subjects and subject matter allows for the potential of alternative power relations, an alternative social order and an alternative society. “This gap is the meeting point of order and disorder, of coherence and incoherence. It is the

crucial site of the *yet to be thought*,” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30). The gap is a potential site for changing existing power relations.

## Summary of racialized school knowledge

There is an overriding belief in universal knowledge as race neutral and a distinct lack of color-consciousness. By avoiding contentious social issues related to segregation and inequality, education contributes to the mis-education of disadvantaged students because of a dys-consciousness<sup>59</sup> of race, racism and other forms of power connected to normative ideals of social identity. I claim that there is a tendency to avoid issues of power in the pedagogical discourse because of the myth of equality underlying school knowledge as universal and objective (Mills, 1997; Willhelm, 1998).

Color-blindness not only blinds the knower, it blinds the knowledge structure as well. The presupposed neutrality in the objective of learning hides whiteness as a universal norm. Through epistemic violence students learn to (mis)recognize their place in Swedish society as someone ‘Other’ and somewhere else. Through emphasis on calling out whiteness lies a potential discursive gap to challenge the black-white binary in knowledge production and reproduction in the pedagogical discourse.

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<sup>59</sup> Joyce King (2004) defines racial dysconsciousness as the opposite of critical consciousness. It is a misrecognition of the social order as correct and just. People learn to misrecognize their identity as superior or inferior depending on how society is arranged, as well as, ideas and beliefs of what is considered normal and natural.

## Chapter 12: Contesting race and place

This section examines students' awareness of racial discourses, how they contest racial stratification, and develop counter narratives to the dominant color-blind (race neutral) ideology. Here I discuss how racial discourse is performed, the way adolescents position themselves and are positioned by others within a racialized discourse, I also discuss how teacher discourses on 'culture' paradoxically infer and deny white normativity. Taking a traditional pre-Christmas ritual as a case in point, I examine labelling practices, ironic word play, and the use of explicit racial slurs in a parody of a traditional Swedish folksong "The Sugar Baker"<sup>60</sup> (Sw: *Sockerbagaren*). Stereotyping is used in order to create both a positive social group identity and a negative representation of Swedishness.

### Signifying practices and stereotypes of the urban 'Other'

The song presented below is written by previous students at Woodbridge. The students currently attending the school chose the song as part of the Lucia<sup>61</sup> pageant. The Lucia pageant is generally performed on or around December 13<sup>th</sup> every year by the students who volunteer, from one or two different grade levels, to be part of the performance.

The students in the school cast a vote in order to select one person, usually a girl, to be Lucia. The others in the procession are Lucia's handmaidens (Sw: *tärnor*), "star boys" (Sw: *stjärngossar*), or brownies (Sw: *tomtar*). The procedure for performance involves Lucia wearing a crown of lights leading the procession into a dimly light room that becomes gradually filled with light and song as the handmaidens, gingerbread men and choir boys trail in and stand

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<sup>60</sup> "The Sugar Baker" is a literal translation of *Sockerbagaren* which is Swedish for confectioner.

<sup>61</sup> Lucia is a Swedish tradition that is performed in some, but not all, churches and schools from early childhood to upper secondary. It is even common practice at workplaces and institutions for adults. Lucia is a tradition that originated in Italy in the honor of a female Christian martyr, St Lucia of Syracuse, who died in year 304 A.D. It is a Christian tradition that was synchronized with the superstitions and heathen myths surrounding the longest night of the year in the old Swedish almanac. Today, the ritual is generally viewed as secular tradition when performed in schools, institutions and work places, but is more, not less prevalent in churches and other Christian affiliations.

before an audience while singing traditional Christmas songs. The actual Lucia pageant that the students were planning was to take place in the school's cafeteria and local shopping center. In my fieldnotes I made the following observation a few days before the planned event.

Students in grades 4, 5 and 8 are in charge of the Lucia pageant that is normally celebrated on the 13th of December each year. The students, all girls, are responsible for the Lucia pageant in the school and in the local shopping center. While I was taking photos of things in the display cabinets in the main corridor I heard one of the teachers say, "You can't sing that that's racist!" I turn around to listen to the discussion and hear what it is the students want to sing. The music teacher is surrounded by four girls and a few boys age 14 and 15 years-old. The girls have chosen a traditional Lucia song but the text has been re-written by previous students from Woodbridge middle school

[Transcription of fieldnotes, 2008-12-03, spontaneous observation].

The song is a parody of the song *Sockerbagaren* (sugar baker):

### **The Pizza Baker Song**

A pizza baker lives in Woodbridge. He bakes pizza all day long. He bakes some large, he bakes some small. He bakes some with garlic on. And in the window hangs kebab things and falafel rolling pins. And pizza stuff. And if you are a Blatte you can get some. But if you are a Svenne you can go.

### **Pizzabagaren** (original in Swedish)

En pizzabagare han bor i Woodbridge han bakar pizzor mest hela dagen. Han bakar stora han bakar små. Han bakar några med vitlök på. Och i hans fönster hänger kebab saker. Och falafel rulle och pizza saker. Och är du Blatte kan du få. Men är du Svenne så få du gå.

[Document: "The Pizza Baker Song", collected 2008-12-03]

"Blatte" and "Svenne" mentioned in the song above are racial slurs used pejoratively to degrade, demean and exclude the immigrant 'Other', or to vilify the white ethnic Swede. However, these racial slurs and other epithets have been reclaimed and used as positive identification with a group (see Johnsson, 2007). When used together they become binary opposites of black/white, non-Swedish/Swedish person.

In order to aid the analysis of the song it is important to present the original Swedish version of the song that "The Pizza Baker" song is parodying.

### **A Sugar Baker**

A baker lives in the town  
He bakes cakes all day long  
He bakes some big, he bakes some small, he bakes some with sugar on.  
In the window hang Christmas things, and horses, pigs and gingersnaps.  
And if you are good you can get [some] but if you are bad you can go.  
(My translation)

### **En Sockerbagare (original version)**

En sockerbagare här bor i staden han bakar kakor mest hela dagen, han bakar stora han bakar små, han bakar några med socker på.

Och i hans fönster hänger julgranssaker och hästar, grisar och pepparkakor.  
 Och är du snäller så kan du få men är du stygger så få du gå.  
 (Original version from internet)

The Pizza Baker song, written by previous students at Woodbridge School, plays on the social stereotype of the “immigrant” in a low paid, unqualified profession. In this case it is the students themselves asserting this position of unskilled, low status job. “A pizza baker” is the urban equivalent to the parochial, normalized (sugar) “Baker”. This use of icons parallels other racialized discourses of the marginalized urban ‘Other’. Using the label “Pizza Baker” perpetuates a classed and race based stereotype about immigrants in Sweden (Haglund, 2005). Students’ familiarity, experience and understanding of prejudice towards students with immigrant backgrounds is also discussed by Haglund. The use of these icons is common to both the imagination of white people<sup>62</sup> and people of color. The Pizza Baker song toys with this social stereotype that comes with stigmatization of Woodbridge and is used to contrast the social and racial stereotypes: “immigrant” and “Swede”. These stereotypes are binary opposites which feed on and gain meaning from being one another’s opposites (Hall, 1997).

Furthermore, Haglund (2005) discusses in her study titled *Social Interaction and Identification among Adolescents in Multilingual Suburban Sweden*, observations of teachers who make direct references to adolescents’ limited career opportunities. The teachers infer that the students’ ethnicity and academic performance will lead to limited careers in low-paid, unqualified service jobs such as cleaning or restaurants. Furthermore, Haglund discusses how teacher and student interactions play on the awareness of the stigmatization of these careers as a “self-fulfilling prophecy” and expectations of adolescents who take on low-paid work as part of their social inheritance (Haglund, 2005, p. 98).

## Color-blindness and cultural racism in tandem

When I conferred with teachers about the labeling practices and the self-positioning as “pizza baker” by the students, the teachers affirmed that this profession is a reality for many of the students. As one teacher explained:

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<sup>62</sup> For the purpose of clarity I will reiterate what is meant by ‘white’ and ‘whiteness’. In Zeus Leonardos words, “Whiteness” is a racial discourse, whereas the category “white people” represents a socially constructed identity, usually based [but not always] on skin color” (2009, p. 169).

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"It is natural for them to write 'pizza baker'. There is a pizza baker here in Woodbridge. They could just as well have written 'baker' because there is one here as well," explains the music teacher.

[Fieldnotes, informal discussion, 2008-12-03, Julia, music teacher Class 4]

The labeling practice a 'pizza baker' is accepted by the music teacher as a "natural" consequence and is not regarded as a social stereotype. Naturalizing the pizza baker as a career choice concurs with the poverty of culture (Goldberg, 2009) discourse which implies that poverty is a social inheritance passed on to the next generation. In a follow-up conversation with another teacher about the song, the teacher also inferred that the occupation was "natural" and "a part of their culture".

Osa: Do you think it is ok if they sing Pizza Baker?

Linda: Yes, it is natural for them because "95%" of the parents are pizza bakers. When students have their work experience most are in their father's pizza bakery. It is a part of their culture.

[Fieldnotes, informal conversation, 2008-12-03, Linda]

It is interesting to note that a low paid food service job that has been carried out by various immigrant groups since the 1960's is referred to as "natural for them" and "a part of their culture". This rationale is typical of cultural racism which is the tendency to essentialize differences amongst social groups (Essed, 1991). It also typifies "blaming the victim" (Ryan, 1976). The immigrant 'Other' is not only responsible for his/her occupational choice, but is performing his/her occupation out of social and cultural inheritance. Cultural racism becomes a rationale used to justify poverty of culture (Goldberg, 2009) as part of a social inheritance and cultural deprivation (Bruner, 1996; Ryan, 1976). These kinds of sociological explanations appear to take precedence over other forms of social ecology<sup>63</sup> (Ungar, 2012) perspectives and ecocultural (Eksner, 2015) interpretations with regards to the reproduction and resilience of poverty.

'The Pizza Baker' version of the Swedish song *Sockerbagaren* was not perceived to be offensive to the large immigrant population living in Woodbridge. In my conversation with the music teacher I indicated that the wording was stereotypical. The music teacher affirmed that the wording was stereotypical, but ascribed this to the students' stereotypical thinking not to the representation of Woodbridge.

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<sup>63</sup> 'Social ecology' (Ungar, 2012) is a social-psychological perspective that focuses on the social interactions with people and their environments and how individuals gain resiliency despite social risk factors. Social risk factors are not seen as problems inherent in the individual, but rather as processes facilitated by families, schools, communities and governments.

## CHAPTER 12

- Osa: The whole song is stereotypical. You could never sing a song like this in a “Swedish” school.
- Julia: No. Never. But they have come up with it themselves. They are very stereotypical in their way of thinking.

The music teacher did not want the song to be sung in public at Woodbridge mall. Her argument was that “there will be Swedes there”. It is ok to sing a Christmas song about “*blattar*” and “*pizzabagare*”, but it was not permitted to insult Swedes.

[Fieldnotes, , informal discussion, 2008-12-03, Julia, music teacher]

The icon a Pizza Baker who lives in Woodbridge can be interpreted as a racial and social stereotype with both positive and negative connotations. Here the students are toying with the representation of the imagined urban ‘Other’ and using it as a means of self-positioning in a positive sense. In a negative sense the icon a Pizza Baker is not explicitly pejorative but it connotes an “immigrant” identity that is race and class based.

The Pizza Baker is the iconic equivalent to the parochial, normalized *Socketbagare* (baker) because of its prevalence and as one teacher above mentioned “95 % of the parents are pizza bakers”. The social explanations surrounding the urban ‘Other’ as self-inflicted deprivation marginalization also corresponds to Zeus Leonardo’s (2009) definition of color-blindness.

Color-blindness is a race neutral strategy that claims that race does not or should not matter in the exchange of goods and services or social policy (Leonardo, 2009, p. 131). Leonardo explains that the logic of color-blindness, as a humanistic ideal, has transcended the legacy of race and racism in a post-civil rights era. However, this logic of denial only leads to intensification. Color-blindness only succeeds in avoiding racial classification, but it does not aid the obliteration of racism. Instead, color-blindness supports the ideology of whiteness by not addressing the nature of social practices that privilege whites. The Pizza Baker is in the imagination of whites and people of color not white, but rather a racialized urban ‘Other’ and ‘socially marginalized person of foreign stock’. The ‘pizza baker’ typifies the stereotypes and prejudices of the immigrant ‘Other’ in Sweden (Haglund, 2005; Polite, 2007).

Cultural racism is a form of denial. It defers racial discrimination as a factor which limits occupational choices for people of color. Attributing occupational choice to culture legitimizes occupational disparities as commonsense, “natural” and self-imposed.

## Playing the race card

Leonardo (2009a) asserts that whites play the race card when it is beneficial to them. ‘Playing the race card’ is an idiom which draws attention to social and/or biological differences and disparities regarding race in order to gain an advantage. In the initial observation racism is an argument used to contest the use of “Svenne”.

A girl, Nabeela, in year 8 insists that the teacher retain the Pizza Baker song as it is. The end of the song goes: *And if you are a Blatte you can get [some], but if you are a Svenne you can go.* The music teacher explains to the girl:

- T: That is racist.
- Nabeela: Change it to ‘gay’ then.
- T: No that is agitation against an ethnic group.
- Nabeela: I hate gays.
- T: What do you want to change it to?
- Nabeela: Write ugly.
- Haady: No it should be *Svenne*.
- T: No, that is racism.
- Haady: Yeah! That’s called payback!

Haady a boy in grade 9 and makes ‘hiphop’ finger gestures across his chest as he emphasizes “payback”. Nabeela suggests that *Svenne* be changed to *witch*. Ezzat a boy in year 9 walks by and says to Nabeela there shouldn’t be any hairy (people). Nabeela suggests to the teacher that it should say ‘ugly’ or ‘hairy’. All of the girls around them start laughing.

[Transcription of fieldnotes, 2008-12-03, spontaneous observation, T – music teacher, Nabeela (girl grade 8), Haady (boy grade 9), Ezza (boy year 9)]

The students were not permitted to sing the Pizza Baker song for a number of reasons. One argument that the music teacher asserted was “that’s racist”, but this was in reference to “Svennar” (Swedes) who might be present in the shopping mall, not people of color or the immigrant population of Woodbridge. Playing the race card is, in Leonardo’s terms, a way to invoke race when a person belonging to one racial group is victimized by another group (2009, p. 115). What is interesting to note is that the labeling practices the Pizza Baker, a social stigmatization, and Blatte, a racial slur for people of color, is ignored. Instead, “Svennar” or Swedes are perceived to be the victimized group. All three stereotypes: Pizza Baker, Blatte and Svenne indicate racial classification, but it is Svenne that evokes the music teacher’s objections. Playing the race card, calling out and accusation of racism, is

utilized by the teacher to shut down the students' play with stereotypes and calling attention to the victimization of people of Woodbridge in general.

The sensitivity and the protests to the racialization of the dominant group as "Svennar" touches on two main analytical concepts. The first one that I have already mentioned above is the liberal ideology of color-blindness that exacerbates social inequality by denying that racial stratification exists. The color-blind ideology maintains that fighting racism is best accomplished by avoiding racial classifications (Leonardo, 2009). Labels such as Svenne and Blatte signify racial difference that color-blindness prefers to hide.

The second analytical concept that is useful in understanding protests to the racialization of the dominant group is 'carnavalesque'. Carnavalesque<sup>64</sup> refers to mocking the traditional social hierarchy through satirical distortions and absurdities. This distortion of the Lucia Pageantry is carnivalesque in that the playfulness of unpredictable associations allows the *absurd* to invert hegemonic order and patterns of thinking (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005) into a playful fantasy discourse (Löfdahl, 2004) in which students' cultural realities are included. McCarthy and Dimitriadis (2005) take the concept carnivalesque from Bakhtin and post-colonial authors who challenge grand narratives and staid versions of 'multiculturalism' and apply it "to the challenges of classroom pedagogy and education in our modern times" (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 206). These authors discuss how carnival and play can be seen as transformative tools in education to create alternative pathways of learning and to empower teachers to reclaim their control and professional role as educators.

A similar concept, mimicry, coined by Homi Bhabha (1994) is a form of irony that bears double meanings. Bhabha describes mimicry as a sign of double articulation that resembles the dominant authority, but can also be a threat because it discloses a hidden discourse of domination. In the following section I will further the analysis of the Pizza Baker song as a form of contestation that exposes and challenges race and racism as a hidden discourses.

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<sup>64</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/carnavalesque>

## The Pizza Baker and contestation of racialization

In the foregoing section I have presented an analysis of stereotypes used in a parody of a traditional Christmas song The Sugar Baker (Sw: *Sockerbagaren*). This next section includes an analysis and a discussion of stereotypes as a signifying practice that inverts the negative representation of the urban 'Other' with a positive representation. In what ways can *The Pizza Baker* song be understood as a form of protest? In this section I will discuss the reversal of stereotypes and the way this reversal can be understood as a form of contestation to the construction of racialized differences.

Julia: What do you want to change it to?

Nabeela: Write 'ugly'.

Haady: No it should be 'Svenne'.

Julia: No, that's racism.

Haady: Yeah! That's called payback!

[Fieldnotes, spontaneous observation, 2008-12-03, Julia, teacher, Nabeela (girl), Haady (boy) both in grade 9.]

In the above extract the boy Haady makes it explicit that the song is a "payback" or retribution for racism when the teacher protests that the epitaph Svenne is perceived to be racist. With regards to Haady's comment that the song is a "payback" it becomes apparent that the Pizza Baker song signifies a counter narrative within a racialized regime of representation.

Representational counter strategies are according to Hall (1997) a way of contesting and subverting a dominant regime of representation that creates and maintains differences. The dominant hegemonic group has to some extent power over representation and signifying practices, but this control over representation does not always go unchallenged. Hall asserts that contestation and negotiation over meanings within systems of representation are possible because meaning can never be finally fixed. Hall states, "If meaning could be fixed by representation, then there would be no change – and so no counter strategies or interventions" (ibid.).

According to Hall, new meanings are created by trans-coding strategies. These strategies involve "taking an existing meaning and re-appropriating it for new meanings" (ibid.). Several trans-coding strategies have been found in the song The Pizza Baker. The strategies I have found for re-appropriating new meanings include: 1) reversing stereotypes, 2) substituting a negative

image with a positive, 3) contesting from within (Hall, 1997), and 4) bridging (Doran, 2004).

### Reversal and substitution

The new version contains a number of stereotypes that have been trans-coded. As mentioned before, a Pizza Baker connotes a low paid, unskilled occupation in the restaurant business which is “among mainstream and non-mainstream members alike, is a future that is immensely stigmatized” (Haglund, 2005, p. 98). Furthermore, a Pizza Baker and Blatte are racialized epithets that make cohesive ties to the race of the Pizza Baker and the community of Woodbridge. The imagination of the urban ‘Other’ conveyed in this stereotype is one of people of color, who are socially marginalized and of foreign stock. Here the students are reversing the representation of the imagined urban ‘Other’ by using it as a means of positive self-representation. Stereotypes reduce, essentialize, naturalize and fix differences. By reversing a stereotype it no longer becomes fixated (Hall, 1997). Reversal is a trans-coding strategy that sets meanings free for interpretation.

In the last two lines: *If you are Blatte [good] you can get [some], but if you are Svenne [bad] you can go* signifies a reversal of Blatte in a subordinate role to one of domination. However, replacing a negative image with a positive one does not necessarily displace the negative. Stuart Hall explains:

The problem with the positive/negative strategy is that adding positive images to the largely negative repertoire of the dominant regime of representation increases the diversity of the ways in which ‘being black’ is represented, but does not *necessarily* displace the negative. Since the binaries remain in place, meaning continues to be framed by them. The strategy challenges the binaries – but it does not undermine them.

(Hall, 1997, p. 274)

The negative image of the urban ‘Other’ is substituted for a positive image of a collective urban identity. The Pizza Baker in Woodbridge signifies a collective ‘Us’ that becomes normalized in relation to ‘Them’, i.e. the dominant social group.

### Contestation within

Contesting from within is another trans-coding strategy that re-appropriates new meanings by using the same form of signifying practice, i.e. stereotypes, and creating new meanings to the old form. Contesting from within is concerned with the form of the signifying practice (Hall, 1997, p. 274). The form of racial representation in The Pizza Baker song disrupts the symbolic

violence of the stereotypes by using humor and mockery. Below is a list of nominal objects and labels from the original song The (Sugar) Baker and the The Pizza Baker that appropriate new meanings by mimicking the old.

Sockerbagaren	The Pizza Baker
A baker	A pizza baker
Town	Woodbridge
Cakes	Pizza
Sugar	Garlic
Christmas things	Kebab things
Horses, pigs	Falafel roller
Ginger snaps	Pizza stuff
Good	Blatte
Bad	Svenne

These two lists indicate the lexical items that have been replaced with a parody of the original version. Contesting from within accentuates difference as binary opposites through the use of ethnocentrism and stereotypes. What is considered as normal, fixated and essential objects in The (Sugar) Baker (Christmas things, horses, pigs, and ginger snaps) become absurd in the The Pizza Baker (Kebab things, falafel roller, pizza stuff). The nominal objects indexed in original song are, in conjunction with the Lucia pageant, a symbolic representation of Swedishness.

## **Bridging**

Another way symbolic violence of stereotypes is alleviated is through bridging. Bridging is a theoretical concept that minimizes difference. When both the binary opposites are used stereotypically, i.e. Blatte/Svenne, Baker/Pizza Baker, this can be viewed as a way of bridging symbolic differences between the dominant and subordinate groups, between Swedish and the 'Other'. Even if the song is an outright protest or "payback" it is also ironic and humorous at the same time. The complexities of signifying practices are embedded not on the surface, but on a deeper level. Bridging is not explicitly expressed, but can be inferred through the humor of the song which creates "a commonality around which to join forces" (Doran, 2004, p. 111). The binary categories become less acute and create a commonality when the

ethnocentrism of the original version is exposed and the naturalness of stereotypes is disclaimed.

Bridging also opens up for the creation of a third space (Bhabha, 1994; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In a third space new identities and meanings are produced. Old identities can be renegotiated and old forms can re-appropriate new meanings. The function of third space is in agreement with Stuart Hall's assertion that meaning can never be finally fixed. Similarly, a carnivalesque approach to learning and meaning making in education creates a space for dislocating fixed ideas and ideologies (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005).

## Summary of Contesting race and place

In this chapter, I have examined how students exploit racialized regimes of representation that emphasize and accentuate racial and social differences. The cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage is observed in the discourse of naturalization and the urban 'Other' as the cause of his/her own marginalization (Ryan, 1976). The analysis of the song *The Pizza Baker* examines how students produce a counter narrative to cultural difference and disadvantage as "natural". The representational counter strategies used, i.e. trans-coding strategies (reversal, substitution, contestation and bridging) show how the song contests and attempts to invert the roles of domination and subordination between the dominant group "Svenne" and the subordinate urban 'Other', i.e. "Blatte".

Social stigmatization and racial stratification are contested in the parody *The Pizza Baker* by challenging negative images and reclaiming racial slurs as a positive representation. The reversal of stereotypes challenges negative representation and attempts to open up a third space for the creation of hybrid identities in an attempt to bridge an ethnic and social divide. Although inverting stereotypes does not alter the dominant social order, playfulness with stereotypes creates a gap, or third space, in which subjectivities can be reversed, contested and bridged. "This gap is the meeting point of order and disorder, of coherence and incoherence. It is the crucial site of the *yet to be thought*," (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30). This gap is a potential site for changing existing power relations. It is also a space that interrupts hidden discourses of race and racism. The students exploit their own marginalization in a carnivalesque approach that frees them temporarily from domination and

## MIND THE GAP

allows alternative realities to be created. Playfulness through the use of mimicry creates a third space that allows for the potential of alternative power relations, an alternative social order and an alternative society.

## Chapter 13: (Un)doing the divide with alternative pedagogy

### “The Success Alternative”

Similar to the urban renewal program in 2006, the Success Alternative, or FGA, was a school reform project aimed at transforming the pedagogy for disadvantaged students attending schools in marginalized metropolitan urban areas. The FGA project began in the year 2000 and, although it became increasingly marginalized and sidetracked later on by the objectives of the urban renewal intervention program, the Success Alternative continued with the aid of Tom and Linda who were the initiators and leaders of the project during the time of my study. Tom and Linda were committed to the project although there was much resistance from both students and teachers. The FGA leaders held regular teacher meetings which promoted the implementation of FGA as part of Life Orientation classes. Life Orientation classes, in a broad sense, instruct students in moral and social issues in everyday life and as preparation for the future in the workforce, social life, and civic responsibilities. However, the content in this subject is arbitrary and is not included in the national curriculum<sup>65</sup>(see von Brömssen, 2011).

### Compensating for a lack of “social relevance”

The project leaders, Tom and Linda, comprised a manual<sup>66</sup> and held meetings with teachers interested in the implementing the project. Their formulation and implementation of the project was inspired by Mikeal Stigendal (2004) a professor in sociology. The FGA project aimed at making reforms in the pedagogy that targeted the lack of social relevance in schooling. Their

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<sup>65</sup> Life Orientation is neither an official school subject outlined in the national curriculum, nor is it founded within any academic discipline such as educational sciences. None the less, it has become a subject taught in many schools, but without a definitive content (von Brömssen, 2011).

<sup>66</sup> FGA manual: *Allt du behöver veta om FGA. Framgångs alternativet är ett arbetsätt som kan användas som strategi för att nå skolans mål och vision.* Everything you need to know about The Success Alternative. An alternative method that can be used as a strategy to achieve the school's goals and vision (my translation).

interpretation and implementation of the school reform project that addressed the issue of increasing social relevance included: 1) developing social competence, such as cooperation, consideration, and multicultural- and democratic-competence, 2) increasing student leverage by strengthening the role of the students, giving students a voice, increasing their participation in decision making processes and allocation of real influence as opposed to a contrived semblance of democracy, 3) creating new assessment procedures that focus on formative types of assessment in which the students are actively involved in determining the criteria and goals of learning, as well as, evaluating and assessing their own results, and lastly, 4) collectively establishing a view of knowledge built upon a collective and individual understanding (Möller, 2007).

### **Changing the discourse from teacher- to student-centered pedagogy**

In order to compensate for the lack of “social relevance” in schooling, the project leaders at Woodbridge attempted to change the “knower structure”<sup>67</sup> (Maton, 2007b) in the pedagogical discourse. That is to say, the source of learning was relocated from the teacher as the primary source of knowledge, to the students who were now told that they were the primary source. According to Tom and Linda, the learner is viewed as an active subject who must plan, carry-out, and reflect upon his/her own learning. The student must also learn to make self-assessments and evaluations of their own learning processes.

In the FGA-work, knowledge is created when students work with their own competence and form how it can be developed.

[From the project manual titled: *All you need to know about The Success Alternative*, document collected 2007-01-30.]

The belief was that this shift of focus would give students greater leverage and input into meaning-making processes and, thereby, make school seemingly more “socially relevant”. That is to say, reduce the students’ feelings of alienation. In an interview with one of the project leaders, Linda explains the objectives of the school reform project:

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<sup>67</sup>Karl Maton (2007) claims that for every knowledge structure there is also a knower structure. Different disciplines of academic knowledge have different idealized knower types. Bernstein’s theory in the sociology of knowledge examines *relations within* knowledge, not just *relations to* knowledge, that reveal” how knowledge itself specializes identity, consciousness and relations.” (Maton, 2007b, p. 92).

## CHAPTER 13

[The Success Alternative] is primarily about the school taking its starting point with the students, taking heed to the students' own thinking, letting the students take responsibility for and to see their own development./.../ If we begin with the perspective of the students, it is about starting with the students' own innate competencies... You can develop competencies starting with the students' own point of view, not what the students think what *I* think. The student is responsible for their own development. I cannot develop a student. There is a big difference. It is about the student being the bearer of their own development, even from when they are little. And we believe they can, even when they are small.

[Interview, transcript, 2007-03-30, Linda, teacher and project leader for FGA]

The project plan manual, written by the project leaders and distributed to the other teachers, also reiterates the focus on development of innate competencies and skills within the students:

[W]e found that the keys to success came from the students. It is our duty to help students find and develop their own competence and capability that already exists within them.

[From the project manual titled: *All you need to know about The Success Alternative*, document collected 2007-01-30.]

The discourse on competence in the FGA project parallels Bernstein's theory on competence models in pedagogical practice. The competence model described by Linda as, "...starting with student's own innate competencies" and the FGA manual "that already exists within them" foregrounds potential *within* the individual. "The emphasis is upon the realization of competences that acquirers already possess, or are thought to possess," (Bernstein, 2000, p.45).

Linda emphasized a shift in the responsibility for the "development" for "their own competencies" from the teacher to the student. In this way, the knower becomes more visible in the framing procedure. What is apparent is a shift in voice and control in the classification and framing from stronger to weaker. Thereby, students would have more control over the meaning-making process, but it also carried with it an increased responsibility and burden on the students. As Linda put it, the students became "bearers of their own development". Linda explains the changes to the teacher's role:

The teacher's role is a bit more complicated. Suddenly, I do not have an answer key because the student has decided. Suddenly, I do not have all the answers. Instead, now my role is letting the student find their own way and helping the student create an understanding about how to do things and make the student involved and be a process supervisor instead of controlling. And that is probably the most difficult.

[Interview, transcript, 2007-03-30, Linda, teacher and project leader]

The objective of the FGA was to localize individual knowledge by bringing it into the school curriculum. Yet it remained unclear as to how students were to produce legitimate texts, that is to say, produce local knowledge that is valorized as official school knowledge. Furthermore, the FGA competence

model recognized an individualized mode of difference within and between individuals, but not on an inter-group/class or societal level.

The FGA's competence model opposed the separation of knowledge production from the knower. Its intent was to change the knower structure from a passive recipient of knowledge to active participant by changing the relationship between the teacher and student. In Bernsteinian terms, by foregrounding the individual's voice and control in the process of recontextualization, the classification<sup>68</sup> and separation of knower identities between teacher and student, as well as, the framing, that is, the control over *who* regulates the social base of the pedagogical discourse also became weaker and less distinct. The selection of communication, sequence of content, pace of learning, criteria for evaluation and assessment were shifted from the teacher to the student. This shift aroused opposition from students who had already managed to decipher the recognition rules. That is, who is authorized to select, organize and evaluate relevant meanings that are performed and graded.

The shift in the knower structure caused a great deal of frustration amongst the students, who, from an instrumental perspective wanted the learning goals made explicit. Tom explains how the shift in the framing and classification of the knower structure (but not the knowledge structure) aroused frustration in the students:

It rubbed many out of joint. They had learned a way of deciphering the teacher. So and so does their test this way. I can do that. So and so usually asks questions and works like that. They had figured it out. Many of them had figured out how some teachers work when they have quizzes or tests, how they teach, how they grade, and now we are shaking things up and making demands.

[Interview, transcripts, 2007-03-30, Tom, teacher and project leader for FGA]

The students' resistance and frustration can be understood as a change in the interactional practice that the students had not experienced previously. The students expressed resistance, according to Tom, when the teachers made changes to the framing of the pedagogical discourse. Those who had learned to recognize the rules of the pedagogical discourse were now forced to change from a strong to weak classification and framing of school knowledge. The students' frustration was doubled. Not only did they need to recognize the rules underlying the distribution of power in the communication, but they also needed to master the language of communication in order to "speak the

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<sup>68</sup> Bernstein reminds us that, "classification refers always to relations between contexts, or between agents, or between discourses, or between practices," (Bernstein, 2000, p.6).

legitimate text” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 17). A weak classification and framing can be a hinder to the recognition and realization rules if the learner can neither recognize the rules underlying the distribution of power, nor possess the skills to produce knowledge valued within the pedagogical context (see *ibid.*).

Many children of the marginal classes may indeed have a recognition rule, that is, they can recognize the power relations in which they are involved, and their position in them, but they may not possess the realization rule. If they do not possess the *realization rule*, they cannot then speak the expected legitimate text. These children in school, then, will not have acquired the legitimate pedagogic code, but they will have acquired their place in the classificatory system. For these children, the experience of school is essentially an experience of the classificatory system and their place in it. (Bernstein, 2000, p. 17)

Bernstein’s observation is consistent with Stigendal’s claim that disadvantage students in urban schools dis-identify with schooling. Yet, weak classification and framing of the pedagogical discourse is incompatible with the Woodbridge students who are in need of explicit and overt learning of specialized academic language, i.e. a visible pedagogy that instructs the students in the specialized language used in vertical discourses (see Bourne, 2004). This incompatibility is due neither to cultural differences between the students of Woodbridge and an idealize learner model, nor the incompatibility between local knowledge and the specialized language used to construct, communicate and evaluate school knowledge. The problem lies in the process of recontextualization, in which weak classification and framing of the pedagogical discourse is attempting to convert students’ local knowledge into school knowledge.

Students from disadvantaged families are said to have a preference for visible pedagogy with strong classification and framing (see Wheelahan, 2010). Yet, Linda argued that this applied to the “over-achievers”.

It was hard above all for the over-achievers. They were always compelled to check, “Was I right?” They had no idea that the way they thought themselves was important. They needed to check with the answer key. Just like a math book.

[Interview, transcript, 2007-03-30, Linda, teacher and project leader]

During the time of my study, the students at Woodbridge were most familiar with visible pedagogy in which the student and teacher subjectivities and subject matter were kept separate and apart. The knowledge structure was based on *integrated codes* of knowledge which required specific knowledge concepts within (and across) an academic subject that integrate knowledge from lower levels into more general theories and propositions (Bernstein, 2000, p. 161). Only during certain theme weeks, such as “Technology Week” or “Student Choice Week”, were subject matter borders displaced by *collection*

*codes* in which the differentiation between subjects was less distinct. During these weeks, students were given a choice of which elective to work on for a week and/or the teachers in all subjects were assigned a topic or theme of instruction. This allowed the students and teachers to apply a ‘gaze’<sup>69</sup> from various disciplinary fields on one topic area such as “transportation” during “Technology Week”. On ordinary basis, however, the pedagogic discourse utilized *integrated codes* of knowledge tied to specific fields of knowledge that were kept separate and required specialized concepts and skills. As Linda said, it was most difficult for the “over-achievers” who were always compelled to check their answers against an answer key. These so called “over-achievers” insisted upon confirming their own subjective or inter-group knowledge with pre-determined evaluation criteria. It can be argued that based on prior experience, the “over-achievers” insisted upon acquiring *integrated codes*, instead of *collection codes* of learning despite the shift in focus to student-centered pedagogy.

The students’ frustration can be seen in relation to the knower structure and a blurring of lines between who regulates and controls the social base. The difference between teacher-student roles becomes less distinct. As a result, the teacher’s control becomes more implicit and the process of evaluation multiple and diffuse (Rikaasen, 2010, p. 219). There is a greater emphasis on the knower and conformity to a idealized kind of knower-subject who can construct specialize knowledge.

### **No shift in the knowledge structure**

There was little change to the way knowledge about society was represented. The students were forced to change their way of learning (the knower structure changes); yet, the knowledge structure, the classification and criteria for evaluation, remained the same. Although it was expected that the students should contribute with their everyday life experiences and perspective on society, the criteria for evaluation were already set in the curriculum. The “over-achievers” did not assert their own meaning-making. Their insistence upon an answer key is reflective of what is considered a legitimate text. This coincides with what Bernstein calls recognition rules. In the school context, there are official and legitimate knowledge structures independent of the

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<sup>69</sup> Bernstein (2000, p. 165) refers to ‘gaze’ as the ‘way’ knowledge is communicated by specialists within horizontal knowledge structures, i.e. segmental, not hierarchical forms of knowledge.

knower i.e. *integrated codes*. Because of strong classification between subject matter, the successful students measured their learning on criteria that they had not constructed themselves, but on criteria in specialized fields and integrated codes of pedagogy. The so called “over-achievers” recognized this contradiction in the FGA competence model. It was believe that the development of innate competencies would not only make school knowledge more “socially relevant”, but would enable commonsense knowledge to be valorized through a mystical conversion into academic knowledge. Yet it remained unclear as to how this transformation – commonsense knowledge to official school knowledge – would enable disadvantaged students to acquire specialized knowledge and skills.

### **Re-focusing the students as subjects cannot compensate for stigmatization**

The FGA as a pedagogical alternative, in this example, fell short of bridging the divide between here and elsewhere. By refocusing the students as subjects, active agents in their own learning process, did not make learning more “socially relevant” and inclusive. Paradoxically, changing the pedagogy from teacher- to student centered increased the burden and responsibility for change and adaptation on the individual student. Student centered learning became yet another means of acculturation and way for the ‘Other’ to overcome social inequities and compensate for being elsewhere, within.

### Summary on (Un)doing the divide with alternative pedagogy

Similar to the claims made in the foregoing sections, I argue that the *The Success Alternative* falls short of bridging the divide between here and elsewhere despite the good intentions to improve the quality of learning and achievement amongst disadvantaged students. With the aid of Bernstein’s theory on sociology of knowledge, I claim that changing from teacher-centered to student-centered pedagogy does not succeed in making schooling more “socially relevant” or representative of the students’ lived experiences.

The reform project was aimed at weakening the boundaries of the knower structure, but it did not address lack of “social relevance” in the knowledge structure (cf. Maton, 2007a). I argue that this allows a benevolent form of

cultural racism to continue as a compensatory pedagogic practice focusing on remediation of the kind of knower. The pedagogic strategy of *The Success Alternative* seeks to employ ideals and values related to ideal learner and teacher models rather than normativity in the construction, distribution, recontextualization and evaluation of school knowledge.

Constructing a new ideal knower model becomes problematic in the process of recontextualization. That is, the pedagogization of academic knowledge into school knowledge. This is problematic because the knower model becomes foregrounded at the expense of the pedagogical content. Thus, the knowledge structure becomes weaker and less distinct (Christie, Martin, Maton, & Muller, 2007, p. 251). *Who* you are becomes the equivalent of *what* you know. This can be used in a radical sense to transform and transcend normativity in traditional pedagogy. But, if the goal is not transformative, then the foregrounding of local (horizontal knowledge) can obfuscate school (academic or vertical) knowledge. Thus students who do not recognize the knower code are at a greater disadvantage.

A vertical discourse of knowledge construction corresponds to the institutional and official discourse of knowledge. This knowledge is characterized by decontextualized, generic and universal concepts that are ordered, sequenced, categorized and hierarchical (i.e. collected codes of knowledge). The students' knowledge based on experience and everyday lives follows what Bernstein calls a horizontal discourse. This is local, particular and contextualized knowledge based on commonsense, or what Bernstein calls integrated codes of knowledge<sup>70</sup>.

The implementation of The Success Alternative resulted in a school reform project aimed at changing the knower structure, but without reform work being done to the knowledge structure as well. This collapsed the distinction between the vertical discourse (official school knowledge) and the horizontal discourse (commonsense, local knowledge) (compare Bernstein, 1999; Wheelahan, 2010, p.58). The collapse between the vertical and horizontal discourse may have foregrounded the students' own subjective knowledge, but it also made it more difficult for the students to distinguish

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<sup>70</sup> This is characteristic of (neo)liberal and progressive pedagogy appropriated and institutionalized by the middle-class which "was opposed to what it considered were repressive forms of authority (usually male) in the family and school, and industry, and was emancipatory with respect to the new concept of child to be actualized by appropriate pedagogic practices and controls," (Bernstein, 2000, p. 50).

the criteria for evaluation. The epistemic knowledge<sup>71</sup>, or knowledge structure, was tied to the individual learner and his/her subjective self. In the process, this made the curricular goals opaque and hindered the possibility to transform local knowledge into school knowledge. In turn, students became unsure about what the content of official pedagogic discourse was and their ability to produce the legitimate texts.

The premise that schooling lacks “social relevance” can also be due to an avoidance of intergroup relations. Changing the knower structure to a student centered pedagogy that does not address intergroup issues increases the responsibility and adds to the burden of integration to students already at a disadvantage. Alternatively, a radical visible pedagogy (Bourne, 2004), can be employed to make the social positioning and the ideology of the content and transmission of learning explicit.

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<sup>71</sup> Epistemic knowledge refers to observable, sensorial, and rational thought that is accepted as official knowledge.



## Part Five: Discussion and Conclusions



## Chapter 14: Discussion

### Analytical results

The results from this thesis highlight how cultural difference is socially and ideologically constructed, what the social implications are, and where opportunities for change and transformation can occur. In the coming chapter I will discuss some of the implications from these results. In Chapter 15 I attempt to draw some conclusions and implications for further research. The order of the presentation will follow the same order as the research questions presented in the research aims.

### **How are social and cultural differences constructed and conveyed in education?**

The research results begin with the *formulation* of difference within discourses having to do with government intervention strategies, urban renewal and school reform programs targeted towards students of color in low income areas. It is the beginning of the results and is important in that it provides an institutional perspective and an introduction of the *formulation arena* in which Woodbridge is classified as 'elsewhere' (Minh-ha, 2011).

#### *Urban renewal initiative defines the disadvantaged urban 'Other'*

In the formulation arena (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000), constructions of difference are first discussed from a policy and practice perspective. I examine how the conjoined policy and practice construct the students' subjectivities in relation to race and place, of being but not belonging to the mainstream Swedish society. Race and place are used as signifiers (Hall, 1997) which construct a physical and symbolic divide between the locations of the school and surrounding areas. This was in part due to the government intervention program called "Storstadssatsningen" that focused on urban renewal (Borelius, 2004; Proposition, 1997/98:165). The program "Storstadssatsning"

sought to alleviate disparities by improving educational and income opportunities for immigrants and people of color living in segregated and so-called disadvantaged areas. Factors such as poverty, unemployment, poor health, financial aid and low levels of education can also be interpreted as indicators of ‘Otherness’ that disconnect Woodbridge from an imagined community of prosperity and equality (Anderson, 1983). The focus on real and imagined disparities in Woodbridge disrupted the imagined unity of the dominant social order.

The urban renewal program, which sought to alleviate inequality actually contributed to the construction of the urban ‘Other’ in need of intervention on an institutional level. The “Storstadssatsningen” inadvertently contributed to the construction of a divide between Woodbridge and the so-called “Swedish society” through a deficiency discourse and ‘Othering’.

*Woodbridge a non-Swedish place, an elsewhere*

The inhabitants and location of Woodbridge are not recognized as being a part of “Swedish society”. Its geographical location is symbolic of a *non-Swedish* zone. This strong classification of the inhabitants of Woodbridge constructs a social order that puts them in a category separate and distinct from a (mono-cultural) national identity (see Borevi, 2002). To bridge this divide, students were encouraged to “get out” of Woodbridge. A deficiency perspective of social status and place are conjoined factors in the classification of Woodbridge as ‘elsewhere’ (Minh-ha, 2011). This classification is a social and ideological practice that inscribes social disparities onto the bodies of the students and to where they live.

*Individual contra institutional deficits*

Deficit perspectives are a dimension of the formulation arena that refers blame back onto the students. The deficiency discourse is reflected in the way students are positioned as deficient with regards to ability, motivation and academic achievement. The typology classified the students into four main types or categories of achievers: 1) motivated students with ability, 2) unmotivated with ability, 3) motivated without ability, and 4) un-motivated without ability. This typology located the problem within the students rather than the pedagogical and institutional practices that controlled the distribution, the recontextualization and the evaluative criteria of school

knowledge, or the kind of pedagogical code that organized the transfer and acquisition of knowledge.

Motivation and ability were discussed in terms of innate traits and intrinsic differences. Low academic achievement is attributed to inability and/or lack of motivation within the individual student and/or social group. This was apparent with the Romany students who, as a social group, were collectively stigmatized as unmotivated and/or unable. This classification could also be understood as a consequence of social disparities and racialization of ability. The school lacked resources and funding to adequately attend to all of the students with special needs, mother tongue education and extra support. In particular, the Romany were, in Bernstein's terminology, classified as unmotivated and without ability. This resulted in help and resources being redirected towards those with ability and/or motivation. The teacher expectations influenced where resources were directed, who received extra help and how extra help was given.

Language deficiency, a primary concern for teachers, was closely connected to discourses on ability and motivation. The students were seen as lacking command of both Swedish and their mother tongue. Insufficient language skills is problematic for all subject matter teachers (Bunar, 2010). Again, language ability was located within the individual student, not the language of the school. Defining the problem as the inability of the students to master Swedish falls directly under a form of linguisticism (Lindberg, 2011; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Mohanty, & Panda, 2009). I see the monolingual Swedish imperative as an inadequate response to the social reality of linguistic and cultural diversity of the student body and in society at large (Jørgensen, 2008; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Quist, 2008). It is a failure of the school to communicate the necessary language and pedagogical codes needed to acquire school knowledge and to enable students to recognize and realize the language of communication and learning (Bernstein, 1990, 2000). It is part of the cultural deficit model identified by Banks (2005) and in research by Gitz-Johansen (2005).

*Bilingual and bicultural education supports Swedish only imperative*

Another construction of difference was observed in the formulation and implementation of the bilingual education program. The analysis of the pedagogical discourse highlights the obstacles and tensions between the language policy and the everyday practices of teaching. Support for the

bicultural and multilingual development of students' language and culture was never fully incorporated into the ordinary teaching and instruction. According to the school leadership, setbacks to the implementation of the bilingual program were in part due to the redundancies of teachers, who were the representatives of diversity amongst the teaching faculty, and to the current unrest amongst the teaching staff. For these reasons, the school development plan and work with teachers' values and attitudes towards diversity had been put on hold.

In practice, the bilingual education was reduced to the employment of bilingual teachers and a fixation on Swedish in the ordinary subjects. The aim of bilingual education was to support and encourage a bilingual and bicultural identity, but in practice was reduced to a remediation program for students with another mother tongue other than Swedish and to enable integration into the dominant "Swedish society".

Even though bilingualism has a value for the individual, the mother tongue was an indicator of non-Swedishness. The mother tongue was not valued as highly as Swedish and was seldom the starting-point for instruction in ordinary subject matter. Paradoxically, the "feel-good" approach to diversity that embraced linguistic diversity was in direct opposition to the official school language in which learning occurred within a monolingual norm (Dahl, 2000; Jörgensen, 2008; Tesfahuney, 1999) and Swedish only imperative.

In practice the bicultural and bilingual education encountered several stumbling blocks. First, the teachers were in need of further teacher education in Swedish as second language training. Second, bilingual education had been omitted because of resources to bilingual teachers has been withdrawn. Third, the resources at the school were not enough to supply study support to all of the new arrivals to the extent they were entitled to.

### *Implications of formulation arena*

The "Storstadssatsningen" inspired Woodbridge school to develop a school policy and bilingual education program that was in favor of social and cultural diversity. However, despite attempts to impose an international and intercultural profile from above, the leadership and teacher narratives indicate ambiguity and reluctance to the implementation in relation to the core curriculum. The classification of the school as international and positive towards social and cultural diversity can be viewed as a "feel-good" approach that diverts social and racial tensions and disparities to cultural deprivation of

the students rather than structural inequalities. The international and intercultural profiles did not address the underlying causes of segregation and exclusion which the “Storstadssatsning” intended to combat.

The school development plan in its formulation fabricated a feel-good-about-diversity-approach to social and linguistic diversity (Möller, 2010). It constructed consensus around non-controversial or less controversial ideas, such as transforming the individual into a “bicultural” person who can codeswitch between two separate cultures, i.e. the Swedish culture and the non-dominant culture. In its implementation, the school development plan focused on changing the knower structure to a competent bilingual speaker of Swedish and his/her mother tongue. This constitutes a form of bilingual education that linguists refer to as parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999) in which languages are kept separate and apart. This idea upheld the consensus necessary to maintain Swedish as the dominant language of instruction.

Less popular was the idea of changing the knowledge structure from monolingual to poly-lingual. The art, science and music teachers, along with other core subject teachers did not strive to incorporate other languages into their teaching. Changing the instructional and regulative discourse to a poly-lingual norm would require changing the language of transmission and acquisition. To do so would require changing the distributive, recontextualization and evaluation rules of the pedagogical discourse. That is to say, how knowledge is selected, distributed, recontextualized and evaluated. Poly-lingualism is not included in the criteria for evaluation. There is little incentive to incorporate poly-lingual education practices in the instructional and regulative discourses. If monolingualism is the only language of transmission of knowledge, and also the linguistic criteria in the process of evaluation, then poly-lingualism is null and void. Languages, dialects and sociolects can only become a valid currency in the realization arena if they are also included in the criteria of assessment.

The institutional transformation needed requires a paradigmatic shift from a monolingual Swedish norm to a poly-lingual norm in the dominant curriculum. The realization of the bilingual (or poly-lingual) education program is not dependent upon individual teachers per se, it requires an institutional transformation to the social structure of the pedagogical device and in all three of the overarching arenas of education, i.e. the formulation, realization and transformation arenas (Bunar, 2001).

## **What are the social implications of social and cultural differences?**

In the *realization arena* (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000), the arena in which the pedagogical targets, philosophy and guidelines are implemented, I sought to examine how cultural differences were enacted and conveyed in the pedagogical discourse and what the social implications were. Social implications for students of color at Woodbridge are derived from observations and analysis of how the students were constructed and consequently compensated for social and cultural difference in the pedagogical discourse. I have given emphasis to the teacher discourses in order to understand the logic and choices behind the methods, rationale and pedagogy used to bridge the divide between here and 'elsewhere' in the pedagogical discourse. The results discuss how 'Otherness' is reaffirmed in attempts to bridge the divide.

### *Compensatory pedagogy affirms cultural deficit perspectives*

It was the intention of the school to minimize the gap between Woodbridge and life outside of Woodbridge by bringing students in contact with the mainstream society (Runfors, 2004). The objective was to aid integration and assimilation, as well as, acculturation and acquisition of Swedish norms. According to the school leaders this was not intended to devalue the life experiences of the students in Woodbridge, but to aid integration with the society at large. I argue that the attempts to bridge the divide can be seen as a form of compensatory pedagogy (Gitz-Johansen, 2009) that attempted to compensate for a lack of "Swedishness" (Runfors, 2004). This compensatory approach was based on a cultural deficit perspective (Bruner, 1996; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986). As a result, the pedagogical discourse in the instructional and regulative discourse referred blame back onto the students, maintained disadvantages for students of color and upheld white privilege.

### *Affirmation of difference and disadvantage*

An important and significant strategy to bridge the divide between here and elsewhere were exchange programs, fieldtrips, study visits, and excursions to local institutions and activities<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup> Parts of this chapter were published in an earlier article (Möller, 2012).

Exchange programs with other schools within the same municipality and schools abroad were intended to bridge the divide between Woodbridge and the mainstream Swedish society by creating positive social interactions, reduce fears of the unknown, and gain familiarity with “Swedish society”. Yet the exchange programs with nearby schools tended to exacerbate feelings of social and cultural inferiority. Visits to wealthier suburbs accentuated the social disparities experienced by the students from Woodbridge. Despite the teachers’ and administrative views that there was a need to develop contacts with “Swedish” schools, these contacts were terminated because of the affirmation rather than dissolution of difference. This can be seen as an attempt to realize the intercultural pedagogy outlined in the school development plan. Yet, the formulation arena did not openly address social disparities. Explanations and reasons why Woodbridge students were at a disadvantaged and in need of urban intervention were not congruent with a “feel-good” about diversity approach.

Exchanges and visits with a youth center for refugees in the Middle East also affirmed their marginalized status as an ethnic ‘Other’. Staying with Arabic speaking families in Woodbridge was thought of as too similar to home. The school development team intended to expand the exchange program by collaborating with a school in another part of the city. The school developers took contact with and presented the project for another school that was regarded as representative for “Swedishness” and “Swedes”.

One of the school developers explained that the leaders from the exchange program with a refugee camp in Jordan problematized the conditions for young people by stressing that the children there were refugees. Woodbridge school, alternatively, avoided discussions about the social and ethnic segregation that the students and school experience here in Sweden. Despite that the students’ Swedish citizenship is endorsed; the students of Woodbridge were positioned as non-Swedes by the teachers and by the visitors from the refugee camp. What is interesting to note is that inclusion/exclusion as Swedish is not discussed in terms of ethnicity. It is assumed that the students have actively chosen a non-Swedish identity. The teachers claim that exclusion is a false identity. ‘Otherness’ was seen as a matter of choice rather than an imposed reality.

Similar experiences of ‘Othering’ occurred when on fieldtrips to the museum and movies. Both the ninth graders and fifth graders experienced direct forms of discrimination and everyday racism (Essed, 1991) when

attending the movies. A group of ninth grade boys experienced a banal form of everyday racism when they were bombarded by candy thrown by Swedish students who were seated behind. The boys did not escalate the conflict through retaliation, but called upon their teacher, Rosita, for help when none of the other attending teachers intervened.

The Woodbridge boys were the only students of color at the school showing. However, they did not view this as a racialized incident. The class teacher, Rosita, confirmed that students from Woodbridge were under a constant 'gaze' (Paechter, 1998; Yancy, 2008) when in contact with the Swedish mainstream. Similarly, a fifth grade class that did not abide to the social norms and conduct when attending the movies were subsequently given a follow-up lesson on social conduct on how to behave when at the movies. They were racialized in terms of being "immigrant kids" with "dark hair" and labeled as "ambassadors" of Woodbridge. Their transgressions were constructed as a provocation to ethnic Swedish people and might provoke racist reactions. The Woodbridge students opposed the racialization of their misbehavior in that Swedish kids do that too. In both instances, the fifth graders and the ninth graders have to contend with a collective stigmatization that is connected to the race and place of students from Woodbridge when in contact with the "Swedish" society.

In terms of learning opportunities, the fifth graders learn that their conduct is racialized and that they must contend and accept the status quo and white normativity. A gap, or interruption, in the construction of knowledge about race and racism, available to the teacher and relevant to the lived experience of the students, is the opportunity to openly discuss stereotyping and prejudice, as well as, banal forms of everyday racism.

Another form of collective stigmatization occurred when ninth grade students had visited the art museum. The ninth graders had been given an assignment to do at the museum. "Swedish" and "Finnish" students from Woodbridge had previously accomplished the same task without any disturbances; yet, when students of color went to do the same task they were told to put away their pencils because someone might scribble (Sw: *klottra*) on something. This resulted in the art assignment being discontinued so that the students from Woodbridge would not have to experience negative stigmatization of their social identity. Yet, this decision contributed to further marginalization by curbing their learning opportunities and access to great works of art.

Traveling abroad also required the ninth graders to bring their passports when on trips to Poland and Denmark. Scandinavian residents are allowed to move freely between Nordic countries. However, all travelers are usually required to bring some form of identification when travelling. Yet, it was a concern for the class teachers to secure re-entry into Sweden for their students who might not be perceived as “Swedish” when returning home from Denmark. Scandinavianess conceptualizations are white, mono-cultural and power structured making borders and border crossings are racialized spaces in which the students’ phenotype and/or citizenship are incongruent with the social and political boundaries (Schough, 2008; Tesfahuney, 1998).

Even at home in Sweden, on fieldtrips to the swimming hall, the students’ were watched with a “keen eye”. The white ‘gaze’ (Paechter, 1998; Yancy, 2008) of the black body could be felt at border crossings, at the swimming hall, at the art museum, and at the movies.

The students suffer subjectification and collective stigmatization in that their social identity is constantly called into question by a white gaze of the black body (Yancy, 2008). In the pedagogical discourse and distribution of knowledge, students experience collective stigmatization (Ogbu, 2008b) attached to their social identity. Students experience epistemic violence by way of the white gaze (Yancy, 2008) that ascribed guilt onto black and brown bodies. This occurred in multiple locations and at different times for both the ninth and fifth grade classes. Consequences of fieldtrips and excursions, in which the aim was to bridge the divide between here and ‘elsewhere’, paradoxically reaffirmed ‘Otherness’ through the cementation of racialized borders and being suspects of deviance.

### *Cultural reproduction of dominant norms in school knowledge*

Another dimension of the *realization arena*, or in Bernsteinian terms, field of recontextualization, which had social implications, was in the selection, distribution, recontextualization and evaluation of school knowledge. As an example of this dimension I have used an observation of an assignment in Art Education to illustrate cultural reproduction of heteronormativity and whiteness. I argue that there are missed opportunities, or ‘gaps’ in the pedagogy, in which the unknown is not yet said and that there are opportunities for interruption, spaces of contestation, in which accepted norms, standards and beliefs can be called out and questioned.

The dominant social and cultural norms prevalent in popular culture through media and advertising are discernible for both the teacher and the students. The teacher provides the students with conceptual tools to practice an analysis in semiotics. The students pick up on the sexually explicit connotations given in the Seagram's advertisement and use the concepts 'denotation' and 'connotation' to conclude how meanings are ascribed to signs in other commercials. These terms represent the *vertical discourse* (specialized language and academic knowledge) and higher order concepts representative of *esoteric* and *sacred knowledge* (Bernstein, 2000), i.e. knowledge that is not mundane and ordinary, but acquired through specific skills and knowledge that hierarchically structured and occur through an integration of meanings (Bernstein, 1999). In the students' analyses there is an intersection between the vertical discourse (academic or professional knowledge) and the horizontal discourse (everyday or commonsense knowledge) (Bernstein, 1999). The students identify signifiers of cultural difference in the advertisements through their 'commonsense' understanding and lived experiences.

The students' analyses indicate that the female body is used to convey a very specific kind of hyper-femininity for the purposes of consumerism. The adjectives "pretty" and "sexy" are used to describe the type of female represented in advertisements. The students' analyses also indicate that the role of the female body is important in several ways. First, the female body is objectified. It is on public display to be viewed by the general public. Second, the female body is an important form of representation. It creates a form of identification for the potential buyer. Third, the female body is in competition with other female bodies in the attention and appreciation of male bodies. Fourth, there is a common assumption that the representation of women and the consumer is heterosexual. Fifth, the representations are not universal, but are reflective of a white, thin, blonde female body. The students' analyses reveal that signs used in commercials, i.e. the female body, are not neutral, but highly charged with normative assumptions. Value laden assumptions are for example identified in the teacher's comment, "Maybe women believe that they can seduce "real" men (cowboys)", but not developed.

One of the aims of the assignment was to identify the "basic common assumption of *our* common culture". Conceptual tools to identify "basic common assumptions" are missing, as well as, a critique of "*our* common culture". The popular culture, discussed in the analysis of the students work,

indicates how the so called “common culture” is very gender and race specific. The underlying assumptions are reflective of male heterosexuality on the one hand, and hyper-femininity, objectification and reduction of the female body on the other. The representations, signifying practices, used in the advertisements that the students picked up on revealed sexist, racist and heterosexual normative assumptions about “our” so called “common culture”; yet they lack the conceptual tools to discuss these kinds of discourses. Conceptual tools such as stereotyping, Othering, sexism, and racism are not beyond the scope of the assignment at hand, nor the level of difficulty.

The academic aims in the picture analysis create ample opportunities for interruptions and gaps in the recontextualization and cultural reproduction of school knowledge. However, these transformative opportunities to examine semiotic representations of race, gender and sexuality are passed by. Students’ mundane knowledge, the horizontal discourse, is applied to the understanding of a so-called common culture. Yet, the vertical discourse cannot address how mundane knowledge reproduces inequality when there are no discursive tools to analyze power, sexism, heteronormativity and whiteness. The horizontal discourse is reflected in the gaze of the students which comes from their life experiences and associations to their cultural realities (Bernstein, 2000, p. 165). I conclude that the social implications of cultural difference are found in the reproduction of normative assumptions of language, gender, sexuality and whiteness in the vertical discourse. The cultural reproduction of normative assumptions reproduces difference and disadvantage for urban students of color even when the intent is to change and amend social and cultural inequality. Without question, there are ample opportunities, ‘gaps’ and interruptions, in the pedagogical discourse, which allow for students and teachers to expand upon and utilize their racial knowledge as an object of knowledge.

### **Where do opportunities for change and transformation in the pedagogy occur?**

In the formulation and realization arenas, I have discussed how cultural reproduction in the pedagogical discourse contributes to cultural difference and disadvantage for youth of color in urban education. I have concluded

that, in Bernstein's terminology, the classification of the students as the disadvantaged 'Other' leads to compensatory measures, such as exchange programs and fieldtrips that accentuate rather than defer social and cultural disadvantages. Obstacles to the implementation of the school development plan are not merely value laden, ideological obstructions, but, on an institutional and organizational level, obstacles in terms of human and economic resources. In the formulation and realization arenas, there is also ambiguity in the function and purpose of Swedish as a second language education and integration of mother tongue tuition in the ordinary core curriculum.

As mentioned in the foregoing section, academic knowledge in the vertical discourse can also be used to address the social and cultural realities of the student; that is to say, everyday, mundane, commonsense knowledge (horizontal discourse) can be included in the vertical discourse with the aid of discursive tools to discuss and examine students' experiences of banal racism. The students experience sexism and racism as part of their cultural realities. I argue that the *transformation arena* provides ample opportunities for students' counter narratives and racial knowledge (Goldberg, 2009) to be examined and discussed in the vertical discourse as an object of knowledge.

### *Transformation arena*

In the last part of the study, in the *transformation arena* (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000), I investigate where potential gaps, or interruptions, occur and where opportunities for change and transformation in the pedagogical discourse are possible. As already mentioned above, certain gaps allow for change and transformation to occur by openly addressing sexism and racism in its mild and more severe forms in the cultural reproduction and recontextualization of school knowledge. Change and transformation of the pedagogical discourse involves addressing tacit and explicit forms of race and racism through the use of relevant concepts in the vertical discourse, i.e. sexism, context, banal racism, stereotyping, and prejudice. The kind of transformation I see possible begins with a consciousness of race as normal (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b; Leonardo, 2009), nonetheless an undesirable aspect of normality, but normal in the sense that color plays a role in subjectification (Mirza, 2006; Phoenix, 2009) of students in their encounters with the mainstream society and in the (re)production of official school knowledge (Apple, 2004; Maton & Muller, 2007).

The transformation arena refers to the pedagogical discourse and work geared towards (un)doing the divide between here and 'elsewhere' (Minh-ha, 2011). According to Trinh, 'elsewhere' is a place, a grey zone in which cross-fertilization, hybridity and diversity in the learning processes (can) occur. It is not an empty space, but an arena in which the multiplicity of students' voices can potentially challenge normative knowledge constructs, allowing counter-discourses (Leonardo, 2009) of their lived cultural realities to be voiced.

I have examined how opportunities for change and transformation can occur in three separate, but interlocking ways: 1) in the recontextualization of school knowledge where race is an apparent, but silent aspect in the vertical discourse. Herein lies the opportunity to *call out* and examine race and racism as knowledge constructs; 2) in the students voices and 'carinvalesque' (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005) approach to the racialization of their subjectivities. Allowing students to play with social stereotypes can create a third space (Bhabha, 1994) for alternative ways of meaning-making; and 3) in the kind of pedagogical code (collected and integrated codes) and school reform programs that attempt to deal with diversity and disadvantage through reformation of the students rather changing the instructional and regulative discourse. I propose a *radical visible pedagogy* (Bourne, 2004) that makes the recontextualization rules (the *how*) and racial knowledge (Goldberg, 2009) (the *what*) more explicit. I will discuss each of these findings in turn below.

### *Calling out race and racism*

The first way in which change and transformation can occur is in the recontextualization of school knowledge. From an observation of biology lesson about the function and purpose on the parts of the eye, I discuss how whiteness and white normativity is represented in the model of an eye with a blue iris. There is a distinct lack of color-consciousness (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b) and overriding belief in knowledge as universal and race neutral.

Cultural reproduction in the vertical discourse of biology reproduces whiteness and white normativity. The knowledge selected, distributed and recontextualized is about the parts and functions of the eye and the blue iris as a representation of Swedishness. The model of the eye is used for descriptive and explanatory forms of knowledge particular to biology. It is also representative of signifying practices (Hall, 1997) of the color of Swedishness and the production and reproduction of cultural difference.

By avoiding contentious social issues related to segregation and inequality, education contributes to the mis-education of disadvantaged students because of a dysconsciousness<sup>73</sup> of race, racism and other forms of power connected to white normativity. I claim that there is a tendency to avoid issues of race in the pedagogical discourse because of the myth of equality underlying school knowledge as universal and objective (Mills, 1997; Wilhelm, 1998).

Color-blindness, the dominant ideology that race does not and should not matter, not only blinds the knower, it distorts the knowledge structure as well. The presupposed neutrality in the objective of learning hides whiteness as a universal norm. Through epistemic violence (Clemente & Higgins, 2008) students learn to (mis)recognize their place in Swedish society as someone 'Other' and somewhere else. By calling out whiteness, a potential discursive gap is made possible. An interruption in the cultural reproduction enables students to challenge the black-white binary and white normativity the pedagogical discourse. Herein lies an opportunity for racial knowledge and the making of difference to be discussed and examined in the vertical discourse.

### *Creating a third space*

The second way in which change and transformation can occur is through the students' voices and contestations to their subjectification (Phoenix, 2009) as the disadvantaged 'Other' in need of compensatory pedagogy and acculturation to dominant social norms.

In an observation about preparations for the annual Lucia pageant, a tradition unique for Sweden that occurs every year on December 13th, a group of ninth grade students wanted to turn the pageant into a 'carnival' (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005) like performance. The students toyed with racialized regimes of representation that emphasized and accentuated racial and social differences.

The analysis focused on satirical challenges and playfulness which occurred in the rewording of a traditional Christmas song called the *The Sugar Baker* (Sw. *sockerbagaren*) to *The Pizza Baker* song. The distortion of the Lucia Pageantry is 'carnavalesque' (ibid.) in that the playfulness of unpredictable associations allowed the absurd to invert hegemonic orders and patterns of

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<sup>73</sup> Joyce King (2004) defines racial dysconsciousness as the opposite of critical consciousness. It is a misrecognition of the social order as correct and just. People learn to misrecognize their identity as superior or inferior depending on how society is arranged, as well as, ideas and beliefs of what is considered normal and natural.

thinking (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005) in a fantasy discourse (Löfdahl, 2004) in which students' cultural realities are included.

The stigmatizing social stereotype of *The Pizza Baker*, and the racialized epitaphs 'Blatte' and 'Svenne', revealed adolescents' awareness of racial difference made explicit in their 'carnavalesque' playfulness of social and racial stereotypes. In turn, the adolescents use of signifying practices also opened up for contestations by the dominant group, which indicated a struggle over the power for the right to use satire as a signifying practice (Hall, 1997).

Representational counter strategies, i.e. trans-coding strategies (reversal, substitution, contestation and bridging), were used to examine how the *The Pizza Baker* song contests and attempts to invert the roles of domination and subordination between the dominant group "Svenne" and the subordinate urban 'Other', i.e. "Blatte".

The reversal of stereotypes challenges a negative representation of the urban 'Other' and attempts to open up a third space (Bhabha, 1994) for the creation of hybrid identities in an attempt to bridge an ethnic and social divide. Although inverting stereotypes does not alter the dominant social order, playfulness with stereotypes creates a gap, or third space, in which subjectivities can be reversed, contested and bridged. "This gap is the meeting point of order and disorder, of coherence and incoherence. It is the crucial site of the *yet to be thought*," (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30). The gap is a potential site for changing existing power relations. Playfulness, through the use of mimicry and 'carnival' like performance, creates a third space that allows for the potential of alternative power relations, an alternative social order and an alternative society.

### *Radical visible pedagogy*

A third way changes and transformation can occur is through critical examination of the pedagogical codes. Bernstein (2000) claims that there are two main types of pedagogical codes (collected and integrated codes) that dominate the organization of education. Collection codes refer to a strong insulation of subject matter and organization of the social base. Integrated codes refer to a weaker insulation between the knowledge content and the knower. Integrated codes attempt to bring the vertical discourse and the horizontal discourse closer together, whereas collection codes maintain separateness and hierarchies of the knowledge and knower structures.

A *vertical discourse* of knowledge construction corresponds to the institutional and official discourse of knowledge. This knowledge is characterized by decontextualized, generic and universal concepts that are ordered, sequenced, categorized and hierarchical (i.e. collected codes of knowledge). The students' knowledge based on experience and everyday lives follows what Bernstein calls a *horizontal discourse*. This is local, particular and contextualized knowledge based on commonsense, or what Bernstein calls integrated codes of knowledge<sup>74</sup>.

A school reform program called “the Success Alternative” inspired by Mikeal Stigendal (2004) a professor in sociology was initiated and carried out by two teachers at Woodbridge school. The purpose of the Success Alternative project was to make schooling more “socially relevant”. The teachers' interpretation and implementation of “socially relevant” were interpreted as: 1) developing social competence, such as cooperation, consideration, and multicultural- and democratic-competence, 2) increasing student leverage by strengthening the role of the students, giving students a voice, increasing their participation in decision making processes and allocation of real influence as opposed to a contrived semblance of democracy, 3) creating new assessment procedures that focus on formative types of assessment in which the students are actively involved in determining the criteria and goals of learning, as well as, evaluating and assessing their own results, and lastly, 4) collectively establishing a view of knowledge built upon a collective and individual understanding (Möller, 2007).

The analysis focused on the kind of pedagogical code of “the Success Alternative” program used in its implementation to deal with diversity and disadvantage. The Success Alternative employed an integrated code that weakened the classification and framing of the instructional and regulative discourse. The rationale behind this choice was to shift from teacher-centered pedagogy to student centered pedagogy. An integrated code made the criteria for learning less explicit. However, changing from teacher-centered to student-centered pedagogy did not succeed in making schooling more “socially relevant” or representative of the students' lived experiences.

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<sup>74</sup> This is characteristic of (neo)liberal and progressive pedagogy appropriated and institutionalized by the middle-class which “was opposed to what it considered were repressive forms of authority (usually male) in the family and school, and industry, and was emancipatory with respect to the new concept of child to be actualized by appropriate pedagogic practices and controls,” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 50).

The reform project was aimed at weakening the boundaries of the knowledge and knower structure. This was an attempt to bring the vertical and horizontal discourses closer together. Yet, the vertical discourse and official knowledge remained unchanged. The Success Alternative focused on changing the regulative discourse, that is to say, how the knower recontextualizes school knowledge. This parallels what Bernstein refers to as competence models that focus on developing intrinsic skills and knowledge in the acquirer (Bernstein, 2000 Rose, 1999). “Socially relevant” education became a reform program aimed at remediation of the student through modifications of the regulative discourse. It was assumed that if the students were given greater control over the framing the content would become more “socially relevant”. This created confusion as to how they should produce school knowledge. It did not directly address the lack of “social relevance” in the vertical discourse, i.e. the official knowledge (cf. Maton, 2007a).

Constructing a new ideal knower model is problematic because the knower model becomes foregrounded at the expense of the pedagogical content. Thus, the knowledge structure becomes weaker and less distinct (Christie et al., 2007, p. 251). *Who* you are becomes the equivalent of *what* you know. This can be used in a radical sense to transform and transcend normativity in traditional pedagogy. But, if the goal is not transformative, then the foregrounding of local (horizontal knowledge) can obfuscate school (academic or vertical) knowledge. Thus students who do not recognize the knower code are at a greater disadvantage.

The implementation of The Success Alternative resulted in a school reform project aimed at changing the knower structure, but without reform work being done to the knowledge structure as well. This collapsed the distinction between the vertical discourse (official school knowledge) and the horizontal discourse (commonsense, local knowledge) (compare Bernstein, 1999; Wheelahan, 2010, p.58). The collapse between the vertical and horizontal discourse may have foregrounded the students’ own subjective knowledge, but it also made it more difficult for the students to distinguish the criteria for evaluation.

The epistemic knowledge<sup>75</sup>, or knowledge structure, was tied to the individual learner and his/her subjective self. In the process, this made the curricular goals opaque and hindered the possibility to transform local

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<sup>75</sup> Epistemic knowledge refers to observable, sensorial, and rational thought that is accepted as official knowledge.

knowledge into school knowledge. In turn, students became unsure about the content selected, the criteria of evaluation, and their own ability to produce, or realize, legitimate texts.

The premise that schooling lacks “social relevance” can also be due to an avoidance of intergroup relations. Changing the knower structure to a student centered pedagogy that does not address inter-group issues and increases the responsibility and the burden of integration to students already at a disadvantage. Alternatively, a radical visible pedagogy, can be employed to make the social positioning and the ideology of the content and transmission of learning explicit (Bourne, 2004). The recontextualization rules, how knowledge is reproduce, and the students’ racial knowledge (Goldberg, 2009) can be made more explicit in the vertical discourse. The Success Alternative fell short of filling in the divide between here and ‘elsewhere’ despite the good intentions to improve the quality of learning and achievement.

### **Summary of main points**

Below I have made a short summary of the knowledge contribution from this study about cultural reproduction in the pedagogical discourse.

I have observed,

- That cultural reproduction in the pedagogical discourse contributes to cultural difference and disadvantages of urban youth of color in the *formulation, realization and transformation* arenas.
- The formulation and realization of the urban ‘Other’ in urban renewal programs and compensatory pedagogic strategies accentuated rather than alleviated difference and disadvantage.
- Compensatory pedagogic strategies, which were intended to bridge the divide between Woodbridge and the mainstream society, often focused on remediation and acculturation of the individual to dominant social norms.
- Race and racism in banal and everyday forms are active and contingent aspects of the students’ experiences with the mainstream society and in the recontextualization of school knowledge.
- Students are aware of and contest, but not always, their racialized subjectivities connected to race and place.

## CHAPTER 14

In sum, I have observed three areas of opportunity for change and transformation in the pedagogical discourse: 1) calling out race and racism in the vertical discourse. This involves the recontextualization of official school knowledge, as well as, awareness of race and racism in the vertical and horizontal discourses; 2) creating a 'third space' for learning and meaning making about the students' racial knowledge. One way, is allowing for students 'carnavalesque' and playful approach to racialization in which students make satirical challenges about their cultural realities that invert the hegemonic order; and 3) applying a radical visible pedagogical discourse that makes racial knowledge and the rules governing the pedagogical communication more explicit. This can be accomplished through critical examination of the pedagogical codes (collected and integrated) in relation to the knowledge and knower structures and through critical examination of the evaluation criteria in relation to the ideal kind of knower.



## Chapter 15: Conclusions

### Summary of analytical discussion and conclusions

I have examined how difference and disadvantage is formulated and conveyed in the pedagogy for students of color in a multi-ethnic urban school. The analysis has discussed how difference is conveyed in part through cultural racism. Cultural racism refers to social and ideological practices which fixate difference as inherent and immutable traits to a social group (Essed, 1991; Pred, 2000). The students of Woodbridge are positioned as different with regards to race and place. Woodbridge is seen as being outside of the dominant white, Swedish society. Students of Woodbridge are encouraged to “get out” of Woodbridge and into the mainstream. In terms of race and place, Woodbridge and its inhabitants are positioned in an ‘elsewhere’, a place of in-between, not being or belonging to Sweden, or ideas of presupposed Swedishness.

Acculturation and assimilation to this presupposed Swedishness is enacted by compensatory pedagogy in which students and teachers carry out international and local exchange visits, local field trips and excursions abroad. Paradoxically, encounters with the mainstream society compounded and accentuated racialized differences. This occurred at the movies, swimming pools, museums, trips to Denmark and even with visitors from abroad who did not affirm or recognize the students of Woodbridge as Swedish. Difference was racialized in terms of students of color being under the ‘gaze’ of white and non-white onlookers. Suspicion and collective stigmatization of students of color from Woodbridge occurred in banal forms of everyday racism in which the students were suspects of deviance, targets of banal racism, and confronted by feelings of inferiority when on exchange visits to wealthier white suburbs.

Deficit perspectives of students of color in Woodbridge concerned language, ability and motivation. Students were viewed as lacking the knowledge, skills, motivation and language to produce legitimate texts. In an attempt to make schooling more “socially relevant” a school reform project, the Success Alternative (Sw. *Framgångsalternativet*) attempted to change the pedagogical code from teacher centered to student centered. This switch created insecurity with students who were unfamiliar with the new pedagogical code and made the evaluation criteria ambiguous.

To counter act a deficit perspective of language, the school development plan formulated a bilingual and bicultural language education program. This program was initiated to sustain and support the individuals’ right and ability to develop his/her mother tongue. However, bilingual education was never fully realized in the ordinary core curriculum. The students’ polylingual abilities stood in contrast to a monolingual norm. Mother tongue tuition and Swedish as a second language were conducted alongside the ordinary curriculum and in classes for new arrivals.

The social implications of the pedagogical organization and structure for students of color compounded difference and deficit perspectives. Students experienced ‘Othering’ when in contact with the mainstream society and when at home in Woodbridge. The burden of integration and acculturation was on the learner to accept white normativity, the dominant social order, and to comply with monolingual norms. Although the pedagogy embraced and celebrated social and cultural difference ideologically, the students were positioned (or imposed self-positioning) as non-white, non-Swedish ‘Other’ in a place of ‘elsewhere’. With regards to the content the students were taught to accept rather than question issues of racism, sexism, and stereotyping.

I observed opportunities for changing the difference and deficit perspectives in the vertical discourse. Opportunities to analyze and discuss white normativity arose in the vertical discourse in biology lessons and art education lessons. However, follow-up discussions of excursions and fieldtrips affirmed deviance and difference and avoided discussion about stereotyping, white normativity and collective stigmatization.

Teachers were reluctant to discuss segregation and marginalization in fear of affirming exclusion and ‘Otherness’. I observed that students were aware of racialized differences, white normativity, and socio-economic disparities. I observed how students played with racialized social stereotypes in a satire of a Christmas song. The students’ parody can be interpreted as a counter-

discourse to the dominant ideology of color-blindness. They are aware of racialization of their subjectivities. Students experienced race and racism, particularly banal forms of everyday racism, in their encounters with the mainstream Swedish society. However, these experiences in regards to race and racism were not brought into the vertical discourse.

Instead of compensatory pedagogy, which tended to enhance cultural racism through reification of difference and disadvantage of the learner (or knower), the focus can be turned to the learning goals and objectives (the criteria for learning), the learning content (vertical discourse) and the structure and organization of the pedagogy (i.e. the pedagogical discourse). I agree with Bernstein who argues that it is neither difference nor deficit of the student that is the primary issue. Instead, examination and transparency of the type of pedagogical code are needed to create equity in the educational content and practice. Examination and transparency of how the content of learning (the knowledge structure) is organized and conveyed, and what the expectations of the ideal kind of knower (the knower structure) takes the focus away from difference and deficit perspectives of the student.

The pedagogical code needs to be made explicit and conveyed in a language that the knower can comprehend. Rendering the pedagogic communication into soft knowledge alternatives characteristic of progressive pedagogy, or reducing the vertical knowledge to compensatory pedagogy, denies the sub-group access to powerful forms of official knowledge (Delpit, 2006; D. Rose, 1999). Recognition and realization of the pedagogical code is not dependent upon the difference or deficit of the student. Recognition and realization is dependent upon the transparency and accessibility of the language of the pedagogical discourse, how the knowledge content is structured, and what the learning criteria are.

Students can be more or less compatible or fluent in the pedagogical code and language of transmission. It is not necessary that the students be preemptively familiar with the language of transmission or the kind of pedagogical code. The quality of education and measure of success of education is the degree to which the structure and organization of the pedagogy (the pedagogical discourse) is made visible, what the learning objectives and criteria for evaluation are, and how the language of transmission is made comprehensible and accessible for the learner.

The social implications of the pedagogical discourse include aspects of accessibility and inequality of the content (the instructional discourse) and

how the content is conveyed (regulative discourse). I have touched on two separate issues with regards to the cultural reproduction of cultural difference in the pedagogical discourse. One is the accessibility (recognition and realization) of the language of the vertical discourse (knowledge content and structure). The formulation of difference and disadvantage tends to defer blame onto the students' lack of skills, knowledge and/or motivation. The other is the matter of cultural reproduction of difference and disadvantage in the knowledge content. The content in the vertical discourse affirms social inequalities by avoiding students' racial knowledge (Goldberg, 2009) and encounters with different kinds of banal everyday racism. The analytical results have highlighted this intersection between the pedagogical know-how and cultural (re)production of difference and disadvantage in the content.

I would like to make three final conclusions. Firstly, I conclude that the vertical discourse (academic knowledge) can be made accessible and comprehensible in terms of making the academic knowledge and specialized language more visible. Secondly, I conclude that the recontextualization rules governing the organization and structure of the pedagogy need to be adapted to the knower's familiarity and/or ability to recognize and realize the pedagogic code. Thirdly, I conclude that the vertical discourse also allows for opportunities to analyze and discuss the cultural production and reproduction of difference and disadvantage as a dimension of equity and iniquity in the (re)production of school knowledge.

What would happen from this and in whose interests would this work? Clarity and transparency in how the pedagogic communication is constructed works in favor of both the students' and teachers' interests. Clarity about the language and pedagogic code (for each subject) provides greater access to the recognition and realization rules, but does not mean diminishing access to powerful forms of academic knowledge. Examining racial knowledge as a dimension of the vertical discourse allows students and teachers to move beyond celebration of difference, tolerance, color-blindness, and additive approaches to diversity which tend to focus on inclusion and conformity. Racial knowledge is an aspect of equity and iniquity in the (re)production of school knowledge that is relevant to individual's cultural realities and the ability to effectively manage social and cultural diversity (Banks, 2008). Access to powerful forms of academic knowledge in conjunction to increased consciousness about race can prepare students and teachers to critically

examine school knowledge, manage issues of everyday racism, and find the gaps to alternative ways of thinking about today's society.

## Concluding remarks on sociology of knowledge and critical race theory

Feminist and critical pedagogies argue that knowledge is personal and local, yet it is also apparent that knowledge produced in school is impersonal knowledge produced, managed and regulated not for the sake of the knower but for the society. As Bernstein predicted in *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*, the end of the twentieth century will experience a dislocation of knowledge from the knower. I agree with Bernstein that knowledge is becoming, or has become, less and less a personal and more and more of a commodity. Commodity in the terms of an asset or currency that is valid in knowledge based society. Knowledge as a commodity perspective falls well into the neoliberal paradigm of individualization, free choice, economic expansionism, and the freedom of movement for people in open market economies.

It is my conclusion that the students in my study produce, construct, transmit and acquire universal and generic knowledge in school that contribute to the stabilization rather than challenge the current social order and relations of dominance. This knowledge is not normally able to and nor is it intended to address their real needs in relation to actual and experienced social inequality. Furthermore, students' access to official knowledge in the vertical discourse is truncated by low expectations and deficit perspectives. Their access to official knowledge is restricted, not always, but at times, because of assumptions about their learning interests and intellectual capacities that are not true.

The dominant color-blind ideology involves not only the denial of color, but also denies the experiences of racism and the opportunities of empowerment. In practice, students learn to uphold the status quo and the dominant social order. As mentioned above, I have observed opportunities in which discursive tools such as racism, sexism, stereotyping, prejudice and segregation can be added to the vertical discourse in both integrated and collected pedagogic codes.

Critical race theory and the sociology of knowledge combined help us to understand how, despite the long history of race and racism, people of color continue to be left out of the conversation, objectified for not adhering to the norm, or dismissed when complaints arise in formal education in today's educational systems (Ahmed, 2012; Bayati, 2014). Examining experiential knowledge about race and racism is necessary first step towards understanding how knowledge about race is constructed and acquired in schooling. Racism is exacerbated by the lack of knowledge and denial of race and racism in the formal education system (Goldberg, 2009). When attempting to address the "multicultural question" we need to first address the hidden presupposition "that the dominant culture is superior and need not be receptive to change" (Essed, 1991, p. 295). I have indicated where gaps in the pedagogical discourse can allow for alternative ways of thinking about power relations, society and the social order.

Through the pedagogical discourse students obtain not only knowledge but a pedagogical identity as well. They are taught to become a particular ideal type of student (knower) who can obtain, produce and asses their own learning. In the reproduction of universal and generic knowledge, students are not required to critically discern socio-economic and political aspects of inequality.

Bernstein's theory on sociology of knowledge seeks gaps in the pedagogical discourse that allow questions beyond the teacher – student – knowledge content triad. The socio-political questions, unasked questions about racism and sexism, and practices of silencing, 'Othering', and stereotyping can shed light on students' perspectives, experiences and cultural realities. The gaps identified in the pedagogical discourse are a place of struggle over meaning-making. I claim that in these gaps are undisclosed opportunities to open up the discourse to color-consciousness.

This leads us to the question of whether or not subjugated knowledge and unheard voices on the outer perimeter of knowledge construction can be brought into the center. The questions: *Whose* knowledge counts and why? *What* kind of knowledge is valid? Does knowledge, as a commodity, incorporate knowledge produced of and by the 'Other'? How can knowledge(s) other than the mainstream receive legitimacy? I have concluded that the social implications of cultural difference occur in the cultural reproduction of normative assumptions having to do with language, gender, sexuality, and whiteness in the vertical discourse. These normative

assumptions can be called out and racial knowledge can also be used as a discursive tool to examine the object of learning.

## Further research

Knowledge constructed *by* the 'Other', not for the 'Other' is a necessary progression to get beyond tolerance, inclusionary, additive or compensatory measures of managing "the multicultural question" (Hall, 2000). More research is needed with regards to *how* race and racism is produced in schooling and that goes beyond attaching previously silenced voices, to critiquing the structures that create the conditions for learning (Leonardo, 2009). Knowledge constructed by students is an area that can be further examined with regards to knowledge produced in particular spatial locations (Sernhede, 2002, 2011). That is to say, how the spatial location of racialized knowledge construction is relevant to "the multicultural question" in urban and non-urban areas, heterogeneous, as well as, homogeneous populations. More research is needed with regards to knowledge construction of racially marginalized *and* racially privileged groups in relation to their spatial location.

Also, in agreement with Creese and Blackledge (2010), more empirical research is needed in examining how poly-lingual students and translanguaging occurs in the pedagogic communication, how the students language skills and competencies can receive validation in the core curriculum, and how translanguaging can become accepted and implemented by educators. In turn, increasing linguistic diversity in society and schools requires teacher education to prepare teachers to teach students who speak Swedish as a second language. More research is needed with regards to teacher preparation on how to manage language diversity, teaching student teachers with Swedish as a second language, and development of Swedish as a second language tuition for all teachers.



# Summary in Swedish

## Syfte och bakgrund

Det övergripande syftet med denna studie är att undersöka hur kulturell reproduktion (Bernstein, 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) som sociala och ideologiska praktiker i utbildning konstruerar och förmedlar kulturella skillnader i vardagen. Vidare studeras hur dessa praktiker genom den pedagogiska diskursen reproducerar orättvisor och sedermera var öppningar för förändring av diskursen kan finnas. Mer specifikt försöker jag förstå hur sociala och kulturella skillnader konstrueras, framträder och utvärderas i den pedagogiska diskursen mellan lärare och elever i nionde klass. Mina akademiska syften är: för det första att applicera ras och rasism som analytiska begrepp för att studera kulturell reproduktion i skolan. För det andra är det att studera hur organisering och strukturer i den pedagogiska praktiken genom institutionella ordningar bidrar till social ojämlikhet och orättvisa. För det tredje vill jag lämna ett viktigt bidrag till utbildningssociologin, genom att adressera social ojämlikhet som ett kunskapsobjekt med utgångspunkt i rekontextualisering av skolkunskaper (Bernstein, 2000).

I USA och Storbritannien är *ras* och *rasism* väletablerade områden inom utbildningsvetenskap (Gillborn, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Leonardo, 2009). I den svenska utbildningsvetenskapen, förefaller dock vara i avsaknad av ras som analytiskt verktyg. Min avsikt är att introducera rasbegreppet (Hübinette et al., 2012) i utbildningsvetenskapliga diskurser och teorier (Beach & Lunneblad, 2011; Broman et al., 2002; Rubenstein Reich & Tallberg Broman, 2000). Jag menar att begreppet är av stor vikt för att kunna belysa och studera sociala implikationer av pedagogiska praktiker och hur dessa bidrar till social och kulturell ojämlikhet för icke-vita<sup>76</sup> ungdomar i urbana områden. (Gillborn, 2008).

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<sup>76</sup> "Icke-vite" är en socialt konstruerad beteckning som är problematiskt eftersom det reifierar och kategoriserar människor i en biologisk rasdiskurs. Syftet här är inte att upprätthålla utan snarare dekonstruera hur "ras" och "vithet" görs i sociala och diskursiva praktiker. Kritiska ras- och vithetsteoretiker (Leonardo, 2009) hävdar att även om "ras" och "vithet" anses vara sociala konstruktioner, leder dessa till materiella, sociala och ekonomiska konsekvenser och skillnader mellan människor.

I liberala och demokratiska samhällen konfronteras lärare ständigt med vad Stuart Hall benämner "den multikulturella frågan"<sup>77</sup>. Lärare är därför ofta i behov av vägledning i frågor som berör mångfald, rättvisa och ras. De sociala praktikerna underlåter att erkänna att färgblindhet (color-blindness) och ras är problematiska, särskilt i relation till konstruktion och reproduktion av skol kunskap. Elever, lärare och ämnesinnehåll förmedlar och konstruerar därmed ofta vedertagna rasifierade<sup>78</sup> (racialized) subjekt. Studier av rasrelationer och kunskapsproduktion om ras, kan belysa hur konstruktioner av sociala och kulturella skillnader bidrar till den reproduktion av social ojämlikhet som också är närvarande och påtaglig i liberala och demokratiska samhällen som Sverige (Pred, 2000).

Det förefaller inte heller som om samhällsnormen inte påbjuder att ras identifieras eller diskuteras. I det offentliga samtalet inom politik, utbildning och akademi är ras i det närmaste ett minerat område. Omnämmande eller samtal om ras verkar ofta provocerande, vilket resulterar i missriktade benämningar eller omskrivningar av icke-vita individer. Det är då fråga om etiketterande benämningar som utpekar icke-vita människor och skapar olika former och kulturellt accepterade konfigurationer som: "invandrare", "missgynnade", "tvåspråkiga", "nya svenskar" och "nyanlända". Termerna "ras" och "rasism" undviks dock konsekvent; de är elefanten i rummet och liksom i "kejsarens nya kläder" undviks diskussioner om det uppenbara och färgblindheten görs till norm (Bonilla-Silva, 2014).

Ras och rasism betraktas i offentliga och privat institutioner så som skolan som icke demokratiskt och oacceptabelt; samtidigt är differentiering i enlighet med kulturella linjer högst närvarande i både det offentliga och privata. Men var drar vi skiljelinjerna? Hur hanterar lärare de sociala och kulturella skillnaderna, utan att reproducera "kulturell rasism"? Hur kan lärare undvika etnocentriska och essentiella idéer om "ras" i den pedagogiska diskursen? Är det möjligt att undvika kulturell rasism i pedagogiskt arbete? Kan undvikandet av alla diskriminerande "-ismer" baserade på: ras, kön, klass, sexualitet, ålder, funktion och så vidare; faktiskt bidra till social ojämlikhet? I en ideal värld skall lärare lära ut och förmedla till elever de normer och värden som är

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<sup>77</sup> Stuart Hall (2000) refererar till "den multikulturella frågan" som "det dubbla kravet på jämlikhet och social rättvisa, och på erkännandet av skillnader och kulturell mångfald" (s.10). [http://red.pucp.edu.pe/ridei/wp-content/uploads/biblioteca/Stuart\\_Hall\\_The\\_multicultural\\_question.pdf](http://red.pucp.edu.pe/ridei/wp-content/uploads/biblioteca/Stuart_Hall_The_multicultural_question.pdf)

<sup>78</sup> "Rasifierade" (SOU, 2005:41) används för att beskriva hur normer, stereotyper, värderingar, attityder används och görs i sociala och diskursiva praktiker för att skapa sociala konstruerade åtskillnader pga. hudfärg, beteende, språk, eller något annat yttre attribut som tillskrivs en kollektiv.

karaktäristiska för liberala och demokratiska samhällen. Ändå kan ”färgblindhet” eller undvikande av rasfrågor verka som ett socialt och kulturellt acceptabelt sätt att (inte) hantera diskriminering (Leonardo, 2009a).

Så som det nämnts här ovan, är ras och rasism inte kulturellt accepterade termer för att göra distinktioner i vardagen. För att kunna studera hur det svenska utbildningssystemet konstruerar och förmedlar sociala och kulturella skillnader, är det nödvändigt att studera de omskrivningar och kategoriserande praktiker som visar på ”annorlundaskap”. Dessutom behövs studier av de lärandepraktiker som definierar gränserna för ”svenskhet”. Det är i denna intersektion mellan ”annorlundaskap” och ”svenskhet” som normalitet får sina konturer.

Det finns ett fåtal svenska studier som explicit studerar hur ras och rasism kommer till uttryck genom olika dimensioner av institutionell diskriminering (Bayati, 2014; Beach & Lunneblad, 2011; Dovemark, 2013; Sawyer, 2000, 2006; SOU, 2006:40). Studier i skandinavisk kontext indikerar att ras och rasism är relevanta faktorer på institutionsnivå, men uttrycker inte explicit ras eller rasism som analytiska verktyg (Gitz-Johansen, 2006; Gruber, 2007; Haglund, 2005; Lunneblad, 2006; Parszyk, 1999; Runfors, 2003; Schwartz, 2013). Ras och rasism spelar också roll för den ideologiska reproduktionen och rekontextualiseringen av skolkunskaper i skolans läromedel (Mattlar, 2008; Skolverket, 2006).

Som nämnts i introduktionen här ovan undviks termerna ras och rasism i den liberala demokratiska diskursen. Detta kan relateras till hur kunskap om ras konstrueras i skolan, vilket är den kritiska punkt i vilken jag tar min utgångspunkt. Hur kan kunskap om ras och rasism framställas om det inte adresseras öppet och explicit som ett kunskapsobjekt?

Postkoloniala och feministiska forskare avvisar bestämt gängse västerländska och europeiska anspråk på neutral, objektiv och universell kunskap. Anspråket ifrågasätts också av James Banks (2008), en teoretiker och forskare inom kritisk multikulturell utbildning som definierar kunskap som en social konstruktion som bär på sociala, politiska och normativa antaganden. Den feministiska teoretikern Sandra Hardinger, utmanar också idén om att vetenskapen är kulturellt neutral och hävdar att föreställningar om naturen alltid är sammankopplade med skiftande religiösa och politiska ideal (2006, s. 46).

Flera teoretiker inom kritisk pedagogik, sociolingvistik och utbildningssociologi argumenterar för att *vad* elever lär sig är ett område som

behöver utforskas mer (t.ex. Apple, 2004; Banks, 2006; Hoadley & Muller, 2010). Basil Bernsteins sociologiska teori om kunskapskonstruktion är användbar för att undersöka *hur* kunskap konstrueras, av vem och för vem, teorin länkar samman *vad*, *hur*, *var* och *när*. Bernstein menar att kunskaper kontextualiserar specifikt ämnesinnehåll genom lär praktiker som länkas till aktuella sociala lokaliteter och förhållanden. Sociala ordningar, samhällsstrukturer och sociala ojämlikheter reproduceras således genom pedagogisk praktik.

Kunskapers innehåll, eller mer specifikt: kunskap som studieobjekt behöver uppmärksammas mer. För att kunna stävja reproduktionen av social ojämlikhet och förtryck i utbildning behövs helt enkelt mer kunskap om kunskap (Maton & Muller, 2007). Genom att undersöka hur kunskap kontrolleras och produceras, kan skillnader, förtryck och ideologiska konflikter som underbygger social ojämlikhet adresseras. Jag använder mig av Bernsteins teoretiska kunskapsociologi (the Sociology of knowledge) för att studera hur utbildning som en primär agent för kulturell reproduktion, bidrar till sociala och ekonomiska orättvisor för icke-vita ungdomar i urbana områden (urban youth of color).

För att mildra effekten av de ökade sociala skillnaderna i västerländska samhällen, argumenterar kritiska sociala teoretiker för att det finns ett behov av att identifiera och diskutera kulturella drag i pedagogiska utbildningsdiskurser (och inom akademien) (see Anyon, 2009; Banks, 2008; Harding, 2006). Kritisk pedagogik och kritisk social teori överbryggar klyftan mellan pedagogik och utbildningsociologi. I min studie används ett utbildningsociologiskt perspektiv för att nå insikter i relationen mellan mångfald och ojämlikhet, så som det produceras, rekontextualiseras och överförs i skolan kunskapskonstruktion.

## Frågeställningar

- Hur konstrueras och förmedlas kulturella skillnader i utbildning?
- Vilka är de sociala implikationerna av sociala och kulturella skillnader?
- Var uppkommer möjligheter för förändring och transformering av den pedagogiska praktiken?

## Metodologiska och teoretiska ställningstaganden

Etnografi är enkelt uttryckt, representationer av vardagsliv. Denna till synes enkla beskrivning, föranleder ontologiska frågor om rimligheten och giltigheten i att skildra "verklighet". Även om avsikten att problematisera skildringar av "verklighet" kan förefalla självklar ur ontologisk synvinkel, behövs ändå klargöranden av dess vetenskapliga värde och möjliga bidrag till forskning.

Etnografins validitetsanspråk och vetenskapliga relevans kan ifrågasättas utifrån dess skenbara brist på specificitet, klarhet, avgränsning och systematisering. I jämförelse med naturvetenskapliga "evidens baserade" eller kliniska studier kan det förefalla oklart huruvida en metodologi som gör anspråk på att dokumentera och förstå händelser i vardagligt "verkligt liv" kan presentera gångbara resultat. Det kan dock vara viktigt att ha i åtanke att etnografen härstammar från kulturstudier och samhällsvetenskap, inom vilka forskningen om världen söker efter att förstå snarare än förklara sociala fenomen (Geertz, 1973; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Definitiva och slutgiltiga resultat om socialt liv är helt enkelt inte det huvudsakliga målet för etnografisk forskning.

Kunskap som produceras i etnografiskt arbete bidrar till vetenskapen och till vetenskapliga studier genom att studera verkliga livshändelser inom särskilda kontexter. Målet är att producera avkontextualiserad kunskap om social interaktion som inte är avkontextualiserad. Den kunskap och meningsskapande som etnografen erbjuder kan således bidra till vetenskapen, genom att göra sociala situationer och fenomen i vardagslivet mer begripliga. Syftet med situerade och kontextualiserade studier om vardagsliv, platser, människor och interaktion, är att förstå hur meningsskapande processer är beroende av de sociala, kulturella, historiska, politiska och ekonomiska kontexter inom vilka de äger rum. Det handlar också om att förstå att meningsskapande processer är socialt relevanta i både forskares och deltagares perspektiv; det är så att säga ett begagnande av både etiska och emiska perspektiv (Geertz, 1973).

En kritisk etnografisk ansats tar sin utgångspunkt i vardagliga situationer och ställer sociala och politiska frågor och perspektiv i förgrunden. Poängen är inte att göra min studie politisk, utan att explicitgöra och understryka hur *det politiska* inverkar i vardagslivet för de människor som figurerar i studien.

Vikten av det politiska genomsyrar forskningsdesignen, kunskapskonstruktionen och bidraget till ett särskilt forskningsfält. Det politiska är dock inget slutresultat, utan en aktiv aspekt i observationer, dataproduktion och analys. Det är baserat på förutsättningen att den värld vi lever i är politisk. Inom kritisk etnografi, är både forsknings objektet och processen politiserade, i syftet att synliggöra hur det sociala livet genomsyras av det politiska och av asymmetriska maktrelationer.

I analysen hämtas inspiration från Bernsteins teorier (Bernstein, 1990, 2000) om relationen mellan struktur och organisering av den pedagogiska diskursen och om den kulturella reproduktionen av sociala och kulturella orättvisor. De begrepp som hämtats från (Bernstein, 1990, 2000) och som använts i studiens kritiska etnografi är: *klassifikation* (classification), *inramning* (framing), *elaborerande kod* (elaborate) och *begränsad kod* (restricted). Dessutom används begreppen: *synlig* (visible) och *osynlig pedagogik, samlade* (collected) och *integrerade* (integrated) pedagogiska koder, *igenkänningsregler* (recognition rules) och *realiseringsregler* (realization rules), *rekontextualisering* (recontextualization), *undervisande* och *regulativa diskurser* (instructional and regulative discourses) och *horisontell och vertikal kunskap* samt *kunskapar strukturer* (horizontal and vertical knowledge and knower structures). Dessa begrepp inramas av en övergripande analys av pedagogiska strukturer på en institutionell nivå. För att möjliggöra detta har jag valt att använda Lindensjö och Lundgrens (2000) tre "arenor": *formuleringsarenan*, *realiseringsarenan* och *transformeringsarenan*.

Kulturella skillnader och orättvisor studeras både ur ett *critical race* teoretiskt- och ett kunskapssociologiskt perspektiv. Det *critical race* teoretiska perspektivet innebär i den här studien att kunskaper om ras och rasism analyseras i relation till makt/motstånd och privilegiering/marginalisering samt inkludering/exkludering i den pedagogiska diskursen. Begrepp med ursprung i *critical race* teori inbegriper *färgblindhet* (color-blindness), "andrefiering" (othering), *omedveten/mismedveten* (dysconscious) *rasism* (King, 2004), *vitbet* (whiteness), *motdiskurs* (counter discourse) och *kulturell rasism*.

Kombinationen av de teoretiska perspektiven avser att belysa hur kunskap om ras och rasism kan studeras som system av sociala och diskursiva praktiker i utbildning.

I min avhandling används utbildning i vid mening, så som det görs inom kunskapssociologin och inom kritisk social teori (Anyon, 2009; Apple, 2004). Kunskap är inte enbart fakta, färdigheter, information eller beskrivningar. Kunskap är snarare sociala konstruktioner som reflekterar socialt och

kulturellt situerade<sup>79</sup> mänskliga idéer, värden, intressen och övertygelser. Utbildningens normer, makt och innehåll kan betraktas som situerade inom "verksamhetsområden" (fields of practice, Bernstein, 2000). Enligt Bernstein inkluderar dessa områden producenter, reproducenter och mottagare (producers, reproducers and acquirers) av formella skolkunskaper. Verksamhetsområden är utrymmen för tvister och kamp om den *symboliska kontrollen* över olika nivåer av utbildningssystemet. Med hänsyftning till pedagogik, använder Bernstein "symbolisk kontroll" för att kommunicera den makt som kan konstruera och legitimera olika typer av medvetenhet, lämplighet (disposition) och begär (Bernstein, 2001). Lindensjö och Lundgren (2000) refererar till verksamhetsområdena som arenor inom vilka den *symboliska kontrollen* innehar makten att formulera, realisera och transformera pedagogiken. Följaktligen undersöks normer, makt, innehåll och kunskap som aspekter av den pedagogiska diskursen vilken förhandlats och definierats i en bestämd social, ekonomisk och historisk kontext.

Med inspiration från Bernsteins kunskapssociologiska teori (Bernstein, 1990, 2000, 2001) och från critical race teorin (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b; Leonardo, 2009) fokuserar analysen på *formulering* av kulturella skillnader i policy och praktik. Vidare analyseras *realisering* eller implementering av sociala och ideologiska praktiker som konstruerar och förmedlar sociala och kulturella skillnader i skolvardagen. *Transformering* analyseras slutligen som störningar eller mellanrum i verksamhetsområdet (field of practice) som kan leda till transformering och förändring.

Avhandlingens empiriska material består av deltagandeobservationer och intervjuer med skolledare, lärare och elever i årskurs nio, det sista året i grundskolan. Skolan där studien ägt rum är en multietnisk kommunal skola belägen i ett låginkomstområde (i studien benämnd Woodbridge) i en större stad. Tre nionde klasser och deras lärare observerades under tre års tid, mellan 2006 och 2009. En femteklass observerades också under en termin.

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<sup>79</sup> Här används kultur för att beteckna symbolisk makt, idéer och övertygelser som delas eller är vanliga inom en särskild social grupp. Detta liknar hur kultur används som begrepp inom kulturstudier (Hall, 1997).

## Analytiska resultat

I följande avsnitt summeras studiens mest framträdande resultat. Det utgör en presentation av huvudsakliga slutsatser utifrån studiens övergripande syfte: *att undersöka hur kulturell reproduktion i den pedagogiska diskursen (re)producerar sociala och kulturella skillnader och orättvisor i utbildning av icke-vita ungdomar i urbana områden*. Presentationen följer den ordning som utgörs av studiens specificerade frågeställningar som anges i syftesförklaringen här ovan. Dessa frågeställningar fungerar också som rubriker i texten. Avsnittet avslutas med en kort sammanfattning av det kunskapsbidrag denna studie lämnar till en breddad förståelsen av kulturell reproduktion i den pedagogiska diskursen.

### Hur konstrueras och förmedlas kulturella skillnader i utbildning?

Det är av vikt att resultatet erbjuder ett institutionellt perspektiv och en introduktion till formuleringsarenan på vilken Woodbridge kategoriseras som ”annanstans” (Minh-ha, 2011). Resultatet inleds således med analysen av diskursiva *formuleringar* av ”skillnad” i statliga åtgärdsstrategier, stadsförnyelse och skolutvecklingsprogram; program som riktas mot utbildning av icke-vita elever i låginkomstområden. På formuleringsarenan (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000), diskuteras konstruktioner av skillnad inledningsvis ur ett policy och praktik perspektiv. Jag undersöker hur policy och praktik tillsammans konstruerar elevsubjekt i relation till ras och plats och hur elever kan befinna sig i och samtidigt inte tillhöra det svenska samhället.

Ras och plats används som tecken (Hall, 1997) vilka konstruerar fysiska och symboliska uppdelningar mellan skolan som plats och omgivningen. Detta var delvis utgångspunkten för den statliga åtgärdsstrategin ”Storstadssatsningen” som fokuserade på stadsförnyelse (Borelius, 2004; Proposition, 1997/98:165). ”Storstadssatsningen” syftade till att utjämna skillnader genom att förbättra utbildnings- och inkomstmöjligheter för immigranter och icke-vita<sup>80</sup> människor (people of color) i segregerade och så kallade missgynnade områden. Faktorer som fattigdom, arbetslöshet, dåliga hälsotal, bidragsberoende och låg utbildning kan också tolkas som indikatorer

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<sup>80</sup> ”Icke-vita” används här som en översättning av ”people of color”. Syftet är inte att befästa rasbiologiska beteckningar och kategoriseringar av vita/icke-vita. Poängen är att tydliggöra materiella och socio-ekonomiska skillnader mellan sociala grupper på en samhällsnivå och de ojämlika maktförhållanden som bidrar till ”den rasifierade staden” (Molina, 2008). Dessa områden karaktäriseras av ”white flight” dvs områden som har blivit svenskglea (R. Andersson, 2008).

för en ”annanhet” som urskiljer Woodbridge från ett imaginärt välbeställt och jämlikt samhälle (Anderson, 1983). Fokus på verkliga och imaginära olikheter stör den föreställda enigheten i den dominerande sociala ordningen. ”Storstadssatsningen” har således, genom att begagna en bristdiskurs, oavsiktligt bidragit till upprättandet av en skiljelinje mellan Woodbridge och det så kallade ”svenska samhället” och till ”andrefiering” av områdets invånare.

Bristperspektiv på social status och på plats är faktorer som inverkar på klassifikationen av Woodbridge som ”annanstans”. (Minh-ha, 2011). Invånarna och området är inte erkända som medlemmar av det svenska samhället. Woodbridges geografiska placering är symboliskt en *icke*-svensk zon (Andersson, 2008). Denna starka klassifikation av Woodbridges invånare konstruerar en social ordning som kategoriserar dem som separerade från en (mono-kulturell) nationell (see Borevi, 2002) diskurs. För att överbrygga denna uppdelning, uppmanades elever att lämna Woodbridge. Klassifikationen är en social och ideologisk praktik som skapar sociala skillnader vilka förkroppsligas av elever på grundval av var de bor.

Bristperspektivet är en dimension av formuleringsarenan som också placerar skulden i elevernas händer. Bristdiskursen reflekteras i hur elever positioneras som undermåliga då det handlar om förmåga, motivation och akademiska prestationer. Lärarna har typologiskt klassificerat eleverna i fyra huvudtyper eller prestationskategorier: 1) motiverade elever med förmåga, 2) o-motiverade med förmåga, 3) motiverade utan förmåga, och 4) o-motiverade utan förmåga. Denna typologi placerar problemet hos eleverna snarare än i den pedagogiska och institutionella praktiken som kontrollerar distributionen, rekontextualiseringen och utvärderandet av skolkunskaper. Inte heller syns någon skugga falla över de pedagogiska koder som organiserat överföring och förvärvande av kunskap.

Motivation och förmåga diskuterades i termer av medfödda egenskaper och inneboende skillnader mellan elever. Undermåliga akademiska prestationer förklarades med oförmåga och/eller bristande motivation hos den enskilda eleven och/eller den sociala grupp eleven ansågs tillhöra. Detta gjordes tydligt då romska elever blev kollektivt stigmatiserade som tillhörande en social grupp som är omotiverade, och/eller oförmögna. Denna klassifikation kan också förstås som en konsekvens av sociala olikheter och rasifiering av förmågor. Skolan saknade resurser och ekonomiska medel för att tillgodose elevers skiftande behov. Detta gällde för elever i behov av särskilt

stöd, för möjligheten att få modersmålsundervisning och för elever som av olika anledningar hade behov utöver den ordinarie undervisningen. Då de elever som hade romskt ursprung klassificerades som o-motiverade och utan förmåga resulterade det i att stöd och resurser i stället riktades mot elever som klassificerats som med förmåga eller som motiverade. Lärarens förväntningar påverkade hur resurser tilldelades, vem som fick extra stöd och hur detta stöd gavs.

Elevers språkliga brister var också en angelägenhet för lärarna; detta kopplades till diskursen om motivation och förmåga. Eleverna betraktades som bristande i både svenska språket och i sitt modersmål. Elevers otillräckliga språk sågs som särskilt problematiskt av skolans ämneslärare (Bunar, 2010). Återigen placerades den språkliga (o)förmågan hos den enskilda eleven och inte i skolans språkliga praktik. Att definiera problem som en brist i elevers förmåga att behärska svenska, faller direkt under en kulturell brist modell (the cultural deficit model) (Banks, 2008; Bruner, 1996; Gitz-Johansen, 2009) och är en form av lingvisism (linguicism) (Lindberg, 2011; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2009). Jag betraktar denna modell som ett otillräckligt svar på den sociala verkligheten där social och kulturell olikhet i språklig och kulturell mångfald präglar elevers kroppar och samhället överlag (Jørgensen, 2008; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Quist, 2008). Det är ett misslyckande för skolan som inte förmår kommunicera de nödvändiga pedagogiska koder som behövs för att ta emot skolkunskaper. Skolan har inte lyckats möjliggöra för elever att känna igen och realisera det språk som används för kommunikation och lärande (Bernstein, 1990, 2000).

En annan skillnadskonstruktion observerades i formulering och implementering av det tvåspråkiga utbildningsprogrammet. Analysen av den pedagogiska diskursen visar på hinder och spänningar mellan språkpolicy och den vardagliga undervisningspraktiken. Stödet för den tvärkulturella och multilingvistiska utvecklingen av elevers språk och kultur blev aldrig helt integrerade i undervisningen. Enligt skolledningen var misslyckandet av implementeringen av tvåspråkiga program beroende av övertaglighet bland de lärare som företrädde mångfald i lärarlaget och en allmän oro bland lärarna på skolan. Implementering och arbete med lärares värderingar och attityder till mångfald hade således pausats.

I praktiken blev den flerspråkiga undervisningen reducerad till anställningar av flerspråkiga lärare och ett fixerande av svenska som

undervisningsspråk i de ordinarie skolämnena. Målet med flerspråkig utbildning var enligt skolutvecklingsplanen att stötta och uppmuntra flerspråkiga och interkulturella identiteter. I praktiken reducerades det dock till ett stödprogram för elever med ett annat modersmål än svenska som ett sätt att möjliggöra integration i det dominerande ”svenska samhället”.

Även om flerspråkighet har ett värde för individen, var modersmålet en indikation av icke-svenskhet; att vara någon som är en ”annan”. Elevernas modersmål värderades inte lika högt som svenskan och var sällan en utgångspunkt för undervisning i skolvardagens ämnesinnehåll. Paradoxalt nog stötte den ”goda” intentionen och mångfaldsretoriken som omfamnade språklig mångfald, på motstånd i det officiella skolspråket i vilket lärandet pågick i sin enspråkiga norm med svenskan som nödvändighet (Dahl, 2000; Jörgensen, 2008; Tesfahuney, 1999).

I praktiken stöter den interkulturella och flerspråkiga utbildningen på flera hinder. För det första behövde lärare vidareutbildning i svenska som andraspråk. För det andra fick den tvåspråkiga undervisningen stryka på foten då lärartjänster drogs in. För det tredje var skolans resurser inte nog för att erbjuda alla nyanlända elever det stöd de är berättigade till.

”Storstadssatsningen” inspirerade skolan i Woodbridge att utveckla en policy och ett flerspråkigt utbildningsprogram som framhöll social och kulturell mångfald. Trots ledningens försök att implementera en internationell och interkulturell profil, indikerar ledningens och lärarnas narrativ en tvehågsenhet och ovilja mot implementeringen i förhållande till skolutvecklingsplanen. Klassifikationen av skolan som internationell och positiv till social och kulturell mångfald kan betraktas som en ”feel-good” strategi som leder bort från tankar om sociala och rasifierade spänningar och skillnader. Uppmärksamheten riktas istället mot elevernas kulturella brister snarare än mot strukturellt betingade ojämlikheter i det svenska samhället. Den internationella och interkulturella profilen lyckades inte ta sig an de underliggande orsakerna till segregering och exkludering som ”Storstadssatsningen” skulle motverka.

Skolans utvecklingsplan formulerar således en fabricerad ”feel-good” ansats gentemot social och språklig mångfald (Möller, 2010). Den konsensus som konstruerats kring icke kontroversiella eller mindre kontroversiella idéer, handlade om att transformera individer till interkulturella personer som kan navigera i olika kulturer, t.ex. den svenska kulturen och i en icke dominerande kultur. Dess fokus låg i att förändra eleven till en kompetent flerspråkig

svensktalande individ. Idén uppehölls genom konsensus om svenska som det dominerande undervisningsspråket.

Mindre populär var idén om att ändra kunskapsstruktur från enspråkig till mångspråkig (polylingual) (Jørgensen, 2008). Bild, musik och naturvetenskaps lärare, tillsammans med andra ämneslärare strävade inte efter att inkorporera andra språk i sin undervisning. Att göra förändringar av undervisnings eller regulativa diskursen i enlighet med en mångspråkig (polylingual) norm skulle kräva en förändring av språket som används för överföring och förvärvande av kunskaper. För att göra det skulle det krävas en förändring av de distribuerande, rekontextualiserande och utvärderande regler som den pedagogiska diskursen bygger på.

Mångspråkighet inbegrips inte heller i utvärderingskriterier i bedömning. Det finns således få incitament för att inkludera mångspråkiga utbildningspraktiker i undervisande och regulativa diskurser. Om enspråkighet är det enda språket för överföring av kunskap och också det språkliga kriteriet för utvärdering, görs mångspråkighet ogiltigt och utan mening. Jag hävdar att språk, dialekter och sociolekter enbart kan betraktas som valid valuta på realiseringsarenan, om de också inkluderas i bedömningskriterier.

Den institutionella förändring som behövs, kräver ett paradigmskifte från en enspråkig svensk norm till en mångspråkig norm i läroplanen. Realiseringen av ett mångspråkigt utbildningsprogram är inte beroende av individuella lärare, det kräver en institutionell förändring av sociala strukturer i den pedagogiska apparaten och i de tre överbyggande arenorna för formulering, realisering och transformering.

## **Vilka är de sociala implikationerna av sociala och kulturella skillnader?**

På realiseringsarenan (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000), den arenan på vilken pedagogiska mål, filosofier och riktlinjer implementeras har jag undersökt hur kulturella skillnader framträdde och förmedlades i den pedagogiska diskursen och vilka de sociala implikationerna var. Sociala implikationer för icke-vita elever i Woodbridge hämtas från observationer och analyser av hur elever konstruerades och ständigt kompensterades för sociala och kulturella skillnader. Jag har fokuserat på lärardiskurser och pedagogiska diskurser för att förstå logiker och val bakom de metoder och den pedagogik som används för

att överbrygga mellanrummet mellan här och ”annanstans”. I resultatet diskuteras hur försök att överbrygga mellanrummet istället bekräftar ”annanhet”.

Skolans intention var att minimera mellanrummet mellan Woodbridge och ”livet utanför” genom att låta eleverna möta det övriga samhället. Enligt skolledarna var detta inte menat att nedvärdera de erfarenheter elever i Woodbridge hade, utan målet var att stötta integration och införlivandet av svenska normer. Jag argumenterar för att försök att överbrygga skillnaderna kan betraktas som en form av kompensatorisk pedagogik (Gitz-Johansen, 2009) som syftade till att kompensera för brister i elevernas ”svenskheter”. Den kompensatoriska ansatsen baserades på ett kulturellt bristperspektiv (Bruner, 1996; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986). Detta resulterade i att den pedagogiska diskursen i undervisningen tillsammans med den regulativa diskursen placerade skuld på eleverna, upprätthöll orättvisor för icke-vita elever och accentuerade vita privilegier.

Viktiga och signifikanta strategier för att skolan skulle verka för att överbrygga skillnader mellan här och ”annanstans” var utbytesprogram, utflykter, studiebesök och exkursioner till lokala institutioner och aktiviteter.

Utbytesprogram med andra skolor inom kommunen och skolor i andra länder ansåg kunna överbrygga skillnader mellan Woodbridge och det övriga svenska samhället. Skapandet av positiva sociala interaktioner var menade att minska rädsla för det okända och att nå bekantskap med det svenska samhället. Utbytet med närbelägna skolor tenderade dock att förvärpa känslan av kulturell underlägsenhet hos eleverna. Besök i mer välbärgade förorter förstärkte de sociala olikheterna för eleverna från Woodbridge. Trots lärarnas och byråkraternas åsikter om att det fanns behov av att utveckla kontakter med ”svenska skolor”, avslutades kontakterna då skillnader snarare förstärktes än upplöstes för eleverna. Detta kan betraktas som ett försök att realisera den interkulturella pedagogiken som skrivits fram i skolans utvecklingsplan. Sociala olikheter eller anledningar till att Woodbridge klassificerades som missgynnat och i behov av stadsförnyelse, adresserades dock aldrig; varken på formuleringsarenan eller genom ”feel-good” ansatsen. Utbyten med och besök vid ett ungdomscentrum för flyktingar från Jordanien bekräftade också elevernas marginaliserade status som etniskt ”andra”. Då gästerna från Jordanien skulle besöka en familj i Woodbridge, ansågs en arabisktalande familj vara för likt och inte representativt för det svenska. Skolans utvecklingsteam planerade att utöka utbytesprogrammet genom samarbete

med en skola i en annan del av staden. Skolutvecklarna tog kontakt med och presenterade projektet för en annan skola som ansågs representera ”svenskhet” och ”svenskar”.

Skolutvecklingsledare på Woodbridge skolan poängterade att eleverna i Jordanien är flyktingar och de problematiserade de särskilda villkoren som gällde för dessa barn genom att trycka på att barnen där var flyktingar. De betonade deras utsatthet och behov. Däremot undvek skolan i Woodbridge att diskutera social och etnisk segregation som eleverna upplevde här i Sverige. Trots att elevernas svenska medborgarskap, positionerades av lärare och besökare från flyktinglägret som icke-svenska. Det är intressant att notera att inkludering/exkludering som svensk inte diskuteras i termer av etnicitet. Det antogs att elever aktivt hade valt en icke-svensk identitet. Lärarna hävdade vidare att exkludering är en falsk identitet och ”annanhet” sågs som en fråga om val snarare än som ålagd verklighet. Skolutvecklingsledarna undvek att påpeka utanförskap i en utanförskapsskola. Genom att undvika infekterade sociala frågor relaterade till segregation och ojämlikhet, bidrar skolan till felutbildning (miss-education). Eleverna utvecklar en omedvetenhet/missmedvetenhet (dysconsciousness)<sup>81</sup> om ras och rasism. Det förstärker elevernas behov av motdiskurser och upplevelser av ”annanhet”.

Liknande erfarenheter av ”annanhet” uppkom när eleverna var på utflykter till museum eller biografier. Både eleverna i årskurs nio och i årskurs fem erfor direkta former av diskriminering och vardagsrasism. (Essed, 1991) när de gick på bio. En grupp pojkar i nionde klass upplevde en form av banal vardagsrasism då de attackerades med godis som kastades på dem av etniskt svenska (läs vita) elever. Pojkarna underbyggde inte konflikten genom att ge igen, utan påkallade sin lärare Rositas uppmärksamhet för att få hjälp när ingen annan lärare ingrep. Pojkarna från Woodbridge var de enda icke-vita eleverna på skolföreställningen. De såg dock inte själva detta som en rasifierad incident. Klassläraren Rosita bekräftade att eleverna var under ständig övervakning och ”kollades noga” (the gaze) (Paechter, 1998; Yancy, 2008) när de kom i kontakt med det svenska samhället. Vid en liknande händelse, följde en femteklass inte de sociala normerna för uppförande då de besökte en biograf. I skolämnet ”Livskunskap” fick de således en uppföljande lektion i

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<sup>81</sup> Joyce King (2004) definierar missmedvetenhet om ras (racial dysconsciousness) som motsatsen till kritisk medvetenhet. Det är ett misskännande av den sociala ordningen som korrekt och rättvis. Människor lär sig att misskänna sin identitet som över eller underordnad beroende på hur samhället är arrangerat så väl som på hur idéer och övertygelser reglerar vad som är ansett som normalt och naturligt.

socialt uppförande och hur de bör uppträda på en biograf. De blev rasifierade i termer av att vara ”invandrarungar” med ”mörkt hår” som betraktades som ”ambassadörer” för Woodbridge. Deras överträdelser konstruerades som en provokation mot etniskt svenska personer, något som kunde provocera fram rasistiska reaktioner. Eleverna i Woodbridge motsatte sig rasifieringen av deras uppförande och menade att svenska ungar också gör så. Vid båda dessa tillfällen, tvingades eleverna att nöja sig med en kollektiv stigmatisering. Deras ”annanhet” kan kopplas till ras och plats eftersom normer om vithet och svenskhet synliggörs när elever från Woodbridge kommer i kontakt med det ”svenska” samhället.

I termer av lär tillfällen, lärde sig femteklassarna att deras uppförande är relaterat till ras och att de måste nöja sig med och acceptera status quo och vit normativitet. Ett mellanrum (gap) eller ett avbrott (interruption) i konstruktionen av kunskap om ras och rasism, fanns tillgänglig för läraren. Biobesöken var tillfällen som var relevanta i förhållande till elevernas levda erfarenheter, där läraren gavs möjlighet att öppet diskutera stereotyper och fördomar så väl som former för banal vardagsrasism.

En annan form av kollektiv stigmatisering uppkom när elever i nian hade besökt konstmuseet. Klassen hade fått en uppgift att utföra under besöket. ”Svenska” och ”finska” elever från Woodbridge hade tidigare genomfört samma uppgift utan några problem. När de icke-vita eleverna gav sig av för att utföra samma uppgift blev de ombudda att lägga undan sina pennor för att ingen skulle klottra på något. Detta ledde till att bilduppgiften avbröts, för att eleverna inte skulle behöva uppleva negativ stigmatisering av sin sociala identitet. Beslutet bidrog ytterligare till marginalisering genom att begränsa deras möjligheter till lärande och tillgång till konsten

Resor utomlands krävde också att eleverna tog med sina pass för resor till Polen och Danmark. Invånare i Skandinavien kan röra sig fritt mellan de nordiska länderna, men resenärer brukar behöva bära någon form av identitetshandling. Ändå engagerade lärare sig i att säkra återresan till Sverige för sina elever då de möjligen inte skulle uppfattas som ”svenska” då de återvände från Danmark. Gränser och gränsövergångar är rasifierade platser i vilken elevernas fenotyp och/eller medborgarskap understundom är oförenliga med de sociala och politiska gränserna (Schough, 2008; Tesfahuney, 1998).

Också hemma i Sverige, på utflykter till simhallen, utsattes elever för skarpa blickar. Den övervakande vita blicken (the gaze) (Paechter, 1998;

Yancy, 2008) av den icke-vita kroppen gjordes närvarande vid gränsövergångar, i simhallen, på konstmuseet och på biografen

Ur ett perspektiv som tar sin utgångspunkt i kritiska ras- och vithetsstudier (critical race) (Gillborn, 2008; Leonardo, 2009) blir eleverna utsatta på grundval av att de från början är placerade, eller med Bernsteins termer ”klassificerade” som icke-svenska. De förnekas fullt medborgarskap och erkännande som fullvärdiga medlemmar i det dominerande samhället. Förmågan att positionera sig själv som medlem av samhället i stort, implicerar att individen uppfyller kriterier för sociala normer och förväntningar.

Eleverna subjektifieras och utsätts för kollektiv stigmatisering då deras sociala identitet ständigt ifrågasätts av den vita blicken (the gaze) på den svarta kroppen. (Yancy, 2008). I den pedagogiska diskursen och distributionen av kunskap, erfar eleverna kollektiv stigmatisering (Ogbu, 2008b) kopplade till deras sociala identitet. Eleverna upplever epistemiskt våld (Clemente & Higgins, 2008) genom den vita blicken (the gaze) (Yancy, 2008) som inskriver skuld på svarta och bruna kroppar. Detta skedde i flera sammanhang och vid olika tillfällen för elever både i nionde och i femte klass. Konsekvenserna av utflykter som gjordes för att överbygga skillnader mellan här och ”annanstans”, förstärkte paradoxalt nog, ”annanheten” genom cementering av rasifierade gränser och misstänkliggörande. Vithets normen synliggjordes och bekräftades i mötet med det dominerande samhället.

En annan dimension av den *rasifierade arenan* eller i Bernsteins termer det rekontextualiserande fältet (field of recontextualization), som hade sociala implikationer, var urval, distribution, rekontextualisering och utvärdering av skolkunskaper. Som exempel för denna dimension har jag använt en observation av en uppgift i bildämnet för att illustrera kulturell reproduktion och heteronormativ vithet. Jag menar att pedagogiken innehåller missade möjligheter eller mellanrum där det okända förblir osagt och att det finns möjligheter för avbrott (interruptions) och utrymme för ifrågasättanden där gängse normer och övertygelser kan belysas och utmanas.

Dominerande sociala och kulturella normer inom populärkulturen, representerade av media och reklambranschen är synliga och lätt urskiljbara för både lärare och elever. Vid en av mina observationer erbjuder lärarna verktyg för att elever skulle kunna analysera semantiska tecken i reklambudskap. Eleverna uppmärksammar de explicita sexuella betydelser som finns närvarande i ”Seagrams ginreklam” och använder begreppen betecknande (denotation) och bibetydelse (connotation) för att tolka hur

mening inskrivs i andra reklamsammanhang. Dessa termer representerar en *vertikal diskurs* (specialiserat språk och akademisk kunskap) och metakommunikativa koncept som representerar esoterisk (esoteric) och helig (sacred) kunskap (Bernstein, 2000), dvs. kunskap som inte är vardaglig och vanlig, utan behöver förvärvas genom särskilda färdigheter och kunskaper. Dessa kunskaper får sin mening genom integrering av hierarkiskt strukturerade betydelser (Bernstein, 1999). I elevernas analyser möts en vertikal (akademisk eller professionell) och en horisontell (vardags eller vedertagen kunskap) diskurs (Bernstein, 1999). Eleverna identifierar tecken på kulturella skillnader i reklamen genom förståelser baserade på "sunt förnuft" och levda erfarenheter.

Elevernas analyser visade att den kvinnliga kroppen används i kommersiellt syfte för att förmedla en särskild sorts hyper-femininitet. Adjektiven "söt" och "sexig" användes för att beskriva den femininitet som representerades i reklam. Elevernas analyser pekade mot att den kvinnliga kroppen är viktig på olika sätt. För det första är den kvinnliga kroppen objektifierad, den visas upp för att granskas. För det andra är den kvinnliga kroppen en viktig representation, den skapar en identifikationsmöjlighet för den potentiella köparen. För det tredje är den kvinnliga kroppen ställd i konkurrens med andra kvinnliga kroppar om manliga kroppars uppmärksamhet och uppskattning. För det fjärde finns det en allmän uppfattning om en heterosexuell representation av kvinnan liksom av konsumenten. För det femte är representationen inte universell, utan speglar en vit, smal, blond kvinnlig kropp. Elevernas analyser visade hur tecken så som den kvinnliga kroppen i reklamsammanhang inte är neutrala utan laddade med normativa antaganden. Värdeladdade antaganden identifieras t.ex. i lärarens kommentar, "kanske tror kvinnor att de kan förföra 'riktiga' män (cowboys)", en skriftlig kommentar som för övrigt inte utvecklades vidare.

Ett av målen med uppgiften var att identifiera "grundläggande gemensamma antaganden i *vår* gemensamma kultur". Det saknades dock begreppsliga verktyg för att identifiera "grundläggande gemensamma antaganden" lika väl som det saknades en kritisk aspekt av "*vår* gemensamma kultur". Populärkulturen som diskuterades i elevernas analyser, visar hur den "gemensamma kulturen" är köns och rasspecifik. De underliggande antagandena reflekterar å ena sidan en manlig heterosexualitet, å andra sidan en hyper femininitet samt objektifiering och nedsättande av den kvinnliga kroppen. Representationerna som används i reklamsammanhang och som

eleverna uppmärksammade, avslöjade sexistiska, rasistiska och heterosexistiska normativa antaganden om ”vår” så kallade ”gemensamma kultur”; ändå saknades begreppsliga verktyg för att diskutera denna typ av diskurser. Begrepp som stereotypifiering, andrafiering, sexism och rasism ligger på inget vis utanför uppgiftens ram, inte heller är utom elevernas svårighetsgrad.

De akademiska målen för bildanalysen tillåter avbrott (interruptions) och mellanrum (gaps) i rekontextualiseringen och den kulturella reproduktionen av skolkunskap. Den transformativa möjligheten att konfrontera asymmetrisk makt och underkuvande realiserar inte riktigt. Elevernas vardagliga kunskaper, den horisontella diskursen appliceras på den så kallade gemensamma kulturen. Men den vertikala diskursen kan inte adressera hur vardaglig kunskap reproducerar ojämlikhet när dimensioner som makt, sexism, heteronormativitet och vithet inte blir föremål för granskning. Den horisontella diskursen speglas av elevers övervakande blickar (the gaze) och deras associationer till kulturell verklighet. (Bernstein, 2000, p. 165). Avslutningsvis menar jag att sociala implikationer av kulturella skillnader förekommer i den kulturella reproduktionen av vertikala och horisontella diskurser som reproducerar utan att utmana normativa antaganden om kön, sexualitet och vithet.

### **Var uppkommer möjligheter för förändring och transformering av den pedagogiska praktiken?**

På formulerings- och realiseringsarenorna har jag diskuterat hur kulturell reproduktion i den pedagogiska diskursen bidrar till skillnader och orättvisor i utbildning för icke-vita ungdomar i urbana områden. Jag har visat med stöd av Bernsteins terminologi, att klassifikation av eleverna som de missgynnade ”andra” leder till kompensatoriska åtgärder, så som utbytesprogram och utflykter. Dessa åtgärder accentuerar sociala och kulturella orättvisor, snarare än utjämnar dem. Skolans policy som förmedlar en ”feel-good” ansats till mångfald som hyllar och omfamnar skillnader, stöter på hinder och motstånd i skolan införande av tvåspråkig och interkulturell policy. Dessa hinder är inte bara värdeladdade ideologiska förhinder, utan utgör också av hinder i form av mänskliga och ekonomiska resurser på en institutionell organisatorisk nivå. Det är också en fråga om en tvehågsenhet gentemot funktionen och syftet med svenska som andraspråk och mot integreringen av modersmålsundervisning i den ordinarie läroplanen. Jag har också studerat

den kulturella reproduktionen i den pedagogiska diskursen och reproduktionen av skillnad och orättvisa som en dimension av skolkunskaper. Som nämnts i tidigare avsnitt, kan akademisk kunskap i den vertikala diskursen erbjuda en möjlighet att ta sig an sociala och kulturella verkligheter i den horisontella diskursen, alltså genom den vardagliga vanliga ”sunda förnufts” kunskapen. Eleverna erfar sexism och rasism som en del av sina kulturella verkligheter och det framträder i den horisontella diskursen. Jag hävdar att den vertikala diskursen identifierar, men att den missar att utmana normativa antaganden om språk, ras, kön och sexualitet

*Transformeringsarenan* omfattar den pedagogiska diskursen och arbetet i skolan som syftar till att upplösa uppdelningen mellan här och ”annanstans”. I studiens sista del, på *transformeringsarenan* (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000), undersöker jag var de potentiella mellanrummen (gaps) eller avbrotten (interruptions) finns. Jag har undersökt kulturell reproduktion i den pedagogiska diskursen inom vilken möjligheter till förändring och transformering kan ges utrymme, i tre separata men sammanlänkande spår.

Dessa tre potentiella mellanrum är: 1) Möjligheten för lärare att påpeka vithetsnormativitet i rekontextualiseringen av skolkunskaper i den vertikala diskursen. 2) Möjligheten att synliggöra elevernas röster och motdiskurser. 3) Möjligheten för lärare att utgå ifrån elevernas förmåga att känna igen och genomföra den (aktuella) pedagogiska diskursen. Jag diskuterar dessa resultat var för sig här nedan.

*Det första* utrymme där förändring och transformation är möjlig, är i rekontextualiseringen av skolkunskaper.

Med bakgrund i en observation av en lektion i biologi diskuterar jag hur vithetsnormen representeras i en modell av ögat. Kunskapen som vid tillfället väljs ut, distribueras och rekontextualiseras handlar om ögats olika delar och funktioner. Biologilektionen fokuserar på att eleverna ska kunna benämna och förklara en vertikal kunskap dvs. kunskap som är specifik för biologin. Dock, blir den blå irisen även en representation av ”svenskhet” och en ”svensk skola” när jag påpekar att modellens iris är blå. Läraren förklarar att den vanligaste ögonfärgen är brun men berättar att detta är en ”svensk skola” när jag undrar varför irisen är blå.

Det finns en generell övertygelse om att universell kunskap är rasneutral, och i avsaknad av medvetenhet om och betydelse av färg. (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b). Kulturell reproduktion i den vertikala diskursen i biologigämnet reproducerar vithet och vit normativitet när socio-politiska frågor utesluts från

den undervisande diskursen. Detta är också representativt för betecknande praktiker (signifying practices) (Hall, 1997) för färg och svenskhet i produktionen och reproduktionen av kulturella skillnader.

Färgblindhet (color-blindness), den dominerande ideologin som menar att ras inte bör eller skall spela roll, förblindar och cementerar också vetandets struktur. Den förutsatta neutraliteten i läromålen döljer vitheten som en universell norm. Genom epistemiskt våld (Clemente & Higgins, 2008) lär sig elever att (fel) erkänna sin plats i det svenska samhället som ”den andre” och någon ”annanstans”. Enligt Trinh (2011), är ”annanstans” en plats, en grå zon inom vilken korsbefruktning, hybriditet och mångfald i lärprocesser kan ske. Det är inte ett tomt utrymme, utan en arena på vilken en mångfald av elevers röster potentiellt kan utmana normativa kunskapskonstruktioner, och tillåta motdiskurser att höras (Leonardo, 2009) i form av elevers levda kulturella verkligheter. Genom att erkänna vitheten möjliggörs ett potentiellt diskursivt mellanrum. Ett avbrott (interruption) av den kulturella reproduktionen möjliggör för elever att utmana den svart-vita binäriteten och vit normativitet i den vertikala diskursen.

*Det andra* utrymmet för förändring och transformering kan möjliggöras genom elevernas röster och motdiskurser. Eleverna bjuder på motstånd genom att leka med subjektpositionen som de missgynnade ”andra”.

I observationer av förberedelser inför det årliga luciafirandet, som skulle firas i skolans gymnasal och i det närliggande köpcentrat, ville en grupp elever i nian göra luciafirandet till en karnevalsliknande (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005) föreställning. Eleverna lekte med rasifierade representationsregimer som förde fram och accentuerade rasifierade och sociala skillnader. Analysen fokuserade deras absurda och satiriska lekfullhet då de skrev om texten till den traditionella julsången *En sockerbagare* så att den istället kom att handla om *En pizzabagare*. Avbrottet i luciafirandet är karnevalsliknande (ibid.) på så vis att lekfullheten i de oförutsägbara associationerna tillät det absurda att ingripa i den hegemoniska ordningen och tankemönstren (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2005).

I analysen diskuterar jag hur den stereotypa satiren kan tolkas som en representativ praktik som accentuerar kulturella skillnader som konstrueras genom binära motsatser (Hall, 1997). Den karnevalsliknande framställning av sången *En pizzabagare* belyser stereotyper, binära motsatser och ”andrafiering” som ligger implicit i Lucia ritualen. Elevernas lekfullhet och motstånd belyser

den kulturella rasismen som finns inbäddad i svenska traditioner. Elevernas rasifierade ”annanhet” synliggörs i en motdiskurs till *En sockerbagare*.

Motnarrativet i sången om pizzabagaren kan betraktas som ett motstånd mot en rasifierad social ordning. Representativa motstrategier t.ex. överkodande strategier (motsatser, ersättning, motstånd och överbrygning), användes för att undersöka hur lekandet med sången *En pizzabagare* motstår och försöker vända på de dominerande och underkastade rollerna mellan de dominerande ”Svennarna” och de underordnade urbana ”andra” dvs. ”Blattarna”. Dessa begrepp och beteckningar återtas och används, i opposition till och som uttalad positioneringar (se Jonsson, 2007), för att synliggöra rasifieringar (SOU, 2005:41) som annars undertrycks i elevernas vardag och verklighet av en jämlikhetsideologi (Jonsson & Milani, 2009) och färgblindhets diskurs (Bonilla-Silva, 2014b).

Den stigmatiserade sociala stereotypen i en pizzabagare, och de rasifierade epiteten ”Blatte” and ”Svenne”, avslöjade ungdomarnas medvetenhet om rasifierade skillnader genom deras karnevalsliknande lekfullhet med sociala och rasifierade stereotyper. Ungdomarnas användande av betecknade praktiker öppnade upp för ifrågasättande av den dominerande gruppen, vilket indikerade en kamp om makten över rätten att använda satir som en betecknande praktik (Hall, 1997).

Social stigmatisering och rasifierad stratifiering ifrågasätts i parodin *En pizzabagare* genom att den utmanar negativa bilder och återerövrar rasifierade skamfläckar för att låta dem verka som positiva representationer (Jonsson, 2007). Omvändandet av rasifierade stereotyper utmanar negativa representationer och verkar för att öppna upp det tredje utrymmet (Bhabha, 1994) för ett skapande av hybrida identiteter för att överbygga etniska och sociala klyftor. Även om omvändandet av stereotyper inte förändrar den dominerande sociala ordningen, skapar lekfullheten med stereotyper ett mellanrum eller ett tredje utrymme inom vilket subjektiviteter kan omvändas, ifrågasatta och överbyggas. “This gap is the meeting point of order and disorder, of coherence and incoherence. It is the crucial site of the *yet to be thought*,” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30). Mellanrummet är en potentiell plats för att förändra maktrelationer. Lekfullhet, genom användandet av parodisk efterhärming, mimikry, och karnevalsliknande framträdanden, skapar ett tredje utrymme som tillåter andra alternativa potentiella maktrelationer, sociala ordningar och samhällen.

Det tredje utrymmet för förändring och transformering existerar i mellanrummet eller ”gapet” mellan elevernas förförståelse att känna igen och genomföra den (aktuella) pedagogiska diskursen och lärarnas förmåga att explicitgöra den aktuella diskursen (dvs. metoder och principer för distribution/selektionen, rekontextualisering och utvärdering). Denna slutsats kommer från en kritisk granskning av de pedagogiska koderna i ett skolreformprojekt betitlat ”Framgångsalternativet”. Projektet arbetade med att förändra kunskapssynen och synen på lärandet från en lärarcentrerad till en elevcentrerad pedagogik. Inspirationen för detta projekt kom från Mikael Stigendal professor i sociologi. Syftet med denna förändring var att göra undervisning mer ”socialt relevant” (Stigendal, 2004).

Projektet ”Framgångsalternativet” syftade till att reformera den pedagogik som inriktades mot brister på ”social relevans” i utbildning. Lärarnas tolkning och implementering av skolreformeringsprojektet inriktades mot att öka den sociala relevansen genom att; 1) Utveckla social kompetens, så som samarbete, hänsynstagande samt multikulturell- och demokratisk kompetens. 2) Öka elevernas inflytande genom ett stärka deras roll, ge eleverna en röst och öka deras delaktighet i beslutsfattande processer och allokering av verkligt inflytande i motsats till skenbara demokratiskt inflytande. 3) Utarbeta nya bedömningsprocedurer i vilka eleverna är aktivt involverade i bestämmandet av både kriterier och lärandemål och i att utvärdera och bedöma sina egna resultat. Slutligen, 4) tillsammans etablera en syn på kunskap uppbyggd av kollektiv och individuell förståelse (Möller, 2007).

Förändringen från lärarcentrerad till elevcentrerad pedagogik lyckades inte att göra utbildningen mer ”socialt relevant” eller representativ för elevernas ”levda erfarenheter”. Med Bernsteins begrepp kan man säga att elevcentrerad pedagogik kännetecknades av en integrerad pedagogiskt kod vilket innebär försvagad klassifikation och inramning dvs. en svag isolering av ämnesstoff och kontroll över produktion, rekontextualisering och utvärdering. Elevernas inflytande och delaktighet i selektionen, distributionen, rekontextualiseringen och utvärderingen av kunskaper, gjordes utan elevers insikt i att känna igen och genomföra de didaktiska frågorna: Vad? Hur? Varför? En integrerad kod gjorde kriterierna för lärandet mindre explicita. Eleverna hade svårigheter att känna igen (recognize) den aktuella pedagogiska diskursen och framställa legitima texter (Bernstein, 2000).

Projektet *Framgångsalternativet* försökte upplösa gränserna mellan kunskapens och kunskapares strukturer. Detta skulle uppnås genom att låta

vertikala och horisontella diskurser närma sig varandra. Den vertikala diskursen och den formella officiella kunskapen förblev dock oförändrad. Framgångsalternativet fokuserade förändring i den regulativa diskursen, det vill säga *hur* den kunskapande eleven rekontextualiserar skolkunskap. Detta har sina paralleller i vad Bernstein refererar till som kompetensmodeller som fokuserar på utvecklandet av inneboende färdigheter och kunskaper hos den som lär (Bernstein, 2000; D. Rose, 1999).

“Socialt relevant” utbildning blev ett reformprogram som siktade på att hjälpa elever genom ett modifierande av den regulativa diskursen. Eleverna fick mer kontroll över inramningen dvs. hur de skulle producera skolkunskap. Detta adresserade dock inte brister i ”social relevans” i den vertikala diskursen, dvs. den formella officiella kunskapen. (cf. Maton, 2007a).

Att konstruera en ny ideal kunskaparmodell är problematiskt eftersom kunskaparmodellen framhävs på bekostnad av det pedagogiska innehållet. Därmed blir kunskapens struktur svagare och mindre distinkt (Christie et al., 2007, p. 251). Vem du är blir likvärdigt med vad du kan. Detta kan användas i radikalt syfte att transformera och överskrida normativitet i traditionell pedagogik. Men om målen inte är transformativa, kan framhävandet av lokal (horisontell) kunskap i stället fördunkla skol- (akademisk eller vertikal) kunskap. De elever som inte känner igen eller kan erkänna kunskaparkoden kan således missgynnas.

Implementeringen av ”Framgångsalternativet” resulterade i ett skolreformprojekt med målet att förändra kunskapar strukturer, men utan att också inbegripa arbete med kunskapsstrukturen. Den sönderfallna distinktionen mellan den vertikala och horisontella diskursen (jämför Bernstein, 1999; Wheelahan, 2010, p.58) kan ha framhåvt elevernas egna ämneskunskaper, men gjorde också att det blev svårare för eleverna att urskilja kriterierna för utvärdering och bedömning.

Kunskapsstrukturen knöts till den individuella elevens subjektiva ”jag”. I processen gjorde detta läroplanens mål diffusa och hindrade möjligheten att transformera lokal kunskap till skolkunskap. Elever blev i sin tur osäkra på det utvalda innehållet, på bedömningskriterier och sin egen förmåga att producera eller realisera legitima texter.

Antagandet att skolan brister i ”social relevans” kan också bero på ett undvikande av social exkludering, segregation och marginalisering i den vertikala diskursen. Kunskapsinnehållet berör inte ”social relevansen” eller implikationer av utanförskap. Elevernas kunskap och erfarenhet om

utanförskap undviks i den ordinarie pedagogiska diskursen. Inte heller ingår strategier för att motverka utanförskapet eller kunskaper om vad eller vem som anses leva i utanförskap. Skolans strategier blir i sin tur en del av den kulturella reproduktionen av utanförskap. I förlängningen kan en elevcentrerad pedagogik (integrerad pedagogiskt kod) som undviker frågor om utanförskap fortsätta att placera bördan av integration på redan missgynnade elever.

Alternativt kan en radikalt synlig pedagogik användas för att explicitgöra social positionering och ideologiskt innehåll och överföring av kunskap (Bourne, 2004). Framgångsalternativet misslyckades med att fylla mellanrummet mellan här och ”annanstans” trots goda intentioner att förbättra kvalitén i lärandet och prestationer.

## Sammanfattning av resultat

Här nedan har jag gjort en kortare sammanfattning av kunskapsbidraget från denna studie om kulturell reproduktion av sociala och kulturella skillnader och hur den pedagogiska diskursen missgynnar icke-vita elever.

- Jag har observerat hur den kulturella reproduktionen i den pedagogiska diskursen bidrar till kulturella skillnader och orättvisor för icke-vita ungdomar i urbana områden. Jag har visat hur detta sker på *formulerings*, *realisering* och *transformerings* arenor.
- Jag har observerat att formulering och realisering av urbana reformeringsprogram och pedagogiska praktiker, snarare befäster än mildrar sociala och kulturella skillnader och missgynnande praktiker.
- Jag har observerat sociala implikationer av kompensatorisk pedagogik. Kompensatoriska åtgärder som praktiserades för att överbrygga mellanrummet mellan Woodbridge och det övriga samhället betonade assimilering och anpassning till dominerande sociala normer. I mötet med det dominerande samhället tenderade detta att istället förstärka ”annanheten” och den kulturella rasismen för eleverna.
- Jag har observerat att ras och rasism i banala och vardagliga former är vanligt förekommande aspekter av elevers erfarenheter och kontakter med det dominerande samhället men frågan undviks i den vertikala diskursen och i reproduktion av skolkunskaper.

- Jag har observerat att rekontextualisering av skolkunskaper förmedlar normativ vithet och enspråkighet men att det finns motdiskurser och möjlighet till avbrott (interruptions) i den ordinarie ämnesundervisningen.
- Jag har observerat att elever ofta är medvetna om och ifrågasätter sina rasifierade subjektiviteter och dess kopplingar till ras och plats.
- Jag har observerat *tre kunskapsområden* där det finns förändringsmöjligheter i den pedagogiska diskursen: 1) *Det första området* är realiseringsarenan där rekontextualiseringen av skolkunskaper kan synliggöra kunskaper om ras och rasism i de vertikala och horisontella diskurserna oavsett den pedagogiska koden dvs. samlade (collected) eller integrerade (integrated) koder; 2) *Det andra området* är elevers karnevalsliknande motstånd mot rasifieringen. Motståndet uttrycks då elever leker med sin kulturella verklighet och den hegemoniska ordningen. 3) *Det tredje område* där förändring är möjlig, är genom synliggörandet av de pedagogiska koderna (samlade och integrerad) och kriterierna för utvärdering i relation till den ideala kunskapande eleven.



# Appendix

## Appendix 1

University of Gothenburg  
Centre for Cultural Studies

2006-09-27

**School, community and culture. A multidisciplinary study of youth and learning in a context of social and ethnic segregation: An interdisciplinary research project carried out 2006-2008 and funded by the Swedish Research Council.**

Information to the personnel at the designated schools and leisure time centers.

In Europe today there is an ongoing development of segregation that divides residential areas with large immigrant populations from the rest of society. These areas are part and parcel of what is called “a process of territorial stigmatization”. The patterns of unemployment, segregation, marginalization that occur here also affect young people’s social groups and education in schools. The government appointed committee for urban renewal has addressed the conditions in several “disadvantaged” areas.

Education has without a doubt an important role to play in integration. According to debates and research, schools face multiple challenges and difficulties. What kind of pedagogy, what kind of approach, what type of view of society can be given to students in these areas that will give them the best possible conditions to enter into the workforce and adult life? There are students who do not perceive the school to be the obvious path to enter into society. Many young people, with this standpoint, develop their own subcultures and social groups in which a sense of belonging, safety, meaning and identity are met. These social groups provide a different view of society than what schools provide.

Our research project aims to study the conditions in two different districts. The starting point for the project is the local school. The intention is to develop an understanding for how the relationship between the needs of young people and the curriculum is articulated and performed. The study has therefore two points of focus: The first focus is directed towards *how the school as an institution manages the reality of social and ethnic segregation that it is forced to confront*. With regards to this, the schools are case studies that represent different strategies. The second focus is geared towards *examining learning and knowledge production in the young people's own social groups outside of school*. If there are leisure time centers, housing, or other institutions who can in this way or that offer learning activities for young people in the areas we have specifically chosen that are of interest to our study.

Parts of the project will begin in the autumn 2006. We will conduct observations and interviews; follow the teachers work with students in and outside of the classroom. The purpose is *not* to test, evaluate or judge the quality of education, what students know and do not know, but rather to gather information in order to analyze the conditions for learning in and outside the classroom.

#### Ethical rules

Our work follows the ethical guidelines for research in humanities and social sciences. This means that we abide to the following rules:

- Information to the research participants,
- Consent from the research participants,
- Confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants,
- Information is for research purpose only.

In practicality, these rules, amongst others, mean that participation in the study is voluntary and that all personnel and all students involved in the study retain the right to change their minds and discontinue their involvement in the study. All recordings require consent. Individual interviews with students younger than 15 years-old require consent of a parent or guardian. The recordings that are produced within the study will be kept in a theft and fire safe box and will be inaccessible to unauthorized persons. All material will be not be identifiable by name, district, school, class, child and personnel in any reports.

## APPENDIX

The researchers in the project are: Ulf Borelius, sociologist; Jan Gustavsson, pedagogue; Thomas Johansson, social-psychologist; Johannes Lunneblad, pedagogue; Ove Sernhede, cultural studies; Åsa Möller, CUL Ph.d. student; Anneli Schwartz, CUL Ph.D. student; Elisabet Öhrn, pedagogue.

For further information kindly contact the project leader Ove Sernhede, telephone... or email [ove.sernhede@kultur.gu.se](mailto:ove.sernhede@kultur.gu.se).

## Appendix 2

Letter of information

### **To the parents and students in Class [1]**

I am a Ph.d. student from the Department of Education at the University of Gothenburg and am writing a book about your school. The book is based on my study about teaching and learning at Woodbridge School. It concerns what it is like to be a teacher and a student in a multicultural school, what students learn and how they learn. The emphasis is on social and cultural diversity. This means that I will be in the classroom making observations and talking to students about what it is like to be a student there in Woodbridge.

I am doing this study because Sweden has a positive and open attitude to cultural diversity in government propositions and diversity in the national curriculum. However, experts claim that there is a gap between the democratic values and the education in schooling. These goals are difficult to reach.

Many people move about in the world today. More and more people move to Sweden which makes the school a place where many people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds meet. I am curious to learn how the school manages meetings with people from different cultures. Is the school open to diversity? Is diversity desirable or should school be the way it always has been? What do students think about being in a culturally diverse school?

The answers to these questions help discussions about democracy and integration to continue and increases knowledge about the role of the school in the process of integration.

Classroom observations will continue until June 2009. The book is expected to be ready in 2011.

### ***Ethical rules***

## APPENDIX

My work is covered by the ethical rules for all research within the Humanities and Social Sciences. This means that I must follow the four main principles and requirements:

- 1) Information to the research participants,
- 2) Consent from the research participants,
- 3) Confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants,
- 4) Information will be used for research purposes only.

In practicality, these rules, amongst others, mean that participation in the study is voluntary and that all personnel and all students involved in the study retain the right to change their minds and discontinue their involvement in the study. All recordings require consent. Individual interviews with students younger than 15 years-old require consent of a parent or guardian. The recordings that are produced within the study will be kept in a theft and fire safe box and will be inaccessible unauthorized persons. All material will be not be identifiable by name, district, school, class, child and personnel in any reports.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Sincerely,  
Åsa Möller, Ph.d. student

For more information you may contact me by phone 031-786 2002, or by email [asa.moller@ped.gu.se](mailto:asa.moller@ped.gu.se)

## Appendix 3

### Parents or guardian consent form

Sign here for your consent for your child's participation in the study about the school's approach to social and cultural diversity which will be carried out by Åsa Möller, a Ph.D. student from the Department of Education at University of Gothenburg. The study began 2006 and is expected to be finished 2011. In the letter is a more detailed description of the aims of the study. Classroom observations and interviews with students and teachers in Class [1] will continue until June 2009.

*Please sign and return the note to your class teacher.*

*Thank you!*

Åsa Möller, Ph.d.

Tel. 031-786 2002

Email: [asa.moller@ped.gu.se](mailto:asa.moller@ped.gu.se)

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Målsman/föräldrar

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datum

## Appendix 4

Interview questions with ninth grade students.

How old are you? Are you born in Sweden?

Do you feel that you are Swedish?

What is it that makes you (not) feel Swedish?

Have the teachers talked about your background in school subjects?

Do you like this school?

Are you going to continue to high school?

What program?

Do you think you have gotten enough knowledge and skills from this school to manage high school?

What subjects are you good at?

How did you get good at those subjects?

Do you work on these subjects outside of school?

How have the teachers helped you to improve in those subjects?

What is the best way for you to learn?

Is it from listening? Reading? Talking to people? Movies, television? Writing?

Group work?

How do you want the teachers to teach?

## Appendix 5

Interview questions with school leaders.

1. Can you explain how the international and intercultural profile began?
2. What does an intercultural profile mean to you?
3. What does internationalization mean with regards to the school's profile?
4. How is the profile put into practice?
5. How familiar are the teachers with the profile of the school?
6. How are new teachers introduced to the intercultural approach and internationalization of the school?
7. Is there resistance amongst the teachers to the intercultural and international profile?
8. Are the teachers open to social and cultural diversity?
9. Are there teachers who "want things to be they always have been" here in Sweden?
10. If you could make a wish, how would you like to develop the intercultural pedagogical approach amongst the teachers?
11. What changes are most needed?

## Appendix 6

Interview questions with teachers.

1. How would you describe the profile of the school?
2. How far has the school come in implementing the profile?
3. How far has the school come in implementing an intercultural approach to social and cultural diversity?
4. How have you applied an intercultural approach in your teaching?
5. What difficulties do you face in teaching related to social and cultural diversity?
6. Is there resistance to social and cultural diversity? For example Lucia and end of school ceremonies.
7. Is intercultural pedagogy relevant to your subject?
8. How do you create respect and understanding for social and cultural differences in your subject?
9. How are childrens' cultural backgrounds included in schooling and the learning processes?
10. Why is it important and how do you manage racism, discrimination and xenophobia?
11. How do you work to oppose racism, discrimination and xenophobia at school?
12. The plan for creating a positive psycho-social environment discusses conflict resolution. Does it address violations and harassment of social and cultural differences?
13. In what ways do you think the school has been successful in implementing intercultural pedagogy?

MIND THE GAP

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