

Marginalization Processes across Different Settings

Marginalization Processes across Different Settings:

Going beyond the Mainstream

Edited by

Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta

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PREFACE

The post-World War II era has seen the explicit establishment of a range of policies vis-à-vis equity and inclusion across the geopolitical spaces that constitute the global North and the global South. These have had wide ranging repercussions on the nature and quality of human life across the planet. International, national and local level policies (in democratic geopolitical spaces at least), currently constitute a foundation for equity work. Such policies and changes notwithstanding, the continuing escalation of the outcomes of disparity, the failure of institutions in their provision of equitable education, health care, and other services (even in global North settings in Scandinavia), and recent alarm reports, together call attention to the role that research plays and what research has focused and continues to focus upon vis-à-vis issues of equity and marginalization. This volume attempts to unpack dimensions related to the type of research endeavors that have been themselves marginalized in the epistemological enterprise.

Furthermore, while it is easy to identify and be critical of the lack of coordination of institutional efforts that contribute to the marginalization of large numbers of individuals in the 21st century, I will—together with the scholars whose work is presented in this volume—make the case, that a significant step in the epistemological enterprise lies in going beyond issues of marginalization and normalization as categories deployed for the identification of children, young people or adults. The research that is show-cased in this book attempts to highlight how curtailing the categories of marginalization (and normalization) themselves are. By center-staging *processes*, *participation* patterns and *membership* in social practices across sites and across identity domains, the research presented in this book builds the case for an alternative way of conceptualizing the performance of marginalization (and normalization) empirically.

This book has emerged out of a series of dialogues between scholars who have visited the CCD research environment on different occasions and who have contributed to one another's (and CCD members') thinking in the areas of *Communication*, *Culture and Diversity* across the last two decades. More specifically, two activities on the theme of *Marginalization Processes* organized in 2011 and 2013, with support from the Swedish Research Council and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at

Örebro University, Sweden, comprised the contexts for a series of conversations that have resulted in the creation of this book. A third activity on the expanded theme of *Revisiting Identity, Marginalization and Bilingualism* organized in 2014, also with support from the Swedish Research Council and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Örebro University, Sweden, contributed to these dialogues. Scholars from the global North and global South—including the North in the South and the South in the North—have enriched these dialogues from their specific domains of expertise and vantage points.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the coordinators, the leaders and the administrators of the CCD research group during the organization of these events as well as the hosting of the international and national scholars attached to the environment across the years 2011-2015. The CCD research group has evolved into an international network-based environment that has, since 2016, moved to Jönköping University in Sweden (www.ju.se/ccd).

I would also like to thank the editorial support team at Cambridge Scholars Publishing, and, in particular, Anthony Wright and Victoria Carruthers who have provided timely and efficient guidance in navigating desk-top editorial work. Finally, I would like to extend a warm thanks to Guy Karnung—for his generosity and willingness to participate in so many aspects related to this book.

Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta
August 2017

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FOREWORD

Let me begin this Foreword by sharing an impression that has lingered with me. I had the privilege of being a part of the Communication, Culture and Diversity (CCD) Research Group during a three-month stint as Senior Visiting Scholar at Örebro University in Sweden, where visitors included professors Sheila Ridell from Edinburgh and Ofelia Garcia from New York. What struck me most about the CCD during my participation at the International Symposium on *Revisiting Identity, Marginalization and Bilingualism* was the group's sensitivity towards inclusion, equity and diversity. What added to its exclusivity was the active presence and academic contribution of the Swedish Sign Language interpreters who made it possible for deaf and hearing scholars to participate. This was a defining moment for me—it *defined what is not marginalization and exclusion*.

The emancipatory power of education is undeniable. Education strives to be a driving force in the “righting of wrongs” in countries that are part of postcolonial experiences. Issues of heterogeneity, complexity and diversity of languages and cultures, problems of access, equity and inclusivity in education and a highly stratified socio-economic class, which privileges some and excludes others, pose great challenges for education. Many contributions in this volume address the issue of marginalization in educational settings. However, from my location in India and from its postcolonial experiences, I feel that two issues need particular focus in the context of education. Firstly, how an absence of any public awareness of the sociolinguistics of language diversity facilitates the use of language as a tool for exploitation and marginalization, including a source of discrimination in education. Secondly, how education for all, embodied in the Right to Education act in India relates to principles and practices of inclusion.

Our faith and commitment to the scientific study of language has provided an intricate understanding of the everyday structure of language; its acquisition, development and changes over a period of time and space, in effect what it means to know a language, what it means to be bilingual, etc. Cognitive and social advances in the analysis and understanding of language use have shed light on the role of language in perpetuating inequalities among stigmatized groups. Research in linguistics has also

advanced our understanding of the functions of language; thus, language does not merely provide labels and descriptions, it has multi-functions. But these advances in our understandings of language have not been realized when dealing with the issue of language in education, and have, thus, largely remained confined to academic discussion. When it comes to classroom teaching, not only do we find that students know little about language; even teachers are somewhat ill-equipped as far as the sociology and politics of diversity are concerned. They continue to articulate myths, beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes that are ideologically impregnated and purposely constructed to promote the interests of the dominant group. During my frequent field visits to study the state of language in education, I have found that teachers engaged in the teaching of language do not have a contemporary understanding of language—irrespective of whether it is the language of the home or other languages.

These have not only allowed a language hierarchy and, by implication, a hierarchy in education to prevail but, in turn, have also unleashed ‘symbolic violence’ by producing and reproducing the homogeneity of dominant values through the school media that privileges certain understandings vis-à-vis language: the hegemonic role of language that socially legitimizes a pecking order in which non-dominant mother tongues stand marginalized.

Like the Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education (1994), in India, the Rajya Sabha passed, on 20th July 2009, The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Bill 2009 (Bill No. LXV-C of 2008). The bill guaranteed the fundamental right to quality education and mandated, *as far as practicable, medium of instructions shall be in child's mother tongue* (Chapter V: Curriculum and Completion of Elementary Education 29.2.1.f.) The absolutist language of rights and moral imperatives get diluted in the text when it comes to the use of the mother tongue, which marks a double use of the modal *shall* and a hedge *as far as practicable*, thus allowing for a gap between principles and practices of equity and inclusion.

Language is inherently political and its grammaticality is intrinsically a political affair. Social presentation and representation in discourse invariably intends political import as a handy tool that furthers the interest of powerful groups engaged in marginalization and exclusivity. It *profiles humans rather than behavior* and positions the subject in relation to the self and others by legitimizing identity processes. Discursive storylines used in the media as a platform of public discourse not only locate people within social relationships but also generate social representations that can be exclusive and marginalized, or inclusive and equity-based. History is replete with instances of positioning in discourse. For instance, let us

consider the reportage that covered the valiant act of the former US Marine Sergeant, Imran Yousuf, who saved dozens of people during the massacre in an Orlando nightclub in June 2016 (Daily News, U.S. News). The identity of Yousuf, born to a Hindu mother and a Muslim father, is fused with that of his mother's but not the father's Muslim identity. One can enquire whether such positioning refrains from attributing an act of valiance and compassion to one who bears any semblance to a Muslim. Language use and meaning construction lead critical discourse analysts to explore if such identity positioning and social representation are merely a contribution towards social knowledge claims. Or whether it is a reflection of the principle of marginalization and exclusion, which is marked by complete disregard for Julia Kristeva's humanistic ethical-political program that advocates joint citizenship for everyone.

My first interaction with professor Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta goes back to 2010 at the International Conference on *Language, Culture and Identity* organized by the Department of Linguistics at Aligarh Muslim University, in Aligarh, India. It culminated in the publication of *Alternative Voices: (Re)searching Language, Culture, Identity...* published by CSP. I am happy that our academic commitment continues and the invitation to write a Foreword for this stimulating volume reflects the continuity of our collaborative venture.

Over a period of two decades the CCD Research Group has been engaged in organizing international events where scholars from both within and outside the geopolitical spaces of Europe have been invited to share their experiences on activities of marginalization in everyday life in different settings. The book emerged out of a series of dialogues and deliberations during the three international multidisciplinary events—two on the theme of *Marginalization Processes* (MP) and a third on the expanded theme of *Revisiting Identity, Marginalization and Bilingualism*—organized by the CCD network-based research environment. This scholarly and outstanding contribution of a multidisciplinary nature presents comprehensive accounts of inclusion-exclusion focusing on a range of issues of marginalization inside, outside and across school and adult educational settings. It investigates the complexities of power differentials and the hegemonic order of varieties of languages spoken by the borderlanders. This makes this volume informative, pleasurable and an exciting read.

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INTRODUCTION: STUDIES OF MARGINALIZATION PROCESSES AND PARTICIPATION ACROSS SITES

SANGEETA BAGGA-GUPTA

‘[D]ifference’ is by definition manifold and fluid. [...] the idea of difference cannot be thought or organized along a single (say, cultural or biological) axis. Distributed along multiple grids, it comes in innumerable forms, appearing differently in different places: malleable, evolving elements and tendencies that come into view and disappear, change, coalesce, and reappear, in other forms, amid other networks, in other contexts. Thus, the idea of difference signals fundamentally and importantly, a history and politics of *becoming*—not of the already normalized, stable and relatively immutable (Pandey 2011, 1, emphasis in original).

1. Researching “becoming”

Considerable analytical attention has been (and continues to be) focused upon issues of marginalization and participation across disciplines and research domains. A range of theoretical perspectives as well as methodological framings have been deployed in this enterprise. Recognition is accorded to the fact that aspects like the reach and quality of institutionalized support systems, for instance schools, health services, equity agencies, work agencies, etc. in democratic societies are central for the wellbeing and development of human beings. However, the nature and relevance of opportunities that human beings—children, young people and adults—have access to, is a question that goes beyond issues of policy, availability and provision. Theorizing here from framings that focus on processes and what Pandey emphasizes in the opening quote in this book in terms of “becoming”, is relevant and a dimension that is itself marginalized in a large part of the research enterprise.

The research presented in this volume attempts to align itself to alternative traditions in specific ways by focusing upon *Marginalization Processes across Different Settings*, including peoples’ membership and

participation across settings, sites and institutional contexts. For instance, some of the work presented here complements a sociocultural/dialogical perspective on communication and performativity (Bakhtin 1986, Butler 1990, Linell 2009, Säljö 2015, Wertsch 1998) with a decolonial framing on identity, belonging and positionality (Bagga-Gupta 2013, 2014, Bagga-Gupta, Hansen and Feilberg 2017, Butler and Spivak 2007, Canagarajah 2013, Hasnain, Bagga-Gupta and Mohan 2013). Issues of marginalization and power differentials articulated in decolonial theorizing become relevant for global North spaces (like geopolitical spaces within the changing contours of Europe), given that the interrelated nature of identity, communication and socialization is understood as actively constituted in life across institutions, communities of practices and contacts (Bagga-Gupta, Hansen and Feilberg 2017, Canagarajah 2013). This implies that marginalization (and normalization) cannot merely be understood as something that exists or takes place in a social vacuum or in some neutral fashion in specific places (Bagga-Gupta 2017a, 2017b). Such analytical positions draw upon assumptions wherein human beings, including children, are viewed as giving meaning to, interpreting and creating realities through their participation in practices that are layered in power relationships.

Furthermore, instead of focusing upon the characteristics of individuals, the analytical scrutiny in such perspectives is upon sociocultural processes that play out in practices where individuals actively participate in a range of settings inside and outside institutions. Also, since socialization entails the “appropriation of the intellectual tools and skills of the surrounding cultural community”, studying “the role of the formal institutions of society and the informal interactions of its members [are seen] as central to the process of [...] development” (Rogoff 1990, 11, Säljö 2015), transitions and becoming.

This implies that marginalization (including normalization) is performed and constituted through the opportunities (and barriers) that an individual or members of a group have access to and can engage with. From such a point of departure, human beings’ lives, including the lives of children and young people, can be understood in terms of the cultural resources that create possibilities (or hindrances) for participation broadly, and learning specifically, within the framework of situated practices. The marginalization or normalization of identity-positions thus gets conceptualized not as attributes (like *handicapness* or *genderness* or *nationhood*, etc.) human beings carry with them in a hidden or passive fashion. Rather, these constitute dimensions that a human being in general, and a child/young person more specifically, is endowed with, in and

through social practices where an individual dialectically “lives up to” the framings made available in and through institutional settings (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998, Bagga-Gupta, Hansen and Feilberg 2017).

2. The constitution of marginalization—An explicit focus

The work presented in this book attempts to focus on the constitution of marginalization inside, outside and across a range of settings, including institutional contexts. In other words, it attempts to center-stage marginalization *as* action in the human world. Going beyond a focus *on* the marginalized or explanations *of* marginalization or comparing groups of the marginalized *with* the non-marginalized, many contributions in the book focus on mundane processes inside, outside and across institutional settings in different geopolitical spaces. These contributions bring to bear the nature of the performance of marginalization in everyday life. Other contributions in the book demonstrate the marginalization of specific analytical foci in the research process or the hegemonies of national high-stake testing protocols or how specific dialects play out in different geopolitical regions or in domains such as the sporting arena. While a significant number of contributions in this book build upon empirical data where so called “authentic” social practices are center-staged, analysis of narrative reporting, philosophically pushed analysis as well as quantitative data are also engaged with in some chapters; the analytical effort focuses upon marginalization processes at and across micro, meso and macro-scales of practices. The significance of these processes lies in that they shape and influence opportunities that human beings—children, young people and/or adults—can potentially access inside, outside and across institutional arenas.

Building upon research conducted in a diverse range of settings, primarily (but not only) in the geopolitical spaces of Europe, the individual contributions in this book have been reviewed and selected from drafts discussed at the first two of three international multidisciplinary academic events on the theme of *Marginalization Processes* organized by the Communication, Culture and Diversity, CCD network-based research environment in 2011 and 2013, when it was situated at Örebro, Sweden.¹ These international events received support from the Swedish Research Council and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Örebro University, Sweden. The two events brought together interests within parallel research projects within CCD where issues regarding communicative processes, participation, learning, culture and diversity were center-staged theoretically from ethnographically framed work.

Taking the research that has been built up at the CCD research environment since the end of the 20th century as a point of departure, including an interest in the complexities that mark present day societies—for instance digital, social and cultural shifts and an increasing pace of change and diversification that interfaces at global, national and local levels—the two events on the theme marginalization processes had the following explicit aims:

- Enable a discussion of research results from different perspectives representing different domains and disciplines that build upon micro-meso-macro scales and/or historical studies of marginalization processes and how these contribute to renewed understandings of institutionalized education, health care and other support systems.
- Provide a platform for discussing methodological and conceptual issues of relevance for marginalization processes in the light of local, regional and global changes, diversification and mobility across time and space.

Building upon a peer-reviewed selection of drafts from the two international academic events, this book thus endeavors to center-stage empirically framed, socially theorized research that focuses upon social and communicatively oriented processes that marginalize children, young people and adults in a range of settings. A parallel aim is to highlight examples of multidisciplinary research contributions from *different* academic domains where the common ground is an interest in issues of inclusion/exclusion, integration/segregation from social, interactional and historical perspectives.

Within the overarching theme of marginalization processes, the chapters in this volume focus upon the overlapping areas of *Educational Sciences* and *Language Sciences* from social, interactional and/or socio-historical frameworks. The individual contributions report from empirical studies that have been conducted inside, outside and across institutional settings like classrooms, remedial services, integration facilities, etc. in different geopolitical contexts. The analyses in these contributions highlight the significance of social interaction between the members of different settings and between participants and cultural tools. Representational issues related to research reporting and how these in themselves marginalize specific interpretations of data and analysis are also highlighted in some of the contributions. Focusing upon language varieties as mediating tools, some contributions highlight the interface

between actors or actors-in-settings-with-tools. The contributions that focus more centrally upon educational institutions take different perspectives and/or scales as points of departure: actors' perspectives, organizational and/or policy perspectives, historical perspectives, etc.

The outcomes of the studies presented in this book contribute to knowledge about how institutional settings are shaped, both in the interplay between participants and between participants and tools across time and space, thus throwing light on the (co)constitution of the social world. Furthermore, some of the studies contribute to knowledge regarding how the social world is shaped specifically in and through verbal/written/gestural interaction. While all the 16 contributions focus on the overarching theme of marginalization processes, each contributes more specifically to one or more of the following three scientific domains:

- *Social interaction*: These contributions are empirical in nature and data analyzed comes from in situ settings. The analyses highlight social interaction, including multimodal dimensions of human interaction. These studies contribute to knowledge about how the social world is shaped interactionally.
- *Language sciences*: These contributions focus on language varieties in terms of mediating tools between participants and the co-construction of contexts themselves. These studies contribute to knowledge about how the social world is shaped through oral, written, signed and embodied interactions in concert with the use of tools in different settings.
- *Educational sciences*: These contributions focus on institutional settings (the compulsory school level and adult educational levels, including policy settings). The institutional setting is scrutinized from participants' perspectives or an organizational perspective. These studies contribute to knowledge regarding how institutional settings are shaped in the interplay between participants as well as between micro-meso-macro scales in the co-construction of settings.

3. Book sections

The book "Marginalization Processes across Different Settings. Going beyond the Mainstream" includes 16 chapters. These are presented within the following four thematically framed sections:

- Part I: Inclusion-Exclusion—Country Case Studies
- Part II: Marginalization Inside, Outside and Across School Settings
- Part III: Marginalization Inside, Outside and Across Adult Educational Settings
- Part IV: Language Related Hegemonies Across Settings

All four sections present empirically framed sociocultural and/or sociohistorical studies that focus upon communicatively oriented micro, meso and/or macro processes that marginalize (and normalize) children, young people and adults in different geopolitical and/or institutional settings.

Part I

Part I, *Inclusion-Exclusion—Country Case Studies*, includes two chapters that focus on the nation-states of Norway and Sweden. Against the backdrop of the work of the multidisciplinary scholar Julia Kristeva, Berit Helene Johnsen's contribution, titled *Julia Kristeva and Meta-Reflections on Inclusive and Marginalizing Processes: On the Gap between Principles and Practice*, brings together the historical roots and the current situation in the nation-state of Norway. Building on the UNESCO Salamanca Statement (1994) that highlights the conditions for children with disabilities and learning difficulties and that focuses on their rights and needs in the "school for all", Johnsen critically points out that while educational inclusion was introduced internationally over two decades ago, no nation-state seems to have achieved "full" educational inclusion. On the contrary, various marginalizing processes continue to create barriers to a meaningful education-for-all. Chapter 1, thus, focuses upon the complex and contradictory relationship between efforts to develop inclusive schools and marginalization processes that continue to mark many, if not most, societal contexts. The central issue that Johnsen focuses on, thus, relates to the gap between the principles and practices of inclusion. Building upon a qualitative study, her contribution explores texts, including political documents and selected studies of school practices. The historical perspective here borders on genealogy with its multiple approaches to the issue of inclusion.

Johnsen introduces the work of the Bulgarian-French philosopher—Julia Kristeva—in the first part of her chapter, in an effort to unpack the situation in Norway. She highlights that Julia Kristeva has not only criticized the inability to operationalize the principles of inclusion, but has

also developed a sophisticated analysis of marginalization processes in the meetings between individuals with and without perceived disabilities. Furthermore, Julia Kristeva's work is followed up by arguments for a renewed humanistic ethical-political program where respect for the joint citizenship of everyone is central. The second part of the chapter explores the case of Norway against the backdrop of the international situation. Johnsen gives recognition to the fact that the Nordic countries are seen as pioneers in the development of social and educational inclusion—especially when it comes to legislation and the adaptation of educational structures with regards to the principle of inclusion. She nuances this picture by drawing upon current empirical studies that indicate a serious gap between official intentions and practices in many educational sites. By drawing upon Kristeva's argumentation, Johnsen highlights that an individual orientation and a cultural-social mentality towards the stranger—irrespective of whether the stranger is an immigrant or a disabled person—constitute serious barriers for bridging the gap between official intentions and inclusive educational practices.

In Chapter 2, *Focus on Special Educational Support in Swedish High Schools: Provision Within or Outside the Students' Regular Classes?*, Joacim Ramberg presents a case study of the nature of special educational services that are provided in the nation-state of Sweden in the 21st century. Ramberg argues that support activities and how they are organized are important factors for both supporting students at risk of not achieving educational goals and for preventing students from dropping out of the school system. Taking international and national school policy documents that advocate support provision within the student's regular class or teaching group as a point of departure, Chapter 2 focuses on both the site of this provision and by which professional group of special educationists this provision is made available.

The empirical data that is focused upon in the study is taken from a cross-sectional total population survey that covered all high schools (N=950) in Sweden during the academic school year 2010/2011. The response rate for the survey was 80.4 percent, implying that 764 schools were included in the study. The large majority of schools report, and confirm previous findings, that provision continues to be provided in segregated settings outside the young people's regular class setting. Ramberg highlights that a large proportion of young people leave high school without completing their formal grades not only in Sweden but also in many other parts of Europe. The opportunities for these students to establish themselves in the labor market are highly limited. The chapter argues that while support provided by schools is significant for

minimizing the number of drop outs, the location where support is provided is significant. The gap between the inclusive rationale highlighted in policies and the accounts of social practices in the data in this study, are similar to the findings for the Norwegian case presented in Chapter 1. The two different locations of support are further discussed in the context of the concepts social exclusion and inclusion, including their implications for pupils' transitions to adulthood.

Part II

The second section of the book Part II, *Marginalization Inside, Outside and Across School Settings*, is organized around a cluster of six chapters. Eva Hjørne, in Chapter 3, *ADHD in the Classroom: A Pedagogy and its Paradoxes*, presents an overview of pedagogical practices developed in schools in response to the diagnosis of ADHD. This ethnographically framed case study focuses upon a small group of 7–12-year-old children who have received the neuropsychiatric diagnosis ADHD. The data analyzed consists of participant observations, field notes and audio-recorded interviews, during one school year. Hjørne shows and discusses the nature of educational arrangements that are currently considered suitable for these children in the nation-state of Sweden. These include a focus on segregation strategies, a rigid “structure”, behavioral interventions related to the core symptoms of the disorder, i.e., attention problems, impulsivity, and hyperactivity. These adaptations are accounted for in terms of being relevant for the goal of returning to a “normal” class at some time in the future. A salient ambition identified in the analysis is making the diagnosed pupils aware of their identity in terms of being an “ADHD-pupil”, including learning to monitor their expected shortcomings i.e. the symptoms attached to the diagnosis ADHD. Hjørne highlights the paradox related to the processes involved in first segregating pupils into special groups (e.g. the ADHD-class), away from the “normal” pupils and then practicing shortcomings—a process that itself creates an identity of a pupil who is “less-than-normal”, all within a-school-for-all where the explicit goal is to include everyone.

Focusing on the educational interpreter's role in informal group-work activities between deaf high-school students and their hearing peers, Sigrid Slettebakk Berge and Patrick Stefan Kermit, in Chapter 4, highlight challenges faced in mainstream settings where interpreters work. Informal group-work activities are, in the chapter, *Deaf Students' Access to Informal Group-Work Activities Seen in Light of the Educational Interpreter's Role*, framed in terms of “work-and-talk” situations that

emerge spontaneously during small group student-work phases. This type of activity was repeatedly described by the interpreters as challenging in their mediational roles. It was also identified as closely linked to deaf students' possibilities for participation. The chapter identifies and discusses the dialogical structures that create challenges in an interpreter's work in mediating informal group-work situations where students with and without hearing loss are members. The empirical data come from a qualitative classroom study in the nation-state of Norway, and are made up of observations, video-recordings, and interviews. Four thematic categories that emerge in the interpreters' accounts vis-à-vis performing their work include student's unclear membership status, spatial arrangements, parallel dialogues and activities, and, their back-stage access. Berge and Kermit raise important issues related to inclusive practices in terms of interpreters' and teachers' teamwork efforts and responsibilities in educational spaces.

In Chapter 5, titled "*Letting the Natural Happen*": *Stacking Neuroscience against Signed Language Bilingualism in the Context of Pediatric CIs*, Lakshmi Fjord unpacks the processes involved in the corrective surgeries and post-operative rehabilitation support services for infants who receive technologically advanced hearing aids, cochlear implants, CIs, on the one hand, and the medical professions' presentations of the outcomes of the surgeries, on the other hand. In 1990, many technologically advanced nation-states approved the use of CIs in children aged two and older. The issue that was salient at that specific time was related to what "first" language the hearing parents of these children should use when they were planning for their children to receive CIs at two years of age or older with the purpose of ensuring their neural linguistic and social-emotional development. The study presented in this chapter builds upon five years of comparative cross-cultural ethnographic research with hearing parents, CI providers, culturally D/deaf adults, and teachers in the nation-states of U.S., Denmark, Sweden and Norway. A near-historical study, its significance concerns young adults implanted at a very young age and who have come of age and "talk back" to proscriptions of signed languages with pediatric CIs. Fjord highlights how, under the pressure of globalized science produced by prestigious CI-centers, Scandinavian preferences for bilingual signed/spoken communication approaches shifted away from signing with young recipients of CI.

Fjord's work critically focuses on the globalization of an auditory-verbal only pre- and post-implantation approach that extinguished and even stigmatized alternative, bilingual approaches of using signed and spoken languages. By examining marketing discourse as produced in talk with parents in clinics or to university audiences, the mechanisms used to

shift public ethics from privileging signed languages, to seeing them as threats to CI young children learning to hear and speak are illustrated as becoming transparent. Neuroscience data about adult deaf signers' hemispheric changes used to claim that seeing/signing fights for scarce hemispheric geography with hearing/speaking in children belie, Fjord argues, growing data about children's immense neural plasticity. Yet, active suppression of bilingual post-implant outcomes research, Fjord highlights, shaped what counts as science in this arena, masking underlying financial biases. Alternative, non-dualistic research on approaches that more closely match the complexity and fluidity of language uses and desires in speech communities point to the need for comparative effectiveness and alternative ethnographically framed studies in this context.

Ingela Holmström and Sangeeta Bagga-Gupta, in Chapter 6, focus upon dimensions of marginalization processes that play out in the primary grades of mainstream school settings in the nation-state of Sweden. These schools have witnessed a sharp increase in the enrollment of deaf pupils with cochlear implants (CIs). The study presented in Chapter 6, "*Va sa han?*": *Technologies and Participation Strategies in Mainstream School Settings*, focuses on the communicative strategies that can be observed in mainstream classrooms where pupils with CIs are members. The empirical ethnographic data comes from two mainstream classrooms where pupils and adults use a range of technologies, and strategies, (co)creating opportunities for communicating and learning in everyday classroom life. Holmström and Bagga-Gupta illustrate their findings through expanded transcription systems and highlight that pupils with CIs are responsible for their own communicative participation in mainstream classrooms (when they can't make sense of or don't hear oral talk). Their analyses also show that pupils' rights to choose or regulate their own communication channels are not uncommonly curtailed by the adults. Different technologies play an important role in mainstream classrooms where pupils with CIs are members but these, at the same time, sometimes create barriers for participation. Holmström and Bagga-Gupta highlight that technologies therefore cannot be seen merely in terms of a panacea for pupils with CIs in mainstream educational settings.

Continuing under the theme of *Marginalization Inside, Outside and Across School Settings*, Sara A. Goico in Chapter 7, examines how marginalization is conceptualized in academic and educational circles, through an analysis of the interactions of a deaf student with no access to the majority oral language used in an all-hearing classroom setting in the nation-state of Peru. The specific social situation presented in the chapter

would appear to be one of unequivocal marginalization: the student is the only deaf individual in an entire school of hearing teachers and students, and does not receive any “visually-oriented” (Bagga-Gupta 2004) support services to navigate the academic material. Nevertheless, Goico shows that the deaf student appears comfortable with her surroundings, actively participating in and (apparently) unconfused by the classroom routines. Goico’s study, titled *Marginalization as a Dynamic Process: The Microanalysis of Interactions of a Deaf Student in a Mainstream Classroom*, discusses how this seemingly contradictory data can be understood by taking a model of marginalization as a point of departure. She argues for a continuum of perspectives in this model, where the two ends are represented by the treatment of marginalization in terms of a static state, to seeing it as a dynamic process. Goico argues that her empirical investigation yields two significant findings that call attention to the latter end of the continuum. Firstly, she emphasizes that interactions among individuals are the sites of marginalization. Secondly, because interactions are characterized by their emergent properties, with each interaction there is a new context and new participants, therefore, the center and margins, as well as where individuals fall in relation to them, are not static. These form the basis for the constant state of negotiation for what is marginalization. The microanalysis of mundane interactions presented in this chapter (and other chapters in this book) provide a useful tool for illustrating the fluid and dynamic processes of marginalization. The resulting understanding afforded by such a perspective is particularly enlightening, not only for researchers investigating marginalization, but also for policy makers and teachers trying to address the negative effects of marginalization in the classroom.

The final contribution in Part II, Chapter 8 by Alison Fielding, explores the meanings of inclusion through the use of narrative and biographical approaches in the context of a small-scale study into the experiences of young people in one school in the geopolitical spaces of England. Fielding argues that the value of a small-scale research project with a narrative focus lies in the recognition of emerging themes, relevant to a specific group which may inform further research, rather than in the generalizability of findings. An important point of departure for Fielding is the invisibility accorded to the “voice” of members of disadvantaged and marginalized groups in general, and that of young people in particular.

The chapter, *A Fairer Future? In Search of New Meanings of Inclusion for Marginalized Young People: In Their Own Words*, presents the analysis of a recorded focus group discussion based around the themes of what young people hope to achieve in life, what obstacles they face, what

life spheres they aspire to change for the better, including both how and what societal instances could facilitate such changes. Fielding discusses three primary themes of concern that young people report: the pressure to do well in education and achieve academically; concerns for their future, including special concerns vis-à-vis opportunities for higher studies; and, young people's political awareness. Fielding argues for the need of ensuring the continued engagement of young people in shaping their own futures and supporting their political commitment as a means to this end.

Part III

The next section of the book, Part III, builds upon research presented in three chapters on the theme of *Marginalization Inside, Outside and Across Adult Educational Settings*. Chapter 9, *Becoming an Immigrant in the Language Learning Classroom: Intersections of Gender and National Identity*, focuses upon the processes involved in becoming an immigrant in and through a tailored language education for new citizens in the geopolitical spaces of Sweden. Throwing critical light upon adult educational settings where refugees and new citizens are taught Swedish, Jenny Rosén takes sociohistorical, postcolonial and intersectional points of departure in the study presented in this chapter. She examines the doing of identity-positions in two language learning classrooms in the program Swedish for immigrants (SFI). Rosén argues that language learning involves the investment of one's identity as well as its transformation, as students negotiate their position in relation to the community of practice in which they are obliged to participate in. Thus, learning a new language, for instance in the context of a specific language program, involves a transformation of identity-positions, as people negotiate who to become in their new community.

A tailored education for immigrants, SFI, has been an established program in Sweden since 1965, free of charge for people categorized as belonging to the target group. The education is organized at the municipal level, delivered through an adult education program organized either by the municipality or by private agencies. Using an ethnographic framework, Rosén highlights how questions concerned with gender equality become important markers for constructing binary oppositions between modern and traditional, good and bad, Swedes and immigrants. She illustrates the complex relationship between gender equality and integration policies in terms of how these are embedded in the everyday conversations in the SFI classroom (as well as how the perception of gender equality becomes a central part of "Swedishness"). Interestingly, the study shows how the