Bilingualism: Disruptive Practices In Mainstream Schools

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Abstract (Danish)

Tosprogethed: Disruptive Praksisser i Folkeskolen

I Danmark udgør tosprogethed et problem for systemet, idet en stor del af de tosprogede halter bagefter i flere akademiske fag sammenlignet med jævnaldrende etniske danskere, hvilket medfører at mange tosprogede forlader deres uddannelser tidligt i forløbet. De tosprogedes manglende faglighed skyldes problemstillinger relateret til sprog og kultur, påstår flere rapporter. Disse rapporter tager udgangspunkt i kulturen som deterministisk. Sådanne antagelser har medført at regeringen har modstridende politiske holdninger; den ene omhandler fjernelse af modersmålsundervisning og den anden at inkludere og fremme modersmålet med det formål at fremme akademisk succes blandt tosprogede. Der har været en del forskning, der fokuserer på minoriteters dialekter og identiteter, størstedelen af diskussionen i disse akademiske studier bebrejder samfundet og dets institutioner for at marginalisere etniske minoriteter og er med til at forårsage at disse får en aggressiv og fjendtlig adfærd. Disse studier har primært været afhængige af etnografiske interviews som forskningsmetode. De pågældende studier har dog ikke konkret undersøgt deltagernes påstande og interaktion fra interviewene.

Pågældende studie prøver at adressere denne kløft ved at undersøge de tosprogedes identiteter og diskurser i folkeskolen. Feltarbejdet blev gennemført på to folkeskoler, hvor 19 arabiske elever fra 6. årgang (12-13år) blev fulgt. Studiet bestod af etnografisk beskrivelse og etnometodologisk konversationsanalyse af deltagernes interaktion i klassen. Studiets etnografiske beskrivelse indebærer en række skole-relaterede temaer, der er dokumenteret ved deltagernes interaktion og diskurs, hvorimod EMCA analysen går i dybden med deltagernes måde at håndtere uenigheder og vold i klasseværelset.

Studiets primære bidrag er en undersøgelse af hvordan tosprogede tilbringer deres tid i klassen og udforsker faktorer der kan påvirke de tosprogedes skolegang i en negativ retning. Studiet peger på en række forhold der kan påvirke de tosprogedes skolegang negativt. Skolens geografiske placering (hvorvidt det er i eller udenfor en ghetto) synes ikke at have praktisk betydning for de tosprogedes brug af deres sprog eller på deres adfærd overfor skolen og lærerne, idet deltagernes sociale og sproglige praksis syntes at være ens og kodeskift blev brugt til samme formål på begge skoler. Det arabiske sprog syntes ikke at spille en rolle i deltagernes akademiske foretagende, og alligevel blev det anvendt i udstrakt grad i klasserne. Oftest går overtrædelser af skolens normer ustraffet hen. Der er en tendens til at elever der præsterer godt fagligt er nede i klassernes hierarki, hvor elever der har en identitet som er marginaliseret eller endda aggressiv synes at være oppe i hierarkiet. Den tid der er sat af til opgaveløsning og andre skoleaktiviteter, bliver af de fleste deltagere brugt på multitasking og for skolearbejdet irrelevante aktiviteter. Kodeskift og brugen af modersmål er en vedvarende strategi blandt de fleste deltagere for at forhindre lærerne i at intervenere i uenigheder eller i situationer når tosprogede driller eller mobber. Ultimativt betyder dette at meget af klassetiden bruges på ikke-faglige aktiviteter.

Mens tidligere forskning har peget på løsninger på de tosprogedes' mangler ved enten at forbyde eller fremme modersmålsundervisning eller ved at bebrejde samfundet og dets institutioner for at skubbe etniske minoriteter ud i marginalisering, peger indeværende studie på at problemet ikke kun handler om sprog, og er heller ikke en del af minoritets eller majoritets kulturer. Der er tale om mere komplekse problemstillinger til at forbedre tosprogedes faglighed end kun at forbyde eller fremme modersmålet i undervisningen. Som studiet indikerer håndteres de tosprogedes interaktionnelle, disruptive praksisser ikke eller kun delvis i den pædagogiske tilrettelæggelse af klasseværelsesundervisning, muligvis fordi disse praksissers beskaffenhed ikke er tydelige for lærere og/eller skolen.

Abstract

Bilingualism: Disruptive Practices in Mainstream Schools.

Bilingualism in Denmark poses a problem for the system in general as great numbers of bilinguals lag behind their ethnic Danish peers in several academic subjects, and many bilinguals drop the pursuit of education at an early stage. Bilinguals' shortcomings are blamed on language-related issues and on the bilinguals' minority cultures as various reports seem to present a "deterministic" understanding of the term "culture". Such assumptions have driven governmental policies in two opposite directions, as one policy is manifested in getting rid of the minority language, while the other policy attempted to include and promote the minority language for the purpose of promoting academic success among bilinguals. While there has been a growing stream of research that focuses on minorities' dialects and identities, much of the discussions in these academic studies concluded by blaming the majority community and its institutions for marginalizing minorities and pushing them to adopt aggressive and hostile forms of identities. These studies, however, depend mainly on the ethnographic interview as a research method, and they do not investigate how the pupils orient to the categories (for example, marginalization) they use in the interviews in their daily actions and interactions. This research seeks to address this gap by examining the bilinguals' identities and discourses in the context of mainstream schools. Fieldwork was conducted with 19 Arab-Danish 6-th graders (ages 12-13) in two mainstream school environments. The study provides an ethnographic description and adopts an EMCA analytic approach for the participants' interactions inside the classroom. Ethnographic description in the study is concerned with a range of school-related themes that are documented by the participants' interactions and discourses, whereas EMCA analysis delves into the participants' methods in doing disputes and violence inside the classroom.

The primary contribution of this study is represented by offering an investigation for how bilinguals spend their time in classrooms and explores some of the factors that may impact the school experience of bilinguals in a negative way. The research unveiled a range of issues that can be considered culprits in the bilinguals' school experience. The location of the school (whether in a ghetto or outside the ghetto) has no practical influence on the bilinguals' use of their languages, or on their attitudes towards school and teachers in that the participants' practices seemed to be very similar, and code switching seemed to be used for the same purposes in the two school environments. Arabic language which seemingly has no meaning for the participants' academic achievement is widely used inside the classrooms. Violations to the school norms mostly go unpunished. The available sets of identities can be seen in terms of extremes, i.e., either marginalized or aggressive and both are academically deviant. The time allocated for studying and official school task is spent by the greatest majority of the participants in multitasking and irrelevant issues. Code-switching in the classrooms goes against the situated goals of the classroom and the teachers' designs, in that code-switching and the use of minority language is a constant strategy among most of the participants to prevent teachers from intervention in disputes or in situations when bilinguals want to transgress.

While previous research sought to solve the problem of the bilinguals' shortcomings by either banning minority mother tongue education or promoting it, the current study reveals that the problem is not only concerned with language, nor it is embedded in "minority culture" or "majority culture". More importantly, the study demonstrates that there are more complex issues to deal with in order to improve "bilingualism" than simply ban or promote a minority language in education.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction and research questions

1- Preface

A great number of bilingual school children in Denmark lag behind their ethnic Danish peers in different school subjects. While the different governments attempted to solve this problem by following certain policies concerned with enhancing the majority language (Danish), i.e., by discarding mother tongue education and by imposing Danish as a second language as one of the school subjects for some minority children, research in this field has taken a different perspective on the problem. Mainstream research (e.g., Møller et. al 2014; Jørgensen 2008; Gilliam 2006, 2007, 2008; Jaffe-Walter 2013) within this field has considered that the problem is mainly concerned with the school experience of the minority children, and blamed the different governmental policies as well as school policies which marginalize minority children. The major question which many researchers have pursued in this field is:

Why do bilinguals in Denmark lag behind their ethnic Danish peers?

Basically, researchers investigated the school environment through fieldwork and interviews with minority children and school staff, and many of them concluded that the problem is concerned with systematic processes of marginalization which the different Danish institutions practice on minority children. The negative school experience which the Danish institutions are offering to minority children is interpreted as the reason behind the shortcomings of bilingual children.

This study pursues the questions: what experiences do bilingual/minority children have in mainstream schools? And how do bilinguals create their social world inside mainstream schools? The outcome of this study will still contribute to the question “why” bilinguals lag behind their Danish peers and cannot be academically on equal footing with them.

2- Introduction

Studies dealing with bilingual speech have developed in the second half of the twentieth century in three distinct directions: structural, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic (Bhatia 2013). The structural approach is concerned with the grammatical aspects of Code Switching (henceforth CS). The psycholinguistic approach attempts to understand the underlying rules that govern different modes of processing in bilingual speakers (e.g., Grosjean 1995). Finally, the sociolinguistic approach investigates CS as a discourse phenomenon, and the central question of investigation for such studies is concerned with how the participants make use of CS as a tool at their disposal in their daily communication, and the significance of this tool on the bilinguals’ communication and the social or communicative goals that are attained/achieved by it. Within this sociolinguistic domain, the debate is characterized by a tension between two major approaches that attempt to provide answers to the primary research question. One theory is proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993)

and became known as the Markedness theory, and which is in essence a socio-psychological approach, where the significance of CS depends on the analyst's assumptions about a speaker's internal states. A second theory is concerned with power and dominance discourses, and is led by Monica Heller and Ben Rampton, where the former focused on identity (Heller 1992, 2006), while the latter focused on ethnicity (Rampton 2005) as both attempted to highlight the significance of CS in particular settings. Both gave primacy to ethnographic macro-observations as they managed to unravel the significance of CS. A third approach to CS follows the premises of conversation analysis (henceforth CA) and draws on the work on talk-in-interaction by Harvey Sacks (Sacks 2000) and his notion of "order at all points" (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2004), i.e., in principle, anything in interaction, including CS, is orderly and systematic, and accordingly the function of CS must be gleaned from the turns at talk that constitute the context of CS, and not by relying on macro social observations or psychological assumptions about the inner state of the speaker.

Bilingualism and its interdisciplinary nature gets further complicated when it is meant to deal with bilinguals' schooling experience. Jim Cummins can be considered the leading linguist who advocates teaching programs that take into account the immigrants' mother-tongues into perspective (e.g. Cummins 2000; 2003). He argues that mother-tongue education enhances a child's ability to acquire the majority language, and that long-term use of the native language in education leads to additive bilingualism and to a successful school experience. Some cognitive and sociolinguists demonstrate a stance similar to Cummins', and they argue that bilingualism can be advantageous in several ways; for example, childhood bilingualism enhances high-level cognitive functions (Kovacs 2007, Bialystok 2001). However, such benefits of bilingualism can be reaped only when we are talking about a form of sound bilingualism which is referred to as "balanced bilingualism", and which is based on Cummin's Threshold Hypothesis. This hypothesis advocates instruction in the mother-tongue languages of minority children and calls for the integration of minority languages with the mainstream curriculum. According to the Threshold hypothesis, bilinguals are categorized according to their fluency in the two languages, where balanced bilinguals are perceived to have native-like competence in their two languages; dominant bilinguals are more competent in the minority language, passive or recessive bilinguals are those who lose their native language because of disuse; and semilinguals who lack proficiency in the two languages (Chin 2007; Houwer 2009). There are also studies in the area of "third language acquisition" comparing bilinguals and monolinguals learning a third foreign language and sometimes showing advantages for the bilinguals, regardless of the threshold hypothesis categorizations (Cenoz 2009).

However, politicians across the world have always had their own agendas regarding the integration of immigrant children by adopting programs that focus on majority language and by discarding the minority language, leading to a form of bilingualism that Cummins and his proponents in general call recessive or subtractive bilingualism, and consequently to academic failure among minority students. The academic failure, according to Cummins (2000), is the outcome of programs that are characterized by power relationships between majority teachers and minority students, and such relationships reflect those of the society. Although Cummins' draws on tens of empirical studies that support his views regarding additive bilingualism, some linguists have criticized his approach and regarded it as merely hypothetical and not based on empirical research (e.g Jørgensen and Quist 2007).

The participants of the current study are minority students in majority schools that attempt to promote the majority language only, though the participants constitute a majority in the schools being investigated. They also do not fit well within any of the aforementioned categories related to the Threshold hypothesis, in that they do not receive instruction in Arabic, and Danish is dominant

and used for all academic purposes within the school context. The situation of Arabic diglossia complicates the attempt to put them in any category in that most of the participants do not speak or understand formal Arabic, and they have only Arabic dialects at their disposal for daily communication.

3- Background

Bilingualism is not only a linguistic topic, but also a political one par excellence, which has generated and attracted many debates in an age of immigration as a global phenomenon. In Denmark, political discourse about bilingualism came to the fore in the 1960s with the arrival of migrant workers (Turks and Pakistanis) and intensified during the 1990s as the number of refugees (Arabs, Kurds, Somalis) increased, and schools had to accommodate increasing numbers of children who mainly spoke non-European languages. This political discourse revolved around notions of integration and assimilation and directly influenced the school system and consequently led to the abolishment of instruction in the mother-tongue in 2001 (Jørgensen 2008: 112). This measure was concomitant with an already well-established media image of ethnic clusters as nurseries of criminals and social troubles. The Ministry of Social Affairs found correlations between living in such ethnic enclaves on one hand and joblessness and lack of education on the other. Denmark Evaluation Institute (EVA) reached a conclusion that "earlier research in primary schools has shown that bilinguals perform significantly worse than ethnic Danish pupils. There is a clear correlation between pupil performance and ethnic background to suggest that linguistic and cultural factors have a major impact on how pupils do in school" [1] (Tosprogede elever: Sproget er nøglen). Similar observations have been reported by experts in the field of bilingualism, e.g., Anne Holmen (2006). Denmark's Ministry of Education has also expressed similar issues related to bilingualism in Denmark, in that every second bilingual – according to the Ministry – lacks the necessary reading skills when he/she finishes grade-school, and this leads great numbers of bilinguals to drop their education at a very early stage (Undervisnings Ministeriet 7 Oktober 2004). In short, the picture we perceive from the various political debates and reports is that bilinguals pose a problem for the system in general, and quite often the "minorities' cultures" are blamed for the shortcomings.

However, linguists in general do not treat bilingualism or code-switching as a problem, as Jørgensen & Møller (2008: 40) point out "it is a point of sociolinguistic studies of language use that simultaneous use of features from different sets of conventions, different languages or varieties is not a deviation from typical human linguistic behavior". The notion that bilingualism is problematic is typically perceived to be stemming from assumptions related to public attitudes and ideologies regarding different languages. In Denmark, for example, bilingualism which includes English or other European languages is perceived as something positive and additive; whereas, when a non-European language (Arabic, Turkish, etc.) is involved it is often seen as something negative (Jørgensen 2008). Alexandra Jaffe (2007) demonstrates the view that in minority language contexts, bilingualism can be a problematic category or label, because the bilingualism that characterizes the sociolinguistic landscape in these contexts is always unbalanced. "Viewed within the framework of dominant language ideologies, such an imbalance poses problems of legitimacy and authenticity … since legitimate and authorized identities are typically associated either with a monolingual norm or an ideal of balanced bilingualism (Jaffe 2007: 50-1). A similar understanding of the problem was expressed by Jørgensen (2003) where he points to the notion that balanced bilingualism in such contexts is to be perceived by the majority discourse as two separate monolingualisms which are

[1] Translation is mine.

linked to two separate identities, and not as a mixture of codes, where one can – for example – use Arabic and Danish in the same conversation in a certain setting.

Nevertheless, the aforementioned political/media reports cannot be overlooked and regarded as merely demonstrating attitudinal issues, in that they demonstrate in numbers and statistics how bilingualism in this context can be seen as problematic. However, it seems that blaming the "minority culture" or processes of bilingualism for the shortcomings is what can be considered controversial, though many of the linguists in Denmark who researched minority groups have never assumed such a correlation, and the claim, thus, remains a political and ideological one driven by attitudinal prejudices towards immigrant pupils' mother-tongues and cultures. If we accept that every second bilingual is not doing well in school because of the minority culture, by the same logic, every second bilingual is doing well in spite of the minority culture too. This prompts us to question the assumption on which the various reports were established, and which take into account a deterministic view regarding the concept of culture. In other words, if minority culture is the problem, how can we explain the success of half the bilinguals who also belong to the minority culture? This question is not meant to exclude the possibility that the problem might be cultural, but the concept of culture as used by the aforementioned reports indicates that the minorities' cultures are bounded and isolated from the other cultures without giving a space for overlapping and intersections. Moreover, the view that some bilinguals are successful indicates that there are some resources which are available for them and absent for others. Furthermore, variations among bilinguals in terms of academic achievement exist among those who can be seen as "homogeneous", where they share the same school, the same classroom, and the same ghetto. This might indicate that some of the problems are necessarily embedded in the broader community, for example, the bilinguals' families, local community, and ghetto, and not only in the school policy.

School policies related to immigrant pupils in Denmark are mostly driven by one of two arguments. One argument focuses on the Danish language and attempts to get rid of the minority language, while the other argument attempts to include and promote the minority language for the purpose of promoting academic success. The two arguments are exemplified in Quist and Jørgensen's (2007) discussion of school policies in the Norwegian context (but which is also applicable to the Danish context). Proponents of the first argument consider that the focus on Norwegian in education "is a prerequisite for a functioning democracy" and minorities are viewed as disturbing the nation's unity and harmony. The opponents of this stance argue that the political discourse concerned with the education of linguistic minority students is biased and nationalist, and according to Quist and Jørgensen "the distinction between "their" children and "our" children – common among majority parents, teachers, and politicians – has been linked to the discourse in the late 1800s about working class children in the cities whose parents had migrated from the countryside. The authorities found that these parents did not value education and that "bad homes" were taken to be the cause of many a child's school failure" (Quist and Jørgensen 2007: 163. See also Gilliam 2007; 2008). In Denmark, disagreement among politicians regarding minority groups and their cultures manifested itself in frequent alterations of school policies. Such views depend to a great extent on the general policy of the government in office regarding notions of integration. Minority school children, thus, became a site of governmental experimentation. While some governments promoted individual bilingualism through institutional monolingualism by banning mother-tongue education, other governments sought to implement mother-tongue education to improve the pupils' academic achievement in Danish. For politicians and linguists alike, language seems to be the crucial and essential element that can improve the bilingual experience and consequently their academic achievement. However, a quick review of the PISA results regarding the achievement of minority children during the implementation of the two aforementioned policies

might lead to the conclusion that the two policies lead to similar results regarding the achievement of minority pupils. Moreover, since the two policies seem to yield similar results, it could be plausible to research factors that impact the minority school experience in a negative way regardless of the language policy imposed.

4- Bilingualism and previous research:

Early studies concerned with bilingualism attempted to highlight the phenomenon of language alternation and code-switching by considering this phenomenon as a linguistic defect or a mental problem that must be resolved (Weinreich 1953; Vogt 1954). This perspective has changed radically starting from the second half of the twentieth century as linguists from different walks of life attempted to emphasize that bilingualism is as normal as monolingualism, or even more advantageous than monolingualism (Cummins 2000; Kovacs 2007; Bialystok 2001). Denmark's linguists are not an exception in this regard, in that - contrary to some political and public attitudes – they treat deviations from the mainstream language or speaking different languages by a minority group not as a sign of poorly acquired skills. In such studies (e.g., Quist 2005), the social meaning of deviating from the mainstream language is usually the prime focus of research. A finding which is stressed by many researchers is that deviation from the mainstream dialect or language is intentional and deliberate in that minority speakers usually strive to assert their separate identity by speaking a different dialect or language. Deviation is, thus, a means to show allegiance with a minority group or culture (for example, Jørgensen 2008; Svendsen & Quist 2010; Quist 2005; Evaldsson 2005; Quist 1998).

Linguistically, Møller, Jørgensen and Holmen (2014) provide a modification for the understanding of deviation by pointing to a number of different areas of linguistic development in minority children and conclude their study by stating that what might seem to be deviation/shortcomings/ or "4th grade slump" "can hardly be attributed to stagnation in their language development. It is more likely that school activities do not allow these children to benefit from their full linguistic resources as these cut across mainstream ideas about monolingual norms."

However, reports that associate bilingualism with shortcomings are not merely attitudinal as they reveal in terms of statistics that bilingualism is problematic in that half the bilinguals in Denmark finish their grade-school without acquiring proper reading and writing skills. The minister of education announced in the Spring of 2013 that the government will make a trial of re-introducing teaching in the minority mother-tongue which was abolished in 2001 (Stanners 2013). This measure is meant to test whether teaching immigrant children in their mother-tongue improves their Danish language skills. We already know that 50% of the generation who received instruction in the mother-tongue prior to 2001 lacked the proper skills in reading and writing in the majority language. Moreover, PISA report of 2010 revealed that "46% of Copenhagen children born to immigrants do not have functional reading capabilities" (Stanners 2011), and we have to remember that this generation has not received education in their mother tongues. The conclusion we can make here is that whether the bilinguals receive education in the mother-tongue or not, the result is the same – or nearly the same – which means that teaching bilinguals in their mother-tongue might not be a factor that would necessarily improve their abilities in the majority language. Even if we assume that there is a relation between teaching the mother-tongue and improvement in Danish, the formal Arabic which the state will reintroduce is not a mother-tongue, but a second language for the immigrant Arabs (and it is a second language for the natives of the Arab world, as one acquires it in school). Arab immigrants' mother-tongues are represented by informal Arabic dialects and these are many and various (Palestinian, Syrian, Iraqi, Egyptian, etc.) which do not have a written form or

codified grammatical principles due to lack of research in this area. With this in mind, the expected improvement in the majority language and academic subjects as a result of teaching bilinguals a second language might not transpire into a reality. Moreover, what the statistical and PISA reports show is not concerned with language per se, rather they show that bilinguals lag behind their Danish ethnic peers in different academic subjects, and this enhances the assumption that the problem is not purely linguistic, and there could be multiple factors at play preventing the bilinguals from achieving what is expected from them. A recent study that attempts to compare school policies in Denmark and Sweden concludes that minority students in Sweden do better than minority students in Denmark because bilingual pupils in Sweden have the option to study their own mother-tongue as a subject and in some schools they are offered instruction in selected subjects in their own mother-tongue, and the criteria of evaluating other academic subjects do not depend on linguistic correctness, rather on knowledge comprised in the subject syllabus (Mehlbye et al. 2011). As to language policy, the authors of this study recommend in their conclusion that "the policies for mother-tongue instruction are not unimportant if mother-tongue instruction does indeed have a bearing on the pupils' academic achievements in Danish/Swedish and Mathematics" as they see that the relation between students' ethnic background and their academic achievement is much stronger in Denmark than it is in Sweden (Mehlbye et al. 2011: 34). They simply abstain from mentioning the influence of mother-tongue instruction on the acquisition of majority language or even on how mother-tongue instruction influences the bilinguals' achievement in other academic subjects.

If we downplay teaching the minority language as a factor that affects the bilinguals' competence in Danish, we will be left with social, cultural, and classroom issues to be dealt with. In order to understand how bilinguals orient to their school as an institution, and more importantly, how they spend the time allocated for a lesson, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in two school environments to come to terms with the bilinguals' diverse school experiences.

5- Cultural and Minority Studies

Cultural studies concerned with minorities in Denmark focus mainly on the deprivation of minorities and the discrimination that is imposed upon them by the political discourse, far right parties, media, etc. While these studies stress that Denmark is becoming more and more a multicultural society, the political system in general, media and public institutions and public discourses attempt to deal with ethnic diversity and multiculturalism in terms of a "threat" to the national identity and a threat to the Danish "homogeneous society", i.e., a society whose population speak one language, believe in Christianity, and belong to the same ethnicity (Horst and Gitz-Johansen (2010); Kærgård 2010; Wren 2001, Hervik 2004). Deviations from the established norms of the dominant Danish ethnic group and mainstream language and dialect are perceived by the majority society as a threat to the homogeneous or monocultural society. This research in general stresses the point that a homogeneous society is merely imaginative and does not exist in reality. According to Horst and Gitz-Johansen (2010) "once a complex ethnic and social reality is interpreted in terms of a monocultural society, a logical next step will be to employ different normative measures to reduce ethnic, cultural and linguistic complexity." This is usually manifested by considering the national culture as the unifying centre of society, and to interpret deviations from the unifying centre and norms in terms of cultural deviance while failure of ethnic minorities to cope with national standards (education, employment, criminality, etc.) is interpreted as a matter of cultural deprivation and in terms of problems embedded in ethnicity and home-culture rather than in terms of social problems related to ethnic minority groups. According to this pattern of political discourse – which Horst and Girz-Johansen (2010) call *hegemonic pattern* – minority individuals are pressured to assimilate to the mainstream culture and norms and to disregard their minority

cultural identities. Accordingly, educational underachievement and shortcomings (mainly from ethnic minorities) are explained according to this political discourse with reference to lack of cultural, social and linguistic resources, and the fault is located in the neighbourhoods and families of minority children rather than in the educational system or the racialized society that attempts to marginalize minorities and their cultures and to promote the culture of the dominant group.

Political discourse provides a deterministic understanding of the term "culture", as governmental reports and discourse refers to two distinct "cultures", one is promoted and favored, the other is abhorred, as the following governmental statements indicate: "certain institutions and schools have …a disproportionately large amount of children with an ethnic minority background. It is damaging if children have only a certain kind of peers, and they do not get acquainted with the prevailing norms and traditions in Danish society" and " to immigrant children and descendants who grow up in ghetto areas and who go to school in actual ghetto schools, their Danish may become so limited that it is a problem to learn the curriculum in school where the language is Danish, and there is a risk that the norms and rules of society may remain unknown. (regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering 2004, 33). Bilinguals' underachievement and shortcomings are interpreted according to this discourse as a result of the "minority culture", which might refer to the home culture, culture of the countries of origin, culture that evolves in the ghetto, or in the neighbourhoods of the minority people. Simultaneously, this discourse doesn't recognize the bilinguals' ethnic diversity and their languages as cultural resources. Academic interpretations, on the other hand, consider that a successful learning process must recognize and take into consideration the bilinguals' diverse cultural identities as well as their diverse languages (see Cummins (2009); Holmen (2006); Jørgensen (2008); Gilliam (2009)).

This biased political discourse antagonized the academic circles in Denmark – and internationally - especially those researchers dealing with cultural and identity perspectives as well as linguistics. Multilingual research mostly focuses on variations of the majority language rather than on what is to be perceived as two distinct languages. Quist (2010) demonstrates the view that multilingual studies in Scandinavia are based on two distinct perspectives: the variety perspective that examines the linguistic traits in relation to a standard language and the broader national speech community, and the practice approach that analyzes the ways speakers create and negotiate meaning in interaction. However, the two perspectives seem to lump together youngsters belonging to various minority ethnic groups (Turks, Arabs, Somalis, Pakistanis, Kurds, etc.) and treat them as a homogeneous group who would produce at the end a dialect, or a variety which is labeled as ethnolect, or multiethnolect, which according to Clyne (2000: 87) is characterized by its use by several minority groups "collectively to express their minority status and/ or as a reaction to that status to upgrade it." Moreover, these studies determine and treat deviations from the norms (in terms of language use, and in terms of deviation from the mainstream dialect) as a matter of stylistics, and make no attempt to associate or relate deviance to "incompetence" in interaction, or to broader cultural issues that could be rooted in the social world of the speakers. The cardinal point which these studies emphasize is that minority speakers of a certain dialect or variety know how to use the correct or standard form, but to assert their identities, they resort to the use of new varieties which more or less deviate from the standard form, and is seen as a resource on which they rely to distance themselves from the dominant majority variety. In their evaluation of the sociolinguistic studies in Scandinavia, Svendsen and Quist (2010: xvi) state:

> One of the most significant insights of the variety approach has been that these new linguistic practices are not results of poorly acquired skills in the majority language in

> question …Studies have demonstrated that the speakers are able to switch between language styles according to interlocutors and situations, and such switches are perceived to be arguments for the existence of a variety or a speech style in its own right, a version of the majority language.

Researchers have also interpreted the bilinguals' underachievement in schools by referring to the biased political discourse which attempts to marginalize minorities and their cultures. In such studies we see radical attempts to avoid "blaming the victim" and to put the blame on the racialized institutions of the majority society, the dominant political system, as well as on members (teachers, etc.) who are representatives of the majority society (see for example Gilliam 2006; 2007, 2009). In her research, Gilliam (2006; 2007) considers that minority children are marginalized by the school system and by the society in general, and she concludes that minority children adopt aggressive and tough identities as a strategy to create borders between themselves and the system that attempts to marginalize them. In other words, minority children deliberately abstain from conforming to the expectations of the school and the system as a reaction to the biased institutional discrimination against them.

Language research has also opposed the political discourse. For the last three decades or so, the dominant line of research in this area considered the positive effects of minority languages not only on the bilinguals' well-being and identity matters, but also on the acquisition of the majority language as well as on having a successful school experience (for example, Holmen (2008); Jørgensen (2008)). Holmen (2004) observes that there is a dominance of a national paradigm in language teaching that is grounded on the idea that language and culture are inseparable in the nation and necessary to a subjective feeling of coherence. She described how children from ethnic minorities are treated in Danish school and how this treatment contributes to their stigmatization and marginalization in a climate that is largely intolerant to minorities and their languages and cultures. Jørgensen (2008) demonstrates a similar view in his research of the *Køge Project*. In other words, what these researchers conclude is that bilingualism is not a problem per se, rather the problem is in the biased policies of the majority society and majority schools that attempt to marginalize bilinguals.

6- Change in focus and research questions:

Ethnographers have no clear idea what they will find, and quite often their focus may change depending on the phenomena that crop up in the field. In this study, however, I went to the field with a consideration to investigate the school experience of bilinguals and how classroom composition impacts the bilinguals' use of Danish and Arabic. These questions are to be understood in tandem with the question why is it the case in Denmark that every second bilingual fails to accomplish successfully what the school expects from him/her?

Grade schools in Denmark are not the same, and they can be seen as different types of "language environments", in that it is possible to identify several types depending on the number of bilinguals in these schools and classroom composition; where in some schools the number of bilinguals exceeds 90% of the total number of students while in others the number of bilinguals could be less than 10% (Odense Kommune Opgørelse 2009). Such variations are hypothesized to lead to variations in the bilinguals' linguistic performance. From the start I assumed that school-type could be a factor that influences the bilinguals' academic achievement, and for this purpose I had to make observations in two types of schools, for the purpose of comparing and contrasting the main language-related differences in two school environments – one school in a ghetto (95%

bilinguals), and one outside the ghetto (65% bilinguals) and Arabs constituted a majority in the two classrooms which were investigated. This assumption is motivated by a consideration that it might be possible to find variations in the participants' use of language and in their behavior relative to the differences in the two environments, in that a school in a ghetto with a majority of bilinguals is likely to have a dominant culture which is more ghetto- oriented than a school which is outside the ghetto. Such a consideration is also motivated by the governmental reports which assumed that " immigrant children and descendants who grow up in ghetto areas and who go to school in actual ghetto schools, their Danish may become so limited that it is a problem to learn the curriculum in school where the language is Danish, and there is a risk that the norms and rules of society may remain unknown. (regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering 2004, 33). Moreover, sociolinguists hypothesize that there is a strong relationship between language achievement and status in the social hierarchy (Quist and Jørgensen 2007), and studies in Second Language Acquisition consider that the acquisition of L2 is usually item-based and dependent on the frequency of use (Tomasello: 2003; Ellis: 2002, 2009). Classroom composition might, thus, constitute a crucial factor in determining the choice of language, i.e., in a classroom composed of a majority of bilinguals (who have the same L1 and L2) we expect to see a higher frequency of using L1 and L2, than in a classroom where bilinguals are a minority and are forced to communicate with their peers using the majority language. Comparing and contrasting bilinguals who attend two different institutions might highlight differences in the participants' actions and behaviors as well as different sets of resources available to each group, and offers a possibility to correlate such differences with the differences that pertain to the two settings.

However, the main finding of this comparison was that the participants in the two schools showed very much the same orientation to the school, and they acted and interacted with their peers and school staff in very much the same way. The similarities in the participants' conduct and behavior, including their use of the two languages, have also diminished the importance of considering the participants of the two schools as two distinct groups, and a more viable solution was to treat them as similar in order to study some features of their actions and interactions. The conduct of the participants of the ghetto school and their language use were very much the same as the conduct of the participants of the school outside the ghetto.

Nevertheless, there were slight differences between the two schools and these can be seen in terms of institutional matters and concerned with the roles of the different teachers, or in the presence of Danish ethnic students in one school and their absence in the other. However, such differences were of no significance as there seemed to be a strict ethnic boundary shaping the formation of friendships and cliques, and there was nearly no communication between the different groups. Teachers' different policies regarding the formation of groups for the purpose of cooperative learning yielded different results. In one school teachers chose to mix boys and girls and to include different ethnicities in the same groups, while in the other, the formation of groups was left to the choice of pupils. In the case of imposing group members by the teachers, the dominant form of communication among the participants was bullying, while in the case of giving the choice to pupils to choose their groups, gossip and play prevailed. In the two cases, the dominant form of communication constituted a deviation from the official school task. This early finding prompted me to structure my project in a way that would enable me to provide an ethnographic description of the two schools, and to focus on the participants' disputes and adversative talk while involved in group work, and to pinpoint some practices that can be an answer to the main research questions:

1- What are the participants' disruptive practices that might constitute a deviation from the school norms?

2- How do the participants disrupt the teaching design while involved in group work and in classroom setting?

While research methods concerned with the study of bilingualism in Denmark used mainly ethnographic methods, comprised of interviews with teachers and students – or were mainly quantitative, concerned about the results of implementing certain policies and the number of bilinguals who pass or fail, this study uses a different perspective, as it attempts to delineate the world of bilinguals qualitatively using the ethnographic method and the Ethnomethodological perspective. The combination of the two methods might reveal some of the factors that influence the bilingual school experience in Denmark negatively. The study might, thus, contribute to the research concerned with bilinguals and minorities, and to interactional studies concerned with disputes.

The classroom as a research field: The selection of the classroom in this study as the primary focus for research as opposed to the playground is motivated by a concern to **a)** shed light on some of the issues that could be rendering bilingualism a problem in Denmark, and because **b)** we know very little about what actually happens in the classroom when students are divided into groups to accomplish some tasks. Goodwin (2006: 3) chooses the playground as a setting for research and states "I selected the playground as opposed to the classroom as the primary focus for research because not much is known about how children interact when they are apart from adult supervision". The same can be said of the pupils participating in this study, as they interact on their own and apart from adult supervision whenever they are assigned a school task to work in groups. Previous studies concerned with classroom interaction took into perspective the notion that the talk in a classroom is dominated by the teacher, who selects topics, decides about the manner of discussion and who will be allowed to discuss them (Wardhaugh 2010 : 327; see also Bozetepe: 2009). Some of the characteristics of classroom interactions are seen in terms of question-answer format, where the teacher asks most of the questions; the questions are special in that the teacher already has the answer; the questions are addressed to a whole group; the group are required to bid for the right to answer, and the whole answering ritual is meant to benefit the entire group (Wardhaugh 2010). Coulthard (1977: 101) makes similar observations as he states that "verbal interaction inside the classroom differs markedly from desultory conversation in that its main purpose is to instruct and inform, and this difference is reflected in the structure of the discourse…Inside the classroom it is one of the functions of the teacher to choose the topic, decide how it will be subdivided into smaller units, and cope with digressions and misunderstandings." Wardhaugh proceeds further to highlight the differences between classroom conversations and ordinary conversations by stating that "the teacher may be said to "own" the conversation, whereas in ordinary conversations such ownership may be said to be shared (Wardhaugh 2010: 328). Apart from the assumption that we know the format of interaction which involves pupil-teacher in classroom discourse, today's teaching/learning techniques in Denmark depend heavily on group-work learning, and teachers are mostly absent from the scene and unable to monitor/control what happens when they divide pupils into different study-groups. **c)** Even when teachers attempt to monitor a group, the availability of Arabic at the disposal of the participants, and which is incomprehensible by most of the teachers renders this monitoring in many situations futile and the participants, thus, act, digress and transgress without fear of being apprehended.

Disruption: The title of this study is "disruptive practices in mainstream schools", and in this sense, disruption is to be understood as a practice or mode of conduct or an event that necessarily goes against the aims and objectives of some other activity which is primarily planned by an institution or organization, a teacher, a religious group, family, etc. The definition is inspired by Goffman's

concept of *secondary adjustments*. Secondary adjustments "represent ways in which the individual stands apart from the role and the self that were taken for granted for him by the institution" (Goffman 1968: 172)[2]. Goffman argues that involvement in a social entity entails both a commitment and an attachment, and the social entity could be an ideology, a nation, a trade, a family, a person, or just a conversation (Goffman 1968: 159). Although Goffman's observations were concerned mainly with what he calls walled-in units (like prisons and asylums), he stresses the point that his findings might apply to all forms of institutions, including schools. The participants of this study are pupils who are tied to their ethnic background, Danish citizenry (since they were born in Denmark), their families, teachers, peers, other ethnicities, religious beliefs, etc. In this sense, I will describe the different bonds that tie the participants with others, how they adapt to being identified, and consequently how their actions overlap or contradict what is expected of them, as every bond implies a broad conception of the participant tied by it, and entails a set of obligations or duties that correspond with some rights as a quid pro quo.[3] According to Goffman, what the participant is expected to do, and what he actually does, is not the real concern. For Goffman, the "expected activity in the organization implies a conception of the actor and that an organization can therefore be viewed as a place for generating assumptions about identity", and in this sense, "to engage in a particular activity in the prescribed spirit is to accept being a particular kind of person who dwells in a particular kind of world", whereas "to forgo prescribed activities, or to engage in them in unprescribed ways or for unprescribed purposes, is to withdraw from the official self and the world officially available to it. To prescribe activity is to prescribe a world; to dodge a prescription can be to dodge an identity" (Goffman 1968:168- 170). In the two main parts that this study attempts to investigate, the "pupil identity" is central in terms of understanding the disruptive practices.

Goffman makes a distinction between "primary adjustments" and "secondary adjustments". The former is "when an individual cooperatively contribute required activity to an organization and under required conditions…where he becomes the "normal", "programmed", or built-in member. The latter are defined as "any habitual arrangement by which a member of an organization employs unauthorized means, or obtains unauthorized ends, or both, thus getting around the organization's assumptions as to what he should do and get and hence what he should be" (p: 172). Goffman also points to the institutions and other social entities to which an individual is bonded as having a tendency to adapt to secondary adjustments "by selectively legitimating these practices, hoping in this way to regain control and sovereignty even at the loss of some of the participants' obligations" (p:178). Secondary adjustments can be disruptive when the participants attempt to alter the institution's structure, and these cannot be legitimized, while contained adjustments might fit into existing institutional structures without introducing pressure for radical change. A practical example of this can be the following: in the two schools of this study, participants had a great tendency to use headphones and listen to music during the lesson, and in one school the teachers contained this

[2] Goffman provides many examples related to secondary adjustments, for example, American prisoners are given the right to read books. Given this legitimate library activity, prisoners often order books not for self-edification but to impress the parole board, give trouble to the librarian, or merely receive a parcel.

[3] Goffman (1968: 164-171) offers an insight into how participants and social entities do this collaboratively: the social entity (for example organisation) might grant the participants "standards of welfare" that might motivate the members to do what is expected of them willingly; the member may voluntarily cooperate because of "joint values" through which the interests of the organization and the individual member coalesce, and the individual identifies himself with the organization's goals and fate, as when someone takes personal pride in his school or palce of work; the organization might provide incentives "rewards or forms of payment" to motivate its members; finally, participants may be induced to cooperate by threats of punishment and penalty if they do not, and "fear of penalization seems adequate to prevent the individual from performing certain acts, or from failing to perform them.

adjustment by permitting the practice of listening to music if participants would use headphones, while in the second school, listening to music during the lesson was completely forbidden – but this prohibition didn't mean that the pupils obeyed the rules in that they would listen when the teacher is away. In this way, we can say that the same practice – secondary adjustment – was contained in the first school and didn't constitute a transgression, whereas in the second the practice continued to be a disruptive act and illegitimate.[4] One criterion to distinguish between contained and disruptive secondary adjustments is by their ends, in that the contained adjustments are mainly an individual act, while the disruptive adjustments are conspiratorial and thus a collective act.

Goffman's paradigm of secondary adjustments can be applied to a school as an institution, with its two parts: *make-do's:* which is concerned with the participants use of available artifacts in a manner and for an end not officially intended, thereby modifying the conditions of life programmed for these individuals. A physical reworking of the artifact may be involved, or merely an illegitimate context of use (for example, using a pencil as a tool to hit someone with it – using a computer during a lesson to play games, browse the internet, listen to music, etc.). The second part is what Goffman calls *working the system*[5] which is concerned with practices associated with achieving personal benefits or avoiding blame: for example, eating stealthily during the lesson, creating excuses to leave classroom, pretending sickness to avoid doing an assignment, etc. As Goffman points out, working out the system effectively requires from the participant to have an intimate knowledge of it.

Secondary adjustments are not restricted to adult institutions in that such practices might prevail in all types of institutions including daycares and schools. Corsaro (2003) follows Goffman's paradigm of what might constitute a secondary adjustment, and identifies a list of practices among pre-school children who attend a daycare. Many of the practices which Corsaro mentions in his study, for example, making faces behind the teacher's back, leaving one's seat, talking during "quiet time" when the teacher leaves the room, etc. are meant to challenge and to mock the authority of the teacher. One might expect such a behavior from pre-school children (3-5 years old), as they are still in the process of understanding their relation to the adult world and the function of rules. Whereas, in the case of the participants of this study (who are 12-13 years old) we can assume that the participants are fully aware of what they are doing, when for example, they do the practices mentioned by Corsaro, or give a finger behind a teacher's back, or use a language incomprehensible by a teacher to stage insults.

The practices which will be described in this study might be construed as disruptive to the school task, for example, creating excuses to avoid engagement in a task (forgetting a book at home, forgetting to do a lesson, pretending sickness, or couldn't type a lesson because the software of the home computer broke down). Some of these practices are part of the daily routine, and they vary in their immensity and disruptiveness. Some can be considered part of the contained adjustments, in the sense that the school staff might know about such violations, and yet they do not take some decisive measures to eliminate such practices. Violence seemed to be a contained adjustment, as it was common for the participants to hit, kick and beat each other sometimes in the presence of a teacher – and it was interesting sometimes to see that teachers do not react in any way to resolve such violent disputes, which might indicate that such practices were universal among the

[4] Goffman's analysis is restricted to contained secondary adjustments

[5] Goffman gives many examples of these related to food-getting and other assignments: "some would bring their own condiments so as to season their own food to their own taste; sugar, salt, pepper, and catsup were brought in for this purpose in small bottles carried in jacket pockets, those with kitchen assignments were in a position to obtain extra food; those who worked in the laundry obtained a more frequent supply of clean clothes…"

participants, and a violent episode for an outsider might not be as such for the teachers who have become familiar and accustomed to such incidents, or perhaps they simply oriented to the violent fights as a sort of play. Whether contained or not, secondary adjustments are disruptive and thus might constitute the underlife of the school –though they could be done in the face of teachers sometimes but in ways incomprehensible by teachers, or they could be practiced among peer-group, or disrupt the official task they are engaged in. Unlike Goffman's concern with secondary adjustments that constitute an individual phenomenon, the focus of this study will be on practices that involve the cooperation of several participants. The overall focus of this study will not be concerned with "why" do we have disruptions nor to blame "the participants", or the school policy, or the home culture of the participants. Primarily, this study will investigate what are the participants' disruptive practices in part II, and how do they do "disruption" through interaction in part III.

Structure of the monograph:

This monograph is concerned with demonstrating how an ethnographically based and ethnomethodologically informed approach can help us view the social lives of bilinguals in schools in new ways. Part I introduces the research question, and the theoretical and methodological perspectives of the study. Part II is an ethnographic description that tackles the following issues: resources available for bilinguals and minority children in general, social make-up of the classroom, friendships, group boundaries, ethnic and religious categorizations, and gender issues. This part will highlight the general traits and identities of the participants, their norms and orientation to school, and the extent to which their different affiliations with various cultural items could be potentially problematic – either socially, or in terms of impacting their school life in a negative way. Part III focuses on disputes since it is the most ubiquitous and common activity among the participants, and it can be construed as a parasitic and disruptive activity to the official school task, in its two parts, the serious and the ritual. This part will be prefaced with a theoretical section about code-switching and disputes from a variety of perspectives. Although the sequences which will be dealt with focus mainly on the dispute sequences, we have to keep in mind that such sequences take place within a bigger frame of group work, where pupils are seated together to solve an assignment or do some school activity. The various forms of disputes demonstrate to a great extent the participants' methods in initiating a dispute and maintaining it by orienting to a group norm of maintaining the dispute amongst themselves. Teachers' interventions are resisted at all costs. The forms of disputes might also give an insight into the "victims'" methods and strategies in defending themselves, and other bystanders who at various points in the dispute might change their participation status from passive onlookers to active participants. Such disputes happen in a context where bilingualism and knowledge of a language incomprehensible by teachers is employed in the process of maintaining the dispute within the private sphere. Other forms of disputes could be motivated by an attempt to teach the rules: norms that pertain to the group for example, and which might be violated; cultural norms that index how the participants have been socialized and the way they attempt to impose their cultural values on others (even when those others are not Muslims, nor Arabs); or attempts to teach others the appropriate way of speaking and communicating. This section will be followed by a study of the participants' insults, taking as a point of departure Labov's (1972b) frame of ritual insults, and attempts to highlight how the participants' methods in staging insults differ from those described by Labov. Finally, part IV will discuss the findings and the extent to which this study was able to provide answers for the main research questions.

Chapter 2 - Sociocultural approaches- Methodology

Ethnography and Ethnomethodology:

Ethnography is usually referred to as a method concerned with achieving knowledge about a certain culture in a specific setting. This method dates back to hundreds of years, and is usually associated with the investigations of anthropologists who attempted to understand the lives and cultures of others who lived outside the European continent. Today, the method is used to understand the local cultures that evolve within the local sphere and in specific setting (e.g., schools, banks, prisons, etc.). Common to all ethnographies, an understanding of a certain culture or a social setting cannot happen without "going native", i.e., the ethnographer must immerse himself in the field of the study, and see all the social actions from the perspective of the "natives" or "members" of the field. Ethnography involves participation and observation (Hymes 1996: 3), and the difference between the casual observer and the ethnographer is the decision to take a detailed and systematic observation of circumstances, conversations, and activities that take place in the field. This systematic observation is likely to alter previous assumptions, that "initial questions may change during the course of inquiry" (Hymes 1996: 7), and validity is dependent upon accurate knowledge of the meanings of behaviors and institutions to those who participate in them, i.e., "native views of meaning" (Hymes: 1996: 8). However, there is no standard way of doing ethnography, and the variations we see in ethnographic enquiry are analytic variations which involve different choices about focus.

Ethnomethodology, on the other hand, originated in the context of Parsonian orthodoxy of mid-century American sociology (Pollner and Emerson 2010). It is considered the study of popular or folk methodology (Lynch and Sharrock 2011), i.e., the practices and practical accounts that members of a society use to produce, organize and make sense of their social worlds. In Garfinkel's (1967: vii) terms, ethnomethodology "is directed to the tasks of learning how members' actual, ordinary activities consist of methods to make practical actions, practical circumstances, common sense knowledge of social structures, and practical sociological reasoning analyzable." Analytical elements in such studies range from non-lexical speech particles and coordinated bursts of laughter, to series of stories and jokes in extended conversations. It is an approach that treats actions as always and already grounded in intelligible communicative orders. As Garfinkel (2002: 123) puts it, "ethnomethodological studies of particular actions require local specification of what is relevant and intelligible about "the world", which those actions locate themselves in and take for granted". In this regard, language is viewed as inseparable from social interaction and social conduct, and ethnomethodology is, thus, not a theory of language use, rather a theory of *ethno-methods*.

Both, Ethnography and Ethnomethodology overlap in many concerns, as both are informed by the interpretive tradition, concerned with social action, respect the point of view of the social actor, and typically avoid quantitative and theoretical approaches (Pollner and Emerson 2010: 118). More importantly, Ethnomethodology and Ethnography are closely associated with observation, in that observation is capable of uncovering the familiar and fixed aspects, routines, norms and values of participants in a certain setting. However, Francis and Hester (2004: 23-4) distinguish between observation in relation to ethnography and that which is related to ethnomethodology, and consider

the former a method of discovery where the activity of observing sets the sociologist apart from other people; the observer necessarily stands over and above that which is being observed. The latter, on the other hand, starts from the assumption that observing what is going on in the social world is something that anyone can do, and indeed it is something that everyone does as a matter of course, and then it seeks to explain how this is possible. Conventional ethnography draws upon the researcher's social competencies as an unexamined resource for doing sociological description, while the latter turns its attention to such competencies as topics of inquiry in their own right. In part II of this study, I follow Francis and Hester's description of the ethnographic observer, as I describe the participants and draw on various studies related to "minorities", "schools", and "cooperative learning". In part III, I stick to the ethnomethodological observer, as I describe members' methods in doing their actions through interaction. This distinction between the two types of observers might resonate with the concept of "participant observation", a term which refers to the general approach of fieldwork in ethnographic research, and the degree of the researcher's immersion in the field.

Participant Observation is defined as "a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011: 1). In many ways, "participant observation" is regarded as a paradox, in that the researcher must avoid "pure observation" and "pure participation". "Pure observation" denotes a situation where the researcher removes him/herself from the actions and behaviors of the participants and it includes cases in which researchers tape everyday interactions for later analysis, or where researchers observe some type of behavior from behind a one-way mirror. "Pure participation", on the other hand, has been described as "going native" and "becoming the phenomenon", and it refers to a researcher who "sheds the identity of investigator and adopts the identity of a full participant in the culture", and it is generally associated with a loss of analytic interest (DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 22). A balance must be maintained in participation and observation, and this is best described by Bernard (2006: 344) as he states "participant observation involves immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion so you can intellectualize what you've seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly. When it's done right, participant observation turns fieldworkers into instruments of data collection and data analysis". One more time, the distinction is concerned with the degree of participation in the field. The method of observation that I used in this study resonates with this description, but I had to modify it to include both field notes and recordings (this will be discussed later), and this is in harmony with many ethnographic studies where observation is often used in tandem with other methods of data collection, for example audio and video recordings, interviews, and questionnaires.

The diversity of techniques applied in data collection reveal that participant observation fieldwork as a method might mean different things for different researchers. Ethnographic accounts from an anthropologist perspective might use observation and field notes as the sole method of data collection. Goffman's *Asylums* provides a good example in this regard, which is concerned with the social lives of inmates and patients. Goffman proposes that a good way to learn about the worlds of prisoners and patients in such institutions is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject as the description of a member's situation faithfully requires the presentation of a partisan view (Goffman 1968: 7). Many researchers followed Goffman's steps as they attempted to understand the lives of members in different institutions, though additional methods were used in data collection. Mendoza-Denton (1996) explores notions of power, femininity and ethnicity in the discourses of Latina gang girls in

a high school, and demonstrates how such discourses confound the gendered category that girls are expected to inhabit. Mendoza-Denton's data is "distilled from sociolnguistic interviews and from observations and recordings of naturalistic interactions conducted over the course of two and a half years of ethnographic fieldwork" (Mendoza-Denton 1996: 48). In addition to interviews and observations, Mendoza-Denton makes use of photographs, music, her participants' written notes and memoirs, their artistic drawings circulated among themselves, and which all correspond with their gang affiliations, language use, and their constructed identities (Mendoza-Denton 2008)). In Denmark, Quist (2005) uses ethnographic and sociolinguistic resources as she integrates qualitative and quantitative methods to reveal language variation in an urban heterogeneous high school and the social meaning the speakers give to language variation. Following Eckert's tradition[6], Quist considers language variation as an integrated part of stylistic practices and correlates the use of certain dialects with different identities and different stylistic practices. She expands the limits of the concept of *crossing* (which was proposed by Rampton as a language-related phenomenon), for example she uses *ethnolect crossing* to refer to situations when ethnic Danish members use the dialect of minority groups in Copenhagen; *gender crossing* to refer to a girl who behaves like boys, crossing from what is considered to be typically feminine to what is typically masculine; and *ethnic crossing* when some ethnic Danish participants show practical affiliation with minority members (for example dancing Turkish style or performing Arabic belly-dance). Quist's study is based on five months of participant observation, interviews, group recordings, self-recordings and questionnaires, and she considers her work as a sociolinguistic study. Monica Heller's ethnographic study of one French language minority school in Ontario examines the language practices in the daily life of the participants, and explores issues related to nationalism, language policy, bilingualism, identity, power, ideology, race, class, and gender. She considers her work as a "sociolinguistic ethnography, that is, a close look at language practices in a specific setting" (Heller 2006: 13). Her method is concerned with interviews, discussion groups and field notes. Corsaro's (2003) ethnography in pre-school institutions is meant to provide an insight into kids' worlds and peer cultures by entering their worlds directly as an "incompetent adult" or "a big kid", or "a special friend who will not tell them what to do or attempt to control their behavior" (Corsaro 2003: 6). In this regard, he talks about his method in terms of "longitudinal ethnography" which aims to "document children's evolving membership in their culture and when focused on key transition periods in children's lives. Anthropologist Marjorie Harness Goodwin's ethnography *The Hidden Life of Girls* provides an account of "how embodied language is used to build girls' social organizations" as she makes use of video recordings, where she justifies her method by stating that "by gathering tapes primarily of the children's talk with other children, and only on rare occasions asking questions, I avoided the problem of relying on reports to *a researcher* about social identities. I did not have to rely on my memory to recover what interaction had occurred" (Goodwin 2006: 4). Throughout her ethnography, she demonstrates the view that "the interaction of participants without the ethnographer's intervention into the talk permits us the best starting point for seeing how talk unfolds in the everyday events of people's lives" (Goodwin 2006: 5). Goodwin analyses her data by relying on the tenets of Conversation Analysis.

[6] Eckert has explored the role of variation in the active construction of personal and group styles, viewing individual variables as resources that can be put to work in constructing new personae. Eckert argues that the division between social and stylistic constraints is a highly permeable one, and "as we move toward viewing social life as a continual process of constructing these (social) categories and identities, style becomes in addition a resource for the process of construction….the view of variation is expanding, therefore, …from a view of language as reflecting the social to a view of language as also creating the social" (Eckert 2001: 6).

The aforementioned different studies, though they attempt to describe the social world by means of different perspectives (social, psychological, educational, anthropological), all share the same research method of observing what a group of people are doing in a certain setting – mostly institutional (school, Asylum, prison, day care, etc.) with an attempt to answer different research questions that mostly focus on what the participants are doing, and how they are doing it, by considering language as a form of social action. Despite their various ways of participation in the field and the diversity of techniques employed in data collection, they all consider themselves ethnographers. Although some of them (for example Goodwin) make extensive use of the conversation analytical method in their analysis, they still construe their studies as "anthropological".

In this sense, the current study does not deviate from this "traditional" way of doing ethnography, as the method employed is comprised of non-participant observation[7] (4 -5 months in each school), and my observations yielded field notes, audio recordings during recess and video-recordings in the classroom, and the point was to highlight certain problematic issues related to the participants and that could be impacting the bilinguals' school experience in a negative way. Statistical studies have already furnished us with the fact that most of the bilingual students lag behind their ethnic Danish peers in various academic subjects. Linguists and anthropologists attempted to investigate the issue to understand "why" this is happening. I approached the field with an attempt to investigate "what" the bilinguals' school experience is like, and "how" the participants orient to their school environment.

The current study, however, differs from traditional ethnographies in various ways. First, while most of the ethnographies focus on one setting, the current ethnography is concerned with two distinct schools as I had assumed that a different setting will necessarily result in differences in the participants' interactional conduct (but this assumption was false as I explained earlier). Second, most of the ethnographers maintain a single analytical method, which could be descriptive in nature, and their focus is usually on a single issue. This study, on the other hand, deviates from this traditional method by focusing on a host of issues: participants' resources, backgrounds, pecking order, friendships and cliques, pupil-teacher relationships, religion, ethnicity, and gender relations. This panoramic view of the participants' world might help us pinpoint the devious items in the jigsaw that represent the participants' world – and it also invites the reader to examine for themselves the quality of learning that the participants receive. Third, while many ethnographers stress the point of "going native" in the field, where the ethnographer is meant to have full participation in the activities of the participants, this was not possible for me for several reasons: I am simply much older than the participants, and although I have access to sit in the classroom and make observations, this did not entail an access to hang out with the participants during recess, or even when they worked in groups inside the classroom (but I had access to audio-record them during recess, and to video-record them during group work). Finally, Monica Heller (2008) considers ethnographies of bilingualism as the study of boundaries: "it is all about what counts as the difference between two languages, about who counts as a speaker of particular languages, and about how the categorizations of languages and language practices is connected to the categorization of groups of people" (Heller 2008: 252). These boundaries are meant to highlight notions of ideology, difference and power, where language practices are socially and politically embedded. Ethnographies of bilingualism do not deviate from this description as they maintain the

[7] Although I opted for a "fly on the wall" sort of observer, it was unavoidable that in many cases I had to communicate and interact with the participants and their teachers.

division of a dominant, majority superior language that belongs to a powerful group, and a subordinate, minority inferior language that belongs to a marginalized group.

To sum up, I adopt in the second part of the study Heller's (2008) perspective on Ethnography and the consideration that ethnography is focused on what happens and that it is primarily about description. Such considerations involve a commitment to discover what is going on, and to find ways to explain why things happen the way they do. The ethnographic part of this monograph largely follows the guidelines mentioned by Heller, as it describes the resources available for the bilinguals in the two schools, their social relations and group boundaries, the identities they assume to themselves and their pecking order, and most importantly their practices that can be construed as deviations from the social and institutional norms.

Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis:

In part III of this study, I will focus on various types of disputes, serious as well as unserious, and will employ an ethnomethodological conversation analytic approach in analyzing the data. Ethnomethodology is a branch of sociology which is concerned, among other things, with talk as a phenomenon in its own right, i.e., talk as used to sustain reality and is part of that reality. It considers the sequence as the unit of analysis, which gives the advantage of analyzing a whole panoply of issues, including social, cultural, identity, linguistic, language alternation, action as situated in a context of a sequence, and members' methods (Lynch and Sharrock 2011). To interpret participants' conduct with respect to pre-specified theoretical, political or cultural concerns is unacceptable for those adopting this approach, as it underplays the importance of the participants' own linguistic and communicative competencies.

Conversation Analysis (CA)[8] which has originated from Harvey Sack's Lectures in Conversation Analysis (published posthumously), rests on the understanding that talk is systematic and the sequential ordering of talk provides the participants with a resource for the joint production of meaningful social action. Participants in a conversation design their turns at talk as a relevant response to a previous turn, and thus a demonstration of the understanding of a previous utterance. All what the participants say or do are treated as actions. Both CA and ethnomethodological studies employ audio- and video-recordings of continuous conversations to exhibit how the details of these events are internationally produced and organized, focusing primarily on how this is done through the talk. CA describes infra-linguistic activities and relations that produce context, rather than reflect extra-linguistic context. CA's interest in features of language follows from their role in turn-taking (e.g., a turn can be "declarative", "interrogative", "imperative", and "moodless"), and CA's concern is not the grammatical category of an utterance or a clause, rather the function that an utterance or a clause is accomplishing. In this sense, a question can be understood as a command or a request if a speaker says "isn't it cold?" and might lead the addressee to "close the window" for example. One basic theme that ties CA to ethnomethodology is that of "conditional relevance", how an argument or fact is relevant only when certain prior conditions are satisfied (Lynch and Sharrock 2011: xxxiv). For CA, conditional relevance identifies a particular mode of intelligibility that belongs to the production and organization of collective activities. Both for CA and ethnomethodology, efforts to investigate and describe conditionally relevant courses of action require methodological strategies for explicating members' methods in understanding them. What

[8] There will be a longer discussion of EMCA in chapter (5), and the application of this method in studies concerned with Code-switching.

might constitute a norm in ethnomethodological terms, for example, the norm of returning a greeting when greeted, can be demonstrated in terms of "preference" in CA, and this can be gleaned from the sequential organization of the stream of talk-in-interaction, which – through videotape – can reveal the embodied actions that assist in understanding the stances that are taken up in the midst of talk.

The unit of analysis in part III is what Goffman (1961: 8) calls a "focused gathering", or an "encounter" or a "situated activity system", which he defines as "the performance of a single joint activity, a somewhat closed, self-compensating, self-terminating circuit of interdependent actions". Goffman lists a game of cards, a couple dancing, love-making, and boxing as instances of encounters which might constitute situated activity systems if the participants jointly attempt to sustain a task (P:18). Within the situated system, situated roles emerge which are "visibly meshed into the activity" that others perform. Examples of situated activity systems described in this part are sexual bullying, ethnic bullying, individual bullying, ritual insults and serious disputes. Through a sequential analysis of talk, we can see how the participants make sense of what their interlocutors say, what language(s) they use, and consequently what identities they construct and reconstruct in the process of interaction. As Leiter (1980: 5) states, "the aim of ethnomethodology …is to study the processes of sense making that members of society …use to construct the social world and its factual properties". The method is entirely inductive, as it depends on analyzing sequences that exhibit order and system in the members' methods as they attempt to make sense of their world. *Indexicality* is a crucial issue in the process of analysis, as the meaning of what one says or does is dependent on the context and the manner of that saying or doing. Moreover, in order to be able to analyze the participants' talk from an emic perspective, we must have some knowledge of the categories that speakers find relevant, and this knowledge is socially acquired, and cannot be achieved without some form of participation in the field.

Ethnographies, regardless of the methods of observation employed, demonstrate an understanding of the identities of the participants, their language use, their culture, and the participants' meaning which is situated in a certain setting and context. In this sense, ethnography, which has its roots in anthropology and cultural studies, is linked with linguistics. I place my work within this linguistic lineage which sees language as social action and language as having the potential to index cultural practices as well as different processes of socialization. The ethnographic method demands that researchers enter, become accepted by, and participate in the lives of those they study, i.e.,"going native". Although I see myself as an insider in many respects, getting access to the field was fraught with difficulties.

Access to the two schools

Prior to getting access to the two schools, I contacted the School Department of the city municipality and informed them about my project, and asked them to provide me with statistical documents that show the distribution of Arab children over the different schools of the city. The School Department was very helpful in this regard, and they provided me with the documents, and agreed to meet with me after I made the selection of the possible schools (which host a considerable number of Arab children). I met with a consultant from the School Department, and I briefed her about my project, and informed her about some possible schools where I might conduct my ethnographic fieldwork. In return, she confirmed that great numbers of bilinguals lag behind their Danish peers. She also provided me with information about the schools which I selected, and suggested other schools for my project in case of access denial. She also promised to contact the

school principal in order to support and recommend my project. This was the first step to gain access to carry out fieldwork. Negotiations with the school principal followed, as I contacted him via email, and explained to him my objectives and interests in his school as a site for my fieldwork. This was followed by a meeting in his office, where we made an agreement about different practical issues related to the time needed to collect the data, the methods of data collection, which grade, and how many hours per day/week. He also informed me that the consultant from the School Department contacted him and recommended my project to him. In this first meeting, we agreed that I make observations in one classroom, and he promised to discuss my project and the grant of access with the school staff, and with the teachers, and later he emailed me a program to carry out observations and collect data in one classroom (grade 6). The plan showed that several teachers had endorsed my presence in their classes (Danish, English, Music, Sport, History, and Math), three days per week over a span of five months. The school principal also requested that I present my project to the school staff in one of their meetings, which I did. In general, the school principal and all the teachers I encountered were very helpful and supportive. (The process from the first contact with the school principal to my first appearance in the field took about two months – November 2010 – January 2011). This process was faster in the second school, as the school principal answered my email promptly, and after providing her with few details about my project, she granted me access, and later I met with one of the administrative members who supported me and introduced me to a teacher responsible for one classroom (grade 6). This teacher was of great support and help, as she contacted the parents of the children, and informed them about my project prior to sending them the informed consents. All the parents in the second school signed the informed consent (though one candidate participant informed me that his parents have agreed to include him in the project, but he himself didn't want to be part of the study, and so I excluded him from observations and recordings). There was a third school which I contacted before getting access to the second school, but access was denied by the first gatekeeper (school administration).

When the research is concerned with minors, a crucial problem could be the presence of multiple gatekeepers (schoolmaster, administration committee, teachers, and parents) in addition to the participants themselves. One cannot get access to the field unless one will hold a key that is capable of unlocking all the doors and this cannot be done without granting each gatekeeper promises and working out agreements that have to be maintained throughout all the process of data-collection. The problem gets further complicated when the study is concerned with stigmatized groups – minority groups – who might have their own doubts regarding the "real intentions" behind a sociolinguistic project. Although it is relatively easy to convince a school principal or teachers of the importance of research and consequently to obtain access, it is not as such with some parents who might have their own reasons and doubts regarding the researcher's "hidden agenda". There were nine candidate participants in the first school; five of them signed the informed consent; a sixth agreed to sign it after inviting me to his home so I can give him further details about my project and after clarifying to him that I do not have intentions to act as a "spy" or to extract some private information from his son about the status of the family, and that I do not have any relations with the social workers of the municipality. This incident led me to drop the option of conducting interviews with the participants, and to consider the recordings of the participants' spontaneous talk and behavior as the main source of data. One father refused to sign the informed consent on the grounds that he suffered in the past from researchers who wanted to understand why his son "stutters", and no matter what explanation I had to give him, his final decision was a "believer is not taken twice in the same snare". Another father had a violent reaction upon calling him and he demanded that I should never "annoy" him again, and his final words were: "I don't want to hear anything about your project, and I said no, and I will not change my mind". Although I promised

not to include the two children in my observations, it was unavoidable sometimes to have their voices recorded unintentionally when they interacted with the participants. Such instances are largely neglected. In some situations, those who were excluded from the study deliberately paused in front of the camera to be on equal footing with the participants.

I used two forms of the informed consent: one for the actual participants, and this required the parents' signature and another for the rest of the pupils who were present in the class and who might be recorded unintentionally (see Appendices 1-3). In the process of conducting this research, I maintained Silverman's (2010) general principles regarding the codes of research ethics: 1- voluntary participation and the right to withdraw, 2-protection of research participants (names of city, schools, teachers, participants and any information that might refer to them has been altered) 3- assessment of potential benefits and risks to participants, 4- obtaining informed consent (The informed consent which was sent to the parents of the participants was in the two languages, Arabic and Danish (Appendices 1-2, 5-6), while the one which was sent to the rest of the pupils was in Danish only). 5- Not doing harm (Silverman 2010: 153-4).

Many experts have tackled such ethical issues in their writings and demonstrated the complexity of the problem by referring to practical issues that pop up in the field and require from the researcher to act or decide on the spot. Muriel (2003, 91), for example, puts it bluntly that "there are some data that should go unreported if they are likely to be damaging to individuals or the group. Whenever the subjects of research are human beings, there are ethical limits on scientific responsibility for completeness and objectivity which are not only justified but mandated." Such an understanding gives priority to the "safety" of the informants, rather than to the data which could be valuable to the research, and this is the principle which I tried to maintain throughout the entire project. However, there were some situations when I couldn't escape from the burden of breaking a promise or performing some "deception", though unintentionally. One situation can be seen in the case of the school principal who granted me access depending on a certain description of the project (where the project was meant to be a combination of quantitative and qualitative research), but after few months some major modifications and changes were introduced to the project, which might constitute a violation to the principal's expectations. A second situation is that I included in the informed consent a paragraph promising the parents that they could get a copy of the recordings upon demand, but after viewing the recorded data, it turned out that some of it included sensitive material which could be confusing to the parents and might lead to serious problems between the participants (pupils) and their parents. Showing the data to the parents could be damaging to the participants, so in this case, two of the promises made were contradictory. Had any of the participants' parents requested to see the recordings, I would have created excuses to avoid revealing such data, and thus would break my promise. In the second school, I removed the paragraph in the informed consent which gives the right to the parents to see the recordings. In many cases while participating in the field, I found myself in a dilemma without having the ability to act promptly or to stop what I believed to be wrong, as for example, when the participants used Arabic to make fun of a teacher, given that good relations have developed between me and the teachers. Maintaining my role as a fly-on-the-wall was a barrier that prevented me from intervention, and from informing the teachers of what happens behind their backs.

The study started with my actual presence in the classroom during the different lessons. Teachers introduced me to the pupils and informed them that I will appear in some of their classes for the next few months. I introduced myself to the pupils, and told them that I am doing a research about Arabic and Danish, and that I am interested in their talk and what they do in the classroom

and in the playground during recess. I also made it clear for them that I will not interfere in what they do or how they speak, and that at some point I will video-tape them in the class, while during recess I will provide them with audio-recorders. In the first two weeks, the data was comprised mainly of notes about the classroom and its routines. After that, I started to collect data by means of audio-recordings during recess. They all seemed to be enthusiastic to hold the audio-recorder in the beginning, but after few weeks, many of them wanted to avoid it. After 40 days, I told the teachers that I need to make video-recordings in their classes, and they all agreed and were supportive in this regard. Although they told me to start recording at any time – without a need to take permission in each time – I felt very awkward to do so, and we made an agreement that I use video-recordings when the pupils are divided into groups and work on their own. For some reason, the participants didn't seem to have a problem with the video-recordings, compared with their attempts to avoid the audio-recorder. Perhaps, this is owing to the fact that the video-recorder wasn't focused on one particular participant at any time, rather on a group. The audio-recorder, on the other hand, was small in size and they wore it as a necklace, and thus gave them the impression that it is more personal. In the second school, the participants showed a different orientation to the camera and audio-recorder, and they seemed to compete with each other as to who would wear the recorder, or which group would be video-taped. They maintained the same orientation and likeness to be recorded for the whole period of data collection, except for one participant girl, who – occasionally – would ask me not to include her in the recordings. The process of data collection was faster in the second school, as the teacher responsible for the class was an Arab and I felt that there were no barriers in talking to her, as we shared the same language, culture, and background, and she herself requested from me to use the cameras in the first few days. The total period I spent in each school was circa five months.

Camera/ Observer's Paradox

The involvement of the researcher in the field inevitably changes the language practices and the behavior of the participants of the study, and this is usually referred to as the observer's paradox, a term that was coined by Labov (1972a: 209), who stated that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation". Many researchers have pointed to the phenomenon by considering the set of cultural differences between the observer and the observed. The more the differences between the two, the more the data is likely to be distorted. Many researchers also point to the influence of the observer's background on the processes of data analysis. Mendoza-Denton, for example, addresses this issue in her ethnographic study of teenage Latina girl groups, and points out that her ethnographic interpretation depends in part on who she is:

> No ethnographer is a blank notepad just as no linguist is a tape recorder. The perceptual filters that we bring to fieldwork situations are powerful indeed, and not always conscious. You will read in the following chapters an account that is my interpretation of years of fieldwork and research with a group of young people who allowed me into their lives, and I will invite you to draw your own conclusions. I have been and will be providing guideposts to show where my ethnographic interpretation might be guided by factors such as my background, social class, and my own subjective and affective reactions to people around me and to events at the time. (Mendoza-Denton 2008: 28)

In the process of ethnographic description and discussion, I draw on my knowledge and experience of the participants' minority culture, especially in situations which might be imbued with cultural meanings. My position in this regard could be different from outsiders who approach the field as an exotic space, in that I have many things in common with the participants: I am an Arab immigrant; I have an Arab-Muslim background, an Arab face and speak Arabic. This is not meant to indicate that I know fully the culture of the participants, though I share with them many things. I might be familiar with the way school children act and behave in a school in an Arab context, but not necessarily how they act and behave in a Danish context. So, in this regard I can see myself as an outsider, who doesn't live in a ghetto like the participants, and doesn't share in their communal activities, and an adult who had his childhood in an Arab context and came out of age in that Arab context. I tend to agree with Whyte's (1943: 371) statement: "we may agree that no "outsider" can really know a given culture fully, but then we must ask can any "insider" know his or her culture?" Whyte's statement might mean that the major issue is not about outsider and insider; rather it is about systematic observation that yields systematic patterns about the actions, behavior and conduct of a certain group, regardless of whether the observer is an outsider or an insider.

Most of the video-recordings took place inside the classroom and in sessions where the participants were engaged in group-work. In such sessions, teachers usually distributed the groups over separate places (empty classrooms or corridors), where members of a group are expected to communicate among themselves, and in isolation from other classmates. In this way, my presence in the scene of action was that of a bystander, a non-participant observer – who didn't attempt to influence the scheme of things. However, in the two schools, the participants showed orientation to the presence of the camera, especially in the early stages of data collection and when they wanted to use offensive terms, or exchange some secrets. In some cases they invented some warning terms to alert each other to the presence of the camera. As the data will show, in most of the cases when this happens, the transgressor[9] shows carelessness, and continues to transgress. It is also only in the early stages of recording sessions that they attempted to alert each other to the presence of the camera, and as soon as they noticed that I do not comment on their "transgressions" nor reveal what they say to the teachers, they became careless about the camera. In rare occasions, they left the desk for few seconds, in order to accomplish their "secret" talk, and in other occasions, they spoke freely about the secret, but when they wanted to mention important information, for example, names of people involved, they would either whisper the name or write it. I used to turn the camera on and leave the place in which a certain group is supposed to work, and it happened sometimes that one member in the group would turn the camera off, and he/she would justify such an action by claiming that the camera went off by itself, or that he/she needed to speak about private issues. Those who were reluctant to be recorded were few in number (only one girl in each school), and their tampering with the camera was usually met with rejection and resistance from the rest of the participants. Example: (2.1)

1-(Yosra covers the camera with her hand) 2-Rola: altså han optager 3-Inas: yosra lad være yosra lad være 4-Erina: yosra stop du ødelægger de::t 5-Inas: ***ma tila'abi:: tse***	1-(Yosra covers the camera with her hand) 2-Rola: well he is recording 3-Inas: yosra do not yosra do not 4-Erina: yosra stop you are destroying i::t 5-Inas: ***don't pla::y tse***

[9] The term is to be perceived as a reference to the participants who act or speak in ways that contradict the expectations of adults, or go against the norms of their social world, or simply act in ways that contradict what teachers or adults have prescribed.

Transgressors were always reminded by their peers that Jalal would see the recordings. In some cases the camera was used as a scarecrow, as some had claimed that I might show the recordings to the parents or the teachers. It is especially in the early stages that they had a tendency to inquire about the possibility of showing the data to the parents, and I always provided them with a detailed answer about my project, and that the data will be seen by me and a small circle of researchers only. In the next episode, Ihsan is afraid that Anas' transgression will cause the teacher to not grant his clique a permit to work in the corridor (which is the group's favorite working place, as teachers mostly police those who stay in the classroom). Ihsan's fear is motivated by the presence of the video-recording and that Jalal might convey the transgression to the teacher. However, Anas and Monir downplay Ihsan's worries. Example: (2.2)

1-(Anas plays football and makes noise in the corridor) 2-Ihsan: hey kom nu, nu jalal måske siger til Teacher vi ikke skal arbejde ud på gangen 3-Anas: hvem siger det↑ 4-Ihsan: fordi, det siger jalal når vi leger fodbold og sådan noget. 5-Monir: slap af [dig mand 6-Anas: [vi har jo arbejdet (.) Hvor er min blyant↑	1-(Anas plays football and makes noise in the corridor) 2-Ihsan: hey come on, now jalal might tell Teacher that we don't have to work out in the corridor 3-Anas: who says this↑ 4-Ihsan: because, jalal will say this when we play football and stuff like that. 5-Monir: relax [you man 6-Anas: [we have actually worked (.) where's my pencil↑

In both, audio and video recordings, there were cases where the participants used the equipment to conduct a "staged performance", like for example, when a participant starts to interview others, or gives an account about others as if he/she were a news reporter. There were also cases where non-participants attempted to embarrass the one wearing the audio-equipment by producing sexual moans, or by uttering taboo terms. A similar thing happened with the video-recordings – especially in the final stages – as the participants used the camera for the purpose of embarrassing each other. Example: (2.3)

1-Osama: oho:::::ha *ya az'ar* bliver din mor ikke sur↑ Var i sammen alene i sengen↑ 2-Musa: ja vi var	1-Osama: oho:::::ha *you yob* doesn't your mom get mad↑ were you together alone in bed↑ 2-Musa: yes we were

Each of the participants of the ghetto-school believed that I have some interest in them, but not in the others, and they had the impression that I am exerting more focus on them than other classroom peers. (Students of the other school did not have the same impression). Example: (2.4)

1-Musa: så nu han vil altid filme mig 2-Adham: og hvad så↑ 3-Musa: det er irriterende altid kun mig 4-Adham: og hvad så↑ men han er mest ud efter mig hehe også	1-Musa: so now he will always tape me 2-Adham: and so what↑ 3-Musa: it's annoying always just me 4-Adham: so what↑ but he is mostly after me hehe also

(Example: 2.5)

1-Adham: skal jeg være ærlig, jeg synes, kig lige på mig, han er kun ude efter mig ikke↑ 2-Abbas: ja han ligger altid °kamera på dig° 3-Adham: °ja, jeg ved det godt° 4-Adham: også i skøjtehallen, kan du huske det 5-Abbas: ja 6-Adham: kun på mig jeg er speciel	1-Adham: honestly, I think, look at me, he is only after me, isn't he↑ 2-Abbas: yes he always puts °camera on you° 3-Adham: °yes I know° 4-Adham: also in the ice rink, do you remember 5-Abbas: yes 6-Adham: only on me, I'm special

Classmates of non-Arab origins also felt that Arabs are "special" for being recorded, and at times they took some measures that would prevent the recordings: (Khalil is Somali – the camera is on his desk and focused on Ikhlas). Example: (2.6)

1-Khalil: skal jeg ikke dreje kameraet↑ 2-Ikhlas: jeg er bare berømt 3-Khalil: skal vi ikke dreje kameraet↑ 4-Ikhlas: nej han sagde til dig nej 5-Khalil: hvorfor↑ 6-Ikhlas: fordi jeg er bare populær hehehe Ej kom så zaina du skal læse nu 7-Zaina: vent 8-Khalil: hvorfor lige på min bo:rd↑	1-Khalil: shouldn't I turn the camra↑ 2-Ikhlas: I'm just famous 3-Khalil: shouldn't we turn the camera↑ 4-Ikhlas: no he told you no 5-Khalil: why↑ 6-Ikhlas: because I'm just popular hehehe well, come on zaina you must read now 7-Zaina: wait 8-Khalil: why (the camera) right on my desk↑

Although I made it clear for the pupils that teachers will not see the recordings, some of them oriented to my presence as one who collaborates with teachers, and might very possibly uncover what they say and do to the teachers. In this sense, they conferred upon me a status of a teacher who is monitoring their transgressions. In the following excerpt Noha refers to the camera as belonging to "they", i.e., to teachers and Jalal. Example: (2.7)

1-Noha: *Uh osama↑ mraabeenna bil camera* 2-Adham: hvad så *ya'ani*, er i bange for at opføre jer ordentlig?	1-Noha: *isn't it osama↑ they are monitoring us with the camera* 2-Adham: so what *well*, are you afraid to behave properly?

Still, others oriented to my presence as a neutral bystander/observer. In the following example, Adham requests from Abbas to alert him when a teacher pops in so he can log out of facebook. Example: (2.8)

1-Abbas: jalal kommer jalal (.) bare log ud af det hurtigt 2-Abbas: ne:j ne:j han går 3-Adham: og hvad så::↑ hehe 4-Abbas: han sladrer 5-Adham: han er ikke vores lærer, han kan ikke gøre noget	1-Abbas: jalal is coming jalal (.) just sign out of it quickly 2-Abbas: no: no: he is going 3-Adham: and so wha::t↑ hehe 4-Abbas: he tells 5-Adham: he is not our teacher, he can't do anything

As this example might imply, Jalal is not a teacher, and thus he doesn't have the authority to police or control the participants. Despite Abbas' mistaken assumption that I might reveal the transgression to the teachers, Adham demonstrates that he is not naïve to believe in such a thing. Although I am not a teacher, and one who doesn't have the right to interfere in their business, the participants – in the two schools - always treated me politely as they addressed me with the title "*a'ammou = uncle*". Example: (2.9)

1-Musa: Kom *wallah* vi spørger jalal 2-Adham: jalal, *a'ammou* jalal 3-Musa: skal vi↑ 4-Adham: ja 5-Musa: *wallah* 6-Adham: jalal↑ 7-Adham: *ma byisma'a hada atrash saraha* 8-Adham: ups (points at the camcorder) 9-(Musa looks at Adham and laughs)	1-Musa: come *by allah* we ask jalal 2-Adham: jalal, *uncle* jalal 3-Musa: shall we↑ 4-Adham: yes 5-Musa: *by allah* 6-Adham: jalal↑ 7-Adham: *he doesn't hear, he is actually deaf* 8-Adham: ups (points at the camcorder) 9-(Musa looks at Adham and laughs)

Though Adham produces a negative assessment in line (7) because Jalal is not responding, he orients to his assessment as inappropriate because of the presence of the camera. Although I did my

best to remain neutral and not involve myself in the participants' interactions and doings, it was unavoidable sometimes that they contact me for some purpose (mostly to inquire about personal issues). However, approaching me seemed to be difficult for some of them. Example: (2.10)

1-Inas: skal jeg sige *'ammo* jalal↑ kan du ikke kalde på ham↑ 2-Yosra: nej jeg tør ikke 3-Rola: *'ammo* jalal↑ *'ammo* jalal↑ sådan 4-Yosra: prøv igen 5-Rola: din tur 6-Yosra: *'ammo* jalal↑ 7-Rola: *'ammo* jalal↑ 8-Inas: kom lige. Skal jeg spørge↑	1-Inas: should I say *uncle* jalal↑ kan du ikke kalde på ham↑ 2-Yosra: no I dare not 3-Rola: *uncle* jalal↑ *uncle* jalal↑ like that 4-Yosra: try again 5-Rola: your turn 6-Yosra: *uncle* jalal↑ 7-Rola: *uncle* jalal↑ 8-Inas: just come. can I ask↑

In the next example, Adham tears some pages of his text-book and attempts to legitimize his conduct by involving me, as he sees me an insider or an in-group member who might endorse his action. Example: (2.11)

Adham: eh jalal↑ kom lige se hvad de har gjort↑ De har tegnet profeten mohammed. Se man har tegnet ham så de siger mohammed må ikke genvises, derfor er figuren ansigtløs. Altså de har tegnet noget hvidt på hans ansigt. Jamen de har alligevel tegnet hans krop jo.	Adham: eh jalal↑ come, see what they have done↑ they have drawn the prophet mohammed. see they drew him so they say Mohammad shouldn't be represented, that's why the figure is faceless. well they have drawn something white on his face, but they have drawn his body anyway.

Nevertheless, the interactions forming the present corpus of data are natural as I have never asked the teachers or participants to do some modifications as to who should be included in a certain group, nor have made suggestions about where they should be seated, or asked the teachers to request from the participants to speak about a certain topic or subject. In this sense, the data have not been invented, or staged, or guided by my own interests. The examples might reveal as well that the status the participants conferred upon me varies from one to another – some have seen me as one attempting to monitor their conduct – at least in the beginnings -, others considered my observations superfluous and irritating, and perhaps my presence parasitic, but in general, they mostly considered me as one of their ethnic group with whom the greatest majority of them share the background (Palestinian) and religious affiliation (Islam). So claiming that my position was a non-participant observer or a neutral bystander can be unwarranted, as the way I perceive the relation is different from the participants' categories: I see myself a bystander, while they see me as one of their ethnic group; I attempt to be neutral, while at times they attempt to involve me in their business; I stress that my project is not about controlling their actions, while at times they perceive my presence as a matter of monitoring their transgressions.

<u>Data, transcription, translation, analysis and validation</u>:

The study draws on two periods of fieldwork in two separate schools, each period lasting for ca. five months in 2011 and 2012 respectively. Six graders were followed over a period of 5 months (a total of 32 days in school A, and 24 days in school B), and observation was carried out while they were engaged in various school activities, and with different teachers. The same procedures were followed in the two periods and resulted in three sets of data:

1- Audio-recordings were used during recess (ca. 60 hours, of which ca. 6 hours where transcribed on word-document). A recording device is given to one student during recess each time I happened to be in the field. Each participant produced more or less the same amount of recordings. Although this data constitutes a good resource of the participants'

interactions and highlights many issues about their school experience and social world, the data was largely neglected in favor of the video-recordings inside the classroom. Audio-recordings basically helped in highlighting the participants' affiliations and groups.

2- Field-notes were collected inside the two classrooms, based on non-participant observation, and resulted in tens of pages that describe in some detail the participants' daily agenda and their actions. Observations focused primarily on language use, participants' social relations, their interactions with different teachers, teachers' policies inside classroom, absenteeism, etc. While observing in the classroom, I used to write abbreviated words and phrases, and these were developed after few hours into more detailed recollections of the day's events. The themes which we encounter in part II are basically derived from this data set, and are documented by relying on the participants' discourses in order to highlight their identities, categories and orientations.

3- Video-recordings (ca. 60 hours, of which more than 20 hours were transcribed using Transana program and its accompanying transcription conventions which is based mainly on Gail Jefferson's transcription system (Atkinson and Heritage 1984)).The list of transcription symbols are presented in Appendix 7. The examples used in part II are meant to show the participants' discourses and the documentation of these discourses – and some examples do not follow the exact rules of transcription (mainly pauses, overlaps), in that in part II I do not make conversation analysis. Most of the video recordings were conducted when students were engaged in group work. Two cameras were used simultaneously; one was usually focused on a group of boys, and the other on a group of girls. In exceptional cases, the two cameras were focused on one group only (if one group happened to be in a noisy area, or when a number of participants were absent). Names and identifying features of the participants, the schools, the city, the ghetto where they come from are anonymized (the name of their residence place is replaced with the term "ghetto"). Faces on video still images are also blurred out. The video-recordings were scanned before transcription to make sure that the interactions are not blurred by background noise. Quite early in the field, the deal with the teachers was to make video-recordings during group work. The duration of these video-recordings vary, as some can be more than 60 minutes (given that the time for a lesson is 45 minutes), depending on whether the pupils have the same subject for two consecutive hours, but on average, most of the videos are between 35 and 45 minutes. Some of the videos in these group work sessions are neglected not because of the noise, but because of the lack of communication (as it happened that sometimes the group will use headphones and listen to music, and thus they remain silent for the greatest part of the recording). The choice was about investigating and understanding what the participants say and do during a group work session and for this reason the examples of the interactional phenomena being investigated in this study are extracts from videos of group-work sessions that are transcribed entirely (Ca. 11 hours of group work sessions in each school are transcribed (22 hours in total). The remaining 40 hours are watched and listened to and the greatest majority of them are worth transcribing, but the process is very time-consuming, in that in some instances, the transcription of one minute might take more than one hour.

Collection: Once transcribed, the main focus was on instances where the participants deviate from "cooperation" or from the school task. Such instances of deviation were huge in number, and not all of them can be represented as interactional phenomenon (listening to music, leaving the seat and the group, playing a game or watching something on the computer, etc.). Moreover, in some group-work sessions, an observer might watch more than one hour and not know what the school task is all about, or even whether the group are engaged in an English lesson or Danish or history. From

these instances of "deviation", examples where a form of "dispute" among the participants is going on were trawled. A large collection of excerpts were then organized according to the participants involved and the type of "dispute" being accomplished, and whether teachers are involved or not. All the chapters in part II and III – except for one - included data from various group work sessions and different participants and from the two schools. What the participants were doing in group work sessions, i.e., "dispute" was a clear deviation from the school task, and the various methods (e.g., code-switching) applied in doing "disputes" or "deviation" from the school task demonstrate the participants' orientation to keep the "deviation" or "dispute" hidden from the teachers. Two videos – each ca. 60 minutes – configured an extended form of "dispute" where "ethnicity" and "sexuality" were the objects of ridicule and disputation. Examples from these two videos were incorporated into a chapter entitled "Bullying" to represent a case study of what "bullying" might look like, and to provide a confluence for the findings related to disputes in general, and to bolster the findings generated in part II especially the themes concerned with the way the participants' orient to a pecking order among themselves and which is based on "religion", "gender", and "ethnicity".

Findings are communicated in a reader-friendly way by choosing a two-columns form of data presentation. In one column, the original data is presented, with the Danish utterances written in regular typeface, and the Arabic ones in italics while the infrequent English utterances are underlined. In the second column, all passages are translated into English, and again, Danish passages appear in regular typeface, Arabic in italics and English underlined. I did the translation myself, and while it was relatively easy to translate the Arabic passages, I consulted many people around me in several occasions for the purpose of translating the Danish talk as my proficiency in Danish is limited. Data related to the participants' social profiles (addresses, countries of origin, parents' occupations, complementary schools, knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic, etc.) was extracted either through face to face questions, or through a small questionnaire.

Analysis: The materials were analyzed in the ethnomethodological tradition, using conversation analysis and Sacks's (1992) observations about membership categories (e.g., teacher/pupil ; boy/girl; Somali/Arab/Danish; etc.) and the rights and obligations that get tied to them in situated discourse. In Part II of this study, some of the excerpts are organized according to the way the participants orient to such categories concerned with "ethnicity", "gender", and "religion" to highlight issues concerned with the participants' social lives and the way they prioritize some identities e.g., religious identity or ethnic identity over the identity of "pupil", and the extent to which such an orientation is potentially "disruptive" or contradicts other identities that are normally assumed by the participants. Analysis of the interactions was conducted in different periods and followed different stages, where I usually watched an episode several times, and attempted to write notes and comments on it. This is followed by using the example in data-sessions, where peers and experts provided a variety of understandings and views and such a participation in data-sessions functioned as a rich resource for feedback. Moreover, many of the data were used in presentations (Summer schools, conferences, seminars, etc.) and quite often I received feedback which enabled me to return to the preliminary analysis and refine it further more.

In EMCA, validation is inherent in the analytic emic method, as the analysis is meant to show the participants' methods in doing their actions, and by making use of the participants' categories, orientations and their perception and understanding of specific actions. This analysis depends on "next turn proof procedure". For all the examples of part III the analysis depended on the next speaker's interpretation of the preceding action – or the bystanders' orientation to a preceding turn –

and such a procedure functions as an instance of validation of the interpretation that the overall analysis provides.

Membership categorization: Conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis are two ethnomethodological methods for analyzing interactional practices rooted in Sacks's Lectures on Conversation. According to Schegloff (2007) Membership Categorization Device (MCD) and categorization involves one or more collections of categories (boy, girl, Muslim, Arab, Somali, Dane, etc.). "The categories of person or member…which figure in interaction and in social life more generally are not a simple, single aggregate of categories, but are organized into collections of categories. A collection is a set of categories that "go together" – for example "male/female", ... "American/Canadian/ Dane/ French" etc. These categories were discussed earlier by Goodenough (1965) where he makes a distinction between "identity" "social identity" and "status" and where he argues that "a great deal of social learning in any society is learning one's duties to others, both of commission and omission, and the situations in which they are owed". The concept of duty, in Goodenough's terms, is to be coined with rights, in that "rights and their duty counterparts serve to define boundaries within which the parties to social relationships are expected to confine their behavior". This entails that every individual has a number of different social identities, and consequently the sets of rights and duties vary according to the identities he/she may appropriately assume in a given interaction. Goodenough makes a distinction between "status" and "identity", in that a pupil is a pupil, whether he honors his obligations or not, and regardless of the way he/she interacts with his/her teachers; whereas, identity is "an aspect of self that makes a difference in how one's rights and duties distribute to specific others (the others could be teachers, peers, other ethnicities, parents, etc.) In this sense, the status "pupil" has the obligation to conform to the system and discipline which is determined by the school and its staff, i.e., to cooperate with peers, to respect teachers, to do assignments and home works, to avoid making troubles, etc., and the rights will be manifested in academic achievement once the pupil performs the set of duties. The identity "pupil", on the other hand, is to be perceived in relation to specific others (duties towards teachers – peers – opposite sex – staff, etc.) We can have teacher-pupil social identity or pupil-pupil; but we do not have father-pupil for example, which means that social identities are socially pre-determined, and each set of the social identities has a different set of rights and obligations. As I provide examples of actual interactions, I will not explicate the sets of rights and obligations in each case of analysis, as I consider them in terms of parameters that are taken for granted, and knowledge about norms of communication are shared by the participants, and the mere presence of a pupil in a classroom is an indicator that the pupil is there for a certain purpose and he/she is aware of that, and aware of what it entails in terms of the set of obligations towards the different parties involved (peers – teachers – other ethnicities – opposite sex).

The categories, according to Sacks (1992) and Schegloff (2007) have a consequential role in terms of inference-richness, protection against induction, and category-bound activities.

a- Infrerence-richness: Schegloff (2007) states that "any attributed member of a category….is a presumptive representative of the category. That is, what is "known" about the category is

presumed to be so about them. According to Sacks'(1992: 40-41) categories store "a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society".

b- Protection against induction: … "if an ostensible member of a category appears to contravene what is "known" about members of the category, then people do not revise that knowledge, but see the person as "an exception", "different", or even a defective member of the category.

c- Category-bound activities: according to Stokoe (2012) these are activities that are, in situ, linked to categories, such as "why are "men" (category) so reluctant to go to the doctors (activity)? "…one can allude to the category membership of a person by mentioning that person's doing of an action that is category bound, and the doing of a category-bound action can introduce into a scene or an occasion the relevance of the category to which that action is bound, and, with that category, the MCD which is its locus, and thereby its other categories as potential ways of grasping others in that scene.

Schegloff (2007) warns us that "the categories that compose the collections of categories that are one major component of MCDs are not mere taxonomic labels. …they are big-time players in how common-sense culture operates, and, with it, a broad swath of talk-in-interaction and other conduct as well, whether in interaction or not. Both CA and MCA are closely interrelated and both inform each other".

Key discussion and analytical terms:

Culture and identity: Language, culture, and identity do not seem to have fixed meanings, and providing a list of stable features of certain cultures passed from generation to generation is considered in recent studies as erroneous and representative of essentialist views. Spencer-Oatey (2000: 4) defines culture as "a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behavior and each member's interpretations of the "meanings" of other people's behavior." Culpeper (2011: 13) fuses the definition of identity and culture together as he argues that "being English, male, white, middle-class, and so on are features that are part of my identity; they are also cultural groups". Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) introduce language in their definition of identity as they state that "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished." Sociolinguists and sociologists in general speak about constructing and re-constructing culture and identities. Even notions of *gender identity* or *ethnic identity* are no more treated as bounded, rather as social constructions. We can read in the literature terms like "youth identity", "student identity", "peer-group identity", "religious identity", etc. which might all refer to the individuals' stances, alignments and affiliations. Poststructuralists in general consider the terms language, culture, and identity "as heuristic devices which capture some elements of how we organize ourselves, but which have to be understood as social constructs" (Heller 2007: 13). This study adopts this poststructuralist understanding of the term "culture".

In addition, terms like *minority culture*, *minority language*, *home culture*, *Arab culture*, *Islamic culture* etc. will be used in the discussions of this study, and they have to be understood as "political

terms" in the first place which are widely used in media and political debates, in addition to the majority of academic research that makes use of such terms like "minority" as opposed to "majority". It must be stressed that in no place the participants of this study refer to themselves as "minority" as opposed to the "majority", rather they might make use of such terms as "my family does this and that…" or might identify themselves with ethnic, religious and even stigmatized categories "Muslims, Arabs, perkere, etc." as opposed to the categories "Danes (potatoes), Somalis (chocolate), immigrants/foreigners". In this sense, the term "minority" is the analyst's term and it is used to refer to activities, practices, and affiliations, which from the point of view of previous studies, are peculiar to those who have a cultural/religious/ethnic background similar to the participants' background.

Accordingly, cultural identity is not to be considered a factor that relates a single person directly to a specific society/community. It is important to conceptualize identity as located in cultural practices, which can vary between different institutions in different societies, and not as located directly in the person. Culture can be thus defined as the set of practices, traditions and values that might exist in a certain institution or community, and identity is the extent to which such practices and traditions are embraced or rejected by the members of the institution or community. This definition resonates with current research in social sciences (Mendoza-Denton (2008); Quist (2005); Maegaard (2010); Androutsopoulos (2003); Jørgensen (2007); Rampton (2005); Fuller (2012); Bigelow (2010); Heller (2006)), which holds the view that "identities are neither fixed nor categorical properties residing in people's minds; instead, they are emergent in the sequentiality of discourse, particularly in interactional sites, where they are dynamically (re)created" (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003). A great deal of the aforementioned authors make use of "doing identity" instead of the fixed "identity". Doing identity practically means that individuals transform from moment to moment in multiple ways as they dress, speak, act, communicate and participate in diverse networks – school, family, and other communal institutions, and in doing this they evoke, contest, or embrace other-imposed identities.

Crossing: a term created by Ben Rampton to replace "code-switching", and it means the use of a language that does not belong to you – basically if a Dane, for example, uses Arabic or Somali terms, or if an Arab in Denmark uses some Somali terms.

Diglossia: when two varieties are used by a speech community to accomplish different communicative functions (more about this in the next chapter).

Alignment: is a projection of surface-level agreement at the emotional or intellectual levels among interlocutors, and this surface agreement according to Goffman (1959: 10) might be real or unreal depending on the context and power relations among participants. "The maintenance of this surface agreement, veneer of consensus, is facilitated by each participant concealing his own wants behind statements which assert values to which everyone present feels obliged to give lip service."

Changing status of participation: the term is coined by Goffman (1979; 1981) and is closely related to footing and bystanders. According to Goffman, interlocutors in an interaction assume different statuses, as they might remain passive while an interaction is going on, and might change this status of passivity and enter into an interaction and become active as they show different stances and alignments.

Footing: is concerned with the different alignments that an interlocutor assumes in an interaction, and the way he/she projects himself/herself.

Bystanders: are the listeners who are within a hearing distance while an interaction is going on. Although they are not involved directly in an interaction, bystanders might change their status of participation from being passive onlookers/listeners to active participants, and thus might influence the flow of interaction in various ways depending on the stances and alignments that they project.

(some of these terms will be discussed in more detail in part III)

Chapter 3 – An Introduction of the Field, and the Participants

This chapter will introduce the two schools and the available resources, as participants draw on their knowledge of these resources in their daily practices and interactions. This will be followed by an introduction of the participants and the make-up of the classrooms in order to come to terms with the available identities and the extent to which such identities serve the schooling experience.

The two mainstream Schools:

The study was carried out in two Danish grade-schools, henceforth referred to by the letters A and B. The two schools are located in an urban setting, where school A lies in a ghetto, while school B is outside the ghetto and both are run by the municipality. The educational program involves nine years of formal elementary schooling. Danish is the formal language of education, in addition to the teaching of English which starts from grade 4 and other European languages like German from grade 7. The schools do not receive tuition from parents and are financed by the municipality. Each of the two schools is comprised of more than 500 pupils, and there are two or three parallel classes for each grade. The distribution of pupils over the parallel classes does not necessarily take into consideration their ethnic background, for example there were three parallel classes for grade 6 in school B, and the distribution of Arabs over the three is unequal, where there was one Arab in one class, three in the second class, and ten in the third class.

The greatest majority of the staff in both schools belongs to the Danish ethnicity while the greatest majority of pupils have an ethnic background other than Danish. Bilinguals constitute 95% in school A of whom Arabs and Somalis are the greatest majority and 65% in school B with a more heterogeneous environment as they belong to diverse ethnic minorities. Some of the other ethnic backgrounds represented in the two schools are: Kurdish, Turkish, Bosnian, Vietnamese and Pakistani. The study is primarily concerned with Arab-Danish bilinguals who attend one class - grade six- in the two schools.

A school day is comprised of six lessons and two breaks, starting at 8:00 and ending at 13:45. The duration of the lesson is 45 minutes, and the breaks come after the second and the fourth lesson with duration of 30 minutes and 45 minutes respectively. Not all the lessons are conducted in the same classroom, as woodwork, housecraft and sport classes require from the pupils to walk to special classrooms which are equipped and designed for specific purposes. During recess, pupils are not allowed to stay in the classroom or the corridors, and usually they are ushered by the responsible teachers to adjacent playing-fields or specific facilities. Such a description applies to the two schools with some tiny differences between the two, in that pupils in A were supposed to eat their packed lunch in the class before they hurry up to the schoolyard in the second break, whereas in school B the norm was to consume their lunch outside the classroom, but on many occasions and in the two schools, pupils ate their food during the lesson.

In addition to the formal teaching, the two schools offer pupils several possibilities to assist them in doing their assignments and homework, or to improve their language abilities in the majority language. Those who have language – related problems are usually assigned to "special classes". Those assigned to special classes continue to attend the regular class with their peers, but during the school day – and at certain times of the week – they attend a class with pupils who have similar language problems, where they receive more nuanced teaching to improve their skills. The small number of pupils in such special classes makes it an advantage for this group to improve their language abilities. However, the major disadvantage is the fact that the time of the special class overlaps with the time of the regular classes, which practically means that the weak pupils will miss many lessons related to the general curricula and might not be able to catch up with their peers on the long run. Taking into consideration the large number of bilinguals in the schools, and the awareness that parents might not be able to speak Danish, the administrative staff in each school has devised some methods to help improve the situation of the pupils, where parents are offered some courses that would enable them to help their children. Another form of solving the problem is through what is known as "lesson café" where some teachers assist the bilingual pupils. A third form is represented by offering help through the internet, where pupil and teacher communicate through Skype. However, all these remedial methods and measures do not seem to be effective to improve the performance of the pupils, in that very few parents are ready to attend such courses, and pupils do not seem to be motivated enough to improve their abilities. A constant problem which most of the teachers reported to me – especially in school A – was the parents' carelessness and the lack of cooperation with teachers. Moreover, guidance counselors are available in grade schools and at the municipal level to provide the necessary guidance with regard to educational choices and opportunities. However, one study (Højmark and Jørgensen 2005) shows that minority children are less likely to use the services of the guidance counsellors.

Throughout the school-year, the schools attempt in many ways to replace the regular syllabus with some other activities as it is the case with what is termed "project week =temauge". Project Week is a school tradition which aims at offering an alternative for the traditional monotonous teaching of the regular program. In such a week, pupils perform and practice new activities that are not part of the school's regular syllabus. They change their classes, mingle with new pupils (both older and younger than themselves), and meet with new teachers. The practices and activities performed during this week are thematic, and an entire day is usually dedicated for a special activity: theatre, sport, cooking, etc. Project Week aims at providing pupils with ways to deal with new situations; to learn how to respect those who are older and younger; to reduce stress and to share and participate in new experiences and activities and to meet with new teachers.

It is worth pointing out that the schooling system in Denmark requires from pupils one official exam after they finish with grade 9. This means that all examinations (from grade 0 through 8) are internal to the school and there are thus no checks of the level of attainment reached by any external standard. Pupils will progress and be in a higher grade not because of any achievement, but simply because they will grow older. Moreover, pupils are not ranked, in that ranking is seen as an old tradition which belongs to individual learning and individual achievement, in time the present

schooling system stresses the importance of collaborative learning which is seen as an alternative to what was perceived an overemphasis on competition in old traditional education.

Several studies have demonstrated the view that education policies and practices in Denmark – as in Europe in general - often deny the multilingual, multicultural reality of their constituency in the name of homogeneity and schools are often understood by pupils as Danish-only zones, and multilingualism is left at the school gate (see for example, Blackledge (2010); Jørgensen (2008) vol1; Quist and Jørgensen (2007)). However, this was not exactly the case in the two schools, in that it is true that minority languages are not part of the curriculum, yet any space in the school can turn into a private domain, and this is enhanced partly by the schools' staff who acted according to a flexible policy regarding language use, and by the bilinguals' ability to switch into minority languages and thus prevent the staff from interfering in their own business. Teachers in general never asked the pupils to switch to Danish once they hear them speaking Arabic. Moreover, school A seemed to have a policy of including minority languages, as inscriptions in Arabic, Turkish, Somali and other languages were ornamenting the walls and ceilings of the school's corridors.

The Participants and their language repertoires

Classroom composition and backgrounds:

School A	boys	girls	School B	boys	girls
9 Arabs	5	4	10 Arabs	6	4
9 Somalis	5	4	5 Somalis	0	5
1 Vietnamese	0	1	5 Danes	4	1
			2 Kurds	1	1
			1 Bosnian	0	1

The above schema is meant to simplify the pupils' language repertoires in that more languages are involved in their lives, especially those in school B, where the 10 Arabs involved do not necessarily have both parents sharing the same ethnicity or nationality, but rather one of the parents is Arab. One girl has a mother of German background, and a boy whose mother is Persian, in addition to the Kurdish girl who speaks Arabic, and a boy whose mother is Danish and father Kurdish who presented himself to me by saying that he is "Arab", and was willing to be part of this study. In School A, pupils come from more homogeneous families where both parents are either Arabs or Somalis. Although parents' origins play an important role in shaping the linguistic abilities of their children, it remains true that any attempt to demarcate the linguistic abilities of these children by relying on the parents' origins is simply unwarranted. Rampton's (2005) concept of *crossing* characterizes the linguistic repertoires of the speakers depending on the co-existence and socialization among pupils of different ethnic backgrounds, making it quite possible for a Somali or a Kurd or an Arab to use language utterances which belong to other ethnicities. Almost all the families to which the participants belong have lived in Denmark for at least 19 years, and all the participants were born in Denmark[10]. The greatest majority of the parents had not received education beyond the elementary school. Fathers work in blue-collar jobs and many of them are on social-help; mothers are mostly housewives. This can be seen in one of the boys' discussions in

[10] The term "participants" refers solely to the Arabs, and not to other ethnicities.

school B, where they argue about possible sources of income and they consider "social help" as one of the sources. (Jamal, Monir, and Malik are one party who are opposed by Ihsan regarding possible ways for them to receive an income. The three boys argue that young people can be on pension, while Ihsan considers that one has to be old to receive this social service.) Example: 3.1

1-Jamal: hvis man er pensionist, så får man selv penge man ja:: 2-Monir: ja:: 3-Ihsan: det skal du være gammel for ja::: 4-Jamal: ne:j der er nogle unge, der er nogle unge der har 5-Ihsan: nej nej nej 6-Jamal: [*wallah* der er nogle unge der har 7-Ihsan: [nej nej nej nej nej nej 8-Monir: *wallah* der er nogen 9-Jamal: *walla*h der er nogen 10-Monir: min mor hun er pensionist. Hun er kun fyrre år 11-Ihsan: ja ok fyrre år hvor mange hvo:: ehh tolv år han bliver snart tretten 12-Monir: og hun er stadig ung 13-Jamal: nej min fætter han er to uh, han er tyve han er pensionist 14-Malik: min storebror er også på pension.	1-Jamal: if you are pensioner, so one receives money man ye::s 2-Monir: ye::s 3-Ihsan: you have to be old for ye:::s 4-Jamal: no: there are some young people, there are some young people who have 5-Ihsan: no no no 6-Jamal: [*by allah* there are some young who have 7-Ihsan: [no no no no no 8-Monir: *by allah* there are some 9-Jamal: *by allah* there are some 10-Monir: my mother she is pensioner. she is only forty years 11-Ihsan: yes alright forty years how many how:: ehh twelve years he will soon be thirteen 12-Monir: and she is still young 13-Jamal: no my cousin he is two uh, he is twenty he is pensioner 14-Malik: my elder brother is also on pension.

They are all destined to deal with a negative stereotypical image that has been perpetrated by the mass media, and which intensifies their feeling of segregation and their awareness of being different from the broader community. Jørgensen (2008: 107) observes that "linguistic minorities in Denmark struggle against a particularly unfriendly atmosphere and a majority which is particularly determined to marginalize variation and minorities." Jørgensen tackles the situation of immigrants in Scandinavia during the 1990s and the general atmosphere which has prevailed since that time regarding schooling and immigrants, and he notes that "the school drop-out rate, the number of individuals not going through further education after grade school, and consequently the unemployment rate, were all higher for the immigrant groups than for the native Scandinavians" (Jørgensen 2008: 110). Similar observations were made by many researchers (Holmen 2003, 2006; Horst and Gitz-Johansen 2010; Møller et. al 2014; Colding et al 2005; Taylor 2009; Gilliam 2007). In a comparison with the rest of the Scandinavian countries, Jørgensen posits that "the atmosphere in Denmark has been shrill with a harsh and negative treatment of linguistic minorities" and government officials worked hard to suppress minority mother tongues in schools (Jørgensen 2008). Despite these conditions and policies which attempted – not to integrate but rather - to assimilate minorities into the mainstream culture, by abolishing education in the minority languages, and by implementing Danish as the only language of education, the use of Arabic and other minority languages is still a hallmark that characterizes language use among ethnic pupils attending mainstream schools.

Diglossia:

In order to understand the Arab varieties spoken by the participants, we need to explain the concept of diglossia which characterizes language use among Arab speakers. According to Ferguson

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an

> earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson 1959: 336)

Ferguson's definition of diglossia stems from his observations of language use in diglossic communities, as it is the case of the Arab world, where two varieties are normally used by speakers, one is high and represented by Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and one is low and represented by the various regional colloquial varieties. Wardhaugh (2010, 85) considers that the key defining characteristic of diglossia is that the two varieties are kept quite apart in their functions. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set, a feature which Fishman (1967) calls "domain congruency" between social situations, including topics, and language varieties. This diglossic situation has consequences for all forms of communication and interaction, in that the high variety is used for formal purposes, and has a higher level of prestige than the low varieties. There are different circumstances of acquisition in that children learn the low varieties at home, while the high at school. The high variety is standardized with a tradition of grammatical study and established norms and orthography. The Arabic grammar study was established before 1500 years, and it was built on the Quranic model, where any syntactic structure is considered grammatical only if it is compatible with the Quranic syntactic structures. The grammar of the high variety is more complex despite the fact that the two varieties (high and low) share the bulk of their vocabularies. Moreover, there are differences between what we might call "classical Arabic" and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), in that the former is comprised of many vocabularies that are considered archaic, and which are exclusively used in ancient religious and literary texts.

Ferguson's (1959) dichotomy was criticized as several studies attempted to deconstruct the rigid dichotomy of the "high" and "low" varieties that he spoke about. For example, Badawi (1973) identified different levels of varieties depending on use and function of contemporary Arabic: Formal of Islamic Heritage, contemporary Formal, vernacular of the educated, vernacular of the literate, and vernacular of the illiterate. El-Hassan (1977, 1978) and Ryding (1991) argued for the existence of Educated Spoken Arabic, a variety of the language that incorporates features from both Formal and Colloquial, and which is mostly used by different universities especially in the West to help non-native learners of Arabic to grasp a functional dialect that makes use of both the formal and the informal varieties. Other linguists have also criticized the categorization of Arabic into levels that have discrete points. Holes (1995), for example, described the situation of Arabic as a continuum as he states that Arabic speakers' behavior is "one of constant style shifting along a cline at opposite ends of which are pure MSA and the pure regional dialect, more accurately conceived of as idealized constructs than real entities." Moreover, there have been lately several studies taking into account the vernacular spoken Arabic and the emergence of written forms for the vernacular/dialect. Dauoudi (2011), thus, speaks about the influences of globalization on the emergence of what she calls e-Arabic which is used on the internet and mobile phones, a new Arabic literary genre from blogs and emails, and which uses Latin letters and numbers in transcription. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the dichotomy that Ferguson spoke about can still be used to describe the Arabic language. Formal Arabic has fixed grammatical rules from ancient times, and serves different functional communicative purposes: a Friday preach in mosques,

presidential speech, News casting, and other political and social media debates, while the vernacular (dialects) are used for informal purposes. The two varieties share the bulk of their vocabularies, and natives (depending on their education, social status, and domain) make use of different levels on the continuums described above.

The participants of this study are speakers of the low varieties of Arabic, i.e., eleven of them speak the Lebanese - Palestinian dialect, three speak Iraqi dialect, and one speaks the Syrian dialect[11]. The dialects involved have much in common, and usually they are understood by all, and when a term that pertains to one dialect and not the other is used, the interlocutors usually investigate further about the meaning of the word. These dialects constitute their mother-tongues and the term Arabic in this study refers to the dialects rather than to MSA or Classical Arabic since these dialects are the ones used in their communication.

Complementary Schools:

Five participants in school B said that they had attended complementary schools which offer teaching in MSA in the weekends and for various periods that range from few months to four or five years. Yet this knowledge of MSA is in the best cases inadequate, as such complementary schools suffer from several problems including lack of teachers and lack of funding, in addition to the lack of discipline which usually characterizes them[12]. The inadequacy is also manifested by practical examples related to the participants. For example, one girl whose father is Palestinian and mother German, said that she had attended Arabic complementary school for five years in the weekends, a span of time which is enough to make her literate, yet she said that she still cannot read or write MSA. In many situations, I greeted the participants or thanked them using MSA, and they demonstrated an inability to understand and asked me to repeat my statements or to explain to them what I mean. In any case, only four – of those who attended complementary schools -said that they can read and write MSA. Almost all of them said that they use Danish for social communication on the internet, and none of them mentioned Arabic as one of the languages at their disposal, rather some mentioned English. Nowadays, parents interested in teaching their children MSA send them into private schools, where Arabic teaching is integrated with the school's Danish curriculum. Some parents avoid this choice in that these private schools are mostly led and administered by religious sects or religious groups, where the school's staff who speak Arabic are members of these religious sects.

Communication with parents is normally conducted through the use of Arabic unless they had one of their parents having another nationality, while with siblings and friends, the two languages are employed. Parents sometimes enforce a policy which - in their opinion – might enhance their children's linguistic abilities, as we see in the following excerpt, where a group of pupils from A discuss "language use" and what their parents instruct them to do. Example (3.2)

[11] It must be stressed that Arabic dialects vary from one city to another, and even from one neighborhood to another in the same city, and specifying that one participant speaks Syrian or Palestinian dialect is only meant to show that their mother-tongues vary, but they nevertheless understand and cope with their different dialects.

[12] I have taught many bilinguals who attend classes in Arabic language proficiency at the university and who had attended complementary schools in their childhood; these bilinguals demonstrate considerable weaknesses in MSA in the four skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening). I also wanted to teach my children MSA in one of the complementary schools during the weekends, but it did not work in that over several weeks there were problems concerned with absent teachers or lack of teaching materials.

1-Noha: min far siger til os tal arabisk og engelsk og i skolen tal dansk. 2-Zaina: det siger min far også 3-Mahir: også mig 4-Ilham: jeg taler arabisk kun med mine forældre 5-Noha: ja ja og så resten dansk 6-Hani: jeg taler flydende dansk 7-Ibo: jeg taler arabisk og dansk	1-Noha: my father tells us speak Arabic and English and at school speak Danish. 2-Zaina: that's what my father says also 3-Mahir: me too 4-Ilham: I speak Arabic only with my parents 5-Noha: yes yes and the rest Danish 6-Hani: I speak fluent Danish 7-Ibo: I speak Arabic and Danish

Such an excerpt highlights the domain of the use of Arabic, and that it has a restricted and a specific function, mainly to communicate with parents; whereas, communication with siblings and friends is done mainly through Danish, with limited switching to Arabic. This also indicates that their Danish teachers are the only fluent speakers with whom they interact.

Another form of complementary schools is represented by what is called "Quranic schools", and in which three participants from school A have been enrolled. Quranic schools are mainly concerned with Classical Arabic. Such schools usually involve Muslims and not Arabs per se. Bigelow (2010: 39) comments on the content of instruction in these schools by stating that "recitation of Quranic text does not necessarily include comprehension of the text but fulfills the primary purpose of going to Quranic School, which is to adopt Muslim values and a Muslim identity". In addition to the problem of archaic vocabularies that characterizes the Quranic text (Classical Arabic), children are burdened with the responsibility of reciting "sounds" that have no meaning, and to memorize these sounds by heart without providing translation (for the Somalis for example) or explanation (for the Arabs). It is worth pointing out that in Denmark we do not have "Quranic schools" in the traditional sense of the word, in that the supposed "school" could be a hall where the local community might congregate to perform some activities and which might include the teaching of Quran. In one episode from school A, where three Arab girls and one Somali girl work as a group in history class, the Somali girl (Aya) boasts her knowledge in reciting by heart several Quranic verses and dares the others to do the same. One girl (Ikhlas) accepts the challenge, and they turn their history assignment into a competition in reciting Quranic verses by heart, and to tease Noha who seems unable to do the same. Their performance reveals that their memories do not help them, as they mix Quranic verses and statements which belong to various Quranic chapters, and which in turn indicates that they can memorize some of the sounds, but not the meanings nor the syntactic categories or structures. Regardless of the linguistic knowledge that one might get – or not get – in these schools, attending a Quranic school remains important for some of the pupils as we might see in the following conversation. Example (3.3)

1-Aya: hvorfor kan du ikke *wal sama'e wal tarikh* 2-Noha: jeg ved ikke hvad det er 3-Aya: *wal sama'e: zati el tarik* 4-Noha: jeg forstår ikke hvad du mener 5-Aya: *wal sama'e: wal tarik* 6-Ikhlas: *wal sama'e: wal tarik* 7-Noha: jeg ved det ikke 8-Aya: så du er kun nået til xxxx så springer i i hvert fald over i din quranskole 9-Ikhlas: hun går <u>slet ikke</u> til [quranskole 10-Noha: [JO, om: om lørda om søndag 11-Aya: hvorhenne↑ 12-Noha: i paf 13-Aya: nå:: i paf 14-Aya: der er først somalisk quranskole derover [og så efter er der arabisk hvad↑ 15-Noha: [ja] 16-Noha: ehm	1-Aya: why can't you *by the heaven and the bright star* 2-Noha: I don't know what it is 3-Aya: *by the sky that has the bright star* 4-Noha: I don't understand what you mean 5-Aya: *by the sky and the bright star* 6-Ikhlas: *by the sky and the bright star* 7-Noha: I don't know it 8-Aya: so you've reached only to xxxxxxxx so you skip for sure in your quran school 9-Ikhlas: she doesn't at all attend [quran school 10-Noha: [YES on: on Saturda on Sunday 11-Aya: where? 12-Noha: at paf 13-Aya: oh:: at paf 14-Aya: there is first Somali Quran school there [and then there is Arabic, isn't it? 15-Noha: [ja

17-Aya: *ennu* hvem har kaldt den for paf egentlig↑ 18-Noha: os	16-Noha: ehm 17-Aya: *that is* who has actually called it paf? 18-Noha: us

Noha's inability to recite the verses was interpreted by the group as a shortcoming and a weakness as lines (8 and 9) might suggest, in that Aya interprets the shortcoming in terms of skipping some chapters in Noha's school, while Ikhlas considers that Noha doesn't attend a Quran school, and this is opposed by Noha's next turn (10). The way Noha reacts to the accusation that she doesn't attend a school is worth noting, and it demonstrates the importance of such a practice. Moore (2006 : 114) cited educators and researchers who argue that Quranic schooling interferes with students' social, cognitive, and linguistic development by teaching children a passive, non-analytic learning style. However, for many Muslims, the mere recitation of Quranic text is enough to be rewarded with God's blessings, and to protect the reciter from various physiological and psychological problems. Furthermore, it has a meaning in the world of the participants – as the above example shows - in terms of socialization and acquiring a Muslim identity. Recent research by Bigelow (2010) theorized from the point of view of her Somali participants that "students who have gone to Dugsi (Quran School) will be good students because Dugsi helps them be better people and thus more dedicated and serious students." However, we cannot assume that such a claim can be generalized everywhere. It is true that the girls cited above who attend Quran schools are very serious and calm – except for Noha - and I have never seen them disrupting classroom teaching, or creating troubles, yet in terms of academic achievement they are below the required level, according to the assessment of their main-teacher. Blackledge (2010) also points to an important fact regarding complementary schools in general by stating that "complementary schools is not universally welcomed by students, who may experience them as the imposition of a language and heritage with which they do not claim to be affiliated."

Participants' groups and friendships:

Gender and ethnicity are the two basic frames that shape social relations and social practices in the two schools. However, ethnicity is not a matter of biology or origins for the participants, rather an ability to speak a certain language. A person who is not Arab can be considered by the participants an in-group member if he is able to use Arabic. Members of a clique share – in addition to Arabic language – some interests, which could be local and related to the specific clique or universal and shared with other "cliques". Members of cliques and friendships share many similarities in terms of behavior and communication among themselves or in terms of the set of values and norms which shape their lives and identities. Deviation from the group's norms or behaving in ways that counter the expectations of the group is to invite punishment and rejection, and which can be manifested in bullying, ostracism, or violent disputes, depending on the level of deviation. Moreover, differences among "groups" in terms of being "school oriented" or "trouble-maker" or "tame-and obedient" are all meant to demonstrate the view that heterogeneity is the hallmark of bilinguals, and their bilingualism and "cultural hybridity" are enacted in various ways by each clique and each member.

A major concern for peer group was the need to conform to group norms, and such norms can be general and across the board like for example, to avoid telling on other pupils or to report their misconduct to teachers, or to ridicule an absent pupil. Norms can be seen as aspects of the group boundaries that regulate interactions between teachers and pupils, and interactions among pupils themselves. It is particularly the norm of not reporting misconduct to teachers which was problematic and made it difficult for teachers to intervene in an effective way and in the proper

time. The fact that the pupils are bilinguals added insult to injury, in that switching to another language in disputes – a language which is incomprehensible by teachers – enabled the pupils to exclude teachers, and to transform the public sphere – classroom – into a private domain. Most often, switching to another language entailed a switch in the tone of voice from angry tone to a calm one, a strategy which made it possible for pupils to give the similitude of an ordinary conversation and as a cover that prevents an onlooker to detect that pupils are involved in a dispute. (This issue will be discussed in detail in part III).

Dixon and Smith (2011) argue that norms could be understood as an important aspect of the boundary that regulates and stabilizes relationships within and between groups. Using a socio-psychological perspective, they demonstrate the view that "children seek to be members of groups that are considered positively distinctive or comparatively superior to other groups, in order to enhance their self-esteem." (Dixon and Smith 2011: 51). However, in the context of the schools being investigated in this study, to be distinctive and superior does not necessarily entail an improvisation of academic achievement. Rather the opposite, many of the general norms which shape the groups and impact the identities of members are anti-academic, and these include frequent absenteeism[13], forgetting assignments and textbooks at home[14] , to be physically tough and daring to beat others[15] , to be cynical, and to be able to use derogatory and dirty terms.

Forming friendships based on ethnicity is another practice which shaped the boundary of groups especially among Arab boys. This norm was of less importance for girls, and we might find cliques which are composed of Somali and Arab girls. For the Arab groups in general, to be Somali or Dane is categorized as different, and as a member of a low status (Somali) in A, out-group (Danish) in B. Other norms were specific to particular cliques, and these specified who was in or out of a particular group. In the following, I will present the different friendships in the two schools, and sketch the characteristics that define each. Assessments of the groups are based on observations as to how they interact during their lessons and with whom they walk and talk during recess. It was not possible to group them into clusters before finishing with the fieldwork observations, as they all seemed to be one group and acting and interacting in harmony with each other, in time some of those who are members of a friendship were seated – purposefully – in separate corners of the classroom.

categories	**A – class divided into two ethnicities** **9 Arabs, 9 Somalis, 1 vietnamese. Pupils seated around tables in groups of**	**B- More ethnicities are represented. 10 Arabs – 5 somalis – 5 Danes- 2 kurds – 1 Bosnian – pupils sit in rows of pairs on each desk**	**Traits – norms - practices**

[13] I was present in school A for 32 days over a span of five months; some participants were recorded absent for 8 days of these 32 days. In school B, I was present for 24 days over a span of five months, and the highest record of absenteeism is 3 days.

[14] This is a common norm among them all, except for the very few who were dubbed as "nerds". Sometimes teachers found that the greatest majority in the class do not have their assignments with them, or forgot their text-books at home, in time the teaching design could be dependent on the assignments, and so teachers would lose temper and send pupils home to bring the assignments. Some pupils would make it and return to school by the end of the lesson, others would arrive late for the next class, and they have an alibi: teacher sent me home to bring my assignment.

[15] To be aggressive towards others physically was very common among the boys in school A, and mostly this aggressiveness is waged against members of their class (boys and girls). In school B, I witnessed only verbal and conditional threats exclusively by Arab boys towards members from other classes which didn't materialize into physical violence.

	four – indoor groups (during lessons) and outdoor groups (during recess) are different.	**facing the blackboard – indoor groups and outdoor groups are the same.**	
Dominant boys	Mahir – Osama - Adham	Ihsan -Anas –Monir - Malik - Jamal	Interest in rap music – interruption of the process of teaching – unserious about group work – hostile and can easily be dragged into verbal and physical violence – orientation to a hierarchy with Adham and Ihsan as group leaders – impolite with teachers – they are considered "cool" by the girls – they mostly exploit others to do their class work (e.g., copying)
Disciplined boys	Musa – Abbas	1 Arab – 4 Danish boys	Motivated – disciplined – school work and activities taken seriously – polite with teachers – no physical violence – they are not seen as "cool" by the girls- some of them are dubbed as "nerds".
Dominant girls	Ilham + Somali girls (all wear Hijab)	Yosra, Inas, (Rola Kurd), none wears Hijab	Some of the Somali girls in A attend special class to improve their Danish – they are in general disciplined, and they participate in class work and activities, but in many occasions they spend time allocated for activity in gossips – they do not orient to a hierarchy among themselves – they show readiness to cooperate with other girls -
Tame girls	Ikhlas – Zaina – (Aya Somali) all wear Hijab and attend special class to improve their Danish. They attend Quran schools in the weekends.	Manal (Father Arab and mother German); Erina (Bosnian); Tina (Danish) none wears Hijab	They are mostly calm and quite; they never volunteer to talk unless the teacher asks them; they might work seriously in group work, but their teachers believe that they need to work harder.
	Noha:		a loner – ridiculed by peers – not school motivated – copies assignments – acts like boys (using derogatory terms) – spends recess with girls from other classes – wears Hijab
Hijab clique	All girls in A wear Hijab	Basma + 2 somali girls	School motivated – work seriously – cooperate with other groups – polite with teachers – academically better than the dominant girls.

As the above schema might show, friendship choices might extend beyond ethnicity in exceptional circumstances, and mostly among girls, as it is the case with the "hijab clique", where it

seems that the girls are attracted to each other because they are the only ones wearing headscarves. Most of the norms of "coolness" are anti-academic in school A: noise, forgetting school materials (texts books, assignments, etc.) frequent absenteeism, cheating and copying, lack of motivation to work on different activities, and wasting time on music and non-academic matters. High status boys are trouble makers and are less oriented to school. There is no doubt that such dominant norms and practices can be associated with low academic achievement. In school B, multitasking (in the sense of studying and listening to music) is not allowed, absenteeism is not as frequent as in A; copying and cheating exist but to a lesser degree, and the same goes for forgetting books. High status boys are not necessarily trouble makers; rather they could be school oriented and very polite in dealing with teachers (like Ihsan). If identity is "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (Kroskrity 2000: 111), non-linguistic signs and social practices can be also regarded as markers that reveal affiliation. The schema above about the different groups is meant to show the set of identities available for the pupils in the two schools, and the degree that these social identities can enhance the process of learning. In fact, the available identities in school A seem to be on two extremes, either very tough and rude and academically unfit, or very meek and submissive and socially unfit. The same can be said of the available identities in school B, though the girls seem to be tougher than the boys, the boys are less aggressive than those in A but they can be verbally violent and at times impolite in dealing with teachers. The schema of the different groups is also meant to highlight the implication of mixing in-group and out-group members to accomplish a school task, and the way different participants react to such a policy of group-formation. These implications will be highlighted further in the next chapter, as we take a look at the processes of socialization and the participants' categorizations.

Part II - Ethnographic Description

Chapter 4 – social practices, relations, and categorizations

This chapter describes aspects of the social world of the participants as situated in two school environments. The study as a whole contributes to an understanding of why the educational attainment of "minority children" is low and results in very high dropout rates from vocational schools and in an inability to acquire a sufficient reading and writing proficiency to complete an upper secondary education successfully (e.g., Colding 2005). The chapter can be also a necessary background for the actual interactional analyses in part III. This chapter starts with a review of the previous research on this subject, and the factors that were considered barriers to educational progression among minority children. A great deal of this research argues that minorities' shortcomings are embedded in governmental policies, majority discourses as well as school policies. This research deals with power relations that govern the relationship between the majority and the minority, and argues that the majority's dominant discourses transpire into actual practices of marginalizing minority children and their cultures on a micro school level (e.g., Gilliam 2007, 2008; El-Haj 2010; Jaffe-Walter 2013). The current study, however, reports the same practices and problems mentioned in previous studies, and argues that the negative school experience of some minorities is embedded in broader social problems that go beyond the arguments concerned with a hegemonic majority trying to assimilate or dominate a weak minority. Minority as well as majority teachers asserted that it is the home environment that is responsible for the anti-academic practices of the participants and that parents are completely absent from the school experience of their children, a notion that was stressed in recent studies (e.g., Mehlbyte et al 2011; Colding 2005). A close look at the practices of the participants while engaged in group work reveals that the problems are concerned with social relations among the minority children themselves, and the nature of the problems can be hardly attributed to notions of dominant majority teachers who attempt to marginalize minority pupils. Moreover, an explication of the participants' ethnic and religious categories reveals some of the social problems that mark their school experience, in addition to their "contradictory behavior", and a pecking order that assigns to some groups an inferior position relative to others. When an Arab boy harasses an Arab girl or subdues and humiliates a Somali boy, the motivation can hardly be attributed to a majority that antagonizes minority children and leads them to adopt an oppositional aggressive identity that counters the school agenda.

Language policy studies: The assumption that considers' "bilingualism" as problematic is rejected by the mainstream researchers who have dealt with language related issues. Holmen (2003) and Jørgensen (2008) report in connection with their observations in the Køge project that "despite the efforts to meet the needs of all children in the classroom, very little second-language (Turkish) instruction took place….there was no attempt to make connections between mother-tongue instruction and the activities in the mainstream classroom". Instruction in the mother-tongue was banned in 2001 and replaced with Danish as a second language as Denmark's politicians launched a

crusade to enhance the majority language. Holmen (2008) also points out that exam forms and criteria of evaluation are the same for monolinguals and bilinguals. The question how bilinguals perform in the educational system is usually answered from the perspective of Danish as a mother-tongue, without taking into consideration the bilinguals' second language/minority language. Linguists in general (Møller, Holmen, Jørgensen 2014) have proposed a new term that describes the linguistic situation in Denmark – namely polylingualism instead of multilingualism or bilingualism. They argue that "the reality of life in late modern schools is that it is linguistically super diverse. A wide range of linguistic resources are available and have currency in the interactions among students...In an urban school in Denmark we can expect to encounter linguistic features associated with at least the "languages" called Danish, French, German, English, Arabic, Turkish…". This reality is countered by governmental policies and school policies which consider schools as language institutions and "are still thought of as vehicles for the development of the majority language among the youth, and in the second instance as instruments for the teaching of selected other individual "languages", mostly European languages. The schools also measure their success by the degree to which they succeed in producing students who can interact orally and in writing, by using only features associated with the majority language (Møller, Jørgensen and Holmen 2014)". Many linguists call for the integration and inclusion of mother-tongue education in the school curricula, as they consider that mother-tongue teaching has a positive effect on knowledge acquired at school in general (Cummins 2000; 2003).

The first interpretation for the minorities' shortcomings is, thus, explained by arguing that majority schools in Denmark do not follow policies that are meant to promote balanced bilingualism. Balanced bilingualism can be defined as the development of competence and fluency in speaking, thinking, reading, and writing equivalently in the two languages (Cummins 2000). The consequence of not promoting minority languages on minority children is that balanced bilingualism is a goal that can never be achieved. The child's native language is a good foundation on which to build the second language (Jørgensen 1998; Holmen & Risager 2003; Cummins 2003). The absence of this foundation leads to underachievement in the majority language among minority children. Negligence of the home language leads the minority child to absorb negative attitudes and low self-esteem towards their home language and culture (Jørgensen 1998; Cummins 2003). These negative attitudes are a consequence of the dominant discourses of the majority society. There are also indications in the research that fully bilingual and biliterate individuals benefit more from being bilingual than persons who are haphazardly or partially bilingual. Denmark's policy regarding minority languages leads to this partial and haphazard acquisition of minority languages.

Bilingualism is closely related to biculturalism. Speaking two languages leads to the development of bicultural identity, a hybrid of two cultures, in addition to the development of norms regarding when, with whom, and where bilinguals use each of their languages. Children who attend schools that do not value their mother-tongue tend to learn early that the language of school is the one that holds power (Jørgensen 2008; 1998); as a result they become dominant in their second language (as it is the case of the bilinguals of this study). Promoting the majority language only leads to a form of subtractive bilingualism where children feel pressured to assimilate by using their native language less and less (Jørgensen 2008 ; Cummins 2000, 2003). As Cummins

points out, children in this case become passive first-language bilinguals, able to understand but not use their native language. Moreover, when speaking the majority language is the key to achieving school success in addition to social success and economic success in the mainstream society, motivation to retain one's first language dwindles and might lead to rapid loss of bilingualism. Nevertheless, despite these policies, as we will see there also exists at least a local policy of minority language use in classroom activities. A question then is whether and in which way such language use supports academic learning (see chapters 6 and 7).

Culture and identity studies: Another strand of research concerned with minority children in mainstream schools focused on identity issues. It is important to mention here that one line of sociolinguistic research is concerned with dialect/identity without taking the school experience of minority children into consideration. In the multiple studies of linguistic practices in Denmark and Scandinavia, Svendsen and Quist (2010) distinguish between the "variety approach" and "practice approach". The former is concerned with finding a variety or varieties among young speakers, which might run parallel to other mainstream varieties, and which might involve what Quist (2005) calls "Multiethnolect", or even Rampton's "crossing" when members of the majority use the minority dialect(s). It is in a way "an attempt to give a formal description of a variety or speech style in relation to a standard language (Svendsen and Quist 2010: XVI); the latter analyzes the ways speakers create and negotiate meaning in interaction. The two approaches seem to lump speakers of different non-majority languages under the category of "foreigners", and are consequently treated as a homogeneous group, who speak a dialect that deviates from the majority. Members of the majority can also be members of these ethnic groups when they show social and linguistic affiliations with these minority groups. In other words, stylistic social practices and stylistic language practices among different ethnic groups cluster together and shape the identity of the speakers and their language repertoires. The process can be also seen as a correlation of social variables with linguistic variables (Maegaard 2010); (Quist 2005); (Rickford et al 1991). A recurrent finding in these studies is that speaking a different dialect or language is not a sign of poorly acquired skills in the majority language, rather deviations are considered as deliberate from the side of the minority groups and a way to show allegiance with their ethnic/social group and to distance themselves from the majority society. In relation to the interaction analyses in chapters (6,7,8,9) the question becomes thus whether and how the participants in classroom interaction, when using Arabic can be thought to display an orientation to a social group. In other words, are pupils first and foremost orienting to a sociological makeup of the classroom or does the use of Arabic, in relation to the issue raised above, also have an academic purpose?

The other line of identity research is mostly conducted in schools and attempts to provide answers for the bilinguals' underachievement. This research focuses on systematic processes of marginalization imposed upon the minority children/youth. This marginalization leads to the formation of identities among minority children that essentially counter the expectations of the school and the majority society in general (Gilliam 2006, 2007, 2008; Jaffe-Walter 2013; Abu El-Haj 2010). In her research of minority children in majority schools, Gilliam (2006; 2007) considers that minority children are marginalized by the school system and the society in general and that many children are, thus, pushed to adopt aggressive and tough identity forms as a strategy to create

borders between themselves and the entity/entities that is believed to be marginalizing them. What the pupils and the teachers experience – according to Gilliam - is that minority boys (grade 4/6) are troublemakers compared with the Danish ethnic boys who are perceived by the school and the pupils as disciplined and smart. Teachers on one hand perceive "troublemaking" as related to the minority pupils' religion/culture/ ethnicity, and in terms of a cultural clash between minority pupils' homes and the Danish school. Against this attitude, Gilliam argues that the pupils' troublemaking and religious beliefs are cultural forms which have been constructed through their experiences in the school and in relation to the power relations of majority vs. minority. In other words, to be a Muslim immigrant boy has become an oppositional identity which finds its cultural contents through opposition to the Danish identity. According to this line of thought, the Danish school could be a medium that recycles the political biased discourse which considers minorities, their languages and cultures as problems. Danish schools are portrayed as institutions that attempt to enhance what is considered Danish practices and Danish culture. Consequently, minority children construct their identities in relation to power relations that have been established by the categories created by the teachers who belong to the dominant culture, and who have preconceived ideas regarding the categorization of some practices as representing "mainstream" or "normal" and other practices as deviant. Gilliam, thus, argues that minorities' oppositional practices are comprised of countering what the school attempts to enhance and normalize. For example, minority children abstain from volunteering to answer the questions asked by teachers; they do not provide the right answer when asked; they do not need to appease the teachers who are Danes and who do not praise them or credit them; they do not speak the standard Danish which the Danish teachers demand; and they have ceased to show or display their abilities. As a result, these children are either silent or false or oppositional. According to this argument, teachers do not deal with minority children as individuals, rather as stereotypes. Consequently, minority children attempt to empower themselves by adopting an Islamic identity which can be considered an alternative to the Danish identity, and basically an oppositional identity which is centered around "hard masculinity". On one hand, an Islamic identity is likely to wield power to the minority child as it transcends nationality and embraces the Somali, Arab, Turk, Pakistani etc. and transforms them into a majority in the classroom. On the other hand, this identity is not necessarily characterized by being "religious", rather by being oppositional to the Danish identity. In other words, whatever a white Danish pupil is, the Muslim child has to define himself/herself in oppositional terms and practices. Doing homework and assignments, being disciplined, speaking the standard mainstream dialect and language, being praised and recognized by teachers, etc. are all Danish practices that have to be avoided by a "Muslim" as such practices, according to Gilliam, are associated and defined by these boys in gender terms that resemble "weakness" and akin to acting like "girls". Minority girls in Gilliam study are not troublemakers, rather they were considered "sweet" by their Danish peers, and by the teachers, which makes it difficult to understand the reasons why minority females are not pushed to adopt an oppositional identity against the entity that discriminates against them.

The forms of marginalization – according to Gilliam - that minority children experience in the Danish school are summarized in such practices related to religious festivities; for example celebrating Christmas and Easter with tree and eggs, and not showing a similar concern to the

minorities' festivities like Ramadan and Eid. Moreover, minorities' practices e.g., avoiding bathing or camping, are perceived by the school staff as problems that have to be solved rather than as practices that must be respected. Gilliam, thus, concludes that troublemaking should not be seen as a result of cultural clash related to differences in upbringing forms between Danish children and Muslim/minority children, rather troublemaking is an identity marker that minority children adopt in order to show opposition to the majority school and majority peers, and it is a consequence of marginalization. Unbalanced power relations in the school lead minority children to adopt an oppositional identity. Gilliam, however, does not provide an explanation as to why minority girls do not adopt an identity that is meant to be oppositional to the practices of marginalization of the Danish school.

Jaffe-Walter (2013) follows Gilliam's method of analysis as she zooms in on classroom discourses where she pinpoints some practices by Danish teachers that result in the marginalization of Muslim immigrant girls. She calls these practices "practices of concern" and she defines them as "practices that seemingly are meant to be liberal, but actually position youth within hierarchical schemes of racial and cultural difference that complicate their access to educational resources in schools". The Muslim participants of Jaffe-Walter's study refer to the biased discourses that the Danish media deals with and which position immigrants as a threat to the national community. Jaffe-Walter shows how teachers translate the macro-national discourses into normal processes of racism – in a micro classroom level - in their attempt to assimilate Muslim minorities. According to Jaffe-Walter, teachers resort to the use of universalized ideas of what is "right and good, cloaking national processes of normalization coercion within neoliberal discourses of freedom, democracy and equality." These practices and discourses that result in the marginalization of Muslim immigrants in schools can be taken as examples of the failure of the programs that are meant to integrate immigrants and minorities in the West. The dominant discourses about Muslims in the society become practical practices of intervention by the teachers who attempt – through interventionist discourses – to help the oppressed Muslim girls wearing headscarves to find their way towards freedom. Like Gilliam, Jaffe-Walter exposes the teachers as "fanatics" and "fundamentalists" about their Danish ideals and values which repel the values and ideals of Muslims. Jaffe-Walter provides the following discourses as examples of what motivates teachers to intervene: 1- that muslim girls are oppressed in their families – 2- that they are not allowed to choose their husbands – 3- that the headscarf is imposed on them 4- that males are dominant and girls are submissive to the men of their families 5- and the assumption that Muslim girls can never be Danes as long as they reject premarital sex. Interviews with the girls showed that the girls were wearing headscarves by choice and they were aware that teachers disapproved of their cultural and religious behavior (we are not told what are these cultural and religious practices). Many teachers were frustrated about the absence of the Muslim girls when the school makes trips to other cities and considered that Muslim families push them to not participate, while the girls explained that they don't like to participate because in such trips they do not offer Halal food. The conclusion that Jaffe-Walter makes is that such assumptions and practices by the teachers lead the immigrant Muslim girls to avoid asking for help from their teachers, and to withdraw from social interactions with peers and develop low profiles as a strategy to protect themselves. Thus, these girls missed a

valuable resource of socialization as teachers' discourses and practices marginalized them and considered them as "others".

Abu El haj (2010) is concerned with Muslims in the United States and she has inspired Jaffe-Walter to investigate issues concerned with marginalizing Muslim immigrant girls in Denmark. Abu El-Hajj's (2010) investigation is done within the context of the war on terror and in the wake of 9/11 terror attacks that were accompanied by Islamophobic political discourses. As a result of these discourses, Muslim students were construed as "potential enemy", "aliens", and "outsiders" who potentially pose a threat to the American system. Educators in the process translated the political discourse into real practices of education that are meant to enhance the U.S agenda as an imperial power and to spread American ideals and values with the consideration that such values and ideals are universal. Much of the analysis is based on Edward Said's (1979) notions of how the Western man perceives the Orient. A perception that is established on notions of opposition: the Western man is educated, the other (Muslim) is backward, the former is liberal and democratic, the latter is oppressive and violent, etc. Such a perception considers the "Immigrant" as an outsider whose values clash with the values of the civilized world. The researcher here used an interventionist approach, as she disseminated her participants' stories into a wider audience. Discrimination against Palestinian boys in schools – according to Abu El-hajj – is to be seen in the practices of suspending and expelling Palestinians and Muslims as a result of dominating images of Arabs as terrorists. In this context, teachers perceived that American national identity involves "individual freedom, tolerance and political liberty" and these reign supreme against Muslims who stand for "cultural captivity, intolerance, and political oppression". Thus, teachers imagined that females are hindered to achieve individual freedom because of their religious beliefs, and so their mission was about freeing them. These teachers considered that not wearing a hijab was a choice Muslim girls made, whereas wearing one was viewed as an imposition. Tolerance was translated into a policy of intolerance towards Muslims and Palestinians. Teachers were tolerant towards all the students and attempted to create a cultural diversity – a salad bowl – where students can celebrate the flags of their nations and countries of origin in public festivals, without allowing Palestinians to raise their flag. This line of research generally stereotypes the majority institutions and blames them for institutional discrimination, while teachers are portrayed as essentially racists and fanatics masquerading in liberal outfit.

One final explanation to the bilinguals' underachievement can be seen in Mariane Hedegaard's (2005) study, where she investigates conflicts in value positions between home and school, and how minority students (Turkish) resort to various strategies whenever their home values clash with the Danish school demand. Like Gilliam and Jaffe-Walter, Hedegaard finds out that her informants show no opposition to Danish culture and that some teachers are "racists". One problem that the young people encounter in the school is the feeling of stigmatization when their Turkish background is described. Hedegaard's study is not about minorities' underachievement in schools, rather about the strategies employed by the minority students – who are basically motivated and school oriented - when they are faced with opposing demands from school and parents. The strategies employed depend on the kind of conflicts they experience between school and home. She identifies three strategies for dealing with conflict: 1- active pattern breaking: where the student

alternates between two ways of handling their daily problems .i.e., students attempt to defend themselves against being humiliated by their teachers and classmates, and to qualify themselves for further education. 2- alternating between being Danish and Turkish, where one is Turkish at home, and becomes a Dane when he/she leaves home. 3- becoming quiet and withdrawn, as she gives the example of a girl whose parents did not allow her to participate in swimming lessons or in overnight camps; such parental demands are left for the girl to negotiate with the school, teachers, and classmates. This turns into a burden for the student, who finds "withdrawal" from the social life of the school as a solution.

To conclude this paragraph, there is a clear tendency among the academic circles in Denmark to answer the question concerned with the bilinguals' underachievement by blaming the political hegemonic discourse that has deliberately marginalized minorities and their cultures. In what follows, I will provide a description of the social life of Arab Danish bilinguals in mainstream schools. The description of the participants' social world and their practices might overlap with the description provided by the aforementioned studies. However, there is nothing in the data of this study that shows that the participants' practices are a consequence of majority oppression and discrimination. I will argue that there are other factors that impact the bilinguals' in a negative way, and the matter is not only about the discrimination of the "majority" against the "minority".

Cooperative learning and Pupil-Teacher Relationships:

I followed six graders over a period of 5 months (a total of 32 days in school A, and 24 days in school B), and made observations while they were engaged in various school activities, and with different teachers. The study reported here draws mostly on the data recorded during sessions of collaborative learning. Based on the ethnographic observation in the two classrooms, a lesson typically starts with a fronted session, where pupils are seated around a table in groups of four (A) or facing the teacher on desks of pairs (B). The teacher starts by checking absentees, followed by few minutes where the teacher provides a synopsis of the day's agenda and activities. Very often, the teacher might begin with a warming-up session which might typically include a question-answer format regarding the latest news pupils have read or heard of. Usually, pupils refer to local issues related to the ghetto, national, as well as international events. This warming-up session lasts for few minutes – or sometimes might extend into a lecture about the need to maintain discipline and order in the class if the teacher feels that pupils are misbehaving and not paying attention. Although such sessions are characterized by discipline and order, many pupils would find ways to whisper to each other, or talk without taking permission, or even interrupt a speaker, transforming in a way the "institutional" public sphere into a private domain where all languages can be used. This 5 -15 minutes introductory part of the lesson is followed by collaborative learning design, where the teacher divides the class into different groups, or sometimes considers those seated around one desk as a group. Groups, then, are assigned a specific task, where each member is usually told to contribute to the task in a specific way (for example, a member reads a text, another summarizes it, a third provides definitions for difficult terms, a fourth provides a title). This teaching technique takes sometimes more than 90% of the time allocated for a lesson. Assigning pupils into different groups was mostly decided by the teachers in school A, and they mostly chose to mix boys and

girls, and to include the two major ethnicities (Arabs and Somalis) in each group. No matter how the pupils were scrambled, they always ended up with a possibility to switch into languages other than Danish. The groups were sometimes comprised of four or five pupils, and other times two. These same procedures apply to school B, except that the pupils themselves decided who to include in their groups. Given the choice, boys always chose to be with boys, and girls with girls, and those belonging to the same ethnic group usually clustered together with some exceptions as girls did not seem to have problems in mixing with girls from other ethnicities. Thus, members of the groups in school A were all the time changing, whereas in school B, the same members formed the groups again and again. Quite often, teachers chose to start the day by showing a movie that might have some relevance to the pupils' lessons, instead of conducting a traditional lesson. This description of group formation provides a platform and a context for most of the interactions that take place among peers and between pupils and teachers.

According to Barkley et al. (2005: 4) "collaborative learning has come to mean students working in pairs or small groups to achieve shared learning goals. It is learning through group work rather than learning by working alone"[16]. This kind of activity is sometimes referred to as cooperative learning, team learning, group learning, or peer-assisted learning.[17] According to Barkley et al. (2005) effective collaborative learning must include the following features: 1- intentional design, 2- co-laboring which means that all pupils must contribute more or less equally, and 3- meaningful learning takes place in that the task assigned to the group must be structured to accomplish the learning objectives of the course. The authors point out that it is not collaborative learning if one group member completes a group task while the others simply watch, nor it is collaborative learning if pupils are not achieving intended instructional goals. The need to pinpoint the factors that render a collaborative design into a meaningless strategy or even worse into a form of destructive communication is necessary because in many group-formations in the two schools, the conditions for cooperation seem to be lacking. Specialists in the field of education are aware of what group learning entails, and we see for example Karl Smith (1996) pointing out to some common misunderstandings about the nature of cooperative learning:

> Many faculty who believe they are using cooperative learning are in fact missing its essence. There is a crucial difference between simply putting students in groups to learn and structuring cooperation among students. Cooperation is not having students sit side by side at the same table to talk with one another as they do their individual assignments. Cooperation is not assigning a report to a group of students, on which one student does all the work and the others put their names. Cooperation is not having students do a task individually and then having the ones who finish first help the slower students. Cooperation is much more than being physically near other students, discussing material with other students, or sharing material among students, although each of these is important in cooperative learning (Smith 1996: 74)

The aforementioned points reveal some of the culprits that might pop up in connection with cooperative learning as a teaching method. Cooperation is not about dealing with irrelevant issues while doing the assignment. It is neither reliance on one group member nor competition as to who

[16] Another definition by Smith (1996, P 71) "the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each others' learning."
[17] See for example *Cooperative learning* Kagan (2009)

would finish first. Unfortunately, such culprits characterize the group work in the two schools in various ways. Participants in the two schools seem to have mastered so many strategies that would necessarily disrupt the intricate design of collaborative learning, and thus make it impossible for the teachers to achieve the learning objectives. In a way, they manipulate this teaching strategy in order to waste time and not to focus on the assignment they have in hand. Even when they decide to work on the assignment, they do not do it in a way of cooperation, rather in a way of dependence, in that there is usually a member in the group – or even in another group - who is keen to do the assignment, and who would permit everyone to copy the answers. The time allocated for collaborative learning is usually spent in various ways: listening to music, fighting, arguing, singing, gossiping, but not working – especially in school A. In the following examples, we see some practical problems in the application of cooperative learning technique.

A group of girls are seated together in an empty classroom and they are assigned the task of answering questions related to their history lesson collaboratively. They were instructed to read specific pages, and to compare their answers and reach an agreement. At the end of the lesson, the questions would be answered in the classroom collectively with the rest of their classmates. (The girls represented in this episode are all Arabs; Teacher: Danish, Male). Example: (4.1)

1-Noha: Teacher↑ hvornår blev Rom e:h eh e::h gr- 2-Ilham: grundlagt 3-Noha: grundlagt↑ 4-Teacher: det har jeg snakket med Ikhlas om 5-(Teacher leaves the class) 6-Noha: Ikhlas *sho↑ u:h↑* (looks at what Ikhlas writes) (2.0) 7-Ikhlas: du må ikke kigge efter (hides her paper) 8-Noha: han sagde du skulle sige det til mig 9-Ikhlas: nej jeg sagde ikke. Du skal [finde det. 10-Noha: [*abbossi laik ma aznakha↑*	1-Noha: Teacher↑ when was Rome e:h eh e::h fou- 2-Ilham: founded 3-Noha: founded↑ 4-Teacher: I've talked about that with Ikhlas 5- (Teacher leaves the class) 6-Noha: Ikhlas *what↑what↑* (looks at what Ikhlas writes) (2.0) 7-Ikhlas: you shouldn't look (hides her paper) 8-Noha: he said you have to say it to me 9-Ikhlas: no I did not say. you must [find it. 10-Noha: [*abbossi see how annoying she is↑* (*abbossi* possibly derived from Abasa ="to frown")

(from left: Ilham, Noha, Ikhlas). Teacher standing.

Noha: Teacher↑ when was Rome e:h eh e::h fou- (1)

The episode can be seen as an illustration of the way in which teachers keep moving from one group to another to assist the pupils while doing the task. Noha in (1) asks the teacher a question which he seems to have already answered (4), but for some reason Noha didn't pay attention to Ikhlas when she asked the question (although she is sitting by Ikhlas' side). Line (4) can be also perceived as a form of directing Noha to discuss the answer with Ikhlas. Noha pursues the answer, as she attempts to copy it, and asks Ikhlas about it (6) but she is shunned away by Ikhlas (7 – 9). The sequence ends as Noha assesses Ikhlas' behavior as annoying.

The way the girls are doing the task is not what the teacher has prescribed, nor what he is expecting from them. In fact, Noha violates the requirements of the cooperative learning technique in at least

three ways: a- she asks the teacher about a direct answer, in time she is supposed to discuss the possible answer with the group after reading; b- she attempts to copy the answer (which is not what the group work is all about); c- and she tries to extract the answer from Ikhlas by lying/deception and by assuming that the teacher gave the directive to Ikhlas to provide her with the answer (8). One might read this snippet differently, and might assume that Noha is a dedicated pupil, who is seeking answers for the task, and she is actively trying to collaborate with her peer Ikhlas, but Ikhlas is not cooperating. In the two cases, the snippet demonstrates how pupils transform cooperative learning techniques into a platform for disputes and a site for disagreements. One might also assume that an episode like this (which is 12 seconds in total) is not an enough evidence that the cooperative group work will proceed like this for the entire time allocated for the lesson. However, no matter from where we take an extract from this 65 minutes video, the beginning, middle or end, we are likely to find a dispute going on between the girls. To understand the lack of cooperation in this group work, we can refer to the notion of cliques and that Ikhlas is not part of the clique who is seated on one desk. During recess, for example, Ikhlas never hangs out with Noha and Ilham. Noha and Ilham are not really exerting an effort to answer the questions, and they are in fact multitasking (wearing headphones and listening to music, and that's why Noha couldn't hear the teacher's explanation when Ikhlas asked the question). Ikhlas, on the other hand, is the one who is reading and attempting to do the assignment and her resistance shows her orientation to the unfairness of distributing her effort on the rest of the girls who are acting parasitically, rather than symbiotically. The problem is, thus, situated in social issues that pertain to the girls involved and is embedded in group formation which is in this instance imposed by the teacher without taking into consideration that the girls have frictions among themselves.

Multitasking is another problem, where in many cases teachers give the permission to pupils to listen to music or even to browse the internet while they are doing a school task, which might entail a dispersed and unfocused attention. If we assume that such a form of interaction will go on throughout the entire period allocated for the lesson, it will logically follow that the task will not be carried out properly as the teacher has prescribed, and consequently, the involved girls' academic achievement will not go unscathed. The next episode is extracted from the same video, towards the end of the lesson. Example: (4.2)

1-Noha: Ikhlas du kan ikke. skrive sætning *min awala* 2-Ikhlas: (angrily) Noha *MA KHASSIK INTI* 3-Noha: jamen hvad du skrev var forkert 4-Ikhlas: *ma khassik* 5-Noha: [okay slap af 6-Ikhlas:[Jeg skal nok skrive det ud *ma khassik* 7-Noha: slap af, jeg siger det bare til dig (2.5) 8-Ikhlas: nu ved jeg ikke hvor jeg er nået til, tak, tusind tak 9-Noha: jo jeg ved godt hvor du er nået til (1.5) *hiyaha hon* (0.5) efter punktummet. 10-Ikhlas: Nej jeg er nået til seksten. 11-Noha: *hiya* herfra og herfra blevet 12-Ikhlas: OKAY.	1-Noha: Ikhlas you can't. write the sentence *from the start* 2-Ikhlas: (angrily) Noha *IT'S NOT YOUR BUSINESS* 3-Noha: well what you wrote was wrong 4-Ikhlas: *not your business* 5-Noha:[alright relax 6-Ikhlas[I will write it *it's not your business* 7-Noha: relax I'm just saying it to you (2.5) 8-Ikhlas: now I don't know where I have reached, thanks, thanks a lot. 9-Noha: yes I know where you have reached (1.5) *there it is* (0.5) after the dot. 10-Ikhlas: no I've reached to sixteen. 11-Noha: *here it is* from here and from here being 12-Ikhlas: ALRIGHT.


Ikhlas: Noha *IT'S NOT YOUR BUSINESS (2)*

The girls maintain the same methods of opposing each other. While Noha keeps intruding from time to time to copy the answers, Ikhlas keeps resisting her and doesn't pay heed to what she suggests (2 – 4 -6). Noha in this instance modifies her method to copy the answers as she assumes the role of the teacher who can guide and offer help to others, and this can be seen in the series of directives (1 – 3 – 7 -9 -11). Ikhlas' final "alright" (12) with a raised volume is almost equivalent to "shut up", a further demonstration of her inclination to get rid of Noha's constant intrusions in her business.

These vignettes are meant to highlight features of classroom group-work which might be correlated with the bilinguals' lack of achievement and shortcomings. Moreover, the two examples shed light on forms of disputes that are motivated by social factors as well as specific teaching techniques, namely, cooperative learning. Rather than assuming that the problem is concerned with "discrimination" or some macro-political discourse that marginalizes bilinguals, the problem here is situated within the notion of social relations among minority children, and perhaps their conduct can be taken as a sign of lacking the motivation to cooperate and concentrate on an academic school activity. In terms of language alternation, the two examples demonstrate that the participants' code of communication is a mixed one, with Danish being the default language of use, while Arabic expressions are tagged to the beginning or the end of a Danish clause.

The aforementioned culprits are not the sole instigators of deviation in the process of group-work technique. Many of the disputes and disagreements among group members ensued due to the teachers' policy – especially in A – of distributing female pupils among male groups to achieve heterogeneity, or mixing pupils from different ethnicities without taking into consideration the uneasy relations that characterize the relationship among the different ethnicities[18]. In the following example from school A, we see a sketch of how a collaborative technique can turn into a destructive process of communication among members of the group. The snippet involves two boys, Adham and Musa, and one girl, Ilham, in addition to their teacher Asma. From the start, Ilham shows reluctance to cooperate with the two boys, and prior to the transcript below, Ilham asks her teacher twice to place her in a group of girls, but her requests are denied. In fact, the girl shows feelings of dissatisfaction and even an inability to cooperate with the two boys simply because the two boys bombard her with sexual comments which amount to sexual harassment. She does not inform the

[18] Barkley et al. (2004: 54) argue that "distributing minority or female students among groups in order to achieve heterogeneity can isolate them, putting them into the position of being the sole representative of their group. This can be detrimental to their academic success because they can become marginalized, placed in stereotypical roles, and not permitted to flourish…Homogeneous grouping offers advantages for some kinds of learning activities. …pupils who have common characteristics may feel sufficiently at ease with each other to discuss or explore highly sensitive or personal issues….have similar level of knowledge …satisfaction increases when groups are homogeneous."

teacher about their behavior because this will turn her into a telltale, and pupils in general maintain a rule of not involving teachers in their disputes. The group fails to accomplish the task assigned to them, and they spend more than one hour fighting and quarrelling verbally and in some instances their disputes escalate into physical violence, where Ilham is physically beaten, and yet the boys do all of this without being apprehended. Below we see how the teacher is pushing Ilham to do her duty as she argues for the practice of mixing boys and girls, and Ilham is not only resisting, but begging the teacher to include another female in the group, or even to place her in a group of girls. Example (4.3):

1-Asma: det kan ikke passe at det er så SVÆRT↑ KOM NU↑ 2-Ilham: okay↑ sådan her i ehm okay 3-Asma: du kigger på den 4-Ilham: det er så irriterende at arbejde med to drenge Asma (.) jeg kan ikke 5-Musa: [punktum punktum punktum] 6-Asma: [jeg regner med at du er] en stærk pige (.) det her det gider jeg ikke Ilham 7-Ilham: det kan jeg ikke (.) jeg er ikke stærk pige 8-Asma: det skal du, så skal du være stærk. hvis du ikke er stærk til noget 9-Ilham: [jeg vil ikke være] stærk 10-Musa: [hun er bare slap] 11-Asma: smid den tyggegummi ud så bliver du stærkere i [hvertfald] 12-Ilham: [ne:::j↑] 13-Adham: hvis det var amino hun var ligeglad,[hun vil gerne arbejde. 14-Musa: [amina er stærk 15-Ilham: jeg er ikke amina 16-Musa: så være ligesom hende 17-Ilham: Asma må jeg ikke være sammen me::d eh sara og zaina to piger? 18-Musa: nej 19-Asma: hvad er der med dig↑ fald til ro:↑ 20-Ilham: [jamen kan det ikke være en pige gruppe↑] 21-Asma: [fald til ro: fald til ro: du skal bare]du skal bare tænke jeg er ligeglad om det er piger eller drenge, jeg skal bare arbejde med dem (.)sådan skal det være. Jeg arbejder også med morten, han er en mand og jeg er en kvinde, skal jeg sige nej jeg vil ikke have timer med morten fordi han er en mand. SÆT DIG NED VÆRSGO: TAGE DIG SAMMEN ILHAM tage dig sammen 22-Musa: (to Ilham) du er altid [inviteret] 23-Ilham: [jeg har tag] et mig sammen (1.0) okay	1-Asma: it can not be right that it is so HARD↑ START NOW ↑ 2-Ilham: okay ↑ like this in ehm alright 3-Asma: You are looking at it 4-Ilham: it is so annoying to work with two boys Asma (.) I can not 5-Musa: [dot dot dot] 6-Asma: [I guess you are] a strong girl (.) This thing I do not want Ilham 7-Ilham: I can not (.) I am not strong girl 8-Asma: you have to, then you must be strong. if you are not strong in anything 9-Ilham: [I will not be] strong 10-Musa: [she's just careless] 11-Asma: throw the chewing-gum out (of your mouth) so you will be stronger [at least] 12-Ilham: [no:::↑] 13-Adham: if it were amino she did not care, [she would like to work. 14-Musa: [amina is strong 15-Ilham: I'm not amina 16-Musa: so be like her 17-Ilham: Asma may I be wi:::th eh sara and Zaina two girls? 18-Musa: no 19-Asma: what is it with you ↑ calm down: ↑ 20-Ilham: [Well, can it not be a female group ↑] 21-Asma: [calm down: calm down: you must just] you must just think I do not care if it's girls or boys, I just need to work with them (.) That's how it ought to be. I also work with morten, he is a man and I am a woman, should I say no I will not have work with morten because he is a man? SIT DOWN (.) here you go: GET A GRIP ILHAM get a grip 22-Musa: (to Ilham) you are always [invited] 23-Ilham: [I've got] a grip (1.0) alright

The analysis in some instances might reveal that the school staff – or teachers – could be part of the problem by applying a strict policy regarding group formation. My intention is not to criticize their policies or strategies of managing their classes. What matters for this study is to examine the unintended and unrecognized effects of forming heterogeneous groups, and how participants exploit such a policy as a resource to hide their misconduct and to deviate from the objectives of group work. Once again, the nature of the problem here is not related to the idea of being bilingual or monolingual, nor it is about notions concerned with a powerful majority subduing marginalized

minority. If we conceive the conduct of the group in terms of "harasser" and "victim", the two Arab boys are harassing an Arab girl, and again the problem is concerned with unbalanced power relations and social problems between boys and girls among the bilinguals. The teacher in this instance orients to the problem as pertaining to Ilham's feminine and coquettish manner of acting, and thus she targets such aspects related to "chewing a gum" (11) and invites Ilham to be stronger. We expect to see similar problems in monolingual domains. How the boys do this harassment, and how the girl manages to protect herself will be a topic in the coming chapters – where we will see how the boys make use of Arabic and Danish in their strategies – but the nature of the action here is "harassment", and one can do this in any language, and in various ways. It is clear that the teacher is interpreting Ilham's rejection to cooperate with the boys as pertaining to Ilham's whimsical attitude, and the two boys are intensifying this feeling by posing in front of the teacher as ignorant of why Ilham is rejecting to cooperate.

The point which must be stressed is that teachers are mostly unaware of what is really happening inside the groups, and it is usually the weak and the vulnerable that is scolded and blamed for disrupting the cooperative process of group work. Similar disruptions are likely to occur as a result of seating different ethnicities on one table. When the matter is related to ethnic issues, disputes and conflicts become violent, as pupils rely on the long history of co-existing with each other – in the school and in the broader community – and as they have a clear idea regarding their place in the pyramid of power.[19] Here again, the problem is concerned with unbalanced power relationships among the different minorities.

In the next episode, we see a typical way for how pupils spend the time during group-work. The group is comprised of two boys, Adham and Abbas, and they are doing an assignment on the computer in the corridor. Example (4.4):

1-Adham: hvis Teacher kommer sige det lige når hun går ud af døren ok↑ 2-Abbas: hvorfor↑ 3-Adham: så jeg kan gå ud af facebook 4-Abbas: oh: 5-Adham: ja:::↓ *shoo* oh::↑ Er du dum eller hvad↑ dum eller hvad↑ 6-Adham: (sings) <u>but tonight [I am loving you</u>: 7-Abbas: [hvis hun løber 8-Adham: lø:ber↑ 9-(the two boys laugh) 10-Adham: hehehe (sarcastic) *al* løber	1-Adham: if Teacher comes just tell me the moment she goes out of the door, alright ↑ 2-Abbas: why↑ 3-Adham: so I can log out of facebook 4-Abbas: oh: 5-Adham: ye:::s↓ *what* oh::↑ are you stupid or what↑ stupid or what↑ 6-Adham: (sings) <u>but tonight [I am loving you</u>: 7-Abbas: [(what if) she runs 8-Adham: ru:ns↑ 9-(the two boys laugh) 10-Adham: hehehe (sarcastic) *he said* run[20]

By applying cooperative learning as the principal method of teaching, pupils are in a way freed from the burden of competition which is likely to motivate the individual pupil to work seriously on an assignment. They work in the guise of cooperation, and what will be evaluated at the end is the group work and not the individual achievement. This is not meant to say that this teaching design should be banned, rather it is meant to find ways to deal with the problems related to this teaching design and which might be obscure for teachers. Working in the guise of cooperation simply creates a platform and a fertile ground for all kinds of disputes as we will see in the coming chapters.

[19] Socio-psychologists categorize such forms of bullying as *Bias* bullying, which involves victim who is a member of a particular group often marginalized or disadvantaged one, and it is different from bullying that targets victims based on individual characteristics. Bias bullying includes sexual bullying, racist teasing and name calling (See Dixon 2011: 30).
[20] The use of "he/she said + what a previous speaker mentioned" is a very common method among Arabs to criticize, satirize or ridicule what a participant utters.

Moreover, disruption that happens in the process of cooperation is a consequence of the pupils' actions as they work on their own and away from teachers' supervision. In fact, once a teacher comes to the scene, pupils pretend to work seriously. The equation is simple, in the presence of authority, pupils act in a way that would appease the authority. Once the authority is away, pupils leave no stone unturned to transgress. Furthermore, the instances mentioned above indicate that the problems are concerned with unbalanced social relationships among the minority pupils themselves, and disruptions are situated in the here and now of the activity and not a consequence of the teachers' biased treatment or marginalizing practices. There is no doubt that group work as a teaching strategy is an effective tool at the disposal of every teaching institution, as it can be a platform that enables the learner to learn not only from the other, but through the other. It also enables the members to socialize and to act in harmony towards solving a certain problem. The problems mentioned above are not inherent in the group-work as a teaching strategy, rather the problem is concerned with the inability of the authority/ teachers to keep an eye all the time on pupils who have social problems among themselves. Several researchers (e.g., Sharabi (1982), Barakat (1994)) who studied the structure of the Arab family and the methods of upbringing in the Arab family pointed out that the aggressive behavior among Arab children is a consequence of the hierarchical structure at home, where father and older brothers do not seek to convince the child, but attempt to enforce orders and commands by pushing the child to act submissively. These researchers point out that the child's desire to act submissive and obedient to the rules in the presence of the authority (as the majority of the participants in this study attempt to act), and to transgress and disrupt in the absence of this authority indicate that the relations at home are based on this hierarchical paradigm, and children simply try to emulate the hierarchical structure of the home outside their homes.

<u>Teachers' attitudes towards minority pupils:</u>

The following example is a teacher's evaluation of the pupils' activity at the end of a lesson. Example: (4.5)

Stella: Jeg skal sige noget, sæt jer ned og luk jeres mund. I kom meget lidt i gang nu. Der var meget meget dårlig disciplin herind. I koncentrerer jer ikke som i skal, vi kan ikke lave sådan noget undervisning her, hvis i ikke kan finde ud af at koncentrerer jer. Så kan vi godt lave sådan hvor vi læser hele bogen fra ende til anden, oplæsning højt for klassen. En læser i andre sidder og glor ned i bogen, så læser den næste og så glor de andre ned i bogen, og så læser den næste og så glor de andre ned i bogen. Det kan vi sagtens, men det er ikke sådan jeg har lyst til at lave undervisning, fordi det synes jeg bliver kedeligt og jeg tror ikke på halvdelen af jer hører på hvad der bliver sagt. I morgen skal i tage jer gevaldigt sammen og koncentrerer jer om det i laver. Lade være med at sidde og pjatte. I ved også godt ibtisam og jeg vi holder meget øje med om i koncentrerer jer i de grupper i sidder i, og det er i den her uge, og sikkert i morgen, at vi begynder at sige om i skal flytte rundt. Der er mange der snakker alt for mig. Hold op med at sidde og have ingen respekt for lærere nu, opfører jer ordentligt, lyt til hvad jeg siger, kig på mig…	Stella: I have to say something, sit down and close your mouths. You've done very little now. There was very very poor discipline in here. You are not concentrating as you are supposed to, and we cannot teach properly here if you can't find out how to concentrate. Instead, we can do it in such a way where we read the entire book from cover to cover, reading aloud for the class. One reads and you sit and stare down in your book, then the next reads and the others glare down in the book, and the next reads and the rest glare in the book. That would be easy. But this is not how I want to teach as I think this method will be boring. (digresses) and I think that half of you are not paying attention to what I am saying. Tomorrow you must get a grip and concentrate on what you have to do. Avoid sitting and fooling around. You also know that Asmaa (Arab teacher) and I are keeping an eye on whether you are concentrating in the groups you are working in, and in this week, and probably tomorrow, we will decide whether you have to change your groups. There are many who talk a lot. (digresses) stop having no respect for the teachers now and behave properly, listen to what I am saying, look at me ….

Such comments by teachers where they evaluate the students' contributions after doing a certain activity are very frequent, and a great deal of these comments sound similar to this one or might take a sharper and louder tone of voice. The example at hand shows that the teacher is aware that

group-work is resulting in "noise" and that it is possible for her to conduct the teaching differently, i.e., by following the "boring" strategy that she describes, and thus she can reduce the noise. However, she is aware that such a method might not achieve the goals. Moreover, the teacher demonstrates an awareness regarding group-work and that the problem is concerned with "lack of concentration", "fooling around" and at the same time disrespect for the teacher in charge. While she was addressing the class, noise was clear in the background, and pupils were still changing their places and not paying attention to her. The teacher keeps digressing every now and then to give commands to the pupils to listen or to stop fooling around or to show respect for the teacher.

Pupils are united for administrative purposes under one teacher (main/class teacher) and for teaching purposes with a variety of teachers. The main teacher is usually the one who has direct contact with parents (via telephone or email or face to face meetings). Parents are contacted when troubles crop up, and pupils in general beg their teachers not to report their misbehavior or shortcomings to their parents. I had the chance to discuss the issue of the parents' role with many teachers in the two schools, and they often blamed the home environment of the pupils for what they considered unacceptable behavior or misconduct in the class. This is in harmony with Gilliam's (2007; 2008) study, where the teachers of her fieldwork expressed an explanation for the minority children's troublemaking by assuming that minorities have methods of upbringing different from the Danish way. Many teachers in the current study seem to have lost the hope of having parents intervene effectively in the school life of their children to alleviate their situation. Some teachers – especially those who share the ethnic background of the pupils in the two schools – believe that the greatest majority of the parents are careless, while Danish teachers feel that the pupils' aberrant behavior (for example, noise, impoliteness, disrespect for teachers and adults) is owing to the Arabic and Somali cultures. Regardless of the teachers' background, the home environment of the pupils or their "other" culture is often blamed for not cooperating with the school in matters related to the pupils' behavioral conduct or academic matters. Nevertheless, there is no evidence in the data of this study that shows that teachers discriminate against the minority pupils, or make disparaging comments about their minority background. The teacher's sharp and strict tone of voice mentioned above is concerned with misconduct, noise, and lack of discipline that is taking place before her eyes, rather than with anything related to the pupils' backgrounds. In the next section I will show the participants' attitudes towards their teachers.

Pupils' attitudes towards teachers:

On the surface, the relations between teachers and pupils in school A were friendly. Teachers with whom I had contact were genuinely concerned about the lives and prospects of the pupils. In several occasions, I felt that the relation is based on friendship rather than on formal teacher-pupil relation. Teachers spoke about their private lives, children and boyfriends, and pupils called teachers by their first names, and all of this conflicted with my conception of respect and politeness towards teachers and the old formal relation that normally characterized pupil-teacher relationships. I came to understand that this informal relationship is typical in Denmark, especially after I saw that the same norms of conduct exist in school B. When they return from a vacation, teacher and female pupils would hug and kiss each other and would greet each other with the warmest terms. Pupils also had the ability to criticize absent teachers or even joke with them.[21] However, this informality

[21] Describing relations in this way might indicate that teachers are accustomed to waste the time allocated for academic issues on trivial issues, and this is not the case. All the teachers I have met in the two schools were competent teachers, and they were very disciplined and systematic in designing their classes and lessons.

which characterizes the relation between the two hides some negative practices, where pupils attempt to undermine the authority of the teacher in several ways. In one episode from A, a group of boys and girls (both Arabs and Somalis) are seated around a table to work on an assignment. Noise prevails in the class, and the group wastes the time pretending to work, while they gossip, quarrel with each other, exchange derogatory terms, and finally they invent a special code to defame their teacher. In the following excerpt, the group attempts to create a secret code. (boys: Adham and Osama; girls: Noha and Samar). Example: (4.6)

1-Adham: thooth 2-Noha: *sho hay* thooth↑ 3-Adham: °*Koss*° 4-Noha: *Araf yi'irfak* 5-Adham: Beth 6-Osama: bitch man 7-Adham: hvad betyder beth↑ 8-Samar: °bitch°	1-Adham: thooth (sounds Arabic, but it is not an Arabic word) 2-Noha: *What is this* "thooth"? 3-Adham: *cunt* 4-Noha: *May disgust kill you* (= *you are disgusting*) 5-Adham: Beth (sounds Arabic but it is not) 6-Osama: bitch man 7-Adham: What does "beth" mean? (addresses Samar) 8-Samar: bitch

The group invents a code that pertains only to them as they are aware that they are being recorded, and the new code would enable them to speak freely. After the meaning of the terms "beth" and "thooth" became known to the group, members of the group (both boys and girls) would pretend a need for help from teacher, and from time to time they address her by the term "Beth". They might even cross all the limits and call her "bitch" in an attempt to show audacity[22]. Example: (4.7):

1-Noha: Stella↑ °Be:::::th↑° 2-Adham: Beth↑ 3-Samar: Bitch↑(Adham and Noha look at each other in amazement as Samar has decoded the term "Beth") 4-Noha: *Mra'abeenna* (.) *Uh osama↑ mra'abeenna bil camera* 5-Adham: hvad så *yaani*↑ er i bange for at opføre jer ordentlig↑	1-Noha: Stella↑ °Be:::::th↑° 2-Adham: Beth↑ 3-Samar: Bitch↑ (Adham and Noha look at each other in amazement as Samar has decoded the term "beth") 4-Noha: *they monitor us (.) isn't it Osama↑ they monitor us with the camera* 5-Adham: So what *even if they do*↑ are you afraid to behave properly↑

We can also assume that in the absence of a camera and an adult Arab, they might very well use Arabic to denigrate, insult or make fun of teachers. In another example, a teacher asks a Somali to provide a sentence in Arabic. The boy responds by "*kol hawa = eat air = shut up*". This boy was punished immediately by the assistant teacher who understood Arabic, and who was monitoring the class. Such forms of conduct and language use that highlight their negative attitudes towards teachers is ubiquitous, and whether they are in the classroom or in the sport-hall, one can clearly observe that the teachers are not really in control of the situation. A very common practice in the sport hall, for example, was to give a teacher the finger or do some offensive gesture observable by the pupils, but not by the teacher(s), leading the pupils to explosions of laughter that set the teacher(s) in total mess and stress concerning the inability to comprehend what is going on around them. Time wasted in non-academic matters is a serious problem in the two schools. Teachers in general would scream several times before they can impose some order. In many occasions, teachers start by lecturing on the need to maintain order and discipline before the lesson could commence.

[22] After seeing this episode, I talked to the teacher about the concept of "boyfriend/ girlfriend" and what Arabs generally believe concerning these concepts, especially the sacredness of the marital bond, and I advised her to refer to her boyfriend as "husband" instead of "kæreste = boyfriend". For many Arabs, a woman who has a family with a boyfriend is regarded as indecent. However, the teacher told me that she deliberately refers to her man as "boyfriend" in order to provoke her pupils and to educate them that a woman can be decent if she chooses to have a "boyfriend" instead of a "husband".

Punishment measures are usually associated with the degree of the "offence", and with the teacher's ability to apprehend the offender. It might start with a warning, and usually the warning is repeated again and again before the teacher resorts to punish the offender by sending "him" or "her" out for five minutes – or to isolate the offender on a separate desk. The punishment which is mostly feared by pupils is to have their conduct reported to the administration or to their parents. Punishing pupils by sending them out did not seem to be effective enough in that pupils usually left the classroom with a big smile on their faces as if going out is a reward they were craving for. In the cases when groups are not sent to work outside the class (in calm zones in the corridor for example, or adjacent empty classrooms), noise would spiral out of control, and teachers would spend most of their time not teaching, but screaming.

In school B, measures of punishment are very limited compared with A, and pupils usually respond from the first warning by silence. Perhaps the size of the class plays a role, in that the classroom in school B is smaller and more compact, where pupils are seated in rows of pairs facing the blackboard, whereas in A, the classroom is bigger, and pupils are seated around tables in groups of four, and have more possibilities to cover what they are doing. Moreover, I have seen some parents coming to school to contact the main teacher for matters related to their children, and on a daily basis, the teacher used to e-mail the parents the list of required activities in order to help or monitor their children at home. Nevertheless, a similar situation to that of School A prevails in school B especially that the informal pupil-teacher relationship leads many of the pupils to treat the teacher's requests and demands with disdain, or to transform the teacher's commands into a medium of "joke". Consider the following example, (teacher Nada (Arab female) ; boys: Anas, Munir, Jamal), where the teacher is commanding the boys to bring scissors with them for a special activity in the class. Example (4.8):

1-Nada: i skal have saks med for ellers så kan i ikke klippe og o:::h pynte klassen. Hver en af jer skal have en saks hjemmefra 2-Anas: I don't have sakse derhjemme 3-Nada: det tror jeg ikke på. 4-Anas: spørge min mor 5-Nada: og man har to må man gerne have to de andre kan låne 6-Monir: ° jeg har ikke saks° 7-Anas: jeg har ikke hehehe 8-Monir: [jeg har kun de der pig, [de der saks man bruger til kylling 9-Jamal: [xxxxx saks med 10-Anas: [nada↑ nada↑ jeg har kun de der sakse jeg klipper mine tånegle med 11-Jamal: heheheh den der øw den der saks til at klippe hække med sch sch sch 12-Monir: nada jeg har to sakse den der til hække og den der til kylling hehehe 13-Anas: jeg har den der, jeg har den der til e:::h tånegle 14-Jamal: det er en negleklipper Anas, det er en negleklipper 15-Nada: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx 16-Anas: ja vi spiser pebernødder 17-Nada: ja men hvis i ikke klipper igå↑ så får i lov til at sidde og lave matematik fordi så skal man xxxx 18-Anas: jeg vil klippe, men jeg har jo ikke ting med, jeg tager ikke min taske med. 19-Nada: jamen så har jeg bøger med xxxxx 20-Anas: jeg tager ikke min penalhus med 21-Nada: jeg låner dig en blyant 22-Anas: jeg tager ikke mit hæfte med 23-Nada: jeg låner dig et papir	1-Nada: you must have scissors otherwise you won't be able to cut and o:::h decorate the class. Each one of you must have a scissors from his home. 2-Anas: I don't have scissors at home 3-Nada: I don't believe that 4-Anas: ask my mother 5-Nada: and (if) one has two, get the two so others can borrow 6-Monir: °I don't have scissors° 7-Anas: I don't have hehehe 8-Monir: [I have only these spikes, [that scissors one uses for chicken 9-Jamal: [xxxxxxx with scissors 10-Anas: [Nada↑ Nada↑ I have only these scissors with which I trim my nails 11-Jamal: hehehehe that one oh that scissors used to trim cut sch sch sch 12-Monir: Nada↑ I have two scissors one to trim and one for chicken heheh 13-Anas: I have that one, I have that one e:::h toe nail 14-Jamal: it's a nail clipper Anas, it's a nail clipper 15-Nada: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx 16-Anas: yes we eat biscuits 17-Nada: yes but if you do not cut okay↑ you get the right to sit and do mathematics because one has to xxxx 18-Anas: I will cut, but I do not have the thing with me, I won't bring my bag with me 19-Nada: well I have books with xxxx 20-Anas: I won't take my pencil case with me 21-Nada: I will lend you a pencil 22-Anas: I won't take my booklet with me

24-Anas: jeg har ikke min lommeregner med	23-Nada: I will lend you a paper 24-Anas: I won't have my calculator with me

Although the boys do not use pejorative or degrading statements against their teacher, their overall attitude towards the teacher's command or suggestion is unserious, and this is demonstrated in the first place in how they orient to her command. The teacher's command that the boys have to bring scissors is a serious one; otherwise the activity cannot be done. Anas starts with a series of turns by denying having a pair of scissors at home, and by suggesting that the teacher can ask his mother – and we know that the teacher will not do that , and then comes all the list of the irrelevant tools by Anas, Munir, and Jamal, where they show alignment with Anas' unserious stance. In the second sequence (17-24), where the teacher assigns a consequence for not bringing scissors, namely that those who will not bring a pair of scissors will do mathematics, Anas elaborates in a series of reasons which will make it impossible for him to conform with the teacher's suggestion: for example, he will not bring his bag; he will not have his booklet, nor papers and pencils, etc, while the teacher answers seriously and provides a list of possibilities that would make it possible for him to conform with her suggestion. The pupil simply doesn't want to do the activity, and whatever reasons and justifications the teacher will provide, he will always find a counter reason or argument, and the result is nothing but a waste of time for all the people involved in the classroom.

In another example from school B, a Danish teacher is from the start too keen to help a group of boys working in the corridor. After 20 minutes, the teacher notices that the pupils haven't done anything related to the math assignment, where they spend the time talking about music, football, girls, etc. So he suggests that they give some time to their assignment, and offers them a space to talk about irrelevant issues after finishing with the school-task. This deal fails, as the pupils proceed with their talk about various issues, but not math. So he sits with them on the desk, and starts to help them one by one, but the group continues with their distracted attitude, as they sing and talk without paying attention to the assignment or the teacher. The teacher, thus, suggests that the group must be divided. The episode below is taken from this context: Example (4.9):

1-Teacher: ved i hvad gutter↑(.) jeg synes a::t det her det går simpelthen ikke (.) jeg tror (.) hvis i gerne vil arbejde, så skal i dele sådan så der sidder et par stykker der (.) I kan simpelthen ikke klare det der. 2-Anas: [ja Malik kom 3-Teacher: [i sidder og kaster med viskelæder[og snakker 4-Anas: [hvad snakker han om↑ 5-Anas: vi laver det her 6-Malik: i **disher** mig (.) jeg sender min mor 7-Monir: hahaha (1.5) 8-Anas: ej *yallah*, jeg kan ikke finde ud af det her 9-Teacher: nu er det jo ikke mig der skal [op til eksamen, det har jeg været for mange år siden 10-Monir: [okay hva- 11-Ihsan: se er det ikke rigtigt det [her, otte firs fire hundrede eller sådan noget 12-Monir: [*tab kol khara*: (addressed to teacher) (Monir moves his lips in a mocking way)	1-Teacher: you know what guys↑(.) I think tha::t this is not working (.) I think (.) if you want to work, you (plural) must be divided where a pair of you sit there (.) you (plural) simply can't accomplish this (like this). 2-Anas: [yes Malik come 3-Teacher: [you are sitting and throwing eraser [and talking 4-Anas: [what is he (i.e., teacher) talking about↑ 5-Anas: we'll do this here 6-Malik: you're **sending** me **away** (.) I'll send my mother 7-Monir: hahaha (1.5) 8-Anas: well *come on*, I can't figure out this one here. 9-Teacher: now it's not me who will be [up to the exams, I've made that before many years 10-Monir: [alright wha- 11-Ihsan: look isn't it right this one [here, eight eighty four hundred or something like that 12-Monir: [*alright eat shi:t* (addressed to teacher) (Monir moves his lips in a mocking way)

The teacher interrupts the boys' talk which is irrelevant to the lesson in (1) and suggests dividing the group, and provides the reasons for this measure (3). While Anas enthusiastically produces a statement of compliance with the teacher's suggestion, as he picks Malik to be his companion (2), Anas changes his attitude towards the teacher's suggestion after hearing the teacher's justification

of dividing the group. In other words, the teacher wants to divide the group because "you are sitting and talking", and so the measure taken by the teacher is meant to prevent "talking", and this counters Anas' expectations as he picked Malik in (2) in order to continue the process of talking. Anas, thus, changes his stance and rejects to comply with the teacher's suggestion by producing the question "what is he talking about?". Anas' question is not an instance of repair that demonstrates mishearing or misunderstanding of the teacher's message, rather it is a pejorative assessment of the teacher's intervention and it is addressed to Anas' peers. A second pejorative comment comes from Malik (6), where he uses the term (disher) – which I think is the English (dish = dispense) and Danish suffix (er), to make the term sound Danish, and which is in a way a cynical comment about the teacher who wants to send away some of the participants. The teacher alerts the boys to the consequences of their behavior in (9). While Ihsan orients to the teacher's warning by actively engaging in the activity (11), Monir produces the insulting directive to the teacher (12) to "eat shit". The example is a manifestation of how participants interactively and cooperatively diminish the teacher's authority by producing pejorative assessments or by staging insults, and can be a demonstration of an orientation to a normative act of not complying with a teacher and the authority that he/she represents. The teacher's suggestion of dividing the group is neglected and ignored.

In principle, participants of the two schools have similar attitudes towards teachers, and to a great extent, they seem to view their relation with the teachers and the school in terms of having rights and only rights, without having a list of duties and obligations. Taking goodenoughs' (1965) argument into consideration, rights and duties are closely tied, and the absence of one will necessarily lead to the absence of its counterpart. When a pupil feels that he has no obligations or duties towards his teachers, then no matter how hard teachers would push in the direction of fulfilling their duty of teaching, they might not succeed, simply because the pupil does not have an orientation to receive recommendations, counsels, and suggestions, which in the teacher's view could be very essential to the process of education.

In most of the classes which are not related to the subjects taught by the main teacher in school A, two teachers are usually available in the class. One teacher is responsible for teaching and designing the teaching method and the other teacher is an assistant who would act as a "police" to reduce noise and maintain discipline. If the "police teacher" is absent or not in sight, chaos would reign (screaming, singing, fighting, laughing, walking and changing places, etc.) to the extent that one day I felt "embarrassed" and created excuses to leave the room as I saw the teacher in total inability to control the class. Typically, the teacher would scream twice or thrice to impose some order, and when his screams go in vain, the teacher simply avoids the problem by ignoring its existence and by ignoring that there is "chaos" and "noise". On the opposite side of this extreme situation, we have the "police teacher" who can impose silence in the class, where one scream would freeze the pupils in their seats. This police teacher was "Arab", and formality characterized her relation with pupils. A mood of silence and rigid discipline reigns in her presence. This is not to indicate that pupils pay full attention to her, as many of them would continue to waste time stealthily. She was hated by the greatest majority of the pupils, and some of them referred to her as "heks =witch" or "*Shaytan* = Satan". In the following episode, a group of girls are seated in the corridor. The "Arab teacher =Asma" notices that the group is not focusing on the task, and thus she intrudes by giving the following instruction. Example (4.10)

Asma: jeg har holdt øje med jer og mest af tiden så sidder i og taler sammen, ikke arbejde. Og det skal i holde op med. Så kan i forstå næste gang når jeg siger i må ikke være sammen. Er det klart↑	Asma: I've been watching you and most of the time you sit and talk together and do not work, and this must stop. This is the reason you have to understand when next time I say you cannot be together. Is this clear?

The girls wait silently and pretend to work on their activity until the teacher retreats where they have a space to express their attitudes towards her; some of the girls express their gratitude, others express sheer hatred. Girls involved in this scene (Zaina, Noha, Ikhlas,and Somali Aya):

1-Zaina: ja hvor skal vi henne↑ hænge på hende hele tiden. Jeg håber vi ikke har hende i syvende. 2-Noha: jeg håber hun bliver fyret. 3-Aya: nej nej det er ondt 4-Zaina: nej jeg håber det 5-Aya: håber du Ikhlas↑ 6-Ikhlas: nej 7-Aya: dette [er synd for hende 8-Ikhlas: [det er hende der lærte os matematik, det er hende der [lærte os at gange 9-Zaina: [nej det er ikke synd. Det er hendes egen skyld hvis hun bliver fyret 10-Aya: hun prøver at lære os noget 11-Zaina: hun var så [strid 12-Noha: [hallo, hallo det er ikke vores skyld hvis hun bliver fyret. Det er hendes egen skyld, fordi hun laver meget ond	1-Zaina:yes where shall we go? attached to her all the time. I hope we will not have her in grade 7. 2-Noha: I hope she gets fired. 3-Aya: no no it is evil 4-Zaina: no I hope this. 5-Aya: do you hope this Ikhlas? 6-Ikhlas: no 7-Aya: I feel [sorry for her 8-Ikhlas: [it is her who taught us mathematics, it is her who taught us how to multiply 9-Zaina: no she doesn't deserve a pity. it is her own fault if she gets fired 10-Aya: she is trying to teach us something 11-Zaina: she was a pain in the neck 12-Noha: hello, hello it is not our fault if she gets fired. it is her own fault because she has been doing a lot of evil.

The argument among the girls continues, and they include other teachers in the process of comparing and assessing them, basing the assessment and comparison on who is "more evil". They reach an agreement at the end that the Danish main teacher is the most evil. What is being "assessed" and compared and contrasted is not something positive, rather it is something negative which is perceived by the girls as "evil". The episode, might as well, demonstrate the view that the friendly and affectionate behavior towards teachers is merely a mask that hides negative attitudes, and clash of interests.

In the next example, the "police teacher" monitors a group of boys, and she intrudes when she notices that one of the boys (Yassin) is not doing the task of typing homework on the computer. Example: (4.11)

1-Teacher: er det fordi du har ikke dine papir med, så du skal sidde nu og digte eller hvad↑ 2-Yassin: hvad↑ 3-Teacher: du skal skrive det [som du har skrevet i forvejen 4-Yassin: [jeg har lavet dem, ja det er også det 5-Teacher: har du lavet lektier↑ hvor er dine lektier så↑ 6-Yassin: jeg har glemt dem der hjemme 7-Teacher: det tror jeg ikke på. Jeg mener det, det tror jeg ikke på (.) morten↑ 8-Musa: jamen så kan vi bare sende det til e::h morten 9-(Teacher leaves) 10-Yassin: °hun tror ikke på nogen. Hun tror altså ikke på nogen. Når rigtigt nogen der siger sandt, så efter hun siger nej ikkgo?° 11-Musa: hun tror altid på mig	1-Teacher: is it because you don't have your paper you will sit and compose poetry or what↑ 2-Yassin: what↑ 3-Teacher: you must type [what you have written in advance 4-Yassin: [I made them, yes it is also that 5-Teacher: have you done the homework↑ where is your homework so↑ 6-Yassin: I forgot them at home 7-Teacher: I don't believe in that. I mean it, I don't believe that (.) morten↑ 8-Musa: well then we can just send it to e::h morten 9-(Teacher leaves) 10-Yassin: °she doesn't believe in anyone. she doesn't believe in anyone. when one says the truth, she says afterwards no, doesn't she?° 11-Musa: she always believes me

One might assume here that the teacher is not approaching the problem properly, as she assumes that Yassin is lying regarding the claim that he had forgotten his homework at home, and she thus intends to inform the main teacher of the course (Morten) about Yassin's claim. However, this behavior of the teacher reveals that the alibi of forgetting homework, books and other school

materials is a common excuse among the participants and the pupils in general, and it is a very frequent alibi which mostly results in marginalizing the pupil, as he/she will be given a space to do whatever he/she wants (as Yassin who was singing and writing lyrics), or in some cases will be sent home to bring the homework, but will return to class when the lesson is over. The problem is serious, and it has direct influence on the pupil's achievement. It also refers to the parents' absence as they are the ones responsible for monitoring what their children should keep in their school bags. Yassin's assessment in (10) that "Teacher doesn't trust anyone" reveals his hatred and his negative attitude towards her. There is no misunderstanding in this episode, and the teacher has acted according to the ubiquitous norm among pupils, i.e., the norm to avoid the blame as to why they cannot engage themselves in a task by claiming that they forgot the material at home. So, we can assume that the lack of trust between pupil and teacher is sometimes mutual and is based on previous experiences.

In an episode from school B, a group of girls are seated in the corridor, and they receive help and explanation from the teacher. When the teacher leaves, we see the girls comparing her with another teacher, and they produce assessment statements regarding her contribution, which can be seen as disparaging, but which reveal at the same time an attitude of respect towards the teacher: (teacher: Nada; girls: Yosra, Rola, Inas, Erina (silent) + two Somali girls : S1 and S2 who are from a parallel class). Example (4.12):

1-Nada: du kan ikke bare fjerne parenteserne du skal lave dem her først *ba'adain hay* og du skal dem her for sig selv og dem her for sig selv så *haik bitkon sah* 2-Yosra: du har altså lavet forkert 3-Rola: em::: (.) har jeg Nada↑ 4-Nada: nej du har rigtig (Nada leaves) 5-S2: ha ha 6-Yosra: så er det dig der har lavet forkert 7-S2: jamen hvordan er det i laver parentes for det er jo forkert 8-S1: jo det er jo rigtig underligt ved jer [ved os vi skal lægge det ved gange, vi skal lægge det ved gange 9-Rola: [gange 10-Inas: det plejede vi også da vi havde Maria 11-Yosra: det plejer vi altså også 12-S1: nu har i Nada og så har vi forvirrende 13-S2: ja ja 14-Inas: ja det er rigtigt Nada hu:n siger nogle forvirrende ting men vi må leve med det↑	1-Nada: you cannot just remove the parentheses you have to make them here first, *then this one* and you have them here for themselves and those here for themselves, so *in this manner it will be correct* 2-Yosra: so you made it wrong 3-Rola: em:::: (= yes) (.) have I↑ Nada↑ 4-Nada: no you have it correct. (Nada leaves) 5-S2: ha ha 6-Yosra: so it is you who made it wrong 7-S2: well how is it that you make parenthesis because it is wrong 8-S1: yes it is really weird with you [for us we should put it with multiplication, we should put it with multiplication 9-Rola: [multiplication 10-Inas: we used that also when we had Maria 11-Yosra: we use it also 12-S1: now you have Nada and so we are confused 13-S2: yes yes 14-Inas: yes it is true Nada sa:ys some confusing things but we have to live with it

The assessment in this example is concerned with methods of solving the assignment, and how different teachers use different methods, where some methods could be easier as it is the case with Maria's methods. However, despite the general agreement that Nada's method is confusing, Inas at the end produces a statement that is meant to reduce the intensity of the negative assessment, i.e., "we have to live with it". Despite the negative assessment, the general attitude towards the teacher Nada is one of respect, and Inas' final assessment considers the burden of coping with Nada's confusing methods as one of her – and the rest of the group's – responsibilities.

Discipline is a much more prominent issue in school A than it is in B; pupils in A are less motivated to cooperate with their teachers towards academic achievement, and often seek to undermine the teachers' authority and teachers' efforts. The practice of having two teachers inside the class is also applicable in school B, but the teachers' roles are different, in that there is no

"police teacher" to monitor pupils, rather the two teachers are present to teach, where they divide the job between themselves. Typically, the assistant teacher would take a group of pupils who are less competent than the rest to an empty classroom or to a calm zone (in the school's corridor) and sits with the group for the entire time allocated for the lesson and provide them with close tutoring. The main teacher, in the meantime, would be checking the progress of the remaining groups. Noise prevails sometimes when the groups are kept inside the class, but it is seen as something positive as long as it is the byproduct of "cooperation" to accomplish the required class activity. Despite the fact that some pupils would act to undermine the teacher's authority in various ways, the teacher can impose decisions by maintaining a serious tone, and by avoiding irrelevant arguments that are likely to juxtapose the frame of education and instruction with the frame of playing and jokes. Participants' negative attitudes towards their teachers can have serious implications on the overall process of schooling. Beyond notions of respect and disrespect, the participants do not seem to be ready to accept their teachers' counsels and advices. Worse, the participants actively and deliberately seek to undermine their teachers' authorities, and switching to Arabic is just one of many methods employed by the participants for this purpose.

Categorizations:

The way the participants "do" their identities can be found in their discourses and practices through which they categorize the "self" and the "other". The categories might refer to religions, ethnicities, race and color. The act of categorization is relevant to the question concerned with the factors that affect the bilinguals' schooling experience, and it has consequences on the bilinguals' social relations.

Religious categories:

School's orientation to religion: The schools do not have an official policy regarding "religion", and the religious practices[23] of young Muslims did not seem to pose problems for the school system. The two schools adopted the secular principles regarding religions, and the teaching of religion was not meant to enhance the pupils' beliefs, rather to spread knowledge about different religions. In school A, the teacher of religion (Martin) sought to propagate the common issues about different religions, and downplayed the differences between them. In this regard he mentioned to me that it is much easier to teach religion to "Muslims" who come from traditional Muslim families – as it is the case with the pupils of this study – in that they already believe in the existence of a Super Being and in Quran which holds many stories similar to the stories of the old and new testaments. In comparison with the Danish pupils, according to him, he had to exert an extra effort to differentiate between mythology, scientific facts, and historical events. The main teacher (Stella) in her English classes had to deal with the Inuits and Native Americans in addition to their religious beliefs, and explained such lessons by alluding to the notion of "mythology", and how the primitive man attempted to answer all phenomena – natural and emotional –that he couldn't understand by attributing such phenomena to mighty beings beyond man's reach, and that "mythology" is comparable to monotheistic religions. Moreover, pupils used to expose their projects on the walls of the classroom. One of these projects was concerned with Darwin's theory of evolution, and the

[23] Practices like the fasting of Ramadan, or the wearing of headscarves.

origins of species – which means that they have dealt with the concept of evolution before, and that the pupils' Islamic background was not an obstacle to prevent the explanation of such scientific issues which usually clash with the religious belief. This description means significantly that the school in general and teachers had no problems with the pupils' Islamic background, and attempted to solve the "problems" that might arise as a consequence of Islamic belief case by case. In sport classes, for example, boys and girls had to practice sport in different halls to enable girls wearing Hijab to practice freely (according to their families' demand); students stay home in Islamic festivities. Nevertheless, the school principal mentioned to me – in our first meeting – that not all Muslim families practice religion in the same way. He said that the greatest majority of the pupils take a shower after sport in Ramadan, but he had a problem with one pupil – whose father is an Imam – and who doesn't want to take a shower as he believed that a shower in Ramadan is Haram. The school principal asked me about the possibility of contacting that Imam to explain to him that a shower in Ramadan is not "Haram". I apologized on the grounds that this Imam might have his own explanation regarding this issue and I will certainly fail in convincing him. According to the principal, this student was exempted from the sport classes in Ramadan, to avoid the possibilities of stinking while he is with his classmates. I suggested to the principal that there is a way to include this student and not give him a special treatment by asking him to wash his body and to wash his face, instead of letting the pouring water go over his head – if he is afraid that water might leak into his belly through his ears or nostrils. Apart from such infrequent problems, religion seemed largely irrelevant in the school environment, and teachers never referred to the bilinguals by referring to their "religion". Even in situations when they criticized the home environment while talking to me about the misbehavior of some pupils, they normally blamed "home" or "parents" or "culture", rather than Islam.

In school B – the same principles seemed to prevail. The main teacher (Muslim female teacher) taught the class religion. However, outside the official classes, she seemed to moralize and preach using her knowledge about Islam as a source of facts. In many situations, she preached the misconduct of some boys and girls by telling them anecdotes about the prophet's behavior in various situations. She reminded her pupils who "misbehave" that they are "Muslims", and that a "Muslim" has to act according to the prescriptions of his/her religion, and she used various parables and stories depicted from the Islamic heritage as a strategy to socialize or even resolve problems that arise in her class.

Participants' religious categories: The participants' religious narratives are mostly related to their relatives' experiences, and are thus mostly vicarious experiences, where they seem to brag about the rituals which their parents or grandparents perform. Example (4.13)

1-Rola: her fra til mekka femten tusind 2-Basma: nej fem tusind 3-Yosra: nej tusind 4-Basma: min mor har selv været i mekka, da jeg var otte 5-Yosra: min mormor hun har været der mere end ti gange 6-Basma: min mormor hun har været der mere end fem. Jeg har	1-Rola: from here to Mecca fifteen thousands 2-Basma: no five thousand. 3-Yosra: no thousand 4-Basma: my mother has even been in Mecca when I was eight 5-Yosra: my grandmother she has been there more than ten times

aldrig været der	6-Basma: my grandmother she has been there more than five. I've never been there.

This can be contrasted with the experiences of some of the girls in school A who attend a Quranic school, and who supposedly experience religious socialization by learning to recite Quran and adopt a religious identity. But in the two cases, there doesn't seem to be a clear contradiction between adopting a religious identity and a pupil identity, and in this sense, being religious and showing affiliation with religious beliefs might not have negative consequences on the process of education. However, the matter can be problematic sometimes, especially in situations where the participants build on past experiences related to the way they are categorized by the majority community as "Muslims" and which is propagated by different media in a negative way. In such cases, the religious identity comes to the fore upon the feeling that Danes are transgressing, as we see in the following example, where two boys (Adham and Musa) argue about the portrayal of the prophet through some cartoons in their history text-books, and they solve this problem by tearing down the pages of their text-books. The pupils possessed school property; they were issued with text-books and exercise books for which they were held responsible. Example (4.14)

1-Musa: *Walak* det er med vilje de har lagt det sådan (0.5) *Walak* ah se vent vent vent. De har selv skrevet det her (.) se (reads) mohammed må ikke genvises på billeder, derfor er figurerne ansigtsløse 2-Adham: hvorfor har de tegnet hans krop↑ 3-Musa: ts det er jo ikke ægte 4-Adham: *sho* det er ikke ægte, jamen de tegner hans alligevel hans krop 5-Musa: så riv den i stykker	1-Musa: *You (inferior)* it is deliberately portrayed in such a way (0.5) *You (inferior)* ah see wait wait wait. They themselves have written this here (.) see? (reads) Mohammad is not allowed to be shown in pictures, that's why the figures are faceless. 2-Adham: why have they painted his body? 3-Musa: (ts=no) that's not real 4-Adham: *what* not real, well they paint his – actually – his body 5-Musa: so tear it down into pieces

The episode depicts how the "Islamic identity" of the boys clashes with their identities as responsible pupils for the material that belongs to the school; they must have assumed that the "harmless" depictions which are "faceless" in their books are equivalent to the infamous "Danish Cartoons" which had provoked and inflamed the Islamic world. The episode might also indicate that the boys perceive the majority community as harmful which deliberately attempts to provoke them. Although Musa mentions what was written under the cartoon that Muhammad should not be depicted in pictures – which means practically that the cartoons are meant to show how the costumes looked like in that time, and it is more a way of explaining things to the pupils and to make the lesson more digestible, the two boys disregard such a justification. They act at the end according to the "we" vs. "they" discourse. Their oppositional stance in this example is directed towards the school and the Danish values that it might represent, and which in the participant's "understanding" is critical of Muslims' sacred beliefs.

Examples like (4.14) demonstrate the participants' awareness of the critique that the non-Muslim community (Media, politicians, etc.) frequently directs towards Islam and Muslims. However, to the participants the religious Islamic identity which we tend to view as "homogeneous" is not as such for the participants, who are aware of the presence of other Islamic sects, and to which each of them belongs. In the following example, a Sunni boy from Lebanon comments on the religious beliefs of his Iraqi teacher and considers her unreliable during a history class concerned with Islamic history. Instead the pupil calls on Jalal to provide him with some answers about his assignment. Example (4.15)

Adham: hende der hun er iraker shia'a (.) hun ved ikke en skid mand

: she there she is Iraqi Shia'a (.) she knows nothing man. [24]

It is worth pointing out that the same pupil who had torn some of the pages of his textbook – for believing that the prophet should not be represented - is also the one who underestimated his teacher by referring to her religious sect, which might- mistakenly- indicate that his intolerance springs from his "religious" and "fanatic" attitude. We know that he doesn't pray, fast, or read Arabic to be able to read Quran. In addition, we hear him later in the conversation asking one of his peers "if Muhammad is still alive", and all of these are indices that reveal him as ignorant of the ABCs of "Islam", and yet as having an Islamic identity which requires from him to react in such an arbitrary manner that would necessarily place him as a member of a certain category – as a Muslim opposed to the Danes who intend to defame his prophet by depicting him in pictures, and as a member of a religious sect "Sunna" as opposed to "Shi'a". Arab media in the last decade tackled the issues of sectarian Islamic divisions frequently as sectarian wars enraged in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon, etc. The awareness of the participants' sectarian differences might be superficial in this sense, but it demonstrates that the dilemmas of the Arab world do influence the immigrants and their attitudes. The oppositional stance that the participant takes in this example is directed against a teacher who belongs to the Arab ethnic minority, but who happens to belong to a different religious sect.

The two denominations of Islam, that is, Shia'a and Sunna, play an important role in the processes of socialization that go on in the two schools, and in shaping the attitudes of those who consider themselves as belonging to one category or another. During a group work in school B, the following conversation takes place among the girls (Basma = Shia'a), (Rola and Inas =Sunna), Tina (Danish). Example (4.16)

1-Basma: er du er du *sunni* ikke↑ m:::	1-Basma: you are you are *sunni*, aren't you↑ m:::
2-Rola: nej hvad hedder det der hvor man ikke slår sig ved af: af:	2-Rola: no what is it called that thing where one doesn't hit himself with a: a:
3-Basma: ja det er *sunni*	3-Basma: yes it is *sunni*
4-Rola: ja: hvad er du↑	4-Rola: ye:s what are you↑
5-Basma: jeg er *shia'a*	5-Basma: I am *shia'a*
6-Rola: hv::he hvad er Tina↑	6-Rola: wha::she what is Tina↑
7-Basma: jeg er *shia'a*, [de der gør det der, ja de der gør sådan, det er *shia'a*[25]	7-Basma: I am *shia'a* [those who do that, yes those who do so, are *shia'a*
8-Inas: [hun er *sunni*	8-Inas: [she is *sunni*
9-Rola: Ja::	9-Rola: ye::s
10-Tina: hvad betyder *sunni shia'a*↑	10-Tina: what does *sunni shia'a* mean↑
11-Inas: det betyder du er ligesom os ikke ligesom Basma	11-Inas: it means you are like us and not like Basma

As this conversation indicates, Tina has adopted Islam, but she is still not aware of the presence of different sects, and to which group she belongs. Asking such questions related to one's belief or religious sect is meant to attract or repel. Inas decides for Tina, and categorizes her as Sunna, and thus attracts her to her group. It seems here that the groups already have some deterministic characteristics, and the meaning of Sunna and Shia'a is nothing other than "you are like us and not like Basma", a dichotomy that involves *us vs. them*, and consequently an *in-group* vs. *out-group* categorizations. The processes of religious categorizations *us* vs. *them*, *Muslim* vs. *Non-Muslim*, *Sunni* vs. *Shia'a* can alter the set of rights and obligations related to such social identities, and might have detrimental effects on the process of education when applied on teachers, and on processes of socialization among peers.

[24] Sunna and Shi'a are the major denominations of Islam. The two groups (sects) have a long history of wars.

[25] Basma enacts the ritual of beating and whipping oneself in the day of 'Ashura, a ritual practiced by Shia Muslims.

Contradictory religious practices:

There were many things that surprised me when I first entered the classroom at school A, where all the girls – but one – were dressed in headscarves, and I had the impression that I entered into a religious school which requires from me a certain code of behavior. Wearing a headscarf (Hijab) projects a religious identity that goes beyond the ethnic one and which conflates various nationalities: Turkish, Kurd, Arab, Somali, Bosnian, etc. In addition to the conception that a headscarf – in a Danish context – represents a belonging to one category and not the other, as Quist (2005) points out: Ethnic as opposed to Danish, Muslim as opposed to non-Muslim, female as opposed to male, religious Muslim as opposed to irreligious Muslim, in addition to all of this, headscarf is usually perceived as one part in a whole package, and wearing it imposes on the wearer an already established mode of conduct. Part of the tradition of Hijab requires a dress code that normally hides contours of the body, no use of bad words, no physical touch with males (the greatest majority of those wearing a headscarf do not greet males by shaking hands), and no make-up. However, my initial expectations went in vain as I saw, day after day, how the girls resorted to several strategies that rendered the headscarf into a form which is devoid of meaning and content. They were normally dressed in very tight clothes that reveal details of body and wore makeup and mascara, and used the swear words/ derogatory words "fuck, bitch, ass, etc" same as the boys did, and managed to disrupt the process of teaching in collaboration with the boys. Such practices that might seem contradictory for an outsider cannot be explained in terms of "bi-culturalism", i.e., that they have acquired an Arabic and Islamic culture from home, and a Danish culture from school. In fact, they seem to have evolved a unique culture and a unique code of conduct among themselves, which is neither Arabic and Islamic, nor Danish as the simultaneous experience of practices that belong to two different cultures and which are contradictory in nature, i.e., doing one would necessarily render the other practice meaningless, as it is the case of covering the head and revealing the body, sets them in a "hybrid culture" of fuzzy borders which is unique to them and to their identities.

Some might consider the practice of "tight clothes" as crossing towards the Danish majority culture and an attempt to have their two feet in that culture, but the use of "dirty language" and the disruption of the course of teaching are necessarily a violation to the code of conduct in a Danish school – and any school – and a violation to the cultural heritage of their home. Nevertheless, this doesn't mean that such contradictions are a result of what (Gasper de Alba: 1995) calls "cultural schizopherenia", and there could be multiple ways to explain such contradictions. Bigelow (2010) for example, explained how some of her Somali participants used Hijab at home and in community, but they removed it when they reached school, and they justified this by their desire to be "accepted" members in their home community and to avoid the inferior status which is usually attached with Hijab. The same could be happening with these girls who on one hand want to satisfy their parents by embracing Hijab as a sign of preserving chastity and which confers on them a religious identity, and simultaneously have equal foot with their Danish peers and simply enjoy the available fashions. The consideration that such contradictory practices are a result of ignorance is excluded because the data reveals so many examples which show the participants' full awareness that what they are doing or saying is "risky" and threatens their relation with their parents and their teachers if one day such data is revealed.

Studies concerned with the construction of Islamic identity among children and youth in the West stress the point that the version of Islam that the new generations construct is in many cases contradictory and oppositional to the version of Islam which is practiced by the parents or even by

Imams. Schmidt (2007), for example, in his study of the construction of Islamic identity among immigrant children in USA, Sweden and Denmark points out that young Muslims criticized both Imams as well as their parents for lack of knowledge and for pursuing a traditional backward version of Islam. Schmidt (2007) considers that the critique of parental practices of Islam is motivated by a need for teenagers to position themselves strongly vis-à-vis parents in order to define their independent aspirations for life. This might provide us with a clue regarding the Hijab that contradicts the tight clothes, as well as other practices that can be deemed irreligious. Schmidt argues that parents become a defining other within a context where Islam and Muslims are constantly under attack" and parents in this sense are viewed by the children as practitioners of an Islam which is blurred with backward culture.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that religion is perceived and practiced always in opposition to what the parents practice. The data contains ample evidence that shows how some of the participants are socialized in a religious manner, where one's behavior is balanced and weighed according to the literal translation of religious texts. Example (4.17)

3-Ihsan: ew↑ min bror han tog en ***kammashi*** i gå:r (.) han sagde ved du godt ha ha han sagde hvis du ikke læser den her ***safha*** en e:h *hada* en et minut, jeg sma:drer dig, jeg læste den på et minut og tre sekunder	3-Ihsan: ew↑ my brother he took ***pliers*** yesterday:y he said you know well h: h: he said if you do not read this ***page*** a e::h ***that is*** in one minut, I will smash you, I read it in one minute and three seconds.
4-Anas: smadrede han dig↑	4-Anas: did he smash you↑
5-(Ihsan rolls up his sleeve and shows his arm)	5-(Ihsan rolls up his sleeve and shows his arm)
6-Ihsan: prøv se her, kan du ikke se noget her↑	6-Ihsan: try look here, can't you see something here?
7-Ihsan: igå:r, ***ew***↑ var der ikke en bule her i går her↑ (shows his arm)	7-Ihsan: yesterday, ***ew***↑ wasn't there a bump here yesterday here↑ (shows his arm)
8-Monir: jo	8-Monir: yes
9-Ihsan: ***wehyat allah*** den gik op her, han tog ***kammasha*** w e'a: [e'a: my a:h oh oh	9-Ihsan: ***by allah*** it went up here, he took ***pliers*** w e'a: [e'a: my a:h oh oh
10-Monir: [hvem er loa-	10-Monir: [who is loa-
11-Anas: [hvem er det↑ er det adam↑	11-Anas: [who is it↑ is it adam↑
12-Ihsan: han siger til mig hop hop (moves himself up) oh oh ha ha oh ha ha labla ha::f ha::: f: dasenda oy oy u:::h det hele er det (takes up his sleeves)	12-Ihsan: he tells me jump jump (moves himelf up) oh oh ha ha oh ha ha labla ha::f ha:::f f: dasenda oy oy u:::h xxxx xxxx xxxxx (takes up his sleeves)
13-Anas: er det adam↑	13-Anas: is it adam↑
14-Ihsan: [Anas	14-Ihsan: [Anas
15-Monir: [min far han skal lære mig at skyde	15-Monir: [my father he will teach me to shoot
16-Ihsan: hvad↑	16-Ihsan: what↑
17-Monir: min far han skal lære mig at skyde (takes aim and mimics holding a gun)	17-Monir: my father he will teach me to shoot (Monir takes aim and mimics shooting)
18-Ihsan: sky:de↑ nå jeg troede du sagde skide, [og jeg siger hvad↑ hehe ***Wallah*** jeg troede	18-Ihsan: shoo:t↑ well I thought you said shit, [and I say what↑ hehe ***by allah*** I thought
19-Malik: [hehehehe	19-Malik: [hehehehe
20-Anas: ***wallah*** også mig	20-Anas: ***by allah*** me too
21-Monir: min far han skal lære mig at skyde	21-Monir: my father he will teach me to shoot
22-Anas: skid↑	22-Anas: shit↑
23-Monir: skyde med ægte pistol (.) pah pah	23-Monir: shoot with real pistol (.) pah pah
24-Anas: passer troen	24-Anas: fits belief
25-Monir: fordi ***bel dee:n*** (.) der stå:r (.) man skal lære sit [barn at skyde	25-Monir: because ***in religio:n*** (.) it says (.) one must teach his [child to shoot
26-Jamal: [ja::	26-Jamal: [ye::s
27-Monir: og man skal lære sit barn at ride og	27-Monir: and one must teach his child to [ride and
28-Jamal: svømme	28-Jamal: swim
29-Monir: og man skal lære sit barn at svømme	29-Monir: and one must teach his child to swim
30-Anas: jeg kan godt svømme	30-Anas: I can already swim
31-Malik: hvorfor↑	31-Malik: why↑
32-Ihsan: jeg kan svømme jeg kan ride jeg kan skyde	32-Ihsan: I can swim I can ride I can shoot
33-Anas: jeg kan ikke ride	33-Anas: I cannot ride
34-Monir: man ska man skal også lære at skyde med bue og pil	34-Monir: one mus one must also learn to shoot with bow and arrow
35-Jamal: ja::	

36-Malik: hvorfor↑ 37-Monir: hvad↑ det står der bare ***bel deen***	35-Jamal: ye::s 36-Malik: why↑ 37-Monir: what↑ it just says so ***in religion***

In the first narrative (1-14), we see a story of domestic violence, and Ihsan in a way, is narrating the story with the expectation that the group would show admiration for his ability to endure the torture and the pain which was inflicted upon him by his elder brother. But what matters most in this context is to attract attention. Ihsan attempts to alert the group by driving their attention with the utterance "ew", and provides a synopsis of the story, choosing the most important elements in the first sentence, i.e., the characters, his elder brother, and the pliers, and after some hesitation as to how to articulate, he introduces the main story, showing footing as he quotes his brother threatening him that he would smash him if he doesn't read a page in one minute. Although he almost fulfilled the condition, and finished in one minute and three seconds, his brother tortured him with the pliers. Ihsan doesn't only use words, but attempts to attract the attention of the group by showing the signs of torture on his arm, and by dramatizing and mimicking the process of torture, bringing to life the pain he felt as he produces moans of pain (12). Yet, the boys are not so much attracted, and do not orient to the story as something that requires from them to show admiration. Monir, although he is used by Ihsan as a witness to confirm what happened, shows disinterest, and orients to the story as if it were boring to be narrated again. Instead, he starts his narrative by attempting to show real heroism, and delivers the first line of his narrative with an expectation to create the "awe" which was denied to Ihsan. His father will teach him to shoot, and he delivers this line with a smile that is meant to invite the group to assessment, and to introduce himself as the hero. Unfortunately, Ihsan initiates a repair sequence as he inquires "what?", making it relevant for Monir to repeat his statement in the same dignified manner, and using this time extralinguistic resources, as he mimics holding a gun. Ihsan shows that he got it, but instead of showing the sense of "awe" for this news, he lingers on the repair sequence, stating how he misheard "skyde =shoot" as "skide=shit". The group align themselves with this funny treatment of Monir's sublime news, as Malik laughs, and Anas states that he misheard the statement same like Ihsan. Monir insists on the seriousness of his statement, and he still has not received the assessment he is craving for, so for a third time he repeats his statement, but Anas continues with the repair sequence, as he repeats "skid =shit". Interestingly, Monir doesn't align himself with the repair sequence, and continues to produce the same statement in the same dignified manner, and he succeeds in attracting the group to what he wants to say only when he draws on Anas' statement "fits belief", which can be understood in two ways: 1- learning to shoot is in harmony with belief, and this is the respect we have to pay for Monir; 2- a commandment, and one has to comply with what religion says. Monir finds the way open to force the boys to comply with the seriousness of his story, so he does this in such a way that what he is going to learn is not only a heroic act, it is also a religious ritual. He alludes to a prophetic tradition, where Muhammad is mostly quoted in contexts of sports where he advised his companions to "teach your children swimming, archery (*shooting*), and horse-riding". The ambiguity is related to the term *shooting* with a gun and *shooting* an arrow, where in Arabic the same term *rimaya = shooting* is applied for both archery and guns, and the same term is used in Arabic to throw a stone, a missile, a grenade, an arrow, etc. Monir believes that his father understood the "shooting" in terms of having the obligation to teach his son how to use guns, which seems to me a far-fetched and an out of context application of the term *shooting* which was used before 1500 years (when there were no guns), as a way to teach children how to hunt and earn a living in the harsh desert. So, the point here is that at least two boys reveal that they have heard of this prophetic tradition, where Jamal shows agreement with Monir and mentions the third sport "swim" before Monir formulates his sentence. The way Monir formulates the three sentences regarding the three sports is determined by his reverence for what he considers a sacred quotation,

which must be delivered in a special format. Although I have seen this quotation used by football clubs in the Arab world, and which demonstrates the understanding of the quotation as a way of encouraging sports in general, in the Danish context some parents seem to stick to the literal meaning of the terms, and to mistakenly apply the meaning of certain terms on situations which are irrelevant to what was intended by the original saying. It is also clear that Monir received instruction about the exact names of the sports without a justification as to why parents have the obligation to teach their children. Malik has not heard of this before, so he asks why parents have this obligation, or what is the point of learning how to swim, shoot, and ride horses, and he – as we – doesn't receive a satisfactory answer other than that it is something ordained by religion. Since it is something determined by religion, then there is no way to criticize or justify or even ask "why", and one has to adopt the quotation as it is, with the new meaning which is imposed upon it.

This religious socialization which takes care of the form, and not the content, nor attempts to justify or explain the meaning of a practice, as it is the case in this example, is potentially destructive. In the context of this conversation, Monir attracts the group's attention and forces them to drop their sarcasm and to align themselves according to the requirements of a sacred context by orienting to the religious element that pertains to his minority culture, switching at the same time to Arabic as he utters "*bel deen = in the religion*", in order to enforce the idea that what he is saying and what he is going to learn is something sacred which should be assessed with admiration, not sarcasm. The group align themselves with what Monir is saying, where the sequence goes on and on, as Monir suggests more sports, and decides for the boys which ones are appropriate and acceptable and which ones fall outside the category of sacredness. What matters in this example, is that the religious practices of children do not always contradict the heritage of the family or what the Imams preach – as Schmidt (2007) suggested. Moreover, Monir is not the only one in this group who receives religious influences from his home, as other boys demonstrate their knowledge of the aforementioned prophetic tradition.

Religion can also play a role in opening the way for certain practices, or banning others. Below, two boys talk about their experiences regarding smoking and getting stoned, where Malik relates how his elder brother got stoned with his friends; Jamal relates how he got stoned in some secret underground place in the ghetto, and he asks Monir if he had such an experience before. Monir says that he will never try it – not because it is harmful – but because it is something forbidden in the Quran, according to what his father told him. Example (4.18)

1-Jamal: Monir har du prøvet det før? 2-Monir: styre dig lige 3-Monir: har du prøvet det, du siger? 4-Jamal: kan du huske den der gang? 5-Monir: jeg vil ikke prøve, jeg har ikke prøvet det og jeg vil heller ikke prøve det det er noget af det værste man kan gøre i quranen 6-Anas: hvilket↑ hvilket↑ 7-Monir: når man er muslim 8-Monir: at ryge sig skæv 9-Anas: hva↑ 10-Monir: at ryge sig skæv (mimics smoking) 11-Monir: det er noget min far siger[26]	1-Jamal: Monir have you tried it before? 2-Monir: control you right 3-Monir: have you tried it, you say? 4-Jamal: do you remember that time? 5-Monir: I will not try, I haven't tried it and I will never try it, it is one of the worst things you can do in the Quran. 6-Anas: which? which? 7-Monir: when you are muslim 8-Monir: to get stoned 9-Anas: what? 10-Monir: to get stoned (mimics smoking) 11-Monir: it is something my father says.

[26] In Quran, there is no mentioning of hash or marijuana. It is only alcohol which is mentioned.

The two examples above show that Monir sometimes invokes the Islamic teachings and instructions which his father has taught him. Such allusions to the religious heritage are meant to explain or justify his actions and behavior, and might as well be considered indices of the religious socialization that goes on in the minority community and at home. Such instances demonstrate that the construction of the Islamic identity among immigrant children is not always meant to be in opposition to the parents' practices and understanding of Islam as Schmidt (2007) or (Gilliam 2007; 2008) suggested. In her empirical work in two schools, Gilliam (2008) argued that the construction of Islamic identity among her participants is meant to be an oppositional identity and as a reaction to the marginalization processes which are practiced by the schools that recycle the marginalization discourses that exist in media and majority discourses. She argues that the religious practices are not an outcome of the home socialization, and she postulates that Muslim immigrants practice their religious beliefs in diverse and multiple ways; while at school Muslim children show homogeneity. However, in the current study, the religious practices can hardly be considered homogeneous among the young Muslims. It can hardly be conceived as an "identity" that is meant to be oppositional to the school system and its marginalization processes. The previous examples show that the Islamic identity constructed by the participants can be in harmony with the home culture, oppositional to it, oppositional to the majority discourses, and oppositional to the different Islamic sects. As we will see later, Islamic identity can be of no importance as a strategy that is meant to empower minority children as (Gilliam 2007; 2008) has assumed, since ethnicity can be an important factor that repels pupils regardless of whether they are Muslims or not.

However, it remains true that alluding to religious prescriptions is a resource that empowers the speaker, and is usually met with respect by the participants. The behavior of the participants is not all the time in harmony with the frames and limits set by religion. Invoking a Muslim identity in conduct or discourse seems to be dependent on circumstances and not a strategy that rules the participants' lives. Previously, I mentioned Monir in an example where he insults his teacher and uses dirty language, a conduct that cannot be reconciled with a religious identity, in that both teachers and education are given lofty statuses in Islam. To explain such a contradiction in the behavior of the participants, it could be the case that Monir and the participants were socialized to respect elders according to the Arabic and Islamic prescriptions, but they have also received influences that consider the proper and required social conduct to be situational and applicable only in a Muslim community. Respecting elders, for example, depends on whether the elders are Muslims or not. By imposing the notion of someone's beliefs as a condition for determining the proper conduct, both sins and right deeds will be reversed. Showing respect to elders and teachers becomes a sin, simply because the teacher is not a Muslim. In other words, disrespecting non-Muslims becomes an action which promises a reward rather than punishment[27]. This understanding of the religious beliefs might to a great extent explain why the greatest majority of the pupils do not show respect for education and for teachers, and can be a justification as to why one teacher is reduced to a "bitch", another to a "witch", and a third is deliberately humiliated with dirty words. This can be stressed further when we know that a teacher in B is highly respected and revered by all the participants and is addressed mostly as "aunt", and they all seem to be eager to please her simply because she is Muslim who belongs to their religious sect "Sunna", and she wears a

[27] There has been so many "Fatwas = religious advisory opinions" issued by well-known Wahhabi scholars prohibiting showing respect for teachers who are not Muslims, and on the contrary, such Fatwas considered it a sin if a student just greets his/her non-Muslim teacher, or shows them respect and gratitude.

headscarf. The religious rule of respect and gratitude is applicable in her case.[28] This is in harmony with previous studies (for example Schmidt 2007) who asserts that two versions of Islam are practiced by young Muslims, and both exist in the west including Denmark. The first is an integrative version of Islam that goes in harmony with the ideals of a democratic west. The second, is an aggressive version of Islam which considers integration as a sin, and consequently the young practitioner attempts to isolate and disintegrate with the values of the democratic world.

Ethnic categories

Some Arab pupils seem to give credibility to the prevalent discourse in media and politics which portrays Arabs as lazy, unemployed, fraud, or ungrateful to the system which provides them with social services. In many occasions, the term "Arab" is used by the participants to indicate weakness, stupidity, and shortcomings. This phenomenon is different from the practice described by Rampton as *tertiary foreigner talk*, i.e., "a language practice where people with migrant or minority background strategically masquerade in the racist imagery used in dominant discourses about them" (Rampton, 2001: 271). Jaspers (2005) reports the same practice described by Rampton among Moroccan youth in Belgium, and a main characteristic of this talk is that it is not serious, and usually done in the presence of representatives of the majority (and who are assumed to be racists). The phenomenon as practiced by the participants of this study, on the other hand, is different, as masquerading the racist imagery used in dominant discourse is an in-group practice which is done in the absence of Danes, and the discourse is mostly a serious assessment of some action which is construed as inappropriate. It is an accusation of being retarded and which requires from the targeted individual to retaliate, as we can see in the following interaction among three Arab boys (Adham, Musa, and Osama), who are editing a video file on the computer, and where Osama is dissatisfied with Musa's contribution. Example: (4.19)

1-Adham: *khalas* lade den være *khalleeha haik modail* 2-Musa: ja *wallah* se den der den deler op herfra 3-Osama: *yallah* jeg kan godt finde ud af (.) *tse ya a'arabi* 4-Musa: *mitlak*	1-Adham: *that's it* leave it as it is *leave it as it is, a model*. 2-Musa: yes *by Allah* see that one, it splits up here 3-Osama: *go on* I can find out (.) *tse "complaint" Hey you Arab* 4-Musa: *just as you are*

Musa in this example retaliates by returning the same "insult" to Osama in line (4). The perception that "Arab" is equivalent to an insult can be determined by the context in which this term occurs. So, instead of saying "stupid" for example, Osama opts for "a'arabi =Arab", and the recognition that Musa perceives it as an insult, and not as a neutral term, is determined by Musa's retaliation. Accusing someone of being an "Arab" might as well refer to what the boys think is a typical Arabic mode of conduct, which is devoid of "politeness" and "gratefulness", as we might see in the following example, where Adham and Mahir copy their assignment from a Vietnamese girl (Vi), but Adham denies crediting her and rejects to express gratitude for allowing him to copy. Example (4.20)

1-Adham: jamen tak for hjælpen Vi, jamen altså du hjalp mig ikke, men jeg kiggede altså efter. Altså det der er ikke sjovt, jeg vil gerne lære noget 2-Mahir: araber den er du jo ikke? 3-Adham: oh jeg mangler kun to sider	1-Adham: well, thanks for the help Vi, but you did not help me, well I just looked. so this is not fun, I would like to learn something. 2-Mahir: An Arab is what you are, aren't you? 3-Adham: oh I lack two pages only

[28] It could be also related to the personality of the teacher and the way she/he approaches different situations. Nada, the Muslim teacher being described here, is always decisive about things, despite the informality that characterizes her relation with pupils.

The same negative considerations regarding "being an Arab" shape their attitude when the matter is related to establishing romantic or friendship relations with the other sex. In the following example, A Somali boy "Yassin" boasts that he has so many girls in his friendship list on Facebook. The two Arab boys downgrade his achievement by assuming that none of them is Danish. Example (4.21)

1-Musa: Okay jeg skal kigge på dine venner når jeg kommer hjem 2-Abbas: ja 3-Musa: [alle sammen de er arabere og somaliere 4-Yassin: [er vi venner? er vi venner?	1-Musa: Okay, I will look at your friends when I go home 2-Abbas: yes 3-Musa: [all of them are Arabs and Somalis 4-Yassin: [are we friends? are we friends?

There is always the assumption that a relation with an Arab girl could be insecure, and will be of no avail, whereas with a Danish girl there is always a potential that the relation might develop and sexual benefits might be reaped. Again, Danish girls in this school are rare, as 95% of the pupils have immigrant backgrounds, and so Arab and Somali girls for the participants are abundant and it might not be a big achievement – for the participants – if one befriends Arabs and Somalis.

Negative considerations regarding the term "Arab" or the community – or category – to which one belongs is not peculiar to Arabs, as Somalis in different occasions seem to have their considerations regarding the etiquettes of communication, and where the term "udlændinge = foreigners" is used to connote some negative conduct or practices which require from the individual to distance himself/herself from such kind of "categories". In one example, A girl (Nida) speaks in a very loud voice, so her Somali friend (Aya) advices her to act differently. Example (4.22)

Aya: tag dig sammen Nida, du skal ikke en gang være en af de der udlændinge, esht tage dig sammen
Get a grip Nida, you should not be one of those foreigners,(*esht = silencing sound)* get a grip.

In such examples, we see a process of selectivity going on. There are certain practices which in the participants' view pertain to "Arabs" or "Foreigners", and they attempt to distance themselves from such practices, and to adopt instead other practices which pertain to the majority or mainstream Danish speakers. In other words, "do not act like foreigners/Arabs", means as well "act like Danes", and in this sense the pupils stress their dual identity. Although the notion of "foreigner" can be seen as an imposed "identity" which cannot be negotiated, the participants in fact do negotiate and demonstrate their disaffiliations by selecting /discarding the practices which they assume to be representative /misrepresentative of their identity.

Attempts to distance oneself from the local community – or from those "Arabs" or "foreigners" who do not behave in an acceptable manner is sometimes implied and expressed indirectly through language choice and language use in reporting direct speech. In the following example, Noha attempts to mock an Arab butcher in her ghetto who seems to have speech deficiency as he lisps; the group with whom Noha is interacting are also familiar with the targeted character, and so they share in the mocking: (Bold: English / italics: Arabic/ underlined: lisp). Example (4.23)

1-Noha: Husam *ellaham keef bi'ool*? 2-Adham: **my boy** fiyuth (fiyuth =firs) 3-Noha: jeg har mit mobil jeg har mit mobil faktith (faktith =faktisk) 4-Adham: hutham **forty** fiyuth jeg boet i danmark i **thiveral** år 5-Noha: *al hadeek el marra al hadeek el marra immi rahat rahat tjeeb lahmi, alla thofti? thofti? ghallaina ellahmi thofti?* min mor sagde hvad rager det mig?	1-Noha: *How Husam the butcher speaks*? 2-Adham: **my boy** eighty 3-Noha: I have my mobile I have my mobile actually 4-Adham: Husam **forty** eighty I lived in Denmark for **several** years. 5-Noha: *that time that time my mother went my mother went to buy meat. he told her, have you noticed? have you noticed? we raised the price of meat, have you noticed?* my mother said, what do I care?

The reported speaker "Husam" utters the [s] sound as [Ɵ]. Adham is interested in revealing the butcher's deficiency in speaking, not only in terms of lisping and pronunciation, but also through providing instances where the butcher mixes Danish and English – mainly to highlight how he lisps, and for this purpose he selects words that contain [S] sound. Noha on the other hand, as she reports a story where her mother went to buy meat and had an encounter with the butcher, depicts the butcher speaking Arabic, while her mother is reported to have answered in Danish (in time communication in such Arabic shops goes solely in one language especially when the speakers belong to the first generation of immigrants like Noha's mother and the butcher). In such a way, Noha distances herself and her mother from the butcher and his likes, by attributing to her mother the ability to speak Danish, and by reporting her speaking Danish instead of Arabic. In Goffman's (1981) words, the speaker is only an "animator". This point can be stressed further if we know that Noha is reporting a story that was reported to her by her mother, and she is reporting here what her mother reported to her in "Arabic", and Noha in her turn is assigning different languages to different speakers.

Gafaranga (2007: 162) argues that "the decision as to what aspect to report, rather than being random, is functional. In actual situations, speakers select to depict any aspect which can best serve the intended function." The function of the above excerpt is to "mock" the butcher, and to reenact the way he lisps, where listeners are invited to share their own experiences with the butcher, and to laugh. Gafaranga (2007) assumes that direct speech reporting is selective and partial because it depicts some aspects of the event reported and disregards some others, and this is a point which was explained in detail by Goffman and his notion of *footing*. The selection itself of what aspect to depict depends on the intended function, which in the example above is mocking, and selectivity is represented by finding Arabic, Danish, and English words with [s], so that the speakers can "lisp" in the same manner the butcher lisps. This is what Adham and Noha attempted to achieve. Basing his argument on Clark and Gerrig's (1990), Gafaranga proposes that direct speech reporting must be seen as the creation of current speaker, and he tackles the issue of language choice by assuming that language choice itself may be depictive and that it "either adds new meaning to what is being said or reinforces it in various ways" (Gafaranga: 2007: 168). The speakers – and the participants- in the above example seem to dissociate themselves from the person being reported, therefore, Noha's choice to depict her mother speaking Danish is meant to stress the distance between her and her mother on one hand, and the butcher on the other and to highlight identity contrast. In other words, depicting her mother speaking Danish is not done because her mother spoke Danish. Gafaranga (2007: 172) provides a plausible conclusion for language choice in direct speech reporting, as he states "direct speech reporting is neither a mere matter of reproducing the medium of "original talk" nor is it that of contrasting the reported material and the surrounding interactional context. Rather, it is a matter of whether language choice itself is being reported or not and, if it is, of whether language choice itself is the depictive aspect or whether it is a supportive aspect." Language choice in the present example is not depictive, rather it is supportive, where Noha is merely an "animator" in Goffman's terms, who postulates that "when we shift from saying something ourselves to reporting what someone else said, we are changing our footing….and a code switch sometimes functions as a mark of this shift" (Goffman 1981: 151).

"We" vs. "They": If the term "Arab" or "udlændinge = foreigner" connote deficiencies when used among Arabs, and require retaliation or self-defense, the stigmatized term "perker = nigger", on the other hand, does not seem to connote negative attitudes and is not treated as a "pejorative"

term, as long as the one using it is not Danish[29] . On the contrary, Arabs seemed to entertain calling each other "perker", which in some contexts might conflate non-Arabs too. In school A, Arabs refer to themselves as "perker", but they refuse to include "Somalis" under this category, rather they call them "chocolate". In school "B", on the other hand, the term "perker" is used as a reference to everyone who is not Danish, and it conflates all minority ethnic groups. The following two examples from schools A and B respectively illustrate the context of using "potato", "chocolate", and "perker" as terms of ethnic reference to "self" and "others".
(The episode involves the following Arab speakers: boys (Ala + Musa); girls (Noha + Samiha); and a Somali boy (Sahm). Example (4.24)

1-Ala: du skal altså ikke true mig med te	1-Ala: you should not as well threaten me with tea
2-Noha: *wallah* jeg truer dig med kniv [kaman	2-Noha: *By Allah* I threaten you with knife [*as well*
3-Ala: [fordi jeg ikke skade (.) jeg truer dig med chokolade hehe med somalier	3-Ala: [because I didn't harm (.) I threaten you with chocolate hehe with Somalis
4-Noha: hehe *a'a'ed haddi el* chokolade	4-Noha: hehe *the* chocolate *is sitting beside me*
5-Ala: ligesom ham der	5-Ala: like this one there (referring to Sahm)
6-Musa: han truer dig med chokalata nu	6-Musa: he threatens you with *chocolate* now
7-Sahm: somalier er brune, har du et problem↑	7-Sahm: Somalis are brown, do you have a problem?
8-Ala: du er brun	8-Ala: you are brown
9-Sahm: hvad så↑	9-Sahm: so what?
10-Ala: du er [chokolade	10-Ala: you are [chocolate
11-Noha: [black	11-Noha: [black
12- (collective laughter)	12-(collective laughter)
13-Samiha: jeg har chokolade, [det er ikke brun	13-Sahm: I have chocolate, [it is not brown
14-Ala: [alle andre somalier de er brune	14-Ala: [all other Somalis are brown
15-Noha: okay er chokolade ikke brun↑ [han er mørke chokolade	15-Noha: Okay is chocolate not brown? [he is dark chocolate
16-Musa: (addresses Sahm and points finger at Ala)[hvad er han så↑ hvad er han↑	16-Musa: (addresses Sahm and points finger at Ala)[what is he then? what is he?
17-Ala: hvad er jeg↑	17-Ala: what am I?
18-Sahm: han er kartoffel	18-Sahm: he is potato
19-(collective laughter and someone applauds)	19-(collective laughter and someone applauds)
20-Noha: det er danskere der er kartofler	20-Noha: it's the Danes who are potatoes.
21-Samiha: *eh wallah*	21-Samiha: *yes by Allah / that's right.*

Prior to this episode, the Somali boy had been a target of bullying by Arab pupils for more than 40 minutes, and it is only at the end that he attempts to defend himself and retaliates by categorizing the bully "Ala" as potato. However, rejection to this categorization comes from the Arabs, and that potato refers to Danes, and "Ala" is not a Dane. The reference to "Sahm" as "chocolate" is accepted by the speakers involved, and they achieve consensus regarding this term as a reference to the boy and to his ethnicity. Pupils of school A have a long history of being together, and collaboratively they have created and stabilized the use of such terms and categories over time, to the extent that each pupil knows his/her place in the pyramid of categories/colors depending on their "ethnic" group**.** The Somali boy above is aware that he belongs to an ethnic group separate from Arabs, and he conflates all his "oppressors" – who have authority like Danish teachers, and who bully him like the Arab boys – under the category of potato.

It became clear to me that school A has suffered from inter-ethnic strife once I saw the pictures of pupils tagged to the walls of the corridors, depicting Arab and Somali pupils in still pictures: shaking hands, cooperating, helping each other, etc. Each picture has a cliché which reads: "we respect each other"; "we help each other", "we cooperate", etc. This is one way the school has attempted to perpetuate such humane and noble values, but it remains true as well that such values

[29] I haven't heard any Dane using this term.

are manifested only in still pictures on the walls, and haven't materialized into real practices in the pupils' daily communications and interactions. The still pictures represent the official institutional ideology of the school, which is rendered into strife while the pupils acted, enacted and performed their ethnic identities. The subsequent byproduct of this "strife" is power asymmetry between Arabs and Somalis.

Consider the following interaction from school B, where a group of Arab boys (Monir and Anas, among others who are not participating in the conversation of this episode) were working in the corridor when their out-group peers came out of the classroom and found that the group was being taped. The out-group peers inquire about the camera. Example: (4.25)

1-Bassam: *la meen*↑	1-Bassam: *for whom*↑
2-Monir: *hay lal zalami jowa*	2-Monir: *this is for the man (who is) inside*
3-Bassam: *laih sho biddo*↑	3-Bassam: *why what does he want*↑
4-Monir: *lak* han filmer	4-Monir: *you* he films
5-Anas: *lak* han filmer, han skal se det hele	5-Anas: *you* he films, he will see everything
6-Boy1: okay (.) *laih* man kan ikke se dit hoved anas?	6-Boy1: alright *why* can't we see your head anas?
7-Boy: har i arbejdet godt i den her time? hvad har i? hvad havde i?	7-Boy: have you worked well in this hour? what do you have? what did you have?
8-Bassam: *laih ya'ani sho biddo*?	8-Bassam: *why what does he want*?
9-Monir: han viser det til politiet	9-Monir: he will show it to the police
10-Anas: ja han skal vise det til politiet	10-Anas: yes he has to show it to the police
11-Bassam: *bsharafak*↑	11-Bassam: *by your honor*↑
12-(Monir nods)	12-(Monir nods)
13-Boy: hvad havde i?	13-Boy: what did you have?
14-Boy1: nej han skal ikke	14-Boy1: no he will not
15-Monir: jo	15-Monir: yes
16-Bassam: hvorfor skal han vise det, så han kan vælge-	16-Bassam: why he has to show it, so he can choose-
17-Monir: ne:j så han kan se hvordan arabere er i den her skole og alt det der	17-Monir: no: so he can see how the arabs are in this school and all that
18-Anas: ja politiet skal se hvordan arabere er i den her skole	18-Anas: yes the police will see how the arabs are in this school
19-Anas: (to Monir – whisper) heh:: bassam er død	19-Anas: (to Monir – whisper) heh:: bassam is dead
20-Monir: så i skal passe på	20-Monir: so you have to be careful
21-Boy: mig ikke araber	21-Boy: me not Arab
22-Monir: [ja og det er	22-Monir: [yes and it is
23-Boy1: [mig ikke *a'arab*	23-Boy1: [me not *Arab*
24-Monir: de siger perker, de siger perker	24-Monir: they say perker, they say perker

Though Monir and Anas are joking and not serious about their explanations regarding the camera and the purpose for which the camera is being used, the episode demonstrates their knowledge and awareness of their image in the political/public discourse. Monir and Anas, both, attempt to project the image of the rascal immigrant in order to scare Bassam who is inquiring about the camera. The police want to monitor the Arabs in the school and are conducting an investigation about their behavior, and this fits the image which they see and hear about in the ghetto. They are objects of interest for police and media. The out-group boys attempt to distance themselves by denying their Arabic origins, in order to exclude themselves from police monitoring. Monir, on the other hand, includes them as he repairs his initial claim – they are not recording Arabs only, but perkers/niggers, a category which includes all minority ethnic groups (Turks, Persians, Somalis, etc.). The episode demonstrates the participants' awareness of the stereotypical image which the broader community conceives of them. The broader community "them" is the police, and "we" are the criminals; "they" have the camera and "we" are the object which will be monitored; "they" create the rules, and "we" transgress, and that's why "they" want to monitor "us". Monir's warning "you have to be careful" (20) is a directive to the boys that they have to act according to some rules prescribed by "them", and in a manner that shouldn't generate the criticism of "them". "We" are the

"perker" as "they" call us. Monir and Anas succeed in creating a joke by relying on resources and discourses that are familiar and intelligible by the minority groups. The method they employ in doing the joke is represented by acting "serious", and by producing agreements with each other, as Anas repeats what Monir says to give the similitude of "reality" in his confirmations (5-10-18). The joke might not have been successful had the participants in this episode had a Danish background as they are not an object of interest for the media or the police.

The aforementioned examples demonstrate the participants' recoil upon the self and their low self-esteem, as they make use of the terms "Arab", "foreigner", "perker" as insults and in derogatory contexts. The examples also show their awareness of the majority and media discourses that usually focus on devious cases and situations related to minorities. Having low self-esteem towards one's home culture is one of the major factors that lead to negative school experience, and this is a notion implied in multiple studies (Cummins 2000, 3003; Holmen & Risager 2003, Møller et. al 2014).

Arab vs. Somali: Racism is usually understood as a one way road, where categorizations are imposed by members of the majority, who are powerful, and whose racial discourse has consequences in terms of confining members of the minority within certain "labels" and "categories". Categorizations and labels created by minority members – like the category *potato* to refer to Danes - are usually dismissed and their effect is belittled since they are of no avail. Most of the studies and theories concerned with racial issues depend on "majority" categorical discourse imposed upon "minority", and there is little research which is concerned with conflicts and racial discourse among different ethnic minority groups, and the influence of this on the social and psychological state of the individual. For a member in the majority group (Danish), there could be no difference between an Arab and a Somali, as both are most likely Muslims, females wear headscarves, speak a common language, live in the same ghetto, arrived in Denmark at around the same time as they escaped from wars and conflicts, and enjoyed the same status of "refugees", etc. This common history between the two groups – Arabs and Somalis – leads many to conflate the two groups together, and to treat them as one. But for members of these ethnic groups, they tend to view each other as occupying different levels on the pyramid of power, where Arabs generally see themselves in a higher level.

Reisigl and Wodak, define racism and its consequences in the following manner:

> Racism is based on the hierarchising construction of groups of persons which are characterized as communities of descent and which are attributed specific collective, naturalized or biological traits that are considered to be almost invariable. These traits are primarily related to biological features, appearance, cultural practices, customs, traditions, language or socially stigmatized ancestors. They are – explicitly or implicitly, directly or indirectly – evaluated negatively, and this judgment is more or less in accord with hegemonic views (Reisigl and Wodak: 2000, P:275).

Bigelow (2010) and Schmidt (2002) argue that racialization is a social process that results in "inequality", and it is damaging since it imposes identities or forces potentially painful negotiations. In her study of a Somali group in an American context, Bigelow (2010) considers racialization as a useful tool that enables her to deconstruct and explain many power issues that are otherwise invisible or naturalized and hidden from inspection. She treats the issue of racism as something imposed by the "white majority" who conflate Somali refugees with Afro-Americans based on

color. Whereas in the current study, we see racism as something imposed upon Somalis by another minority group, who are not necessarily white.

The process of racism might also explain "ostracism", when a group of Arab boys in B reject for example to accept a member who belongs to the Danish ethnicity, for the sole reason that he is Danish – while on the other hand, we see a clique of Danish boys accepting an Arab who chooses to befriend and abide by the values and norms of this Danish clique, and this boy is usually ridiculed by his Arab peers because of his affiliation with the Danes, or because of his "acting Danish". Such stories of ostracism are well documented by researchers elsewhere, like Bigelow (2010) who reports that Somalis (in the American context) who do homework may be perceived by their peers as acting "white" and are usually ostracized from the peer group. A similar notion is mentioned by Gilliam (2006, 2007, 2008) who demonstrates the view that being a disciplined student is usually interpreted by the minority students as something pertaining to the Danes and that's why minority students in general avoid being disciplined, as they reject to be Danes.

Somalis were stigmatized, and a stigma is defined by Jones et al (1984) as a characteristic that is perceived not merely as aversive or disruptive but also as deeply discrediting. A person who is stigmatized is one who has been discredited and consequently devalued and socially marginalized on account of having a stigma. According to Dixon and Smith (2011) stigmatization may be employed by individuals who perceive themselves to be low in the social hierarchy (Arabs are also a minority and as we have seen above many of them suffer from low-self-esteem), denigrating others makes them feel better and may also result in a relative increase in status.

In school A, Somalis were subject to the same pressures as other children. In addition, they were stigmatized because of their ethnicity and color, and trapped in more enduring bullying relationships. It was not possible to investigate this case in school B, since there were no Somali boys in the class, but there were Danish boys in B, who were absent in A. It seemed to me that there is no communication whatsoever between the two cliques (Arab) vs (Danish); each maintained their own norms and group boundaries, and interaction in a negative way was always waged by Arab boys against the Arab boy who was a member in the Danish clique[30]. The following example is from school B, and it involves three Arab boys (Monir, Anas and Malik) who are counting the number of pupils in their class. Example (4.26)

1-Monir: hey i klassen er der kun fem	1-Monir: Hey in the class there is only five
2-Malik: der er kun fem danskere	2-Malik: there is only five Danes
3-Monir: der er kun fem kartofler og resten er perker.	3-Monir: there is only five potatoes and the rest are niggers
4-Malik: hehehehe fem kartofler og resten er perker	4-Malik: hehehehe five potatoes and the rest are niggers
5-Anas: *laik*↑	5-Anas: *hey you*?
6- Boy: *sho*↑	6-Boy: *what*?
7-Anas: fem kartofler og resten er perker	7-Anas: five potatoes and the rest are niggers.

Needless to say that the nationalities represented in this class are: Arab, Kurd, Turk, Bosnian, Somali, German, and Dane. All the ethnicities were conflated in the category "perker =nigger", whereas Danes are categorized as potatoes. Generally speaking, Boys who are disciplined and dubbed as"nerds" seem to be able to cope and cooperate with pupils from other ethnicities; the same

[30] As I mentioned before, school B is a result of merging two schools together, and by the time I started my fieldwork in B, the pupils had been together for 3 months only, which might indicate that the pupils (Arabs) and (Danes) did not have enough time to socialize and know each other, and this might explain why there seemed to be no interaction between the two groups.

applies to most of the girls in the two schools, who are less concerned about ethnicity in choosing their friends. However, Arab pupils in general – and in school A in particular - consider themselves in a higher rank than Somalis and more powerful, and this is manifested in the first place in the social practices of avoiding Somalis and not forming cliques and friendships which include the two ethnicities, and in the exceptional cases where this might happen, the Arab who is part of a Somali clique could be vulnerable and weak among Arabs, but among the Somali group he/she becomes the leader.

Somalis in general are constant targets for bullying and ridicule by Arabs, and in the following examples, I will show how this uneasy relation between the two ethnicities is manifested in the Arabs' daily and taken for granted discourse. During recess, an Arab girl (Noha) who is frequently bullied and ridiculed by her Arab classmates and peers for what they consider a physical deficiency (for example, they refer to her as "bolle = bun", "big momma", etc.) encounters two Arab boys whom Noha seems to admire. The two boys are irritated by her behavior in that she keeps asking others about their comings and goings. The result is that one of the boys attacks her as he advices her to search for a "lover" or "mate" from among the Somalis and not from among Arabs. Example (4.27)

1-Ahmad:ja ja Noha er jaloux altid altid taler om mig og dig. 2-Noha: nej 3-Ahmad: jo, og hun siger altid er ahmad og hammoudi i skole? er ahmad kommet? du er jaloux, GÅ VÆK MED DIG, GÅ OVER TIL ABDI MA::N. 4-Noha: (talking to the girl with her) : kom vi skal ud.	1-Ahmad: yes yes Noha is jealous always always talking about me and you. 2-Noha: no 3-Ahmad: yes, and she always says are Ahmad and Hammoudi in school? has Ahmad come? you are jealous, GO AWAY WITH YOURSELF, GO OVER TO ABDI[31] 4-Noha: (talking to the girl with her): come, let's go out.

The Arab speaker considers it a "shame" that someone like Noha is chasing him and his friend. He sarcastically tells Noha about a boyfriend/mate to associate herself with and who might fit with her "qualifications", namely to "go to Abdi". Abdi is a typical and very common Somali name, and the speaker is not referring to a certain person named "Abdi", but to the Somali race, and that instead of searching and inquiring about him and his friend, Noha's disqualifications enable her to have a Somali boy and she shouldn't dream beyond that. Although the interlocutors are Arabs, and Somalis are not involved, the discourse of associating Somalis with deficiencies and referring to the entire Somali race by the term "Abdi" encapsulates the view Arabs conceive regarding the Somalis' inferior place relative to them.

However, we cannot assume that Somalis live with a low self-esteem or that they do not assume racial pride. Many of them do not act in a submissive way, and they are proud of what they are and of their Somali ethnic background and ready to defend their race when they feel that a non-Somali is targeting them. Consequently, this clash of interests and considerations among Arabs and Somalis makes it possible to transform most of their encounters into fights and disputes. In the following example, Samar is a Somali girl who is working on editing a video clip that shows one of the Arab boys in her Arab group. The Arab boys want to change the color of Adham's skin: suggestions are purple, white, and black but Musa includes Somali as one of the possible colors, which prompts Samar to defend her race. Example (4.28)

1-Samar: gør ham (.) gør hans ansigt eh oh 2-Osama: det er ikke din tur bare	1-Samar: make him (.) make his face eh oh 2-Osama: it's not your turn

[31] Referring to Somalis by "Abdi" is part of the Arabs' racial attitude. I asked an Arab boy, why "Abdi?", he told me if you do not know the name of a Somali, just call him "Abdi", and you will have a 95% chance to be right.

3-Samar: lilla 4-Adham: *wlak* hvis i laver mit ansigt hvid, jer er ligeglad, helt hvid hvid ligesom is 5-Musa: jeg laver dig somalier 6-Osama: *wallah la a'amila wallah* 7-Musa: jeg laver dig *somali* 8-Samar: hvad har du noget imod somalier? 9-Musa: ikke [noget 10-Osama: [boom 11-Adham: han sagde bare han laver mig somalier, altså somalier 12-Musa: gør dig somalier 13-Osama: altså han gøre ham black	3-Samar: purple 4-Adham: *you (pejorative)* if you make my face white, I will not care, completely white white as ice 5-Musa: I will make you Somali 6-Osama: *by Allah I will do it by Allah* 7-Musa: I will make you *Somali* 8-Samar: what do you have anything against Somalis? 9-Musa: no[thing 10-Osama: [boom 11-Adham: He just said he will make me Somali, that is Somali 12-Musa: make you Somali 13-Osama: well he will make him black

The speakers are in a context where they have to transform Adham's color into something ridiculous and funny. Samar suggests purple, and this is rejected. Adham is careless and he can decide and suggest any color. Musa makes the insult by suggesting "Somali", moving from the domain of color into the domain of "race", and offering a categorical work for the group to make inference. Samar returns to the discussion where she perceives that what is happening is a form of discrimination against Somalis. The details which the Arab boys provide in order to justify Musa's choice of "Somali" are not real justifications, and are comprised of translating and reiterating what Musa has just said. Osama's switch into English "black" is interesting if we see it as an allusion to the Afro-Americans. In fact, the group want a funny color, and Adham's suggestion that "white as ice" could be the worst in a scale of possible colors, "Somali = black" would be at the bottom and the most hilarious. Samar's suggestion of "purple" is not a racial color, whereas Adham's suggestion of "white" could be an ethnic color, and thus paves the way for Musa to suggest "Somali" as a color. The episode involves the group while trying to reach an agreement regarding a "color", but before Samar utters "purple", Osama stops her and doesn't give her the right to continue. One might argue that Osama's suggestion of a "black" color is more a movement away from "ethnicity" and "race" issues, but the fact that he says this in English can be interpreted as laying more stress and emphasis on the idea of "ethnicity", and it is just an invitation to Samar to accept this by alluding to racial issues in America. Dark skin color is perceived by Arabs as negative and ugly, although many Arabs and Palestinians have a dark skin color like Somalis. It is simply the reference to the black color by using "Somali" is what was deemed unacceptable and pejorative by Samar, and triggered her to inquire if the Arab group has anything against Somalis. Arabs defend their stance; Musa denies having anything against Somalis. Adham constitutes that Musa hasn't mentioned anything wrong, while Osama uses and perceives "Somali" and "black" as interchangeable terms, where his first answer to Musa's suggestion of transforming the color into "Somali", is met with an upgrading statement that he will apply the color; whereas in his defense of Musa, he states that he will make Adham "black".

In all of the aforementioned examples, we see attempts to categorize the self and the other as a way of ridiculing the other. The method is comprised of using a categorical term which is known by the participants, and it can be a direct reference to the ethnic group (e.g., Arab, foreigner), or indirect (e.g., potato, chocolate, Abdi). The process of ridiculing the other is mostly done in the presence of a group, where those who are supposed to belong to the same group or ethnicity show allegiance to each other either by producing justifications that align them with the producer of the offensive term, or by repeating the offensive term.

Jørgensen (2008 -73-4) reminds us that "categorization is not restricted to the way we see other people, we categorize every object, phenomenon, activity, or incident which we encounter. But the

categorization of human beings is special in that we, by dealing with categories of human beings, also categorize ourselves. Along with the categorization we evaluate, and we ascribe different values to different categories, including the ones we belong to ourselves." Similarly, Espiritu (1992) considers categorization to be intimately bound up with power relations, where a more powerful group seeks to dominate another by imposing a categorical identity inferior to the dominant group. No doubt that inventing collective identities for large numbers of individuals who are quite diverse is destructive, as the process of categorization is not only about lumping diverse individuals, but also about attributing and assuming certain values of inferiority to those individuals and about entrenching norms of communication which justify the dominance of one group over the other, where one group is herd within a frame of inferiority.

During project week, pupils of different ages (grade 3 to grade 6) – both Arabs and Somalis – had to cook and eat in the Kitchen-classroom. In this episode, we see a glimpse of how an Arab six-grader (Ala) starts to bully a fourth-grader Somali boy. Ala quickly receives accomplices represented by the bulk of pupils sitting on the table, and who act as a cheering audience to Ala's performance. The process of bullying keeps building over a period of 40 minutes, and despite the teachers' interference to protect or defend the Somali boy, Ala continues with his accumulative scheme, using metaphors and personifications that associate the Somali boy with food. Example (4.29):

Ala: *ew* jeg skal have lidt salt så jeg kan spise dig, det smager ikke godt 0.5
: hey I need a little salt so I can eat you, it doesn't taste good.

Then he increases the level of bullying by drawing the analogy between the boy's dark color and chocolate:

Ala: hvad smager du af? (1.0) hvis du smager af chokolade så vil jeg gerne spise dig
: what do you taste of? (1.0) if you taste of chocolate so I would like to eat you

Finally, he proceeds by considering the boy an animal, which is a category that can justify all types of aggression against the boy:

Ala: spis, så du kan blive fed, så jeg kan spise dig. (3.0)
: eat in order to get fat so I can eat you.

After this, Ala considers himself the owner of the Somali boy – who is compared to a dog and whose duty is to protect his Arab master. This bullying session ends by the end of the lesson (or perhaps it continues during recess), where Ala refers to the Somali boy as his slave. In all these remarks, Ala is drawing on a long historical heritage of how Somalis – or dark skinned people in general – are to be perceived and treated. The attack against the boy is justified in the first place by the consideration that the boy is not only different, but he is simply non-human.

Ethnic relations are different in school B, since the classroom in B has only five Somali girls, but no Somali boys. Social relations are based on a clear-cut gender line, where girls are more tolerant, and show acceptance towards each other, and at times they see no difference between being an Arab or a Somali. In the following example, we see an Arab girl in B who claims a Somali identity in order to avoid the camera. The episode involves two Somali girls (S1 – S2), two Arab girls (Yosra and Inas), Bosnien (Erina), and Kurd (Rola):
(Yosra holds the camera and zooms in on the group members one by one). Example (4.30)

1-Inas: det der det må du altså ikke yosra 2-S1: hvad snakker du om↑ 3-S2: ej jeg er ikke arabere hold det kamera der 4-Inas: hvad laver du? 5-Yosra: jeg er hellere ikke araber (.) ja::::: jeg er faktisk blevet halv kvart somalier jeg kan somalisk 6-S1: ej hvad kan du sige↑ 7-Rola: ej min far kan så mange sprog 8-Yosra: jeg kan:: jeg har glemt det (.) jeg kan sige en pige og en dreng jeg kan sige gå væk og jeg kan sige:: et eller andet andet så jeg kunne jeg sige et eller andet mere 9-Rola: prøv sige en pige 10-S1: så er du næsten ligesom min lllesøster bortset fra hun bruger nogle andre ord 11-Yosra: jeg ka, jeg har [glemt hvad det er det er et eller andet med 12-Inas: [så er der ikke xxxxx somali xxxxx 13-Yosra: jo men jeg [skal bare lige have fået det at vide mange gange 14-S2: [husk det 15-Yosra: eh:m: eh:: 16-Erina: ej det skal jeg også 17-Yosra: det er bare sådan:: yurya det betyder dreng eller sådan noget der 18-S1: nej 19-Yosra: nej yurya betyder kom 20-Rola: eller Kom 21-S2: nej det er ikke kom, det er sådan ligesom hvis jeg laver *taa'al* kom lige *taa'al* kom lige 22-Yosra: e:hm kom wili a'akkal det betyder kom 23-S1: og det er ikke wili a'akkal det er woriya akkali 24-Rola: woria akkali 25-Yosra: okay ja I got it	1-Inas: this thing please do not do yosra 2-S1: what are you talking about? 3-S2: no I am not Arab keep the camera there 4-Inas: what are you doing? 5-Yosra: I'm not an Arab either (.) Ye:::s I've actually become half quarter Somali, I can speak Somali 6-S1: no what can you say? 7-Rola: no, my father can speak many languages 8-Yosra: I can:: I've forgotten what (.) I can say a girl and a boy, I can say go away and I can say something else I could say something else more 9-Rola: try to say a girl 10-S1: so you are almost like my little sister except that she uses some other words 11-Yosra: I can, I've [forgotten what it is, something with 12-Inas: [so there is xxxx Somali xxxxxxxx 13-Yosra: yes but I [must have been through this many times 14-S2: [remember it 15-Yosra: eh:m eh:: 16-Erina: no, I have too 17-Yosra: it's just like this, yurya means boy or something like that 18-S1: no 19-Yosra: no yurya means come 20-Rola: or come 21-S2: no it is not come, it's just like this as when I do *come* come straight *come* come straight 22-Yosra: e:hm come wili a'akkal it means come 23-S1: and it is not wili akkal it is woriya akkali 24-Rola: woria akkali 25-Yosra: okay I've got it.

Somali girls reject to accept Yosra after she fails to substantiate the claim that she is partly Somali, because she knows few words and it turns out that what she thinks she knows is inappropriate or not enough. Her claim of the knowledge she has is downgraded and compared to a little girl's knowledge. But more importantly, the episode demonstrates that the social alignments in school B are based on considerations that do not attribute to Somalis an inferior status, and girls in general seem to be socialized to deal with each other on equal grounds. The same can be said about the girls in school A, as ethnic differences did not prevent the girls from mingling and forming cliques that might include Arabs and Somalis.

Girls vs. Boys: socialization and differentiation:

Language socialization research is concerned with how specific affective alignments or positions come into being and are negotiated (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004: 351; Goodwin 2011: 365). Garrett (2007: 240) informs us that "language socialization research is not just a matter of producing detailed ethnographic accounts of individual developmental trajectories and the local settings in which they occur; an important overarching goal is to understand how the experiences and actions of individuals relate to larger socio-cultural and socio-historical processes." Parents have the upper hand in socializing their children in certain ways and for deciding for their children regarding the different activities concerned with the school life. In the current study, there seems to be more pressure upon girls to conform to certain cultural and traditional norms than there is upon boys. Females in general are perceived by their home culture as the bearers of "honor", and males generally are considered as the protectors of this honor. Although Islam requires Hijab from

females when they reach the age of puberty, many fathers have imposed Hijab on children who are still six or seven years old. It was very common to see female pupils of all ages covered with Hijab in school A, to the extent that those not wearing it were rare. As I have mentioned earlier, the contradiction in wearing a headscarf and a dress code that does not fit it renders it meaningless, and might as well indicate that many of the females are wearing it to satisfy their parents. This is in addition to the superfluity of Hijab when it is used to cover – not adults but – little children whose bodies still need years to grow. Hijab, in this way, can be a token that indexes parental pressure upon girls, and it is nevertheless, an important part of the dress code, regardless of what that code might reveal or hide.

Parents assume authority not only over their daughters' dress code, but they might interfere with issues that have to do with school life and social activities arranged by the school administration. In the following discussion among girls - (Noha –Zaina – Ikhlas and Aya/ all are Arab girls except for Aya who is Somali – Bold lines are irrelevant) – we get a glimpse of the parents' fears and worries over their daughters. Example (4.31)

1-Noha: ej *law ijeeti ma'ana* det var rigtig fedt 2-Ikhlas: jeg var jo ikke der, jeg var på libanon **3-Aya: khalas hvis du går ind, må jeg så gerne gå med↑** **4-Ikhlas: ja selvfølgelg** 5-Noha: din far sagde, jeg har spurgt ham, han sagde hun må ikke komme med til lejrskole 6-Ikhlas: jo jeg må godt, du ved ikke mere end mig NOHA. Jeg har selv spurgt ham. 7-Noha: det kan godt være når du bliver større så må du gerne, jeg ved det ikke. *bas* der er der er hallo, jamen der er nogen der ikke må når de er lille og så er der nogen der må når de bliver større 8-Ikhlas: ja det er nok fordi at faren er bange for der sker noget. De ved jo aldrig hvad der sker. det ved man ikke 9-Aya: for dig var det ikke det at din far var bange for hvad der sker med dig 10-Zaina: jo, jeg må kun når jeg går i syvende altså syvende ottende og niende 11-Ikhlas: når jeg går i syvende. Så har jeg når vi skal til london 12-Zaina: det er det samme med min storesøster, hun måtte heller ikke før hun gik i syvende.	1-Noha: ej *if only you had come with us*, it was really cool 2-I: I was not there, I was in Lebanon **3-Aya: *that's it* if you go inside (class), I would like to go with you ↑** **4-Ikhlas: yes of course** 5-Noha: Your dad said I asked him, he said she should not come to school camp 6-Ikhlas: of course I may well, you do not know more than me NOHA. I have even asked him. 7-Noha: it could be when you grow older then you can I do not know. *but* there are there are hello, well there are some who cannot when they are little and some who can when they grow older 8-Ikhlas: yes it is probably because the father is afraid that something happens. You never know what happens. one cannot know 9-Aya: for you wasn't it that your father was afraid of what (might) happen to you? 10-Zaina: yes, I can only when I go to seventh (class), So seventh, eighth and ninth. 11-Ikhlas: when I go to seventh So I have (the chance) when we will go to london 12-Zaina: It's the same with my older sister, she had not (the right) before she went in seventh.

The girls report that they are not granted the right to participate in school camping automatically, and that such an activity is forbidden for girls before they reach grade seven. The logic which governs such an attitude could be undiscernible for us. Parents might also interfere in processes of socialization that are conducted on social platforms like "facebook". During recess, Noha talks with Ghada about the reasons why she doesn't have a facebook account. Example (4.32)

1-Ghada: hvorfor har du ikke en facebook? hvorfor vil du ikke have en? skal jeg lave en til dig? 2-Noha: jeg må ikke. han kan ikke lide at jeg har facebook. 3-Ghada: hvem? 4-Noha: min far 5-Ghada: hvad laver du så på computeren? 6-Noha: msn og spiller og chatter med nogen med skype	1-Ghada: why you don't have a facebook? why you don't want one? should I make one for you? 2-Noha: I'm not allowed. he doesn't like it that I have facebook 3-Ghada: who? 4-Noha: my father 5-G: what do you do so on computer? 6-Noha: msn and play and chat with some on skype.

Both facebook and Skype are two social platforms for communication; one is allowed and the other is forbidden for no clear reason and as in the previous example, it could be dependent on the

parents' whimsical attitudes. The two girls talk afterwards about makeup and mascara, and Noha states that her parents allow her to wear make-up, while Ghada envies Noha because Ghada's parents do not allow her to wear makeup. So, the matter why parents impose certain things, allow others, and forbid some practices is not something which we can rationalize. Nevertheless, if parents are keen to shape their daughters' conduct and behavior by Arab and Islamic norms, it doesn't necessarily mean that daughters follow the instructions and do not cross the borders drawn for them. Some of the girls – and the boys – were most of the time worried regarding the idea that they are being videotaped. In the following episode Ilham is horrified about the idea that her father might see her conduct in one of the videos which were recorded for the purpose of this study. The two boys sitting with her do not understand what she means, and she tries to establish some form of agreement with the two boys to stop recording them. The matter is more about her awareness that her conduct clashes with what her "home" requires from her and with the expectations of her parents. Example (4.33)

1-Ilham: din far kan se det her (points to the camcorder) 2-Adham: hvad↑ 3-Ilham: din far kan se det her 4-Adham: (shrugs, and continues reading mockingly) sidste store skov i danmark 5-Adham: eh ej okay nej han kommer ikke til at se det 6-Musa: jo 7-Adham: [nej 8-Ilham: [nej 9-Musa: jo 10-Ilham: nej nej nej↑ (.) hvis de ser det i skøjtehallen vi er alle sammen død 11-Adham: hvorfor↑ 12-Ilham: [ikke jer to, ikke jer to]	1-Ilham: your dad can see it here (points to the camcorder) 2-Adham: what? 3-Ilham: your dad can see it here 4-Adham: (shrugs and continues reading mockingly) last great forest in Denmark 5-Adham: eh not right no, he will not see it 6-Musa: of course 7-Adham: [no 8-Ilham: [no 9-Musa: yes 10-Ilham: no no no (.) if they see that in the ice rink we are all dead 11-Adham: why? 12-Ilham: [not the two of you, not the two of you

As this episode indicates, what she fears is not something related to "boys", rather it is something related to the world of girls.[32] Such examples indicate that girls are more socially and culturally pressed to conform to certain norms that pertain to their home culture, and whether their conduct shows resistance to these norms or submission, they are in both cases acting bicultural, and expressing their "selves" which are different from what is typically perceived to be Danish and different from what is typically perceived as Islamic and Arab.

A wide range of studies have pointed out that gender is "the primary category by which the social world is organized" (Goffman 1979; Sheldon 1990). Many studies demonstrated the view that boys and girls learn to use language in different ways corresponding to the different social contexts in which they learn how to carry on friendly conversation. Goodwin for example, has shown that boys and girls play differently and this entails that they interact differently. Girls' play is cooperative and activities are usually organized in noncompetitive ways; differentiation between girls is not made in terms of power, but relative closeness and this is partially in harmony with the girls of this study, to whom a different ethnicity wasn't really a border that prevents them from creating friendships. Friendship is seen by girls as involving intimacy, equality, and loyalty (Goodwin 1980; Lever: 1976). Maltz and Borker (1982: 205) argue that the different sociological

[32] Out of curiousity, I saw the video Ilham is talking about several times to find reasons for her fears, and I found nothing "abnormal" in her conduct or the conduct of the rest of the girls. It could be all about the point that she holds the hand of a boy while she tries to balance herself on the skating floor.

and anthropological studies show that girls learn to do three things with words "1- to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, 2- to criticize others in acceptable ways, and 3- to interpret accurately the speech of other girls." Differences between boys and girls in terms of interactional practices are attributed to different socialization processes for boys and girls, and they are seen to belong to different subcultures. Thus, boys play in larger groups than do girls; hierarchy is the main thing that boys learn to manipulate in their interactions with peers. Non-dominant boys are excluded from play. Speech among boys is used "1- to assert one's position of dominance, 2- to attract and maintain an audience, 3- to assert oneself when other speakers have the floor" (Maltz and Borker 1982: 207). The expression of dominance in language use is the most observable in this regard, and can be manifested in giving of verbal commands, name calling and ridicule, verbal threats, refusals to obey orders, winning a verbal argument (ibid: 208). However, such observations are not universal; rather they are dependent on specific contexts in time and space. The differences between male and female subcultures everywhere mean that miscommunication is likely to happen in cross sex communication as boys and girls orient to the specific rules they have learnt and entrenched in their subcultures.

Pupils in A are all familiar with each other, and they have attended the same class for several years – as pictures of them when they were in grade 1 were tagged to the wall of their classroom. The situation is different in school B, since the entire school population is a result of merging two schools together, and most of the Arabs had come in contact with new teachers and new peers from different ethnicities in the year when the data was collected. I have already mentioned that there is a split between boys and girls in A and B, and there is little interaction between boys and girls – except for purposes of working in groups in school A, where girls might be in such groups the victims, and might very well be exposed to bantering and harassment by some of the boys.[33] This unbalanced relation between males and females finds an echo in the Arab culture and social processes of upbringing, where females in family structure usually occupy the lower end of the pyramid, while males – regardless of their age – occupy a higher level. Girls/females are usually the "honor" of the family, and the males are the protectors of this honor. A girl potentially can shame the entire family if she does not protect her "honor", while a male does not pose any threat in this regard, no matter what he does. Girls with an Arab background usually come to the understanding that they do not have the same rights like boys very early and the imposition of the Hijab when they are 5 or 6 years old is just one example of how they come to the perception that there are certain requirements and demands that they have to conform to (Barakat 1993; Sharabi 1984). This unbalanced power relations between boys and girls can be seen in many conversations as boys attempt to assert their dominance and force girls to act submissive. Consider the following example

[33] According to Goodwin (2002), "Studies of language and gender have documented relations of dominance in male-female interaction and how patriarchy is constituted in moment-to-moment cross-sex interaction. ….according to these studies, male speakers are socialized into a competitive style of discourse, whereas women are socialized into a more cooperative style of speech….; gender segregation that girls and boys experience results not only in different activities which are the focus of their worlds, but also alterantive ways of speaking; girls' collaborative talk is said to contrast with boys' competitive talk. Females learn to evaluate relational closeness and avoid relationship-threatening types of criticism;…. Men's language is relatively direct, succinct, and instrumental, whereas women's style is indirect, elaborate and affective; …mitigation in female talk expresses female concerns for "affiliation, reciprocity, and efforts to protect others' face." Similarly, …females are more likely to be indirect than males, preferring to reach agreement through negotiation because this allows a display of solidarity "which women prefer to the display of power. All these categorical observations are criticized by Goodwin, and they vary from one social group to another, and from one culture to another.

of Ilham who was forced to sit between two boys (Musa and Adham) while working on their history assignment. The two boys ask Ilham to bring them crayons from her home; she accepts to bring for Adham, but Musa's request is denied. Example (4.34)

1-Musa: (to Ilham) må han seriøst godt bare få dem? 2-Adham: jeg er hendes nabo og jeg har altid hjulpet hende. 3-(Adham hits Ilham on her arm playfully) 4-Musa: er han? 5-Adham: ja *wallah* jeg er hendes nabo. jeg bor en tak over hende. (1.5) 6-Musa: *Kizzab* 7-Adham: *wallah quran* 8-Musa: ej seriøst? 9-Adham: *uh wallah* 10-Musa: kommer du hjem hos hende hver dag? 11-Ilham: [NEJ 12-Adham: [hver dag, hver eneste dag og i samme værelse og lukker døren 13-Ilham: (points at the camcorder) i skal bare høre alt det adham siger 14-Adham: (raises his thumbs to the camcorder) *Sheeel, sheeel*	1-Musa: will he really just get them? 2-Adham: I am her neighbor and I've always helped her. 3-(adham hits Ilham on her arm playfully) 4-Musa: is he? 5-Adham: yes *by Allah* I am her neighbor. I live one floor over her (1.5) 6-Musa: *liar* 7-Adham: *by Allah and quran* 8-Musa: no really? 9-Ad: *yes by allah* 10-Musa: you come home with her every day? 11-Ilham: [NO 12-Adham: [every day, every single day and in the same room and we lock the door 13-Ilham: (points to the camcorder) you must hear all what adham says 14-Adham: (raises his thumbs) *-flirtatious terms-*

The two boys are cooperating and coordinating their interaction to harass Ilham; both attempt to "shame" her, as Musa keeps asking questions about the reasons why Ilham will bring Adham crayons. Adham resorts to boast his sexual prowess at the cost of Ilham's chastity, where masculinity is boasted and measured by the sexual experiences a male might have, while a female cannot boast such a thing in the same way as a male, rather she would be shamed if her sexual experience is disclosed. Notice how Musa in line (10) for example attempts to build a consequence for the neighbor-relation that ties Adham and Ilham by asking if this relation entails more than just having their homes close to each other. Ilham rushes to defend herself with a high volume (line 11), while Adham provides Musa with what he is craving for. Ilham in her turn becomes helpless after hearing Adham's claims and she reveals this helplessness by addressing those who are going to see the video, displaying her annoyance by using a tone that embodies her rejection and dissatisfaction with Adham's claims. The participants in this episode, while harassing and boasting "masculinity", and while the girl is demonstrating her fears and dissatisfaction, are simply orienting to their cultural heritage which burdens the two sexes with different sets of obligations. A male is superior and dominant, and a female is inferior and submissive.

Absence of politeness in interactions between boys and girls is a dominant feature, and miscommunication in many cases might lead to escalating and aggravating disputes. The following encounter between Noha and a male relative younger than her was recorded during recess. Example (4.35)

1-Boy : *Inti biddik trawhi a'al bait, ah? Biddik trawhi:: witjeebeeli sobbat.* 2-Noha: Hvornår? 3-Boy : *halla'a* 4-Noha: JEG KAN IKKE 5-Boy : *BIDDIK TI'EDARI* 6-Noha: NEJ 7-Boy : *mbala fat bkol sobbati may* 8-Noha: hvad rager det mig? 9-Boy: *koli khara w siddi bozik*	1-Boy: *you must go home, okay? go home:: and bring me a pair of shoes.* 2-Noha: when? 3-Boy: *now* 4-Noha: I CAN NOT 5-Boy: *YOU MUST* 6-Noha: NO 7-Boy: *Yes, water has soaked my shoes* 8-Noha: what do I care? 9-Boy: *eat shit and shut your mouth.*

The boy demands from Noha to leave school and go home and bring him a pair of shoes because the shoes he is wearing is soaked in water. Noha's rejection and her answer "what do I care?",

causes her younger relative to attack her in a severe language. When Noha ignores him and walks away, he insults her. Boy uses Arabic to impose his dominance, girl resists and sticks to Danish, and perhaps we can consider her use of Danish and not switching to Arabic as "power wielding" in Jørgensen's terms, where pupils attach different values to their languages, and Danish is the language of the majority, authority, and the one spoken by teachers. Sticking to Danish is likely to charge Noha with power and to modify the asymmetrical power relations which are determined by her home culture. The encounter reveals a form of unhealthy social relationships and cultural issues which charge the male with power, and regardless of whether he is older or younger, he is the one who gives orders. Noha's resistance and her rejection to act according to the boy's expectations motivate him to insult her at the end.

In several examples, boys had the chance to harass girls simply by chanting words that explicitly celebrate sex in a bizarre way. The following lines are chanted by two Arab boys in A (Mahir and Adham) while working in a group which includes two girls. Example (4.36)

Mahir: natten er ung ehhehe natten er ung, yallah Mahir and Adham: natten er ung og jeg har slemme tanker, mine klunker er tunge og mit fede lem banker jeg lusker rundt på klubben med pikken i panden for at finde en kvinde jeg kan kneppe hele natten, en der ikke er nede med det der klamme kisse-misse, men bare vil have straffet sin stramme sin stramme lille fisse, skider på røde roser osv.	Mahir: the night is young ehehe night is young, *go on* Mahir and Adham: the night is young and I have naughty thoughts, my balls are heavy and my thick dick is beating, I prowl around the club with a dick in the forehead to find a woman I can fuck all night, one who does not care about kissing, but just wants to have her tight pussy punished, gives a shit about red roses etc..

The language, though highly vulgar and provocative, becomes acceptable as long as it is contained within a frame of a song. Although the two boys here are not the composers of the lyrics, they seem to be fascinated with the words that they keep on chanting them, while the two girls sitting with them do not react in any way to this explicit talk. In such a context, chanting such words is to be perceived as a form of harassment for the females seated on the same desk.

Another method which involves their abilities to "legitimize" the use of vulgar language is comprised of transforming the content of well-known songs into provocative sexual rhythmic sounds, where the rhythm is usually maintained. In the following example, we see a transformation of the original song (Aqua's "I'm a barbie girl") into Danish, and an entire change of the content. Example (4.37)

Mahir: Barbies barbies herre, barbies barbies herre, jeg har diller og det kilder, Osama: jeg har fissehår jeg taget dem af i går, der var bar vil du røre?	Mahir: Barbie's barbie's gentleman, barbie's barbie's lord, I have dick and it tickles, Osama: I have pussy hair I shaved it yesterday, it was naked (smooth), will you touch?

At times, Arab girls wearing headscarves would also listen to – or chant lyrics which celebrate sex in such an explicit manner. This practice is a norm among boys and girls as long as adults are not in sight, and it reveals their orientation towards hip-hop culture[34], and an outlet that goes beyond the expectations of their homes and their community.

Similar forms of impolite interactions between boys and girls can be also observed in school B, and bantering constitutes a corner stone in the pupils' exchanges, and might be concerned with sexual harassments, or romantic bantering. However, the girls in school B seem to be much more

[34] "Although the term was originally related to music", say Berns and Schlobinski (2003) "it has become a pars pro toto for the whole culture, i.e. music, fashion, lifestyle, attitude, dance, art etc."

powerful than those in A. They can retaliate, and in many of their playful disputes with boys they know how to defend themselves and come out victorious. Boys as well as girls can initiate a bantering sequence, and in most of the situations boys are ridiculed. The following example shows a group of boys attempting to romantically banter Inas, as they shout from far away that Anas likes her: (Boys: Monir, Anas, Ihsan – girls: Rosa, Inas). The boys and girls are seated on different desks. Ihsan was standing near the girls, trying to copy some answers. Example (4.38)

1-Monir: Anas kan lide dig 2-Anas: *wallah* nej 3-Monir: ewo:::w ewo::::w 4-Rola: Anas kan lide dig 5-Inas: jeg er ligeglad 6-Ihsan: *a'azza::::* 7-Inas: Gå 8-Ihsan: hun er ligeglad 9-Inas: *ya'ani ar'oslo*↑	1-Monir: Anas likes you 2-Anas: *by allah* no 3-Monir: ewo:::w ewo::::w 4-Rola: Anas likes you 5-Inas: I don't care 6-Ihsan: *Oh:::: (exclamation of shock)* 7-Inas: go (addressed to Ihsan) 8-Ihsan: she doesn't care 9-Inas: *should I dance for him*↑

Behaving in such a manner is most of the time a bantering for both the boy and the girl, and both can be seen as targets, where one in the group of boys shouts to a girl and tells her that X admires her, or loves her, in order to embarrass both X and the girl. Bantering might go too far and include provoking and explicit sexual words. Ihsan's presence near the girls is disturbing for Inas, who commands him to leave (line 7), after she demonstrates her carelessness explicitly in (5) and implicitly in (9). The statement "should I dance for him/her" (9) is a formulaic Arabic statement which is usually uttered to make assessments that are meant to downgrade a previous claim or declaration. Such examples might show that boys and girls' interactions are mostly adversarial. Personal insults initiated by girls in B might not be considered as insults by boys, and they are mostly swallowed – and this is completely different from the situation which exists in A, where it is possible for boys to kick, slap or inflict some physical pain upon girls, while it is not typical for girls to do the same.

The dichotomy boys vs. girls entails that each group has their own norms, values, and secrets and interfering in the business of the opposite sex will always be shunned. In the following example, Tina (Danish) and Yosra (Arab) are walking in the corridor to the class, where they encounter a group of boys: Ihsan, Monir, Jamal, Anas, working in a group, where Ihsan attempts to know some secret about Tina. Example (4.39)

1-Ihsan: *abowa, abowa laih kan hon mbarih*↑ 2-Yosra: det rager ikke jer, altså i blander jer i alt, ej *btohshro manakheerko bkol ishi, khalas.* 3-(Yosra and Tina continue their way) 4-Anas: hvad skete der sidste gang han var her↑ 5-Ihsan: hun tror jeg ikke ved det 6-Anas: hvorfor, ved du det godt 7-Monir: jeg ved det også 8-Jamal: hvad skete der↑ 9-Ihsan: (to Monir) *kol khara* du skal ikke sige noget.	1-Ihsan: *her father, her father why was he here yesterday*? 2-Yosra: it's none of your (plural) business, well you mix yourselves in everything, no *you insert your noses in everything, enough*. 3-(Yosra and Tina continue their way) 4-Anas: what happened last time when he was here? 5-Ihsan: she thinks I do not know it 6-Anas: why you know it well 7-Monir: I know it also 8-Jamal: what happened? 9-Ihsan: (to Monir) *eat shit* you shouldn't say anything.

Although Ihsan's strategy consists of using Arabic to inquire about Tina's father – in order not to alert Tina, Yosra's first response to this interference in the girl's business comes in Danish, to oppose Ihsan's strategy, and to make Tina aware that the boys are talking about her. The content of Yosra's message is appropriate to the norms and rules of maintaining group boundaries, and that boys and girls shouldn't interfere in each other's business. The second part of Yosra's rebuke is a

repetition of what she has already uttered in Danish, but the Arabic is meant to emphasize what has been mentioned, and to indicate that her words are addressed to the group of Arab boys per se. The rest of the conversation among the boys focuses on preserving the "secret", which is another norm to which Ihsan orients as he forces Monir to preserve the secret. The example can be also read as a gossip sequence, in that gossip is concerned with a secret and a social norm related to the participants who have the right to be part of the gossip circle. Initiating a gossip sequence can be done innocently in the same manner and tone of voice which Ihsan uses as he excludes Tina and avoids the blame by asking Yosra "why her father was here yesterday"? Yosra declines as she switches to Danish, and her declination signals her rejection to be part of the gossip circle. By switching to Danish she excludes herself from the circle of Arab people and includes Teresa, and her switch to Arabic again stresses her membership in the Arab circle, but not a member in the gossip circle. As Ihsan is rejected by Yosra, he turns to his group and reinitiates the gossip sequence. Monir's knowledge devaluates the gossip which Ihsan has and threatens his position as the gossiper. There is a hierarchy here, with Ihsan on top followed by Monir who does the negotiation, in that Ihsan is very high and he doesn't negotiate, and he emphasizes this rank as he unfolds that he is the one who told Monir. Anas is the lowest in the pecking order, and he acts accordingly as he challenges how they came to know, and uses Jamal's conjecture to force a negotiation.

The boundaries between boys and girls are maintained in all circumstances. In the next example, Ihsan banters Erina (Bosnian) by claiming that Jalal doesn't want to include her in the video recordings. This claim opens the way for Erina to express her suppressed feelings, as she believes that Inas is the one who doesn't want her to be recorded. The accusation causes Inas to defend herself, and to counter Erina's claim with the claim that Jalal doesn't want Erina to be recorded (which is not true, but I can justify Inas' action of changing the places of the girls depending on their abilities to speak Arabic). Ihsan's intervention in this dispute between the two girls is rejected. Example (4.40)

1-Ihsan: (to Erina) ham der jalal han vil ikke have dig med på billedet he:he 2-Erina: det er hende der ikke vil have mig med 3-Inas: ne::::j 4-Erina: jo [du har byttet plads med os 5-Inas: [Erina du skal ikke sige det nej han sagde også selv at hun skal sidde her (.) *tse* 6-Ihsan: man kan godt se Rolas xxxxxx (.) Inas kig lige på kameraet 7-Inas: jeg gider ikke kigge nej fordi du giver altid mig skylden 8-Ihsan: til hvad↑ 9-Inas: *INTA MA KHASSAK Gå::* (she tries to push Ih away physically) *Gå Gå Gå Gå Gå*	1-Ihsan: him there jalal he won't have you in the picture he:he 2-Erina: it is she who will not have me (she=Inas) 3-Inas: no:::: 4-Erina: yes [you have swapped our places 5-Inas: [Erina you must not say this no he also said it himself that she must sit here (.) *tse* 6-Ihsan: one can see Rola's xxxxxx (.) Inas look straight at the camera 7-Inas: I don't want to look no you always blame me 8-Ihsan: for what↑ 9-Inas*: IT'S NOT YOUR BUSINESS GO::* (she tries to push Ihsan away physically) *GO GO GO GO GO*

Despite the adversarial relations that characterize the relations among boys and girls in the two schools, the favorite topic for the only-boys and only-girls groups in school B is to gossip and discuss romantic relationships, mostly involving partners from other classes. Both boys and girls in B are much more open to love relationships than their counterparts in school A, who seemed to be much more conservative regarding this issue.

The examples in this section demonstrate that boys and girls are socialized in different ways. While girls seem to be pressured to conform to social demands – dressing code, make-up, camping, etc. no such demands are required from boys. Similarly, boys and girls demonstrate their

differential socialization processes in their interactions, where boys are most of the time act and interact by assuming that they are dominant or more powerful than girls.

Conclusion:

Part II attempted to provide a description of the practices of Arab-Danish minority children in majority schools, and the extent to which such practices can be considered as having consequences on their academic achievement and school experience in general. Engagement with the question concerned with what they do, and what their social world is comprised of yields many results that overlap with findings reported in other studies (e.g., Gilliam 2006, 2007, 2008). Disruptive practices concerned with trouble making, unmotivated engagement in the school's different activities, violence, oppositional stances towards the teachers and adults (Gilliam 2007), withdrawal from participating in the social life of the school (Jaffe-Walter 2013) are all common practices that can be observed in schools that host minority children. However, these studies attempted to explain such disruptive practices by arguing that the minorities' undisciplined practices are a consequence of the hegemonic discourses that shape relations between *majority* and *minority*. Minority children construct their identities in opposition to the majority as a result of being systematically marginalized by the schools (Gilliam 2007) or as a result of being excluded and discriminated against in societies overwhelmed by Islamophobic discourses or discourses that draw on the inferiority of females in the Islamic culture (Jaffe-Walter 2013; Abu-El-Hajj 2010) or even discourses that flourished as a result of the war on terror that show how teachers and schools consider minority children as a threat (e.g., Abu El-Hajj 2010; Schmidt 2007).

First, these studies consider minorities as merely helpless victims, and any attempt to blame the children or their families or even their cultural backgrounds is deemed unacceptable. Instead, it is the majority society, its institutions and discourses which are being blamed for all the shortcomings concerned with minorities. I reckon that such hegemonic discourses exist in Denmark and elsewhere, but to what extent can we establish that the disruptive practices of minority children are a consequence of such discourses? One major difference between this study and the previous studies is concerned with the method. While previous studies made use of "interviews" with teachers and students, and tried to establish that teachers rely on the discourse of "we = majority" vs. "they = minority", this study attempted to reveal the actions and reactions of the parties involved as situated in the schools. Much of the interviews are concerned with questions about "minority children" or "Muslims children", and when teachers answer with "they do this and that…" the researcher will cease the moment to come up with the assumption that teachers are "racists" and they discriminate against "them". Again, in many examples, when a teacher rebukes a student for not doing their part in a certain activity, or for forgetting to do their assignment, or the required material, etc. I don't see a reason to consider the teacher's action as motivated by "racial" issues, rather by their responsibility as a teacher for his/her students. I will give one common example in Gilliam's (2007) study and my study. Gilliam states that only minority children's practices emerge as problems that need to be solved, and she quotes an interview with the school principal who considers that some Muslim children avoid taking a shower in the school and he deals with this as a problem. In my first meeting with the school principal of school A, he told me that there is one pupil who doesn't want to take a shower in Ramadan after sport, because it is Haram according to the father of this pupil. The principal asked me if I can interfere in this case. The principal said that it would be annoying for the student and his peers to stink all the day and not take a shower. Here we have a problem, and this problem can be solved in various ways: you can ask the student not to participate in sport, or the student can wash his body and avoid water on his head if he is too afraid to let water go to his mouth through his ears for example. The principal asked me to intervene

because he wanted this pupil to be included in the school practices, rather than to exclude him. When teachers point to such practices as problems, they could be taken as problems that need to be resolved in order to avoid excluding the pupil rather than as a matter of racism. In the end, it would be an act of discrimination and racism if the school administration remains careless about the pupil's inclusion or exclusion.

Second, the practices of marginalisation as described by Gilliam are comprised of the school's negligence of such occasions like Ramadan and Eid, or the decoration of a tree in Christmas time, or the teachers' avoidance of praising minority children, or minority children's avoidance of camping and sleepovers (Gilliam 2007; Jaffe-Walter 2013). However, schools generally grant minority children free days on Muslim occasions and festivities, and the practices as described can in no way be examples of marginalization. These are problems that require some solutions, as the general perception of "school" in Denmark is so much concerned about socialization as well as about education. As to the observation concerned with not praising minority children, the question here generalizes the "majority = teachers" and the "minority = pupils", and leads us to deal with stereotypes. In the data of my study, teachers did praise and encourage children for their good effort. Jaffe-Walter's (2013) argues that Danish teachers assume that minority girls have an inferior status and position in the Arab/Muslim family, and such assumptions and discourses lead the minority female students to withdraw from the social life of the school. The case here is that the students as described are mature and not little children and they in various ways discuss, debunk, and refute their teachers' assumptions. Withdrawal can be more about clash of values between the home demand and the school demand. On the individual level, different demands and input from home and school leads the children to act according to different strategies, and it influences both their identities and their motives. Such strategies are manifested in group practices and strategies inside the classroom that can neither be described as "Danish" nor as "Arabic". When there is a conflict, the child will either comply with the home demand and violate the school demand; or will appease the school demand at the cost of the home demand. It is important to perceive the situation as a matter of commands, where the parents (mostly the father) puts the rules and the limits for the children, and leaves the child to negotiate with the school. In such a case, the result can be a withdrawal and the pupil himself/herself will marginalize himself/herself by withdrawing from the social life of the school.

Third, although I have used in this study the terms "majority" and "minority" as other studies have done (e.g., Gilliam 2007; Jaffe-Walter 2013; Abu-Elhajj 2010), I have to acknowledge that dealing with these terms is quite often misleading. The problem is concerned with individuals – and not "minority" and "majority". There are "individuals" in the majority = Danes who are troublemakers, and there are "individuals" in the minority who are disciplined. The use of these terms usually leads to misunderstanding, by stereotyping the minority as a marginalized group, and the majority as a dominant group who dictates and decides the details of life for the minority. Immigrants, i.e., minorities are prone to face difficulties and problems because they have to cope with their new environment. Taking responsibility and participating in the process of educating their children is one of these problems that an immigrant is likely to face in a new country. In the current study I haven't seen any sign from the teachers that can be considered a biased way of dealing with minority children as opposed to their ways of dealing with majority children. I am not saying that such a thing doesn't exist, but if it exists, it remains an individual case rather than a phenomenon that characterizes all majority teachers and all Danish schools as previous studies tried to assert.

Fourth, the discourse concerned with "majority" vs. "minority" is borrowed from the USA's context, and from researchers like Ogbu (e.g., 1992, 1993) who have dealt with Afro-Americans' youth and ghetto and with forms of marginalization imposed by the white majority. According to Ogbu, Afro-Americans in the U.S have developed an oppositional strategy to counter the white dominance, and that their community (ghetto) supports them and discourages its youth to act as "white people". Drawing an analogy between the situation of the "minority" in Denmark and the Afro-Americans in the U.S might be fraught with misleading generalizations. Denmark's minorities have completely different experiences than Afro-Americans, and in no way we can say that the two experiences might resemble each other. The ghetto of Denmark can in no way resemble the ghetto of the U.S; the history of slavery and marginalization that shapes the Afro-American experience can in no way be compared to the history of Denmark's minorities who were granted their human rights from the first day of their arrival in Denmark. In fact, if we have to talk about "majority" and "minority" in Denmark, it is "tolerance" of the majority that can be noticed and stressed rather than discrimination and racism.

Fifth, as Gilliam (2007, 2008) asserts, minority girls are not labelled as "trouble makers", and according to her interviews they were praised by their teachers and by their Danish classmates, and are described as "more Danish" than "Muslims". The question that arises here is that, if systematic marginalization processes are practiced by teachers and institutions indiscriminately, why such discourses do not provoke Muslim girls and antagonize them in the same way minority boys are antagonized and pushed to adopt a form of an identity that is oppositional to the Danish identity? Perhaps an understanding of the differential processes of upbringing between boys and girls that pertain to the Arabic and Islamic culture can resolve the mystery. Girls are usually assigned a marginalized and inferior position in the family structure, and they are treated as a "burden" and a possible threat to the entire family[35].

Sixth, the aforementioned studies are based on interviews, and the researchers use the categories when they ask their informants about the practices. Laura Gilliam (2007; 2008) for example, asks the teachers about the "problems" of minority children, and the teachers go on listing the problems that they encounter from time to time, represented by "bathing", "camping", etc. and then the researcher goes on analyzing how the practices of the "immigrants" float on the surface as problems. The same categories used when asking the children about trouble-making in the classroom, as the following examples might show:

Laura: Hvordan tror du det ville være at gå i en klasse, hvor der kun var udlændinge? Merdzan: Så ville der kun komme ballade, tror jeg. Laura: Hvad med danskerne, kan de ikke lide at lave ballade? Merdzan: Næh, ikke f.eks. Casper og Frederik, de kan ikke lide det.	Laura: how do you think it will be to go in a class where there are only immigrants? Merdzan: well there will only be trouble, I think. Laura: what about the Danes, don't they like to make troubles? Merdzan: no, not for example Casper and Frederik, they don't like it.

Gilliam: 2007

[35] Arab sociologists and psychologists who dealt with this issue have always considered the "inferior position" of females in the structure of the Arab family as one of the major problems that has to be resolved (e.g., see Barakat (1993) and Sharabi (1984)

On the basis of the informants' answers, the researcher argues that immigrants – Muslims are troublemakers, while Danes are disciplined. A similar orientation to the categories by the researcher is done to decide about the Muslim girls and that they are "more Danish" and more disciplined than Muslim boys:

Laura: Men er pigerne så mere danske i forhold til drengene? Rasmus: Det er de jo faktisk ikke rigtigt, men det synes jeg bare på en måde. Laura: Du synes, at de er mere danske? Rasmus: Ja. Jeg ved ikke hvorfor. Laura: Hvordan kunne drengene dér blive mere danske? Rasmus: Ved at overholde reglerne. Men de ville jo ikke i virkeligheden blive mere danske.	Laura: but are the girls so more Danish than boys? Rasmus: it is in fact not true, but I think so in a way. Laura: you think they are more Danish? Rasmus: yes, I don't know why. Laura: how could the boys be more Danish? Rasmus: by adhering to the rules. But they will not be in fact more Danish.

Gilliam: 2008

Although the interviews can inform the researcher about the discourses that the participants circulate, it remains important that such discourses be investigated in the participants' interactions and whether they orient to such discourses or not.

In conclusion, this chapter dealt with the big questions concerned with what is going on in the schools that host "minority children", and attempted to reveal some aspects of the children's school experiences and their social lives. It is important to stress that the description provided, e.g., religious categorizations, and the way the children discriminate against others who belong to other religious groups; the ethnic hierarchy that rules out their social relations at school; the unhealthy relations that exist between minority boys and girls, are just few issues which can impede and mark the school experience of these children negatively. I consider it a priority to describe and diagnose what is going wrong, and there can be no magic solution to the problem as the description provided points to some complex social situations, where we can't identify the motives behind the disruptive practices. However, in some cases it can be possible to point with certainty to the origin of some practices. For example, low-self-esteem might be an outcome of medial and political discourse regarding immigrants and minorities, and low-self-esteem impacts the child's school experience negatively. Other practices concerned with discriminating against other religious sects (for example: Shia vs. Sunna) is necessarily an issue that involves minorities, and we can hardly assume that the minority children were socialized to discriminate against each other by practices related to Danish teachers or Danish schools. In such a case, we can simply blame the home environment and the extent to which such things as Sunna and Shi'a might mean to the family, or to what these children receive through the internet or TV regarding the differences between the different sects. The same can be said regarding the unhealthy relations that prevail among Arabs and Somalis. A Danish teacher might not see any difference between the two ethnic groups, and it could be something that has a meaning in the local community of the ghetto. Similarly, we can hardly assume that the unhealthy relation that prevails among boys and girls with minority backgrounds is an outcome of a school policy or the way teachers deal with boys and girls. Such a relation and violent conduct among boys and girls depends greatly on processes of upbringing that assigns a higher position for males and imposes restrictions on females. The Hijab and sleepovers are just two examples of such restrictions, and they are necessarily determined by the home of the children involved. One might assume that the hijab is done by the choice of the participants, but to what extent we can speak about "choice" when the matter is concerned with children who wear it while they are still 6 years old?

As I pointed out earlier, most of the examples are taken from “group work” sessions. The world of the participants can be described in a nutshell as a world where one has to violate or disrupt when “Big Brother” is not watching, and this is the reason why “group work” seems to be a platform for dealing with issues irrelevant for the “group work” to the extent that in some videos one might see different kinds of discussions among the children, fights, gossips, music, etc. that run for one or two hours and not recognize what the “school task” is all about. This doesn’t mean that this teaching method has any inherent problem about it, rather the problem is with the participants whose main problem is fear from authority and the joy they might get upon doing a certain violation without being apprehended. In other words, there is a double-value in any practice they have to do. The practice is acceptable as long as “authority” is not there, regardless of what that practice is. In the presence of the “authority”, the practice must necessarily appease this “authority”. A closer look at the participants’ interactions – with teachers, peers, opposite sex, and other ethnicities can show that the participants’ disruptive practices’ are not determined by a hegemonic discourse of “majority” and “minority”.

Part III – Interactional Analysis

Chapter 5 – Code Switching, EMCA and Disputes

The previous part focused on the macro picture in two institutions in order to provide a description of the participants' social and cultural alignments and identities. The ethnographic perspective enabled me to deal with various identity markers related to the participants' environments and to provide a context for the current part, which will be concerned with Code Switching, EMCA and disputes. This part will zoom in into the participants' interactions which are constructed through fights and disputes. The choice to focus on disputes in interaction is determined by the findings of the ethnographic study, in that the data have revealed that adversative talk is the most prominent form of interaction among the participants. Moreover, disputes can be considered one of the major problems that inhibit the bilinguals of this study, especially when they are engaged in collaborative learning designs.

Several studies have documented the phenomenon of students' resistance to academic tasks and academic identity. A great deal of this research is concerned with university students (e.g., Felder and Brent 1996) who documented a phenomenon concerned with resistance that takes the form of challenging the teacher, joking and doing the minimum amount of work necessary. Their research is based on interviews. Phoenix and Frosh (2001) explored masculinities in the early teenage years (11-14 year-old-boys) in London schools, and they used individual and group interviews. They discussed in this study a host of issues concerned with the boys' aspirations and anxieties, violence, and the discourse of boys' underachievement in school. The researchers here concluded that "1- boys must maintain their difference from girls and so avoid doing anything that is seen as the kind of thing girls do. 2- Popular masculinity involves "hardness", sporting prowess, "coolness", casual treatment of schoolwork and being adept at "cussing". 3- Some boys are "more masculine" than others. However, since the matter is concerned with interviews, we do not see how students "do resistance" in their interaction, nor we can fully understand what "casual treatment of schoolwork" mean and entail. An ethnomethodological approach can be more comprehensive in this regard, like the studies conducted by Stokoe et al (2013) and Benwell and Stokoe (2005) where they investigate the same phenomenon of resistance among university students. In these studies, the researchers discuss two patterns, the first is concerned with resistance to academic tasks where students a – invoke their lack of preparation in order to avoid engaging or to appear disengaged, b- challenge the parameters of the task itself. The second pattern is concerned with the students' reluctance to display their academic knowledge by policing each other's contributions, and the way students themselves downgrade their own academic achievement as being a student seems to necessitate being "average" and not standing out. The phenomena which will be reported in this study partially intersect with this research which is concerned with "resistance to academic tasks". However, the patterns of disputes during group work are more concerned with deviating from the school task and disengagement with group work than with "doing assessments" or "downgrading each other's contributions to a task".

EMCA as an analytical method not only has the potential of uncovering the various disputes that ensue between participants, but also can explain the members' methods in doing disputes, in addition to the role of language(s) and code switching in the various forms of disputes. In what

follows, I will present an overview of how the study of CS has evolved from the domain of ethnography to the domain of interaction, and I will provide definitions of the basic terminology which were used by the major researchers who investigated CS. The chapter is meant to be an introduction to the issues which will be explored in the next chapters. The excerpts which will be used in this chapter are exemplifying rather than analytic.

Code Switching:

Early studies which dealt with language contact tackled the issue of code-switching by assuming that the phenomenon was a product of poor parenting (for example, Weinreich 1953), or even a phenomenon which has nothing to do with linguistics, (for example, Nilep (2006) quotes Vogt (1954: 368) saying "code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extralinguistic." These early considerations can be seen as reflections of the negative attitudes towards bilingualism that were dominant at that time. Such attitudes correspond with the negative attitudes towards bilingualism in very few recent studies (for example Gasper de Alba 1995), who introduces such concepts as "cultural clash", "cultural schizophrenia", and bilingualism as a "mental deficiency", in an attempt to highlight the consequences of "bi-culturalism". Mainstream code-switching research, on the other hand, is often dated from Blom and Gumperz's (1972) "Social meaning in linguistic structures" where the terms *situational* and *metaphorical* switching were introduced. *Situational code-switching* is akin to the concept of *diglossia* which was introduced by Ferguson (1959), where he spoke about language alternation between varieties of the same language in different domains, and used Arabic to explain his concept; Fishman (1967) applied the concept of diglossia on alternation between unrelated languages, and explicated the concept of "domain". With diglossia, we do not see alternation or code-switching in the same conversation, rather we see different varieties used in different settings and domains (for example, the use of informal dialect at home and with friends; and the use of the formal variety in the mosque and at school), and this functional division between the two varieties was referred to as *situational code-switching* (Blom and Gumperz 1972).

Gumperz's Contextualization[36]: Blom and Gumperz undertook a study of verbal behavior in Hemnesberget, a small village in Northern Norway. Gumperz (1964b) compared the use of two dialects, standard literary Bokmål (B) and local Ranamål (R) to the use of standard and local dialects of Hindi in northern India. In each population, the local dialect appeared more frequently in interaction with neighbors, while the standard dialect was reserved for communication across "ritual barriers" (caste, class, village groupings in India, religious setting in Norway). Distinct repertoires are identified in terms of participants, setting, and topic. Blom and Gumperz (1972) described (B) and (R) as distinct codes, though not distinct languages. The separation of the two codes as Blom and Gumperz argued, was maintained because each is "conditioned by social factors", in the sense that each has somewhat distinct social functions, comparable to the specialization of function for the high variety and the low variety in diglossia (Furgeson 1959). They argued that social events (participants, setting, and topic) restrict the selection of linguistic variables. They applied the notion

[36] Much of Gumperz's early work was carried out in northern India (Gumperz 1958, 1961, 1964a), focused on Hindi and its range of dialects. Gumperz 1958 describes three levels – village dialects, regional dialects and standard Hindi – each of which may be comprised of numerous varieties, and which serve different functions. Gumperz writes "most male residents, especially those who travel considerably, speak both the village and the regional dialect. The former is used at home and with other local residents; the latter is employed with people from the outside" (1958: 669). This gave rise to the idea that linguistic form is affected by setting and participants as well as topic, but which is also comparable in many ways to Ferguson's diglossia (1959).

of situational switching when the switching was determined by such variables. In their definition of situational code-switching, Blom and Gumperz (1972) assumed "a direct relationship between language and the social situation. The linguistic forms employed are critical features of the event in the sense that any violation of selection rules changes members' perception of the event. P: 223", and these changes involve clear "changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligation". Blom and Gumperz stressed the point that sociolinguistic variables must be investigated empirically in order to reach for an understanding of using one language and not the other. They provided the example that, if "two locals having a heart-to-heart talk will presumably speak in (R). If instead they are found speaking in (B), we conclude either that they do not identify with the values of the local team or that they are not having a heart-to-heart talk" (P: 223). Even in situations where the two dialects are used, no change in the participants' rights and obligation occurs, because personal issues (greetings, asking about family, etc.) were carried in one dialect, while the business part is carried on in another dialect.

Metaphorical code-switching, on the other hand, is defined as "when (R) phrases are inserted metaphorically into a (B) conversation, this may ….add a special social meaning of confidentiality or privateness to the conversation. (P: 224)". In other words, metaphorical code-switching bears the notion of using two varieties in the same conversation (for example when changing the topic of conversation from personal issues to matters of official business, marking the transition from informal to formal conversation.) Many researchers and commentators (e.g. Jaffe (2007); Jørgensen (2008); Garrett (2007)) have pointed out that code-switching that involves a minority language and a majority language is viewed as something abnormal and negative by the majority layman, and thus situational code-switching which is akin to diglossia is seen as the ideal type of bilingualism, as the division between the languages is normally maintained and based on the setting.

However, Gumperz himself seems to have noticed the imperfection of the division of code-switching into *situational* and *metaphorical*, and he used in 1982 the new terminology *conversational code switching*, and pointed to the difficulties of distinguishing the two types of switching in that native speakers generally have no recognition of their own conversational code switches. In other words, the association between language use and domains (setting, topics, participants, activities) is highly variable, except in the case of diglossia. Gumperz (1982) suggested that the function of code-switching cannot be determined by relying on Macro social observations, and that an understanding of the functions of code-switching should come from the analysis of brief spoken exchanges. Situating the study of code-switching within the realm of conversation analysis, Gumperz noted that code switching must be treated as a *contextualization cue*, which in itself and in association with other cues (prosody, gesture, tone of voice, etc.) can signal and identify its function.

Goffman's *footing*: Erving Goffman (1979, 1981) introduced the concept of *footing* as a process in interaction similar to some functional descriptions of code-switching. It is a situation applicable to metaphorical code-switching, and can be defined as the stance or positioning that an individual takes within an interaction. Within a single interaction – even within a short span of talk – an individual can highlight any number of different roles. Changes in purpose, context, and participant role are common in interaction, and *footing* is a useful tool that can highlight the multiple positions taken by parties to talk in interaction. *Footing* attempts to show the linguistic markers that are usually associated with alternation between languages. In Goffman's (1981: 128) words, "a change in footing implies a change in alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is

another way of talking about a change in our frame for events." The crucial point to consider is that speaker and hearer are influenced not only by the sound of speech, but rather, there are different markers associated with the sound (sight, gestures, touch, facial features, etc.). This means that

> code-switching is determined by switching from one stance or alignment to another…..When we change voice, whether to speak for another aspect of ourselves or for someone else, or to lighten our discourse with a darted enactment of some alien interaction arrangement – we are not so much terminating the prior alignment as holding it in abeyance with the understanding that it will almost immediately be reengaged. So, too, when we give up the floor in a conversation, thereby taking up the footing of a recipient (addressed or otherwise), we can be warranted in expecting to reenter the speaker role on the same footing from which we left it….In truth, in talk it seems routine that, while firmly standing on two feet, we jump up and down on another. (Goffman 1981: 155).

Goffman makes his point clear that *footing* is not about code-switching per se, as it is a phenomenon which engulfs a speaker's way of switching and alternating between different stances, and language switching is one of them. In a way, Goffman (1981) problematizes the concept of "hearer" and "speaker", identifying a range of other forms of participation in interaction. A *speaker* may produce talk as an *animator*, merely delivering words formulated by some other person, the *author* of the utterance; and these two may act on behalf of a third party, the *principal* of the utterance whose position is established by the words that are spoken. These are the speaker's footings or production formats. A speaker is always an animator, but he may or may not exploit the other two formats. The phenomenon becomes more complex when we know that listeners can be divided into several types as long as they are within the hearing distance. Thus, Goffman mentions *ratified recepients* (official), and *nonratified* (unofficial). In multiparty talk, some ratified recipients may be addressed by the speaker, while others remain unaddressed. Nonratified recipients can be *overhearers* (accidently) or eavesdroppers (deliberately). Goffman suggests that such participants should be labeled *bystanders*, who may – or may not – join the conversation, or even influence the speaker's stance if he/she notices bystanders. The importance of *footing* is that it situates the motivation of switching to another stance, code or language within the interactional turn by turn context, and without a need to allude to broader contextual frames governed by ideological understandings of switching or by assigning a social or psychological value to each language. Both, Goffman's *footing* and Gumperz's *contextualization cues* situated the study of code-switching within the realm of talk-in-interaction.

Code-Switching and the Sociocultural perspective:

There are two approaches attempting to investigate the meaning of code switching from a sociocultural perspective. One approach is ethnographic, and can be divided into two branches, one led by Myers-Scotton and her theory of markedness, and the other is led by Monica Heller and Ben Rampton. The second approach is the Ethnomethodological Conversation Analytic approach which attempts to situate the meaning and function of code-switching within conversation.

Markedness theory: is a socio-psychological approach explicated by Myers-Scotton (1993: Social motivation for codeswitching: evidence from Africa). This theory depends on the assumption that languages in multilingual communities are associated with particular social roles (rights and obligations) sets, and participants have knowledge and understanding of the social meanings of the rights and obligations associated with each code, and this can be, thus, considered an explication of

Gumperz' early concept of situational code-switching. She constitutes that in the absence of such knowledge, participants will not be able to discern the significance of particular code choices. This theory was criticized by Auer (1998), Wei (1998), and Gafaranga (2007) for relying on external knowledge, as they stick to Gumperz' notion of code-switching as a contextualization cue. Nilep (2006) criticized this approach on the grounds that "(it) requires the analyst to make assumptions about each individual speaker's knowledge and understanding of the speech situation. Code switching is then explained on the basis of the analyst's assumptions about speakers' internal states (including shared judgments about rights and obligations) rather than its effects on the conversation at hand."

Ethnographic approaches and identity discourses: like the markedness model, ethnographic approaches to code-switching require external knowledge about the value attached to each language. Monica Heller, for example, tackles issues of power and authority in her research. Heller (1992, 1995, 2006) argues that dominant groups rely on norms of language choice to maintain symbolic domination, while subordinate groups may use code switching to resist or redefine the value of symbolic resources in the linguistic marketplace. While Heller associated code switching with identity, Ben Rampton (2005) focused on ethnicity and ethnic issues in *crossing*. The term "crossing", has gained currency in sociolinguistics, as it deals with phenomena related to language use in multilingual communities, because it can be used as an analytical tool that conflates different levels of analyzing multilingual communities. The increase of immigration led to the emergence of urban communities or neighborhoods where several speech communities coexist and intermingle. Linguists used such terms such as "borrowing" and "interference" to describe alternations between languages, in which a member of a certain speech community uses the language or "code" of another speech community. However, these terms are famously unstable and each linguist defines them and uses them differently and sometimes interchangeably. Moreover, Rampton argues that the use of terms like code-switching and code-mixing in sociolinguistics is no more satisfactory in that these terms are usually concerned with purely linguistic issues and do not extend to the realms of sociology or to the situated social meaning when one uses more than one language. Code-switching is considered to be dependent on a range of factors or "domains", the most important of which are interlocutor, topic, and setting, without giving much credit to the role of social meaning – or to the existing discourses in the society that are related to race, ethnicity, dominance and power. According to Rampton, it is adequate to deal with code-switching when bilinguals are members of the same speech community and speak the same languages. "Crossing, in contrast, focuses on code-alternation by people who aren't accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that aren't generally thought to belong to you" Rampton (2005: 270-1). Rampton's study was concerned with stylized Asian English, Panjabi and Creole in England's urban settings, where he describes "young people transgressing the conventional equation of language and ethnicity prescribed for them in ethnic absolutism, it's relevant to wider public discussion about new ethnicities and cultural hybridity,…(and he sees this hybridity)… as evidence of cultural innovation in globalized urban spaces" Rampton (2005: 5). Rampton also stresses the point that crossing serves a variety of purposes: it could be an end in itself and it could emphasize disdain or respect and it occurs both when people are among co-ethnics, and also when they are with members of ethnic out-groups. He sees crossing as a natural event that "occurs at the boundaries of interactional enclosure, in the vicinity of delicts and transgressions, in self-talk and response cries, in games, cross-sex interaction and in the context of performing art" Rampton (2005: 271). Seen from this perspective, *crossing* is concerned with creativity and the continuous reconstruction of identity, and it allows the examination of macro and micro social processes. Markedness theory and ethnographic approaches to code-switching rely

heavily on the analyst's macro social observations, and might thus sacrifice the pragmatic function of code-switching in interaction by imposing extralinguistic socio-cultural meanings for the motivation of switching.

EMCA:

To understand the premises of the second approach, i.e., micro-analysis, and how it differs and diverges from the two branches mentioned above which take into account macro observations, we need to return to some of the premises of ethnomethodological conversation analytic approach (EMCA). Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967, 1968) considers that the object of sociology is to account for the social order, and proposes accounts of the orderliness of practical social action. The accounts are meant to come from a "member's perspective" as Garfinkel suggests, or to have an "emic orientation" (ten Have, 1999). In other words, order is the major characteristic of social action, and the practical impossibility of disorderly action was established by Garfinkel in his "breaching experiments", where students were asked to "suspend" the natural order (e.g. not to return greetings) and see what happens. The outcome of these experiments was that the students either could not do it or their behavior was interpreted as strange. An understanding of the notion of order in Ethnomethodology depends to a great extent on the assumption that social action happens in a normative framework. Garfinkel (1967) argues that three types of acts can be identified with reference to a particular norm (e.g. if greeted, return the greeting). An act can be 1- a direct application of the norm (normative action) if the greeting is returned; 2- an instance of deviance from the norm if the greeting is not returned, and which can be either a- an instance of repairable deviance (when members assume that he/she didn't hear my greeting, and so attempt to make themselves heard), or b- an instance of functional deviance (when members assume that the hearing has taken place, and attempt to interpret the non-return of the greeting as a deviation from the norm). In other words, the norm is merely a scheme of interpretation, and return of the greeting is judged as normal and normative action, while non-return indicates a deviant action which can be taken as further evidence that the norm exists.

The conversation analytic approach which is based on talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 1968) and Sacks' Lectures on Conversation Analysis (2000) highlighted the importance of social action in ordinary talk. The aim of CA is to describe the orderliness of talk-in-interaction. Studies within this field have demonstrated that talk-in-interaction is highly orderly, e.g., at the level of turn-taking (Sacks 2000), or entry into conversation, or at the level of actions which have been demonstrated to come in pairs (adjacency pairs), etc. *Preference* in CA is akin to norm in ethnomethodology, in that "each act always comes either before or after another act" (Gafaranga 2007: 118), for example, a greeting act or a question may or may not be returned or answered, and such options do not have the same status, as one is "expected and normative" and is construed as action which is not marked, and the other "unexpected and deviant" and thus considered as physically marked. The two are structurally different in that "dispreferred seconds are typically delivered: a) after some significant delay, b) with some preface marking their dispreferred status; c) with some account of why the preferred second cannot be performed" (Levinson: 1983: 307; Church 2009; Kangasharju 2009).

Auer's (1984) conception of code-switching is established on the principle of what he calls "preference for same language talk"[37]. According to this principle, "bilinguals monitor each other's

[37] Gafaranga (2007) proposes that this principle should be modified into "preference for same medium", in that "the need for a base language is felt because the base language, if clearly identified, works as such a point of reference against which instances of language choice are identified as deserving the researcher's attention (…) the base language works as a norm, a scheme of interpretation" (P: 138-9). As to how to identify the base language, it can be

turn constructional units (TCU) to be able to take turns in an orderly manner and to choose language in an orderly manner, in that "code-switching …is conceptualized as divergence from the language of the prior turn or TCU" (Auer 2000: 137). Preference for same language talk entails that the preferred choice is to keep talk going in the same language, and language alternation is a dispreferred occurrence. Being dispreferred, code-switching must be treated as "unexpected and deviant" and thus physically marked and accompanied by other dispreferrence markers or contextualization cues. In other words, code-switching must be treated and analyzed as a contextualization cue (prosody, gestures, etc) because it works in many ways like other contextualization cues (Auer 1984; Gumperz 1982).

Auer identifies two types of language alternation, *discourse-related* and *participant-related*. The former generates meaning regarding the organization of talk and turn-taking system; the latter generates meanings about participants, the way they negotiate what language to use, implicitly or explicitly (See Auer 1984: 32-54). In Gafaranga's (2007: 133) words, "Auer's model is a case of functional deviance, for it always tells something either about the organization of talk or about the speaker". Proponents of this model argue that "the meanings of code-switching must be interpreted with reference to the language choices in the preceding and following turns by the participants themselves, rather than by correlating language choice with some externally determined values" (Wei 2000: 164) See also (Gafaranga 2007; Wei 1998, 2002 ; Auer 1998). The turns preceding and following the code-switching constitute the "context". Auer (1998) and Wei (2002; 1998) argue that a great deal of research related to code-switching is deviating from the CA method and premises, simply because they "tend to analyze the meanings of CS in terms of power relations with the speech community, the symbolic values of different languages, and/or the socio-psychological motivations of speakers." The multiple studies related to the Køge project, for example, addressed the issue of language attitudes regarding minority languages (Turkish), and imposed later on the results of their findings on the code-switching in interaction among the young Turkish-Danish speakers. In other words, the meaning of code-switching was not interpreted with reference to the language choices in the preceding and following turns by the participants themselves, rather by correlating language choice with externally determined values (see also Jørgensen (2008) V1 and V2; Jørgensen 1998). Wei (1998) considers that this approach relies on the premises of markedness theory of code-switching which "places its emphasis on the analyst's interpretation of bilingual conversation participants' intention and explicitly rejects the idea of local creation of meaning of linguistic choices" (P: 157). Conversation Analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the members' procedures of arriving at local meaning of language alternation. It is, in other words, a matter of emic vs. etic perspectives.

Proponents of the sociolinguistic approach do not claim that they are using "pure CA". Jørgensen, for example, states that his method is "inspired by conversation analysis, with important modifications", and he dwells on the notion of context in CA, which he perceives as "narrow" in that "it relates to the concept of turn and usually covers only the turns adjacent to the specific turn being analyzed", and discards important sociolinguistic variables like the speakers' socioeconomic status, gender, age, ethnicity, etc. He plausibly adds "An analysis which deals with conversations between interlocutors who know each other well before the conversation, and who have known each other for years, must accept that the speakers will also bring shared histories into the conversation" (Jørgensen 2008: 325-330). Stroud (1998: 321) argues in defense of this approach,

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done through observation, surveys, interviews, questionnaires, etc. Gafaranga suggests that the analysis must target the language which is least represented. In the case of the current study, the base language is "Danish", while the language which is least represented is "Arabic".

by echoing Gumperz' premises and views on the subject, and he sees that "language in a bilingual environment is inevitably expressing meanings of either solidarity, informality and compassion (the in-group or *we-code*), or formality, stiffness and distance (the out-group or *they-code*)" (Gumperz 1982: 66). For Stroud (1998), switching to another code is to juxtapose the "we-code" and the "they-code", and "the code-switches serve to index the associations or identities linked to each code. By knowing the details of the local *we-they* situation, the intention and meanings of the switches can be extrapolated by listeners and researchers perceiving the switch."

Auer (1998), Wei (1998; 2002), and Gafaranga (2007) particularly criticize the practice of many analysts who take issue with "we code" vs. "they code" dichotomy. This dichotomy refers to an ethnic/minority language (e.g., *we – Arabic* in relation to the broader mainstream language *they - Danish*), and the switch from (we) to (they) is perceived by researchers like Heller, Stroud, Jørgensen, etc. as marked and symbolizes social distance or authority (for example, Power Wielding in Jørgensen's terms). Against this approach, Wei argues that the boundaries of communities and languages are not always clear-cut, and the we- and they-codes are often hard to establish empirically. The distinction between the CA approach and the other sociological inquiries, is that the former attempts to uncover the methods through which ordered activity is generated, while the latter considers language as a medium for the expression of intentions, motives, or interests (Wei 2002: 163), or in Gafaranga's (2007) and Wei's (1998; 2002) terms, the technical concept of "preference" in CA has often been wrongly equated with the attitudinal notions of liking, acts of compliance, or the grammatical construction of affirmatives.

To sum up, there are two approaches that attempt to uncover the meanings of code-switching within the sociocultural tradition. One depends on the assumption that speech communities attach different rights, identities and obligations to each of their languages (Jørgensen, Heller, Stroud, Myers-Scotton, Rampton, to name a few), and "speakers who code-switch are seen as appealing to the rights, obligations and identities associated with each language" (Stroud 1998: 321); the other (Auer, Wei, Gafaranga) on the other hand, considers that the "definition of the codes used in code-switching may be an interactional achievement which is not prior to the conversation but subject to negotiation between participants. If anything, it is not the existence of certain codes which takes priority, but the function of a certain transition in conversation" (Auer 1998: 9).

In the following chapters, following Gumperz, Goffman and on a more overall level, Sack's notion of "order at all points", meaning that in principle, anything in interaction, also codeswitching, is orderly, systematic and may therefore be analyzed like that, I analyze in detail sequences in which codeswitching is taking place in disputes. It is important to point out that sometimes the participants accomplish their dispute in one language only (either Danish, or Arabic), and at other times it seems that the two languages represent the common code for peer interaction. Using one language and not the other, or alternating between the two languages is to be determined by the context of the interaction, rather than by the assumption that the participants switch in order to wield more power. The language which is least used in the school domain is Arabic, and in this regard, switching to Arabic is to be seen as marked, since the norm and what the school requires is to use Danish. Moreover, in the study of code-switching, the CA methodology has already been used by Auer, Gafaranga, Cromdal, Wei (to name a few), and these researchers have demonstrated that bilingual speakers use code-switching to structure the conversational activity in which they are engaged, and bilingual talk is, thus, orderly and systematic.

Code-Switching: types and definitions

Research concerned with talk in two languages, or alternation between two or more languages, usually identifies or categorizes different types of alternations, where some alternations are categorized as code-switching, and thus require from the researcher to investigate the phenomenon, while other types of alternations are categorized as "borrowings" and "code-mixing", and these are usually discarded. Some researchers do not distinguish between the different types, and they use the term "code-switching" to refer to the use of two languages in a conversation, and in fact, there is no agreement among different researchers on a single definition for "code-switching".

Grosjean (1982) distinguishes between *language borrowing* and *speech* or *nonce borrowing*. The former means "items which, although originally from language A, have come to be integrated into language B such that speakers of language B use them without any awareness of their foreign origin". This indicates that the borrowed items or terms are used by the majority and minority, and there is no reason to associate the borrowed items with extra-linguistic meanings when used by bilinguals. The latter, that is, *speech* or *nonce borrowing* "refers to the use by bilingual speakers of elements from language A in a discourse mainly in language B." However, this definition doesn't provide a clue as to how we can distinguish between *speech/nonce borrowing* on one hand and *code-switching* on the other. Therefore, we can constitute here that *speech borrowing* is equivalent to code-switching. The same ambiguity can be extrapolated to the use of such terms as *code-mixing*, where (Gafaranga 2007) provides multiple definitions of the term as used by different researchers, for example (Muysken 2000: 23) states "I am using the term code-mixing where items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence". Clearly, the analyst here has a clear agenda of considering the sentence as the unit of analysis. However, bilingual speakers might not code-switch while interacting, and might stick to one language while communicating. Example (5.1).

1-Boy : *Inti biddik trawhi a'al bait, ah? Biddik trawhi witjeebeeli sobbat.* 2-Noha: Hvornår? 3-Boy : *Halla'a* 4-Noha: JEG KAN IKKE 5-Boy : *BIDDIK TI'ADARI* 6-Noha: NEJ 7-Boy : *mbala fat bkol sobbati may* 8-Noha: hvad rager det mig? 9-Boy : *koli khara w siddi bozik* *(Noha leaves)*	1-Boy: *you must go home, okay? go home and bring me a pair of shoes.* 2-Noha: when? 3-Boy: *Now* 4-Noha: I CAN NOT 5-Boy: *YOU MUST* 6-Noha: NO 7-Boy: *Yes, water has soaked my shoes* 8-Noha: what do I care? 9-Boy: *eat shit and shut your snout (mandible).* *(Noha leaves)*

A problem with data in which different languages are used, is that it is not always clear why someone uses one language and not the other. Some researchers distinguish between "language" and "code", in that "language is a grammatical notion while "code" is a semiotic notion. A communicative code may, but need not be linguistic" (Gafaranga 2007: 22). A code can be a sign language, or comprised of one or more languages which are comprehensible by a certain community or group. The same notion can be applied to the bilinguals of this study, where Danish and Arabic seem to be integrated together and constitute the "code" of communication among peers in some situations. In other words, participants in a conversation usually orient to the "code" of communication, and this "code" could be one language, two, or even a gestural code, as (Gafaranga 2007: 23) states, "although the two languages are used, they are not oriented to by participants as separate entities" , rather the two are one "code". The above example (4.1) might show that the participants are not orienting to their different languages as separate entities, where each speaker

receives a message in one language, and responds with another language, as if the two languages were one entity and one "code". Examples like (4.1) might determine the need to consider the sequence in interaction as the unit of analysis, and not the sentence.

A problem in defining what code-switching is rests on the researchers' tendency to provide different names for the same phenomena related to alternation between two languages. For example, Auer, one of the pioneering researchers in the field of bilingualism, distinguishes between "code mixing" and "code-switching" on functional grounds, and he argues that "one can speak of code-switching if and only if a local function is accomplished by virtue of the "languageness" of the relevant element" (Auer 1999); in other words, it is a way of switching to another language in order to achieve a function which cannot be achieved by using any other language. But this criterion is not really clear, in that a local function is also expected to be achieved by a speaker regardless of the language used, and the border between "code-switching" and "code-mixing" remains fuzzy and unpractical, and the distinction between the two can be impossible. Auer (1998: 10) himself says " Mixed codes contain numerous and frequent cases of alternation between two languages when seen from the linguist's point of view, but these singular occurrences of alternation do not carry meaning qua language choice for the bilingual participants (…) code-switching and usage of a mixed code often co-occur in a given conversation so that it is analytically difficult to disentangle the two phenomena."

Muysken (2000: 8-9) distinguishes between insertional and alternational language mixing, where the former refers to the phenomenon of code-switching "in colonial settings and recent immigrants, where there is a considerable asymmetry in the speakers' proficiency in the two languages", whereas the latter describes code-switching "in stable bilingual communities with a tradition of language separation". This definition takes into account external ideologies which attach a certain value to each language. Some others make the distinction between alternational code-switching and insertional code-switching on grammatical grounds, where the former denotes that CS is occurring at clause or sentence boundary, while the latter refers to CS occurring within the clause or sentence. This is sometimes referred to as Inter-/Intrasentential code-switching. Some researchers have also identified "tag-switches" on grammatical grounds (Appel and Muysken 2005: 118) which involve an exclamation, a tag, or a parenthetical in another language than the rest of the sentence. The tags serve as an emblem of the bilingual character of an otherwise monolingual sentence. Poplack (1980) has named this type of switching *emblematic* switching.

Appel and Muysken (2005) argue that Switching can serve one or more of the following functions: 1- referential (as some believe that switching involves lack of knowledge of one language, and the speaker might prefer to speak about a certain subject in a certain language. For example, some studies[38] have demonstrated that some Arabs switch to English when they want to speak about sex, in that such a topic is considered a taboo in the Arabic language. 2- directive (to include or exclude hearers); 3- expressive (to emphasize a mixed identity); 4- phatic (also called metaphorical switching by Gumperz, and this function attempts to highlight the information conveyed; 5- metalinguistic (when swiching is used to comment explicitly or implicitly on the languages involved – or to switch between languages to impress hearers ; 6-poetic (switched puns, jokes, etc.).

[38] An article published online by Aljazeera and Rueters – "Jordanian Elite Shows Off with Arabizi", and a documentary which tackle the same issue of mixing Arabic and English for different purposes.
http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2005/12/200849134622188257.html

In short, there is no consensus on a single definition for what might constitute code-switching. Researchers might invent new terms to speak about the same phenomenon of using two or more languages in an interaction. Some of the definitions above might exclude the example provided (4.1) if they consider the sentence as the unit of analysis; others might see it as a clue that the two languages involved are typologically distant and cannot be fused together to form one "code"; a third might see it as a way of adding opposition between the disputants, where the boy uses Arabic to force the girl to comply with the obligations determined by the Arabic culture, while the girl resists him, and chooses a different language, where maintaining one language in this sense can be seen as an additional demonstration of resistance to the boy's command; a fourth might consider the value associated with each language, where Arabic is the language of minority and lacks power, whereas Danish is the language of authority, majority and power, and using it might empower Noha to resist the command of the boy (power-wielding to use Jørgensen's term). Still, one might see it as a dispreference for same language talk in disputes or disagreements – as opposed to Auer's preference for same language talk. What will be analyzed in the coming chapters is the use of two – or more languages in interaction, regardless of whether the switching is intersentential or intrasentential[39]. The unit of analysis is the sequence(s) in an interaction, and the way the interlocutors use their Turn Constructural Units (TCU) to accomplish the sequence. I adopt in this regard Nilep's (2006) definition and boundaries of code-switching, where he states that code-switching is

> an alternation in the form of communication that signals a context in which the linguistic contribution can be understood. The "context" so signaled may be very local (such as the end of a turn at talk), very general (such as positioning vis-à-vis some macro-sociological category), or anywhere in between. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that this signaling is accomplished by the action of participants in a particular interaction. That is to say, it is not necessary or desirable to spell out the meaning of particular code switching behavior *a priori*. Rather, code switching is accomplished by parties in interaction, and the meaning of their behavior emerges from the interaction. (Nilep 2006)

To sum up, I will stick in the analysis of disputes to the premises of EMCA. The primary function of this analysis is to describe the participants' methods in doing disputes and to highlight the role of language alternation in the process.

Disputes: Review of the literature:

Studies of pre-teen disputes seem to focus mainly on monolingual settings and contexts (Goodwin (2006); Maynard (1986); Church (2009), Corsaro (2003), Sheldon (1990)). The age group of the participants in these studies are mostly pre-school children (3 – 5 years old) or early grade pupils (ages 6-7 years) (for example, Church (2009); Maynard (2006); Evaldson (2005), Corsaro 2003 ; Cromdal (2000). Many of the researchers make the observation that conflict talk is a normal way of interaction among children and it is not a deviation, and that disputes in interactions decrease as children get older (Church 2009; Corsaro 2003). Most of these studies give a primary focus for disputes in conjunction with children's play (for example, Goodwin (1980), Goodwin and Goodwin (1987), Maynard (1985); Corsaro (2003); Cromdal (2000); Church (2009); Evaldson (2005)) where children's disputes are studied when they are mostly outside classrooms (for example

[39] Of the hundreds of instances of code-switching which are represented in the data, there is only one instance of intra-sentential code-switching. The dominant feature of switching is intersentential code-switching and tag switches.

during recess; or in contexts of their families at home). Kangasharju (2009) points out that there are few micro-level studies of authentic disputes due to challenges related to gaining access to authentic recorded data, and because disputes arise spontaneously and unexpectedly, and the possibilities of having them recorded for analysis are poor from the outset. People in general are often "unwilling to let outsiders study their disputes" (Kangasharju 2009: 231) due to social and moral concerns attached to quarreling. Kangasharju's sample of adult disputes, for example, is incorporated from TV programs like Big Brother. The recorded data of the current study, however, gives an advantage to investigate several issues concerned with the participants' relations to each other, types of disputes, how disputes start and develop, and what methods do the disputants use to mitigate or aggravate a dispute, and the extent to which this type of interaction impacts their schooling experience. Another advantage which the data provides is concerned with the age group of the participants (12-13 years old). We already know what a dispute might look like when it is concerned with preschool children, as no moral issues are attached in their case, while in relation to adults the studies are very rare and might be dependent on several moral concerns. A third advantage is concerned with the setting, while most of the studies attempted to investigate disputes outside the classroom and in monolingual settings, the current study makes this investigation inside the classroom and in relation to bilinguals, providing an advantage to see the function of code switching in adversative talk. A fourth advantage is represented by the method employed in data collection, in that our knowledge of disputes mostly comes from studies that used interviews and questionnaires in data collection, while in the current study the disputes are video recorded, and thus they enable us to look at various issues without a need to rely on what the different parties might claim.

Definition of dispute:

Eisenberg and Garvey: (1981: 150) define an adversative episode as

> the interaction which grows out of an opposition to a request for action, an assertion, or an action. It is a social task whose objective is the resolution of that conflict or contradiction. The negating responses include refusals, disagreements, denials and objections. Thus, an adversative episode is a sequence which begins with an opposition and ends with a resolution or dissipation of conflict. Its apparent goal is to work out the initial opposing positions of the participants.

The available literature on disputes might use other terms to refer to the same phenomenon: for example Corsaro (2003) and Church (2009) use conflict or oppositional talk, while Cromdal (2000) and Maynard (1986) use dispute. Church (2009: 8) defines conflict as "an articulated form of disagreement where one party impedes the satisfaction of the wants of the other". In the current study, the term dispute is used as an umbrella term which might involve various types and participants (e.g bullying, sexual harassment, pupil-teacher adversative talk). Disputes in general are construed as parasitic to the ongoing interaction, a sort of side-sequence in ongoing talk, one which must be resolved if non-adversative talk is to resume (Church 2009: 8). Researchers usually hint at the co-operative nature of conflict which is mutually created and co-constructed by the interlocutors themselves (for example, Church (2009); Maynard (1986) who uses the term collaboration). Disputes can be aggressive and serious, or might include joking or teasing quality (bantering), or even ritualized, for example, playing the dozens (Labov 1972b). Garvey and Shantz (1995) propose four dimensions of conflict talk: orientation (serious/joking); format (ritual/non-ritual); frame (pretend/real) and mode (mitigated/aggravated). Most of the literature treats pre-school children's disputes as normal, and they refer to the function of disputes as having an

influence on the social organization of peer groups, and the strengthening of friendship bonds and the reaffirmation of cultural values (for example Corsaro 2003: 162; Church 2009). A great deal of this research is oriented to have an eye on adult intervention; thus, Corsaro (2003: 162) observes that "most disputes are short lived because adult caretakers usually intervene quickly… (and children) quickly cede control of their dispute to those with greater power and authority" (see also Church 2009: 20). However, such an observation is not universal, in that Newman, Murray and Lussier point out that:

> Elementary-aged children who experience interpersonal conflict with their peers typically are reluctant to go to an adult authority for assistance. Help seeking is perceived as a way of avoiding rather than resolving conflict. Children who are socially well accepted, in particular, prefer to use prosocial, constructive strategies (e.g. discussing the situation) without relying on adults (Newman, Murray and Lussier, 2001: 398)

Some researchers find a difficulty in providing a clear definition for dispute or a clear structure that can distinguish it from ordinary disagreement. Thus Kangasharju who deals with adults' disputes argues that "confrontations that are called arguments or disputes in ordinary language may appear in multiple forms ….(and)…disputes can perhaps best be seen as a continuum, extending from more or less harmless arguments to aggravated conflicts" (Kangasharju 2009: 232). Kangasharju (2009) refers to three characteristics in relation to three disputes in her study: 1- the dispute becomes visible in interaction in "sudden shifts from an unmarked normal style to a marked emphatic style", which can be observed in the paralinguistic behavior of the participants. Marked style might be concerned with delay in answering a previous turn, swearing, raised volume, gestures that show anger, facial features, etc. 2- Withdrawal of other participants from the discussion (which means that she focuses on dyadic disputes, where bystanders remain neutral), and 3- preference for agreement (Sacks 1973), according to which interactions show an orientation to agreement rather than to disagreement. According to Sacks, the preference for agreement is displayed especially in the second turns of adjacency pairs through phenomena such as the frequency of yes-answers as compared to no's and the tendency to push disagreements back in a turn by prefacing them with reluctance markers such as (well, yes …but), or pauses and explanations. Agreement, on the contrary, is expressed rapidly and unmarkedly. However, certain first position actions (accusations, blaming, complaints) make agreement a dispreferred action, because the recipients are expected to defend their positions, and consequently "the agreement-oriented reluctance markers practically disappear and aggravated dissent is signaled through topical, lexical and prosodic devices" (Kangasharju 2009: 233). In other words, marked turns are characterized by their violation of a certain norm or a preferred action. If we assume that there is a "preference for same language talk", or "preference for agreement", we also assume that doing such preferred actions must be unmarked. If, however, the participants do not orient to such preferences, we assume that the dispreference is marked, and the markedness is usually manifested in various contextualization cues.

Dispute Structure:

Two-party disputes are considered to have three phases (Maynard 1986: 262; Cromdal 2000; Church 2009) a) an antecedent or arguable event, whose status as the first phase of a dispute is partly made visible by b) an oppositional, argumentative utterance or action. Then occurs c) a reaction phase, in which the opposition itself is handled in various ways as by negation, substitution, accounting, insisting, and so on. A similar modal is proposed by (Cromdal 2000) and

supported by Church (2009). The aforementioned example (5.1) can illustrate the three move structure, where Noha encounters a boy during recess:
(a)- Line 1 is a direct command, and constitutes the first event which has to be answered either with compliance or incompliance. Lines 2 and 3, a question/answer format, where Noha asks for additional information regarding the time this command has to be executed, and the boy answers with "now". This delay in showing disagreement reveals that showing disagreement is usually marked and not delivered quickly. (b) In line 4 Noha rejects to comply with the order and with the condition of "now". This is done in a direct rejection, and with a raised volume. (c) The boy counters this incompliance with an equal measure of a raised volume stressing that Noha "must" comply (5). The discourse that follows is an instance of escalation/aggravation where the two parties hold their positions by way of asserting, rejecting and countering each other, and ends by staging insults.

Both Maynard (2006) and Church (2009) argue that a dispute which is comprised of two parts only should not be construed as a dispute, rather as a repair initiation. It is when opposition itself receives disagreement that a dispute is advanced. Similarly, Cromdal (2000: 204) argues that "initial oppositions to arguable antecedents may result in repair work on the part of the participant responsible for the arguable action, or they may remain unresponded to, or even unobserved. In either case, we are dealing with a unidirectional opposition, not a socially established argument; the initial opposition must itself be treated as arguable and opposed in the third move". However, in some contexts the third move in a dispute could be absent due to some contextual factors, like for example, a presence of a teacher. Consider the following example, where Yosra is walking to her class and she notices that Ihsan is using a calculator while working in his group: (5.2)

1-Yosra: *wila ya hayawan* bruger du lommeregner↑ (1.6) 2-Ihsan : [det må man gerne *wallah* man må 3-Yosra: [busted	1-Yosra: *hey you animal* are you using a calculator↑ (1.6) 2-Ihsan: [one is allowed *by allah* one is allowed 3-Yosra: [busted

Ihsan didn't address the issue that he is being insulted by Yosra's pejorative language "*wila* = you (inferior)" and as an "hayawan = animal", and he focused instead on the accusation of breaking a rule – that he is using a calculator against the rules. Ihsan counters this accusation by stating that it is legitimate to use a calculator, and Yosra continues her way without arguing further or opposing Ihsan's claim. Her silence shows that she takes Ihsan's claim as true, and therefore, Ihsan's reaction can be a repair of Yosra's mistaken assumption that "the use of calculators is against the rules".The way Yosra prefaces her question with an insult in Arabic can be considered an instance of footing, in that a teacher was sitting just behind her and Ihsan. An interaction like this can be also construed as having the same structure of a dispute, where the use of a calculator is seen as the initial event or action (phase a), which is opposed by Yosra in (1) (phase b) where she uses the attention-getting device (wila = you inferior) which functions as an opposition marker followed by an insult, and Yosra's opposition is countered by Ihsan's clarification in (2) (phase c). Switching to English "busted" at the end in an overlap with Ihsan's turn signals that Yosra is unserious, and she simply does not care whether he is using a calculator or not, and the use of English can be thus seen as a way to mitigate the dispute. The mitigated end of the dispute could be also determined by the presence of a teacher. This example is to be contrasted with the previous aggravated dispute between Noha and the boy (Example 5.1). The use of Arabic in the two examples also serves different functions; while it is hard to assign a meaning for the way each of the speakers maintains a different language in (5.1), Yosra's use of Arabic to insult Ihsan in (5.2) does not alert the teacher to intervene, and probably the use of Arabic is preferred when insults are used to achieve this end. This example might also indicate that the boundaries of a dispute are sometimes fuzzy, and the

distinction between a repair sequence and a dispute could be dependent on what the analyst considers as the first move. If we consider Yosra's insult in (1) as the first move, then the sequence is a repair sequence, whereas if we consider Ihsan's use of a calculator as the first move, then the sequence is to be construed as a dispute. The example also serves to clarify how participants in an interaction orient to possible overhearers by manipulating their languages for different purposes, as we see Yosra staging her insult in Arabic to exclude the teacher, while in her attempt to show an unserious orientation to the use of calculator, and even her unseriousness regarding the insult, she used English.

Multi-party disputes: The three move structure fits the dyadic interactions, whereas multi-party disputes involve a more complex structure. According to Maynard (1986), the three part structure is helpful in analyzing the beginning phases of disputes that involve several parties, as onlookers or bystanders alter their "participation status"[40] (Goffman, 1979), where a third speaker may align him or herself with one of these positions, or raise an alternative objection. This alignment may or may not be accepted by the original opposing parties and consequently should be seen as an offer of collaboration, which can be offered or solicited. "Offers of collaboration occur when a party outside an ongoing dispute – an "outsider" – without invitation produces a display of alignment with or against the position of one who is already involved – an "insider" or "principal party". Solicits of collaboration consist in principal party asking for such a display in particular ways" (Maynard 1986: 267). Church (2009: 26) argues that Multi-party disputes are generally not described as two party disputes with additional speakers, because additional participants may attempt to align themselves with a particular speaker but not necessarily with the position of that speaker. In this light, collaboration may provide a platform for introducing a new objection or agenda. In the following example we can see the complexity of the structure of multi-party disputes, though the example cannot be said to be a fixed structure, as it might change depending on the situation and the participants involved. The example shows two groups of students, one for boys and one for girls seated in the corridor to accomplish an assignment. The two groups sit on different desks and are nearly 10 meters away from each other. However, they keep bantering and teasing each other playfully, where Monir uses some swearing terms, which lead Ihsan to warn him about the presence of the camera and that Jalal will see and hear what they are doing. Example (5.3):

1-Ihsan: hvor er du grim (.) og du ved godt han skal se det jo	1-Ihsan: how ugly you are (.) and you know well he will see it
2-Monir: det ved jeg (.)	2-Monir: I know (.)
3-Monir: *ma dakhalni*	3-Monir: *what do I care*
4-Anas: *sho dakhal*[*ni*↑	4-Anas: *what do I* [*care*↑
5-Monir: [*hat shaghli azitta* (0.8)	5-Monir: [*give me something to throw it* (0.8)
6-Anas: *a'a sho?(.)*	6-Anas: *on what*? (.)
7-Monir: *sobbat aw haik shi (0.4)*	7-Monir: *a shoe or something like that (0.4)*
8-Anas: *wain*? (0.3)	8-Anas: *where*? (0.3)
9-Monir: *a'alaiha (0.3) la hay el ba'ara* (0.3) *hay baghli*	9-Monir: *on her (0.3) on that cow* (0.3) *she's a mule*

Monir has been using abusive terms, which leads Ihsan to make an assessment of what Monir has done, but instead of describing the "act" as ugly or unacceptable, Ihsan describes Monir as "ugly" (1). Anas, in line (4), aligns himself with Ihsan – an action which is to be construed as an offer of collaboration produced without invitation. Monir, on the other hand, shows carelessness regarding the recording of his act on the camera, and proceeds with his teasing remarks which are addressed to Erina, where he calls her "cow and mule". However, these insults are not addressed to Erina

[40] See Goffman's discussion of the categories of speakers and hearers above, and how participants change their statuses while involved in interaction (*Goffman's footing*).

directly – as she is not within the audible range – and they are used as a reference to her "stubbornness". As in the previous example (5.2), Monir doesn't orient to Ihsan's statement as insulting, and he doesn't address the issue that he is being described as "ugly". Instead, he addresses the second part of Ihsan's warning regarding the presence of a camera, where he demonstrates carelessness regarding the consequences (lines 2-3), and produces a solicit of collaboration, where he asks Anas to provide him with a shoe in order to hit Erina (line 5). This example shows that multi-party disputes can be complex, as Anas demonstrates an alignment against Monir (4), and later seems to be ready to collaborate with Monir in terms of providing him with a shoe to hit Erina. While it could be easy to describe dyadic disputes using the three move structure, it could be very difficult to find a single structure that fits all sorts of multiparty disputes, as participants constantly change their footings and participation statuses depending on how the dispute is developing.

Patterns of disputes:

Dixon and Smith (2011: 45-6) identify three patterns of peer-disputes as peer members attempt to achieve dominance in the pecking order:1- ***one-up/one-up*** is construed as a pattern of interaction in which two students (or two groups of students) compete with one another for the "one-up" position by repeatedly exchanging one-up behavior. This pattern of interaction can easily escalate from verbal attacks into actual violence. For example, two students might start with an exchange of insults (A – "Shut up you animal!" B- "You shut up idiot"), and develops into a fight where each party attempts to inflict upon the other the maximum amount of damage and pain. 2- ***One-down/one-down*** is a pattern of interaction in which both pupils try to assume the least powerful position by exchanging "one-down" behavior. Paradoxically, they are still trying to outdo one another. For example, two students might openly compete for a one-up position but shift to competing for the one-down position when a teacher appears (A-"He hurt me!" B-"He hurt me more!"). In this case, the person who achieves the "one-down" position is likely to avoid approbation from the teacher and the teacher may even punish the apparent aggressor. Although the pupils in the two schools avoided reporting each other to the teachers, but once they are spotted, the competition for a "one-down" position starts. Consider the following example, which involves a group of girls: Tina (Danish), Rola (Kurdish), Yosra (Arab), Suha (Somali), Basma (Arab), and their female teacher (Arab). Yosra slaps the girls one after the other, and some of the girls retaliate, and the teacher intervenes to stop them: (5.4)

1-(Yosra slaps Basma - Basma retaliates and hits Yosra on her head) 2-Teacher: *khala:s (.)* 3-Basma: hun slog mig rigtig hårdt i øjet (0.6) 4-Yosra: *darbatni hon* (points to her ear) *a'ashan a'am bitza'azi'e* 5-Basma: jeg er ligeglad du slog mig i øjet (.) 6-Rola: hun slog mig på tænderne	1-(Yosra slaps Basma – Basma retaliates and hits Yosra on her head) 2-Teacher: *Enough: (.)* 3-Basma: she hit me really hard in the eye (0.6) 4-Yosra: *she hit me here* (points to her ear) *because it is buzzing* 5-Basma: I don't care, you hit me in the eye (.) 6-Rola: she hit me on the teeth.

As this example might show, competition for the one-down position is a norm of interaction when a teacher spots a dispute. Prior to the teacher's intervention in line (2), the girls were hitting each other and competing to inflict more pain upon each other (one up – one up); after the teacher's intervention, each girl highlights the amount of pain she had received, a method to avoid punishment by the teacher.

3- ***one-up/one-down*** represents a pattern of interaction in which one student effectively pushes themselves upwards or another student downwards. This pattern is, according to Dixon and Smith

(2011) frequent in “bullying”. Dixon and Smith (2011: 47-8) argue that “where two children have a repeatedly one-up/one-down pattern of interaction, this may evolve into an established bully-victim relationship if a boundary develops around the two-person system, protecting the status quo and consolidating this pattern of relating.” The boundary is comprised of the combined beliefs and attitudes of the bully, victim and bystanders and it consolidates what was a series of interactions into a more established relationship. This pattern will be dealt with in the section concerned with bullying.

Church (2009: 22) reports the study of Lein and Brenneis (1978) who relate specific patterns of interaction to specific speech communities, in that African-American and Fijian Indian children responded to insults with a pattern of escalation (one up/one up), while the white American children tended to negate the previous speaker’s insult and can be seen as a pattern of inversion (one up/one down). However, we assume that such generalizations are unfounded, as disputes in general are context dependent, and the pattern of dispute which is co-constructed by the interlocutors is expected to unfold from the consecutive turns in interaction. Moreover, the different patterns of interaction do not take into account “code switching”, partly because the studies are concerned mainly with monolingual contexts in the playground. As will be shown, switching to another language in the process of a dispute which takes place in a classroom is to be seen as a systematic method that shows the participants’ peer-allegiance and a way to exclude teachers and prevent them from intervention. Moreover, most of the studies concerned with disputes rely on categorizing disputes by depending on descriptions of disputes from a retrospective, rather than actual interaction. As we will see, in any dispute which can be considered as “bullying”, i.e., one up/one down”, the “victim” does not necessarily maintain the same pattern of interaction, as he/she might use different defensive strategies at different points in the dispute.

Chapter 6: Disputes involving teachers

Classroom disputes, disputants, and bystanders.

This chapter will focus on disputes which involve teachers. Teachers can be thought of as having the power to impose their agenda by virtue of their statuses as “teachers”, and because maintaining discipline is part of their duties. However, as I will show teachers’ interventions are liable to be neutralized and to be rendered futile by various methods which the bilinguals might employ. As mentioned earlier, I use the term “dispute” as an umbrella term to denote all types of disagreements, adversative talk and fights that involve bilinguals. Teachers, in the process, can be either parties or bystanders.

As will be shown in this chapter and the subsequent chapters, the participants’ disputes have the following characteristics. First, a dispute in a classroom is not a private dispute. As soon as a dispute ensues between two parties, disputants in the data never go to a private place to accomplish the dispute, rather they proceed with their actions in the same place, i.e., inside the classroom. Bystanders (Goffman 1979) in such a case do not remain neutral or passive, and they may interfere in various ways. These bystanders can be a resource for the disputants as their collaboration can be either solicited or offered (Maynard 1986). There are different actions which might attract the attention of a teacher. A dispute which is in the process of escalation is recognizable as such by the participants' use of high volume, swear words and physical threats. Oppositional turns/actions may be overheard or observed by others, including teachers. This may happen accidently or deliberately. Second, bystanders can be represented by peers or teachers if they happen to be in the setting. If a teacher is present in the setting, disputants usually orient to the teacher’s presence by conducting the dispute in a covert way, in that teachers may intervene and stop or enforce their agenda on the disputants. It is in and through this covert way of conducting the dispute that we may see participants orienting to a teacher to have power to stop it. Third, participants resort to methods that essentially circumvent teachers’ possible intervention. One method is represented by keeping their voices down or maintaining a neutral tone of voice and, thus, avoid the marked paralinguistic behavior. Another method is the use of pun and play on words. One of the most successful methods, however, is to switch to Arabic. Switching to Arabic happens at the point when the interaction becomes recognizable as a dispute at any phase of the three sequential positions. Teachers who do not know Arabic will be less able to detect a dispute while it is going on in their presence, since the pupils may use offensive language which is produced in a quiet calm way.

The second section of this chapter will deal with the participants’ orientation to their teachers’ directives. Positive responses to teachers or compliance with teachers’ directives seem to be a negative act among the participants, and resistance seems to be the norm as the examples of this chapter will show. Incompliance is normally prefaced with negotiations, delay, and even with insults if a teacher is not a speaker of Arabic.

I- Disputants and Bystanders

1-Basic traits of a dispute in the classroom:

A preliminary observation of the data reveals that the first characteristic of the participants' disputes is that they typically do not call upon a teacher when a dispute starts and escalates. Although teachers potentially represent an authority that might put an end to any dispute among pupils, the strategy in disputes among the participants was to avoid involving teachers. In disputes we might expect pupils to empower themselves by involving a teacher. Such a strategy, however, is not used in my data. In addition, the data shows that disputants do not attempt to accomplish their dispute in a private place; rather they do it inside the class, and in the presence of their peers. In very few instances, we see that one disputant might call upon a teacher to exert more pressure on the opponent party (bullying). However, these instances are very few compared to more than one hundred examples of disputes where calling upon a teacher is avoided. Consider the following examples, where disputes ensue and none of the participants considers calling upon a teacher as a viable solution.

In the following example, two boys (Adham and Musa) and a girl (Ilham) are working as a group on a school task, but the pupils are diverted by Adham's constant teasing remarks to Ilham which lead the group to immerse in a dispute. The group is inside the classroom. Example (6.1):

1-Adham: hahahaha læs skat *yallah*. 2-Ilham: jeg er ikke din skat. 3-Adham: *sheeel yooaaa* jeg er din skat. 4-Ilham: *wehyat allah* jeg har sagt jeg kaster den (den = pencil case in her hand) 5-Musa: *wala*↑ 6-(Adham threatens to hit Ilham with his pencil case) 7-Ilham: kast kast 8-Adham: *sheeel* lik læs *yilaan abooki kalb* 9-Ilham: *abooy*↑ 10-Musa: ups 11-Adham: *haik shi* hehe nej nej ikke dig læs 12-Ilham: hvor er jeg nået↑(1.1) 13-Musa: du er nået her.(1.0) 14-(Adham hits Ilham with his shoes on her head) 15-Adham: *wilik* læs 16- (Ilham hits Adham with a pencil case) 17-Adham: *asif asif* [Owaaahhh]	1-Adham: hahahaha read sweetheart, *go on* 2-Ilham: I'm not your sweetheart 3-Adham: *(flirtatious term) yooaaa* I'm your sweetheart 4-Ilham: *by allah* I've said I will throw it (it = pencil case in her hand) 5-Musa: *you*↑ (pejorative) 6-(Adham threatens to hit Ilham with his pencil case) 7-Ilham: throw throw 8-Adham: (flirtatious term) *you* (pejorative) read *damn your dog father* 9-Ilham: *my father*? 10-Musa: ups 11-Adham: *something like that* hehe no no not you, read 12-Ilham: where have I reached? (1.1) 13-Musa: you've reached here (1.0) 14-(Adham hits Ilham with his shoes on her head) 15-Adham: *you* (pejorative) read 16-(Ilham hits Adham with a pencil case) 17-Adham*: sorry sorry* [Owa::h:::]

Adham hits Ilham with his shoes on her head (14).

In this sequence, the dispute is established by Ilham opposing Adham's teasingly put term of endearment. In several turns in this sequence, it was possible for Ilham to call upon a teacher to interfere in this dispute. In (1) and (3), Adham produces teasing remarks, a threat in (6), an insult in (8), and a physical violence in (14). After each aggressive action taken by Adham, Ilham had the chance to call upon a teacher to mediate the dispute, but she doesn't. Instead, she answers Adham's aggressive actions in more or less equivalent aggressive reactions.

The same goes for the following examples, where typically a teacher or two are standing at a distance, and could be helping some other groups. We do not see the pupils asking for intervention to stop the dispute. The excerpt involves Arab girls (Zaina, Ikhlas), Somali boys (Khalil, Yaseen) – The group are inside the classroom, and facing each other on their desk. Example: (6.2)

1-(Zaina reads the required text) 2-Khalil: nej så skal du ikke læse mere (1.5) 3-Zaina: jeg skulle bare lige [læse 4-Khalil: [NE:J (0.4) 5-Zaina: JO: (.) 6-Khalil: hold din mund (.) NEJ (.) 7-Zaina: hold din mund [selv 8-Khalil: [hold din mund (0.8) 9-Ikhlas: Khalil lade [hende være 10-Yaseen: [nej du skal ikke læse mere, det er rigtigt det er rigtigt 11-Khalil: [hold kæft 12-Zaina: (to Yaseen)[nej se, jeg læste det her og så skulle jeg bare læse det her [ord- 13-Khalil: [NE::J 14-Zaina: fordi det hænger [sammen med det der. Ja det er det. 15-Khalil: [NE::J nu du skal ikke læse mere	1-(Zaina reads the required text) 2-Khalil: no you shouldn't read more (1.5) 3-Zaina: I just have to [read 4-Khalil: [NO: (0.4) 5-Zaina: YE:S (.) 6-Khalil: close your mouth (.) NO (.) 7-Zaina: you close your mouth your[self 8-Khalil: [close your mouth 9-Ikhlas: Khalil leave [her (=let her read) 10-Yaseen: [no you shouldn't read more, that's right that's right 11-Khalil: [shut up 12-Zaina: (to Yaseen) [no look, I read this part here and I have to read these [words- 13-Khalil: [NO:: 14-Zaina: because they are [related to that. Yes that's it. 15-Khalil: [NO:: now you shouldn't read more.

Zaina explains to Yaseen (line 12).

In this extract, Khalil is opposing the group as he tries to impose his own rules regarding who is supposed to read and what to read. He disrupts the process of reading in (2), and insists on this action in the subsequent turns (an oppositional turn in (4), an insult in (6) which is repeated in (8) and (11)). Even after Zaina provides an account as to why she has to continue reading in (12-14), Khalil doesn't allow her to continue reading as he interrupts her in (13) and (15). The process of reading is halted and the school task is not carried out as the teacher prescribed. As in the previous example, Zaina had the chance to ask for the teacher's intervention, but she doesn't, and she goes on with the dispute relying on her oppositional answers. The same phenomenon is repeated in the next extract, although a teacher was available in the classroom and could be summoned to resolve the dispute. The group is comprised of four Arab girls (Noha, Ikhlas, Ilham, Zaina). Example (6.3):

1-(Noha snatches the copy from Ikhlas' hand) 2-Noha: lade mig se den to sekunder (.) to sekunde:r↑ 3-(Ikhlas tries to retrieve her papers – stretches her body towards Noha -) 4-Ikhlas: lad [væ::re 5-Noha: [lik jeg er ikke farlig jeg gøre ikke no:get (0.4) 6-Ikhlas: du kigger bare efter 7-Noha: ne:j↑, jeg skulle ikke kig [efter 8-Ikhlas: [JO DU GØRE (Ikhlas snatches her papers from Noha's hands) (0.8) 9-Noha: vil bare se om det er rigti::gt (.) 10-Ikhlas: du lyver (.) (to Zaina) hun kigger bare efter *wallah koran* (1.5) 11-Noha: det gøre jeg ikke (.) du gøre irreterede rigtigt i dag (0.5) 12-Ikhlas: ja ja	1-(Noha snatches the copy from Ikhlas' hand) 2-Noha: let me see it two seconds two seco:nds↑ 3-(Ikhlas tries to retrieve her papers – stretches her body towards Noha -) 4-Ikhlas: don't [do:: it 5-Noha: [you I'm not harmful I won't do any:thing (0.4) 6-Ikhlas: you just want to look (=you want to copy) 7-Noha: No::↑, I wouldn't look [after 8-Ikhlas: [YES YOU DO (Ikhlas snatches her papers from Noha's hands) (0.8) 9-Noha: will just check if it is ri::ght (.) 10-Ikhlas: you are lying (.) (to Zaina) she is just looking *by allah by quran* (1.5) 11-Noha:I am not (.) you act truly annoyed today (0.5) 12-Ikhlas: yes yes

Ikhlas: don't do it (trying to retrieve her papers) (line 4)

As this example indicates, the topic of the dispute here is concerned with oppositional interests for the two girls, and it is well known to the pupils in general that "copying" your assignment or homework is equivalent to cheating. Ikhlas reads Noha's actions as "parasitic", and so she attempts to stop her (3-4) and accuses her of cheating and lying (6-8-10). As in the previous examples, Ikhlas could have called upon the teacher to mediate the dispute with Noha, but such an action is not the norm among the participants – regardless of their gender and ethnicity. Abstaining from calling upon a teacher in disputes, thus, seems a normative act among the participants. The participants, regardless of their "power", "hierarchy" and position in a dispute, prefer to resolve disputes on their own terms and by relying on their own verbal or physical muscles. Nearly all the instances of disputes – which are more than 100 – follow the same pattern. There are, however, a couple of instances where a teacher is summoned to interfere in bullying disputes forms, and this will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The second basic trait of the participants' disputes is that since calling upon a teacher to resolve a dispute is not an option, the consequence is that most of the disputes go on for a long time, and sometimes might extend over the entire period of group work (more than one hour). Disputants' actions are normally answered with equivalent actions, i.e., an insult is answered with an equivalent insult, a threat with an equivalent threat, and violent physical or verbal actions with equal violent actions. The three examples above might clearly demonstrate this phenomenon by applying the next turn proof procedure that illustrates how a participant reacts to a previous utterance or action. Ilham in example 6.1 answers Adham's violence with violence, as Adham hits her with his shoes (14) and she retaliates by hitting him with her pencil case (16), and in example 6.2, Zaina answers Khalil's insult (6) with an insult (7), while in example 6.3, Ikhlas takes equivalent measures and actions to those of Noha while establishing her oppositional turns: when Noha snatches Ikhlas' papers (1),

Ikhlas snatches them back (3); when Noha says she will not copy the answers (7), Ikhlas accuses her of lying (8). In most of the examples, dispute sequences stretch over a long period of time as pupils rely on themselves and do not seek teachers' intervention. Consider the following examples that are taken from stretches of disputes that demonstrate how aggressive actions are usually answered with similar aggressive actions. Example: (6.4)

1-Mahir: tomatsælger tomatsælger har du nogle tomater til mig? 2-Yasin: zoologisk have har ringet, de vil have dig tilbage↓	1-Mahir: tomato seller tomato seller do you have some tomato for me? 2-Yasin: the zoo has called, they want you back↓

Mahir uses the category (tomato seller) to insult Yasin (1). Yasin's retaliation in (2) shows that he oriented to the category (tomato seller) as insulting and as a reference to unworthy people, and so he categorizes Mahir as an animal. The same goes for the next example. Example: (6.5)

1-Musa: ok abbas ok, jeg troede vi var enige om at det var yaseen der var dum ok ok ok 2-Abbas: ja yaseen er dum, han er dummere end en dør 3-Yaseen: Og du er dummere end en dør uden håndtag og der kan ikke lukke (4.0) 4-Yaseen: mu: musa har i har i en dør uden håndtag så er det abbas, kan den ikke lukke så er det abbas	1-Musa: ok abbas ok, I thought we had an agreement that it was yaseen who was stupid 2-Abbas: ja yaseen is stupid, he is more stupid than a door 3-Yaseen: and you are dumber than a door without handle and cannot close (4.0) 4-Yaseen: mu: musa if you if you have a door without handle so it is abbas, if it doesn't close so it is abbas

The example demonstrates Musa's use of the insult "stupid" towards Yaseen, as in turn (1) he solicits Abbas' cooperation. Abbas in (2) responds positively, where he uses the category "stupid" which was used by Musa against Yaseen. In (3) and (4) Yaseen retaliates by using the same category with some modifications. These examples might show that the different actions and reactions taken in a dispute are typically equivalent in nature.

The third characteristic of disputes in classrooms is that bystanders may contribute, comment or interfere with the disputants' actions. Disputes become recognizable as disputes as soon as a party has made an opposing move. Since the disputes at hand occur in a classroom full of people, a dispute between two persons may also be recognizable as such for bystanders. For this reason, the greatest majority of disputes that take place in the presence of bystanders are not just kept between two people, but others may get involved. Interestingly, disputers often allow other pupils to contribute, comment or interfere. In example 6.5, Musa's first turn can be read as a request to involve Abbas in his dispute with Yaseen. In example 6.3, Ikhlas in turn (10) seems to solicit Zaina's intervention in her dispute against Nora, as she addresses Zaina and informs her about Nora's "misconduct". Example 6.2 reveals the same phenomenon of bystanders' change of their participation statuses, as both Ikhlas and Yaseen offer their support to the disputants, i.e., Zaina and Khalil, where Ikhlas in line (9) aligns herself with Zaina, while Yaseen in line (10) offers support to Khalil. The following examples might illustrate this process further. Example (6.6)

1-Ala: Jasmin ikke rører ham du ved aldrig hvad han kan gøre 2-Noha: jeg rører ham hvad rager det dig↑ 3-Ala: (to Sahm) spis hende 4-(laughter) 5-Ala: nå jo i er gift god hund 6-Noha: [ugh::::↓ 7-Sahm: [hold din kæft 8-Musa: (mocks) hold din kæft	1-Ala: Jasmin don't touch him you can never tell what he can do 2-Noha: I touch him what do you care? 3-Ala: eat her 4- (laughter) 5-Ala: well yes you are married good dog 6-Noha: [ugh::::↓ 7-Sahm: [shut your mouth 8-Musa: (mocks) shut your mouth

9-Ala: hvornår skal i lave [bryllup↑	9-Ala: when will you make [wedding?
10-Noha: [Ala *wallah bakib hay brasak halla'a iza ma btoskot*	10:Noha: [Ala *by allah I will spill this (tea) over your head now if you do not shut up*
11-Ala: du skal altså ikke true mig med te	11-Ala: you should not as well threaten me with tea

(Noha is seen in this figure and Sahm on her left followed by Musa – facing Ala). Noha: Ala by allah I will spill this tea over your head now if you do not shut up. (10)

In this excerpt, both Noha and Sahm oppose Ala in several turns. Although Ala was addressing Sahm by his demeaning remarks, as he calls him "dog", and as he in (1) warns Jasmin not to touch the "dog", Noha changes her status of participation from a passive bystander into an active disputant as she challenges Ala's warning in (2), and her action can be read as an offer of collaboration to Sahm. The result is a dispute that involves Ala, Noha, and Sahm, as the group exchange insults (5 – 7-10). Notice in line (8) how Musa changes his participation status and takes the side of Ala, thus contributing to the dispute (this is what Goffman calls changing status of participation from an inactive onlooker, into an active participant).

Bystanders' comments may be necessary for a dispute to develop. Bystanders could be passive and not involved in a dispute, but they quite often change their participation status as they monitor each other's actions. In the next example, Khalil is present in the room, but he is not part of the group that involves (Ilham – Musa – Adham) who are working together. Example: (6.7)

1-Khalil : øv: hvem har pruttet↑ [fuck det lugter]	1-Khalil: ugh: who has farted? [fuck it stinks
2-Ilham : [khalil der står] dit navn	2-Ilham: [Khalil it says your name
3-Adham : fuck, sagde han fuck min mor↑	3-Adham: fuck, did he say fuck my mother?
4-Musa : hvad↑	4-Musa: what?
5-Adham : sagde han fuck min eh din mor adham↑	5-Adham: did he say fuck my eh your mother adham?
6-Musa : nej	6-Musa: no
7-Khalil : fuck det lugter her mand	7-Khalil: fuck it stinks here man
8-Adham : sagde han↑	8-Adham: did he say?
9-Musa : han sagde hvem har pruttet↑ (0.5)	9-Musa: he said who has farted? (0.5)
10-Adham: jamen sagde han ikke fuck din mor↑ sagde du fuck min mor khalil↑ (2.5)	10-Adham: well did he not say fuck your mother? did you say fuck my mother Khalil? (2.5)
11-Adham: så fuck din mor, hvis du sagde det	11-Adham: so fuck your mother if you said that.
12-Khalil: jeg sagde fuck det lugter din fucking	12-Khalil: I said fuck it stinks you fucking
(Ilham restores her pen from Adham's hand)	(Ilham restores her pen from Adham's hand)
13-Adham: nå:::h	13-Adham: nå::::h
14-Khalil: ham der manden han filmer jer (9.0)	14-Khalil: the man there he is filming you

Adham: did he say fuck my eh your mother adham? (5)

Khalil complains about a bad smell in (1) and his curse is not directed towards a specific person. The group interferes with what he says. Ilham accuses him of being the doer (2), as Khalil's complaint could be understood as an accusation to everyone in the room. Thus, Ilham's retaliation by accusing Khalil is justified. Adham mishears what Khalil said (line 3 – 10), and resolves to retaliate by insulting Khalil's mother (11). Adham's mishearing of Khalil's curse changes the topic of the dispute from one related to a fart to one concerned with offending a mother. Khalil attempts to mitigate the dispute at the end by referring to the "man who is filming". Like the previous examples, an accusation is answered with an accusation (1-2) an insult is typically met by another insult and the participants in a classroom constantly monitor each other's actions, and their actions do not involve the calling upon a teacher to resolve a dispute. At certain points (especially Maynards phase b) a dispute becomes recognizable for bystanders, including possibly the teachers. Teachers do sometimes detect disputes and typically interfere to prevent a dispute from escalation or at least to maintain discipline.

2- Teacher's interventions upon detecting disputes:

When teachers – who share the status of bystanders with the pupils in classrooms – intervene in disputes, the outcome is different from the pupils' interference. While we have seen above that the interference of peers in disputes is mostly meant to empower a peer involved in dispute, and thus has a consequence of prolonging the time of dispute, teachers' interventions are geared towards the abortion of the dispute. The examples in this section are meant to substantiate the claim that teachers impose their agenda upon detecting disputes and thereby they can be seen to have the status, power and authority to prevent disputes from escalation. As will be shown, pupils orient to the teacher as having the power and authority to have influence on their disputes. Teachers demonstrate a lack of interest to know the details about a dispute, and their interventions, thus, can be represented by "rebukes" to the party who seems to them is doing an offense or by providing short directives. The group in the following example is comprised of 2 Arab boys (Adham and Musa) and Arab girl (Ilham). Teacher (Danish, Male). Example (6.8)

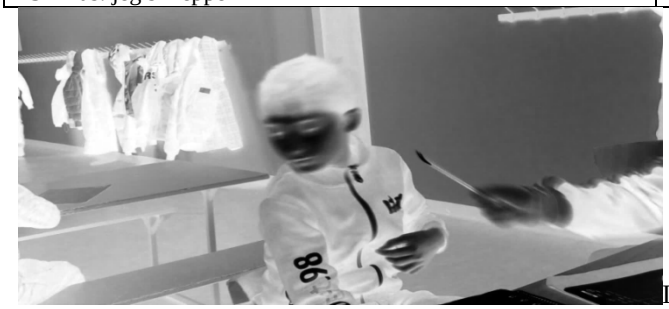
1-Adham: kunne du høre det↑	1-Adham: could you hear it?
2-Ilham: ne::j↓	2-Ilham: no::
3-Adham: *eh khalas* (.)[vask dine ører	3-Adham: *eh that's it* (.) [wash your ears
4-Ilham: [ok ok det er ligemeget	4-Ilham: [alright alright it doesn't matter
5-Adham: sige *wallah* du ikke kunne høre det↑	5-Adham: say *by allah* you couldn't hear it?
6-Ilham: eh *wallah*	6-Ilham: eh *by allah*
7-Adham: mens du skriver rense ørerne mand rens ørerne	7-Adham: while you write clean the ears man clean the ears
8-Musa: har du ikke renset ørerne↑	8-Musa: have you not cleaned the ears?
9-Ilham: hold kæft jeg skulle-	9-Ilham: shut up I would-
10-Adham: (to Ilham) °hold kæft man°	10-Adham: (to Ilham) °shut up man°
11-Musa: *yallah yallah*	11-Musa: *go on go on*
12-Teacher: Ilham↑	12-Teacher: Ilham↑
13-Ilham: ja↑	13-Ilham: yes↑
14-Morten: °dit sprog°	14-Morten: °your language°
15-Ilham: åh undskyld	15-Ilham: oh sorry
16-Adham: ja ikke↑	16-Adham: yes, isn't it?
17-Musa: det gør ham ked af det	17-Musa: it makes him sad


Musa (middle): have you not cleaned the ears? (8)

In this example, each of the group members is required to do a specific task. Ilham is required to listen to Adham while reading and provide a title for the text he reads, while Musa has to provide a summary. However, after Adham had read the same text twice, Ilham claimed that she couldn't hear him. The result is that Adham insults her in (3) and (7), while Musa parrots the same insult in his question in (8). These repeated insults (of cleaning her ears) are answered by Ilham's oppositional move in (9), where she utters the insulting statement "shut up". The teacher happens to hear Ilham (without knowing the context), so he rebukes her (14). Ilham responds to the teacher's intervention with obedience and an acknowledgement that she has done something wrong as she apologizes in (15). The example shows that the teacher does not investigate the context for the detected offence, but rather he rebukes the disputant who emerges as an offender at the time of the teachers' noticing.

In the next example, Teacher is sharing the desk with a group of boys (Anas, Ihsan, Jamal, Malik) and he is helping Jamal with his assignment. (In this example only Anas is caught in the camera, and part of Ihsan). Example (6.9)

1-Anas: må jeg lige se din ma:ve↑ (addresses Ihsan) (0.2)	1-Anas: May I just see your bell:y↑ (addresses Ihsan) (0.2)
2-Ihsan: nej (0.6) – (teacher talks in faint voice in background)	2-Ihsan: no (0.6) (teacher talks in faint voice in background)
3-Anas: der er da sådan noget stre:ger ˚du har ˚	3-Anas: which is like some li:nes ˚you have ˚
4-Ihsan: hold din kæft eller jeg smadrer dig (Ihsan hits Anas' face with his pencil) (0.5)	4-Ihsan: shut up or I will smash you (Ihsan hits Anas' face with his pencil) (0.5)
5-(Anas retaliates by trying to hit Ihsan with his hand)	5-(Anas retaliates by trying to hit Ihsan with his hand)
6-Anas: °fuck dig°	6-Anas: °fuck you°
7-Teacher: hey i to små drenge rolig (0.3)	7-Teacher: hey you two little boys calm down (0.3)
8-Ihsan: stopper vi↑	8-Ihsan: do we stop↑
9-Anas: NEJ	9-Anas: NO
10-Ihsan: stopper det	10-Ihsan: does it stop
11-Anas: nej (0.4)	11-Anas: no (0.4)
12-Ihsan: shnepper (.)	12-Ihsan: vuck (.)
13-Anas: shnepper jeg shnepper	13-Anas: vuck I vuck
14-Teacher: (to Jamal) ja det er rigtigt men hvad gør du	14-Teacher: (to Jamal) yes that's right but what do you do
15-Anas: jeg shnepper	15-Anas: I vuck


Ihsan: shut up or I will smash you (4)

In (1) Anas requests to see Ihsan's belly publicly. The request is posed in a somehow polite way "may I just see…", and uttered softly. Anas doesn't provide any accounts for the request and Ihsan in his turn (2) doesn't inquire about the reasons why Anas wants to see his belly. Ihsan turns Anas' request down with his minimal response "no". After this, Anas in his turn (3) provides an account for the request - he points to a feature about Ihsan's belly which is potentially embarrassing.

Simultaneously, it demystifies Anas' initial "innocent" action which is hearable now as a teasing action. Ihsan's reaction to this "insult" can be seen in his subsequent turn (4) where he gives the insulting directive "shut up" followed by a threat of smashing Anas, and an actual execution of this threat, by hitting Anas with a pencil on his face, thus leading to an escalation of this dispute both physically and verbally. Anas retaliates by hitting Ihsan with his hand, and by staging insult "fuck you" (5-6). The teacher who is sharing the desk with the participants and is engaged in helping Jamal with his assignment is alerted to the dispute, and so he attempts to stop it by commenting on the behavior of the two parties as pertaining to "little children" (7). Teacher's intervention in (7) can be heard as a rebuke as the disputants are addressed with the term "little children", an indication that such a behavior is not expected and unacceptable from 12-13 years old boys. The teacher tags his assessment with a directive to the boys to "calm down", without further investigation about the reason of the dispute, and he proceeds with tutoring Jamal afterwards.

The disputants partly comply with the teacher's rebuke, as they are forced to change their method of engagement. They proceed with their dispute, though with less aggravation as the new engagement lacks the angry tone, the clear insults, and physical violence and threats. The new method is comprised of using nonsensical terms which rhyme with insulting terms. The boys begin with legitimate terms first (8-9) "stopper", and derive from it the nonsensical term "shnepper" which rhymes with "knepper = fuck". This example illustrates how an overt dispute becomes covert when a teacher detects or observes it. Disputants switch methods and employ different resources, including the use of nonsensical terms. The nonsensical terms seem to have the same function of Arabic, as we will see, and can be thus an alternative way to accomplish a dispute in the presence of a teacher, and to prevent the teacher from intervention. The examples above illustrate that teachers at least superficially are oriented to as types of participants who do and may interfere in the dispute of pupils in order to stop them. Such influential interventions in the pupils' disputes force the participants to resort to various methods that would necessarily keep the teachers neutral or at least passive. The next section will show examples of the participants' methods while doing disputes that essentially prevent teachers from intervention.

3- <u>Participants' methods in doing disputes inside the classroom:</u>

In example 6.9, we have seen how the disputants change their method of engagement as the teacher observes that a dispute is going on. This intervention doesn't stop the dispute, rather it stops the method of engagement in the dispute, as their actions were recognizable to any bystander as a dispute, and it involved verbal and physical violence. Interestingly, as the two boys proceed with their dispute in a covert way – using "shnepper" instead of "knepper = fuck" for example, and by mitigating their actions, as they avoid physical violence as well as the overt verbal insults, the teacher does not intervene again, and this new method provides the two boys with a possibility to accomplish their dispute on their own terms.

A dispute which is in the process of escalation can be represented by high volume, swear words, physical and verbal threats, etc. The antecedent or arguable event (Maynards phase a) is often not detectable for a teacher as a sign of a dispute. There are some actions that are not understandable as part of a dispute when they are heard out of context, as in the following example. Example: (6.10)

1-Ala: vi gå tur i dag (1.0) og hvis der er en der slår mig↑ (.) hopper du hurtig på ham (1.0) 2-Sahm: HOLD DIN KÆ:FT	1-Ala: we'll take a walk today (1.0) and if someone hits me, you jump on him quickly (1.0) 2-Sahm: SHUT YOUR MOU:TH

(see the figure of example 6 for how the participants are seated)

A teacher might not be able to detect the offense uttered by Ala – where he compares Sahm to a dog (line 1), but she might be alerted to the heightened volume when one utters "shut your mouth". This utterance in (2), although it is not directed to a teacher, may thus attract the attention of any bystander, including the teacher. Thus, while in examples 6.8 and 6.9 above the teacher happens to hear a term which is indicative of a dispute, or notices physical violence, in example 6.10 the utterance of Sahm (2) may have been produced with the intention of the teacher hearing it. Most of these disputes take place when the teacher is away (perhaps in the room, but not within a hearing distance). Moreover, pupils in general orient to the presence of teachers and act in a manner that would keep the dispute amongst themselves. Even when a teacher detects a dispute, pupils orient to a norm that would prevent the teacher from intervention. Consider the following example. Example: (6.11)

1-Adham: og du skal også finde afsnit 2-Ilham: Schhh 3-Asma: hvorfor siger du scchh↑ 4-Ilham: ikke noget 5-Asma: var det [ikke dig der sagde schh↑] 6-Musa: [hun gider ikke finde afsnit] 7-Asma: du skal være med Ilham 8-Musa: nej jeg mener hun gider [ikke forklare hvad det betyder] 9-Adham: [jo hun gider godt Musa, hun]vil gerne, hun har gjort det jo, hun har fortalt , hun har, fortsæt Ilham skriv det	1-Adham: and you must also find a paragraph 2-Ilham: Schhh 3-Asma: why are you saying scchh↑ 4-Ilham: nothing 5-Asma: was it [not you who said schh↑] 6-Musa: [she doesn't want to find a paragraph] 7-Asma: you have to cooperate Ilham 8-Musa: no I mean she doesn't [want to explain what it means] 9-Adham: [yes she wants Musa, she] would like to, she has done it yes, she has explained , she has, continue Ilham, write it

Adham: yes she wants Musa, she would like to… (9)

In this example, Adham, Ilham and Musa have been in a dispute for some time. As Ilham watches the teacher come closer, she warns/alerts the others to get their voices down. Her Sch:: in (2) shows a direct orientation to the norm of keeping disputes to themselves. When the teacher asks what the trouble is (3 and 5) and Musa somehow violates the norm by listing Ilham's shortcomings (6), and which is repaired in (8), Adham intervenes and defends Ilham in (9) although Adham is Ilham's main opponent.

The examples above show how oppositional turns may be overheard by others, including teachers. This last example shows methods that pupils employ in order to avoid having teachers overhear or interfere in their disputes. One method is keeping their voices down and maintaining a neutral tone of voice, as the participants in general avoid marked paralinguistic behavior (examples 6.8 and 6.9). Another method is to assert to the teacher that nothing is wrong upon detection, as Adham does in example 6.11. A third method is to use nonsense words, as we saw in example 6.9, a method that may keep the dispute going even under the eyes of the teacher. However, one of the most effective tools at the disposal of the participants is to switch to Arabic. Switching to Arabic might be employed at any phase of a dispute. In the next example, CS is employed in phase a – as Yosra insults Ihsan in (1) and keeps her insult undetectable by the teacher who is sitting behind

Ihsan. Notice that it is only the insult which is delivered in Arabic, while the rest of her turn is delivered in Danish. Example: (6.12)

1-Yosra: *wila ya hayawan* bruger du lommeregner↑ (1.6) 2-Ihsan : [det må man gerne *wallah* man må 3-Yosra: [busted	1-Yosra: *hey you animal* are you using a calculator↑ (1.6) 2-Ihsan: [one is allowed *by allah* one is allowed 3-Yosra: [busted

(in this figure, we see the back of the teacher, Ibo's hand is showing holding a pen, while Yosra is the first one passing in the corridor)

Codeswitching might occur in phase b – two teachers are available in the classroom within a hearing range. Noha's request in (2) is an oppositional turn, and delivering the request in Arabic is meant to keep the dispute a private matter. Example: (6.13)

1-Ala: [der er mere smør (.) vil du ikke slik? der er mere smør 2-Noha: [***Ala osko:::t***↓ 3-Sahm: [hold din kæft (1.2)	1-Ala: [there is more butter (.) won't you lick? there is more butter 2-Noha: [***Ala be sile:::nt***↓ 3-Sahm:[shut your mouth (1.2)

(example 6 figure)

Codeswitching can be employed in phase c – at the point when a dispute escalates. In the next example, a teacher is addressing Ala and attempting to empower Noha. Example: (6.14)

1-Ala: det er fordi hun er min hund (1.5) 2-Teacher: du har da mange hunde[da 3-Ala: [vi går tur 4-Noha: ***HAY OKHTAK BITO'OU:L A'ANNA [WALA***	1-Ala: it's because she is my dog (1.5) 2-Teacher: you've got many [dogs 3-Ala*: [we take a walk* *4-Noha:* ***THAT'S YOUR SISTER YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT, [YOU*** (pejorative)

(example 6 figure)

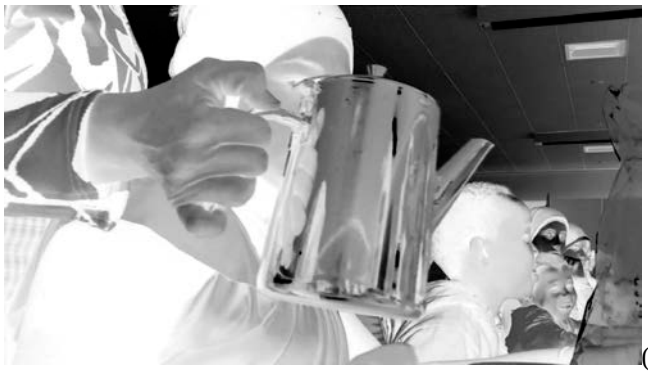
Noha's high volume while delivering her insult in Arabic in time a teacher who doesn't understand Arabic is present is an attempt to exclude the teacher who is intervening to settle the dispute between her and Ala. The content of Noha's insult in (4) can be perceived in two ways: either she means that she is like Ala's sister, and he should not insult her, or that Ala's biological sister is the dog, which also renders Ala himself into a dog. The important thing is that the dispute between her and Ala is a private matter and Noha is trying to preserve it within their private sphere.

Moreover, it is also possible for a dispute to evolve using Arabic language only, i.e., all the phases of a dispute are conducted in Arabic, as in the next example, where a teacher is inquiring why (Sahm) who is silent in this sequence, is not eating like the rest of the pupils. Noha and Samia oppose and insult each other, as Noha sides with Samia's opponent. Example: (6.15)

1-Teacher: jo jamen er det fordi de lige sprunget over dig? (0.3) 2-Noha: jeg har givet ham 3-Ala: det vil jeg sige i må ikke spise ham. 4-Noha:(addressing Samia) *Wili* 5-Samia*: koli khara ahsan ma taameelik yah khara* 6-Noha: *taameeli yah hehe*	1-Teacher: yes well is it because they have skipped you? (0.3) 2-Noha: I have given him 3-Ala: I will say you should not eat him 4-Noha: (addresses Samia) *hey you (pejorative)* 5-Samia: *eat shit or else I will feed him shit for you* 6-Noha: *feed him hehe*

7- Samia: *halla'a a'ashan bas ashof shkheerik*	7-Samia: *now (I will) only to see you snoring*

This example shows how the girls manage to maintain all the phases of their dispute within the private sphere and to exclude the teacher who is standing behind Noha.

 (teacher is standing behind Noha holding a teapot – Samia faces Noha)

Noha's phase a (4) is not really neutral, as calling upon someone with the pejorative addressee term "*wili*" is impolite. This is answered by Samia with insults in (5), but she delivers the insults in a neutral manner, and avoids arousing the teacher's suspicion. Similarly, Noha answers the insult with indifference in (6), while maintaining a neutral and indifferent tone, as she closes her turn with a laughter that might indicate to the teacher that a friendly talk is going on.

Switching to Arabic is one of the most successful methods employed by the participants to preserve the norm of excluding teachers. Switching to Arabic happens at the point when the interaction becomes recognizable as a dispute in the three sequential positions: staging insults as an arguable event (a) example 6.12, oppositional turn (b) example 6.13, phase (c) when the dispute escalates, example 6.14. The dispute in all its phases might as well be carried out entirely in Arabic. Bystanders – teachers who do not know Arabic will not be able to detect a dispute while it is going on. Some ques might indicate that a dispute is going on even if we do not understand the language: a high tone of voice, gesticulation, facial features (frowning), etc. In the examples above (e.g., example 6.15) the disputants maintain a neutral tone of voice as they exchange personal insults, and they make use of neutral contextualization cues, or cues which might index the opposite of what they are doing (laughing and smiling) that indicate that a friendly talk is going on.

The examples above show the traits concerned with the norm of keeping disputes amongst pupils, and these traits can be summed up in the following: not calling upon a teacher, having other pupils contribute, comment, interfere in the dispute, and most importantly excluding the teacher by CS, in that teachers have the status that enables them to intervene. CS is one extra resource that pupils have at their disposal for orienting to the norm. CS systematically takes place to exclude the teacher from hearing dispute-indicative turns or parts of turns.

The outcome of the participants' CS is that their two languages seem to serve different functions. The following example can provide a glimpse regarding the division of labor between the two languages, and how each of the two languages is employed for a specific purpose. The teacher is inside the classroom- monitoring and helping the different groups. Boys (Musa, Adham, Osama, Ibo), girl (Nida). Example (6.16)

1-Musa: ok hvad betyder ledelse↑ (.)	1-Musa: alright what does management mean↑ (.)

2-Ibo: *KHARA* 3-Musa: hvad betyder ledelse↑ 4-Ibo: Adham↑(0.6) 5-Adham: ja ikke↑(.) hvad betyder ledelse↑ (0.3) 6-Nida: [ehm 7-Ibo: [e:::hm 8-Adham: e:::h *baf'a'ik boks* (addresses Nida) 9-Musa: det er en svær ord [det er en sværord 10-Adham: [ledelse (.) find nu af hvad betyder det 11-Ibo: *khara* det betyder *khara* 12-Osama: ledelse, det er dem der bestemmer 13-Adham: *daroori t'oola inta kaman* ↑ (to Ibo) *roh wala inta hayawan* 14-Musa: ja det er rigtig nok. dem der bestemmer. 15-Osama: (commenting on dispute related to another group) *a'addollo asabee'oo raho* 16-Adham: okay 17-Musa: han har fundet svære ord (.) Ibo hvad er sammenhæng↑(2.0) 18-Musa: Ibo (0.5) hvad er sammenhængen↑ 19-Ibo: (giggles) *khara*	2-Ibo: *SHIT* 3-Musa: what does management mean↑ 4-Ibo: Adham↑ (0.6) 5-Adham: yes isn't it↑ (.) what does management mean↑ (0.3) 6-Nida: [ehm 7-Ibo: [e:::hm 8-Adham: e:::h *I'll give you a punch* (addresses Nida) 9-Musa: it's a difficult word [it's a difficult word 10-Adham: [management (.) find out now what does it mean 11-Ibo: *shit* it means *shit* 12-Osama: management, it's them who decide 13-Adham: *why do you have to say it*↑ (to Ibo) *go away you (pejorative) you animal* 14-Musa: yes that's true. those who decide. 15-Osama: (commenting on dispute related to another group) *he bit his fingers they're gone* 16-Adham: alright 17-Musa: he found the difficult word (.) Ibo what is the relation/link↑ (2.0) 18-Musa: Ibo (0.5) what is the relation↑ 19-Ibo: (giggles) *shit*

(Musa and Osama on the left, Teacher standing behind Osama - Adham and Nida facing them on the right – Ibo's hair shows in the middle)

In this episode, the participants are provided with a task to collaborate on answering questions inside the classroom, where each member of the group has to contribute to the assignment. However, in this example, while other participants seem to be on task, Ibo provides an irrelevant answer to a serious question (1-2). Though seemingly participating in the group's work at line 7, again at line 11 Ibo gives a non-serious answer. Both times the answer is in Arabic. Also other participants are offering off-task comments using swear words and the like, and all the insults and threats in this episode are delivered in Arabic. Ibo's offensive term "khara = shit" was repeated four times (2-11-19); Adham's threat in (8), and use of insult in (13) against his peers, in addition to Osama's comment on a fight that is taking place on another desk (15), all are instances of Arabic. In a way, all the elements that are likely to make the dispute visible to the teacher are used in a language incomprehensible by the teacher, and switching to Arabic here is merely disruptive and constitutes a deviation from the task. Danish, on the other hand, is solely used to organize the group and align them in the direction of solving the official school task. Note that none of the pupils reacts to the Arabic contributions in Danish and vice versa. Also, note that there are no longer stretches of solely Arabic interaction: Every time an utterance is uttered in Arabic, it is followed by a Danish utterance. In this example thus the function of switching to Arabic and switching back to Danish again is a way in which the participants weave in remarks that are undetectable as disruptive for the

teacher. Disruption is brought about not only by the liability of a dispute to escalate, but also by preventing teachers from intervention.

In the next section, we will see examples of the participants' methods in doing disagreement or showing resistance when teachers are a party

II- Resisting teachers' directives:

We have now seen how pupils systematically and sometimes successfully try to keep disputes amongst themselves. One resource for doing so is switching to Arabic, which makes disputing acts undetectable for a teacher even when he or she is in the direct neighborhood of, or even listening in on the pupils' interaction. The following example might illustrate further how a teacher can be locked out of certain acts by using that same resource, even when the teacher is directly interacting with the bilinguals. The episode involves a group of Arab boys (Ihsan, Monir, Malik, Anas (silent)) and their Danish teacher (male in his 50s). The students are sitting in the corridor, and Teacher is sitting with them and checking and tutoring them one after the other. Example (6.17)

1-Teacher: (points hand to an empty desk) gider du godt lige at sætte dig derhen [nu↑ 2-Monir: [hvorfor↑ 3-Teacher: fordi du hele tiden forstyrrer 4-Monir: nej er det kun mig↑ er det mig↑ 5-Teacher: dig men det er dig [som jeg kan mærke hele tiden 6-Malik: [xxxxx forstyrrer xxxxxxx 7-Monir: hehehehe 8-Teacher: prøv og høre her (.) sæt (.) sæt dig lige der hen og se hvordan [det går 9-Monir: [nej hvorfor↑ 10-Teacher: FORDI DU SNAKKER (.) 11-Monir: det går dårli:gt (0.9) 12-Teacher: ja det kan jeg se, det er derfor du skal derhen (drops his hand) 13-Monir: nej det går dårligt når jeg er derover (.) jeg ved det (0.2) 14-Teacher: gå derhen [nu 15-Monir: [hvorfor↑ 16-Teacher: fordi jeg siger det til dig (0.6) 17-Monir: ***airy*** [***f'immak*** (stands and collects his material) 18-Teacher: [så kommer jeg hen og hjælper dig 19-Monir: ***kol khara*** 20-(Monir leaves the desk)	1-Teacher: (points hand to an empty desk) will you just sit there [now↑ 2-Monir: [why↑ 3-Teacher: because you are all the time disturbing 4-Monir: no is it just me↑ is it me↑ 5-Teacher: you but it is you [who I notice all the time 6-Malik: [xxxxx disturb xxxxxxx 7-Monir: hehehehe 8-Teacher: try and listen (.) seat (.) seat yourself right over there and see how [it goes 9-Monir: [no why↑ 10-Teacher: BECAUSE YOU ARE TALKING (.) 11-Monir: it is going ba:dly (0.9) 12-Teacher: yes I can see that, that's why you will go there (drops hand) 13-Monir: no it will be bad when I go over there (.) I know it (0.2) 14-Teacher: go there [now 15-Monir: [why↑ 16-Teacher: because I'm telling you this (0.6) 17-Monir: ***my dick*** [***in your mother*** (stands and collects his material) 18-Teacher: [I'll come over and help you 19-Monir: ***eat shit*** 20-(Monir leaves the desk)

Teacher: will you just sit there now? (1)

Although Teacher's first action is comprised of a statement which can be heard as a yes/no question "will you just sit there now?" (1), Teacher's hand which is pointing in the direction of the empty desk, and remains in the same position until (12), makes it understandable as a direct command.

The relevant action for Monir is thus to comply. However, Monir treats this command as a suggestion, and asks for an account (2). Teacher provides such an account in the subsequent turns, where Monir dismisses the issue of the "command" to sit in isolation from the group, and argues about the source of trouble, and that he is not the only one who is distracting the group work. Monir also ignores Teacher and shifts his attention to Malik (12) and responds to his comment with laughter, ignoring that Teacher's hand is still pointing in the direction of an isolated seat. Teacher alerts Monir and produces a directive, which is formulated as a suggestion or as something to be explored "sit there to see how it goes" (8). Again, Monir counters the suggestion. In (14) Teacher issues his directive for the third time, but now his directive is formulated as a command, and not as a yes/no question, nor as a suggestion. Providing reasons will lead to more negotiations and postpone the compliance with the directive. Teacher's answer to Monir's third "why" reveals an orientation to his authority as a teacher, and "because I am telling you this" in (16) is not a real answer to Monirs "why" in (15), rather it is a direct command that leaves no choice to Monir other than compliance. The way in which Monir complies, however, is clearly showing his disagreement with the measure: He mutters angrily as he collects his things. For his peers, who have been bystanders to the negotiation, and who understand Arabic, it is not just showing disagreement, but a hidden insult.

In such a way, Monir makes use of a legitimate resource, that is, the use of Arabic, to display towards his peers how he deals with teacher's authority. The content of Monir's message is to be construed as an insult in (17) which is a formulaic insult in the Arab culture and language, and which runs parallel to similar insults waged against mothers and sisters in other cultures (e.g., Labov 1972b); the second Arabic insult in (19) belongs to a category which Ljung (2010) calls *unfriendly suggestion*, where he mentions the formulaic Arabic statement "Kul khara = eat shit", and argues that unfriendly suggestions "are sometimes better served by an analysis in terms of certain demeaning acts recommended to the addressee" (Ljung 2010: 138). Monir's switching to Arabic is to be construed as a way of complying with the teacher's directives. Simultaneously, however, by uttering what are considered insults, Monir in relation to the bystanders may remain non-compliant. There is, thus, as in the previously shown example 6.16, a double positioning in the talk: One 'official' positioning towards the teacher, negotiating about a measure and finally complying, and one 'unofficial' positioning towards the teacher which is only displayed to his peers.

Although the rest of the pupils do not involve themselves in the dispute between Monir and the teacher, there seems to be a form of silent collaboration among them to assist their fellow pupil, as they do not react in any way to Monir's insulting language, and they simply act as if Monir were addressing them. Thus, not only Monir keeps his insults undetectable from the teacher, also his peers are assisting him in this by keeping their faces straight. We see the same siding with peers in the following (from the same lesson, and same participants): Example (6.18)

1-Teacher: ti minutter hvor man sidder og knokler igås↑ (Monir hides his face and laughs) 2-Monir: ja (1.2) 3-Teacher: og prøv på at lade være med at henvende sig til hinanden med andet end matema [tik 4-Anas: [ja 5-Ihsan: er det ikke nummer fem↑ 6-Teacher: ti minutter fra nu 7-Ihsan: halvfems minus tredive 8-Anas*: reehto bil marra reehto bil marra* (commenting on the teacher's smell)	1-Teacher: ten minutes where you sit and work hard alright↑ (Monir hides his face and laughs) 2-Monir: yes (1.2) 3-Teacher: and try to avoid turning to each other with anything other than ma[th 4-Anas: [yes 5-Ihsan: isn't it number five↑ 6-Teacher: ten minutes from now 7-Ihsan: ninety minus thirty 8-Anas: *he smells so bad he smells so bad* (commenting on the teacher's smell)

As the teacher directs the group to concentrate on their assignment (l), Monir laughs. Despite the fact that only Monir and Anas respond with positive answers to comply with the teacher's directive (2 – 4), the two oppose their outward positive responses by laughing, and by giving a final assessment that targets an aspect related to the teacher: the teacher stinks, claims Anas (8). The assessment is addressed to the fellow pupils on the desk, and it demonstrates a way of speaking about the teacher in a language that the teacher doesn't comprehend. In other words, Arabic is being used as a tool that demonstrates the group's orientation to not comply with the teacher's directives and it is also a way of asserting to themselves that the teacher does not have the upper hand in deciding about how a school task is to be accomplished. The pupils' conduct in these instances can be seen as a hidden revolt or a silent protest which is never heard by the teacher. As in the previous example, the example demonstrates a way of indirectly addressing a teacher or making assessment about him/her in a language that the teacher doesn't comprehend. In the next example, we see a different form of using Arabic, where a teacher is directly addressed in a language that he does not understand. (same lesson and participants as the previous example). Example (6.19)

1-(Anas sings in a soprano voice) 2-Teacher: hvad med dig↑ (addresses Anas) 3-Anas: (continues with his soprano voice) 4-Jamal: hvordan laver man det der↑ 5-Teacher: ja lad mig se på det 6-(Teacher stands to help Jamal) 7-Anas: (to teacher) tomat 8-Malik: *WALA* [Teacher↑ så er jeg færdig hehehe 9-Anas: [tomato 10-Teacher: jeg synes ikke i helt overholder den aftale , det vi lige- 11-Anas: (whispers to Mahdi) 12-Monir: (to teacher) *tab oskot* 13-Jamal: hvordan laver man den her? 14-Teacher: den her 15-Teacher: det hedder uligheder, det har i garanteret arbejdet med igås, det her er ulighedstegnet	1-(Anas sings in a soprano voice) 2-Teacher: (to Anas) what about you↑ 3-Anas: (continues with his soprano voice) 4-Jamal: how can we do this one↑ 5-Teacher: yes let me take a look at it 6-(Teacher stands to help Jamal) 7-Anas: (to teacher) tomato 8-Malik: *YOU* (pejorative) [Teacher↑ I'm done hehehe 9-Anas: [tomato 10-Teacher: I don't think you are complying with the agreement , which we've just- 11-Anas: (whispers to Mahdi) 12-Monir: (to teacher) *well shut up* 13-Jamal: how to do this one? 14-Teacher: this one 15-Teacher: it's called unequal, I reckon you've worked on this, haven't you? this one is the unequal sign

As in the previous examples, the participants communicate with the teacher and act in unexpected ways. Anas sings in his presence and ignores answering him when he addresses him directly (2-3); as the teacher turns his back, Anas ridicules him and calls him tomato – a reference to the teacher's color (7), while Malik addresses the teacher directly with the pejorative addressee term (*wila Name, Iam done*) (8), in time Monir commands him to "shut up" (12) as a response to the teacher's assessment about the group's incompliance with the agreement they made with him (10). Switching to Arabic might serve two purposes in this example: to do negative assessments and stage insults, and to keep teacher idle and unable to respond as he is being addressed in a language that he doesn't comprehend. Arabic in this instance is a resource that enables the participants to set the teacher outside the official circle which is meant to deal with the school task. In (2) for example, Teacher addresses Anas and inquires if he needs help with the assignment, and although he doesn't receive an answer from Anas, he doesn't pursue an answer, instead Teacher responds to Jamal who asks for help (4). Teacher's assessment in (10) is not about a specific action which is done by a specific pupil, rather it is a general assessment of the group's conduct in general, where he had heard Anas singing, then uttering "tomato" (7), then Malik in a loud voice says something in another language, followed by a laughter (8). Teacher dismisses all what seems to be "deviations" from the school task and orients to his job of "teaching" as he focuses on tutoring Jamal, the only pupil who seemed to be interested in doing the school task.

Participants, thus, do not seem to pay attention to what the teacher says. They delay the execution of a command by arguing with the teacher when he/she gives directives. They might also recycle the teacher's assessments into a medium of sarcasm and ridicule in Arabic, including the use of insults. Interestingly, there are two different ways of using Arabic as a way of showing dissatisfaction with the teacher's directives, while simultaneously displaying compliance. One is using Arabic as if spoken to the teacher, and the other is speaking about the teacher. Incompliance with a teacher's directive can be also done directly, as the following episode might show: (Teacher: Arab female). Example: (6.20)

1-Ilham :(reads) så det enestelys kom fra det åben ildsted hvor der altid brændte et bål rundt om ildstedet var der- 2-Teacher : Ilham↑ fjern din hånd (0.3) 3-Ilham : hvad↑ 4-Teacher : fjern din hånd (Ilham places hand on her cheek) 5-Ilham : sådan her (0.8) 6-Teacher: Kan du ikke putte den der, så kan du bedre læse, så kan du bedre læse. Ja 7-Ilham : Teacher jeg er vant til det, jeg kan ikke. (1.0) 8-Adham : ok fjern den fra din mund, så vi kan høre dig 9-Teacher : ja præcis det er det (0.5) Det er hun vant til (0.3) Du er lidt underlig idag Ilham 10-Ilham: jamen jeg er [vant til det] 11-Teacher: [FJERN DIN HÅND (.) FJERN DIN HÅND (.) læs (.) værsgo. (2.5) 12-Ilham: Tea::cher tsss *wallah* jeg ikke kan, hvad skal jeg sværge på Teacher↑ det er lige meget (0.3) 13-Teacher: læg den der istedet for (0.3) Ilham↑ 14-Ilham: JA:: 15-Teacher: Ilham↑ når man læser og lægger sin hånd her ved siden af munden, så- 16-Ilham: jeg lægger den ikke munden, jeg lægger den sådan 17-Teacher: ja (.) nu må vi se (.) værsgo 18-Musa: du gør sådan her 19-Teacher: værsgo (Ilham starts to read having her hand against her mouth	1-Ilham :(reads) so the only light came from the open fireplace where a fire always burned around the hearth there was- 2-Teacher : Ilham↑ remove your hand (0.3) 3-Ilham : what↑ 4-Teacher : remove your hand (Ilham places hand on her cheek) 5-Ilham : like this (removes hand and brings it back) (0.8) 6-Teacher : can't you put it there, so you can read better, so you can read better. yes 7-Ilham : Teacher I'm used to it, I can't (1.0) 8-Adham : alright remove it from your mouth, so we can hear you 9-Teacher : yes exactly that's the point (0.5) she is used to it (0.3) you are a bit weird today Ilham 10-Ilham: well I'm [used to it 11-Teacher: [REMOVE YOUR HAND (.) REMOVE YOUR HAND (.) read (.) go ahead. (2.5) 12-Ilham: Tea::cher tsss *by allah* I cannot, with what should I swear Teacher↑ it doesn't matter (0.3) 13-Teacher: put it there instead (0.3) Ilham↑ 14-Ilham: YE::S 15-Teacher: Ilham↑ when we read and put hand here near the mouth so- 16-Ilham: I'm not putting it on mouth, I put it like this 17-Teacher: yes (.) now we see (.) go ahead 18-Musa: you do like this 19-Teacher: go ahead (Ilham starts to read having her hand against her mouth

Ilham reads with her hand blocking part of her mouth (1); Teacher interrupts with a directive to remove her hand (2-4); Ilham doesn't comply with the teacher's command, and demonstrates to the teacher where she is placing her hand (near her mouth) (5); Teacher requests from her to put her

hand away from her mouth, and produces an account for this request (6); Ilham doesn't comply with the teacher, and tells Teacher about the reason of her incompliance: she is simply used to read like this, and so she cannot read the way Teacher wants her to read (7). Adham interferes and aligns himself with the teacher, as he commands Ilham to remove her hand, to enable the group to hear her (8). Teacher shows agreement with Adham, and justifies that what Adham has mentioned is the exact reason why she is asking Ilham to remove her hand and her incompliance with the teacher and peer's demand is seen by the teacher as weird (9); Ilham repeats her alibi that she is used to this, but this reason (which was treated sarcastically by the teacher earlier) overlaps with the teacher's shrill voice commanding Ilham to remove her hand (11) – and this is the apex of the escalating dispute, where the teacher orients to her authority to force a pupil to comply with her directive. Ilham proceeds with resisting as she utters the teacher's name incoherently, and swears to Allah that she cannot (12). The exchange that follows represents the teacher's justification of her directive, and Ilham's account of her incompliance with that directive. Teacher gives up and doesn't push further since all her attempts (commands, high pitch of voice, anger, explanations and justifications) went in vain as Ilham insisted on having her hand in the same position. The interaction in this episode reveals two actions maintained by the teacher and the pupil. While the teacher's turns are mostly comprised of a directive – mainly that Ilham has to remove her hand, Ilham maintains the action of resistance till the end. While the teacher – and Adham – provide an account that justifies the directive (8-9), Ilham's only account to justify her resistance is that she is "used to it" and she "can't", or the matter is not that significant and "it doesn't matter" (7-10-12).

Examples of resistance to a teacher's directives or talk is not restricted to Danish teachers as the previous example might show, and there are many examples where Arab teachers' directives and talk are oriented to in the same manner. However, when Arab teachers are involved, participants do not have the option of using direct insults. Their resistance methods in this regard are comprised of actions which might enable them to avoid the teacher's demand or command. In the next two examples an Arab teacher (female) attempts to solve a problem between a group of Arab boys and a Danish boy. The boys involved are (Ihsan, Monir, Malik, Jamal). Example (6.21)

1-Teacher: ja (.) men hvorfor sagde du det så ikke↑ vi kan ikke lide det her, °vi synes det er lidt irriterende det du [gør°	1-Teacher: yes (.) but why you didn't say it↑ we don't like this, °we think it is annoying what you [do°
2-Monir: [jeg skal lige slukke vandhanen (stands)	2-Monir: [I have to shut the water tap (stands)
3-Teacher: IHSAN↑	3-Teacher: IHSAN↑
4-Monir: den drypper	4-Monir: it's dripping
5-Ihsan: [°hehhhhhhh	5-Ihsan: [°hehhhhhhh
6-Teacher: [*o'o'od* [monir	6-Teacher: [*sit down* [monir
7-Monir: [det koster penge	7-Monir: [it costs money
8-Teacher: monir *o'o'od* (1.0)	8-Teacher: monir *sit down* (1.0)
9-Teacher: *yallah o':ol* hva:d er der↑ (1.0)	9-Teacher: *come on sa:y* what is there↑ (1.0)
10-Monir: (sits) han er irrite[rende	10-Monir: (sits) he is anno[ying

(right to left: Monir, Ihsan, Malik – Jamal and teacher are facing them)

The teacher in (1) tries to provide the Arab group with ways to deal with the problem and she suggests that they be "honest" with their peer regarding his annoying behavior. Regardless of the logic with which the teacher wants to solve the problem, it remains an imperative that the pupils concerned sit and listen. However, while the teacher is in the middle of speaking and picking the speakers in order to understand what the problem is, Monir finds an excuse to leave the desk (2), (4), and (7). Monir's action can be interpreted as resistance to the teacher's talk. Ihsan's laughter comes after the teacher selects him to provide an account regarding the problem. The teacher is thus pushed to deal with a side issue instead of focusing on the topic at hand. The emergent event that prompts Monir to leave is the dripping water tap – which has nothing to do with what the teacher is dealing with. The teacher, thus, gives her first directive to Monir to sit down (6), and the response she receives is a justification as to why the water tap has to be shut (7) and this is a demonstration of incompliance with a teacher's command, then the teacher repeats the same directive (8) and compliance comes after some delay and after the question which was directed to Ihsan is shifted to Monir (9) and (10). The bottom line of this analysis is that the group's attention is diverted by Monir's action, and the teacher's design of solving the problem is disrupted as well. Instead of dealing with the topic of solving the problem among the pupils, the teacher is forced to deal with Monir's action. The next excerpt is from the same lesson, and it demonstrates the same phenomenon of orientation to a teacher's talk. (The teacher in this excerpt is still addressing the same topic, while Ihsan and Monir are having their heads bent down over their assignments).
Example (6.22)

1-Teacher: [min børn jeg synes hold kæft hvor er de irriterende hver gang jeg skal lægge dem i seng. Så driller de hinanden og så lidt sjov og så siger de godnat ti gange til mig før, de synes det er sjovt men jeg synes [heller ikke det er sjovt 2-Ihsan: [hvad betyder kamre↑ (1.0) 3-Teacher: prøv lige og høre efter, jeg mener det, det er seriøst. Monir kig på mig (.) 4- (Monir throws the pencil on the desk) 5-Teacher: tak (2.0)	1-Teacher: [my children I think God how annoying they are each time I put them to bed. So they tease each other so a bit of fun and then they say goodnight ten times to me before, they think it's funny but I [don't think it's funny 2-Ihsan: [what does chambers mean↑ (1.0) 3-Teacher: try and listen, I mean it, it's serious. Monir look at me (.) 4- (Monir throws the pencil on the desk) 5-Teacher: thanks (2.0)

As in the previous example, while the teacher is pursuing a solution to the problem and telling the participants personal anecdotes in (1) to enable the pupils to deduct a message, Ihsan and Monir are not following what the teacher says, and they avoid their teacher and the topic she is dealing with. The method now is comprised of focusing on the school task, where Ihsan's inquiry about a question concerned with his assignment (2) overlaps with the final words of the teacher's first turn. Again, the teacher's delay to answer – circa one second – after Ihsan asks his question, demonstrates the teacher's diverted attention, and a realization that what she is saying is not oriented to as something serious by her pupils, so her answer in (3) is not an answer to Ihsan's inquiry, rather it is a rebuke to Ihsan, who has interrupted her, and so turn (3) seems to be a series of directives to Ihsan and Monir, and a reminder to them that what she is doing has the priority over their school task. Moreover, the long silence that we see after the teacher's last turn (5) in dealing with the pupils' interruption demonstrates to a great extent that she has lost the flow of ideas, or that she has realized perhaps that the pupils haven't perceived her anecdote in (1) and so it would be confusing to them if she will proceed with a story that they haven't paid attention to how it began. As in the previous examples, there can be multiple ways to show resistance to a teacher, regardless of the languages the teachers speak. In the case of Danish teachers, attempts of resisting directives and commands are quite often concomitant with "insults" uttered in Arabic, while in the case of Arab teachers, pupils' resistance methods lack the use of "direct" insults.

Perhaps the pupils' unserious orientation to their teachers' directives has led many teachers to abstain from taking an action of intervention even in the cases where they notice a dispute ensuing in their presence. The next excerpt shows a dispute between two boys while the teacher is present. The teacher intervenes, but the disputants show carelessness and proceed with their dispute. (Teacher: Danish male, sitting on the desk of Mahir; Ibo is a Somali boy sitting on a separate desk). Example (6.23)

1-Teacher: hvad hedder det hvad snakker du om↑ (3.0)	1-Teacher: what's that what are you talking about↑(3.0)
2-Mahir: jeg snakker om nørden (1.0) er det ikke synd↑(.)	2-Mahir: I'm talking about the nerd (1.0) isn't it a pity↑ (.)
3-Teacher: nej (2.0)	3-Teacher: no (2.0)
4-Ibo: ha:::ha:::ha::::	4-Ibo: ha:::ha:::ha::::
5-Mahir: (mocks) he::::h du griner som en khara (3.0)	5-Mahir: (mocks) he::::h you laugh as a shit (3.0)
6-Mahir: du griner som en abe en abe	6-Mahir: you laugh as a monkey a monkey

(Mahir and Osama on the left – Ibo on the same side and on separate desk alone – Teacher's head is directed towards Mahir)

Mahir and Ibo exchange insults in the presence of a teacher. Ibo merely laughs at the insults staged by Mahir (for example, calling Ibo nerd (2), laugh as a shit (5) or as a monkey (6)), while the teacher intervenes early in this dispute (1), and Mahir demonstrates an attitude of carelessness as he explains to the teacher that he is talking about the "nerd", i.e., he offends Ibo and demonstrates a carelessness regarding the presence of the teacher. However, the teacher doesn't seem to orient to the language used by Mahir as insulting or representing violations (nerd / laugh as a monkey). Mahir, on the other hand, switches to Arabic when using insulting terms like *shit* – line (5)). The important thing to note here is that the teacher's presence did not stand as an obstacle in Mahir's face to proceed with language which is potentially insulting. Although some of this talk can be thought of as harmless teasing (and there are examples in which pupils are defending their potentially insulting language use as being harmless), note that the one term which is unequivocally hearable as stating an insult is uttered in Arabic.

Conclusion: In this chapter I described the participants' disputes which involve the teachers who could be either bystanders or parties in a dispute. The participants' methods in doing the disputes might vary, but these methods reveal basic characteristics which can be summed up by the following points. 1- The participants' normative act is to avoid teachers' interventions in ways that enable them to proceed with a dispute in a covert way, i.e, by switching to a language incomprehensible by a teacher. As disputes proceed in a covert way, they are likely to extend over a long period of time and perhaps throughout the entire lesson. Doing dispute also involves bystanders, mainly the disputants' peers who interfere and become involved. The process distracts the parties involved as well as other members in the group, especially when such disputes take place inside the classroom, and within the time allocated for group work and cooperation. Switching to Arabic serves the exclusion of teachers i.e., to keep teachers as passive bystanders. 2- switching to Arabic is not the only method in maintaining a dispute within the peer-sphere, as participants are capable of proceeding with a dispute by using nonsensical terms which rhyme with offensive terms, for example the use of *Shnepper* = *Vuck* instead of *fuck*. Quite often, switching to a language

incomprehensible by a teacher turns teachers into targets of negative assessments, ridicule, and even extreme insults. The data reveals many examples like these, where teachers are talked about in negative ways, without being able to detect this and thus cannot intervene. This doesn't mean that pupils do not orient to the teacher as an authority. On the contrary, the participants are aware of their transgressions and that teachers' interventions are likely to alter the balance of power when disputes ensue, and that might be a reason for them to do their disputes stealthily. Some of the examples above show that the participants can successfully exclude teachers or prevent them from intervention, and teachers practically do not intervene although the dispute could be happening before their eyes and in their presence. 3- The second section of this chapter focused on the way participants' orient to their teachers' directives or talk. The examples demonstrate that the participants quite often preface their responses to teachers with hesitation and delay markers, negotiations, and even with sarcastic and offensive language in Arabic.

Pupils that share a language in which the teacher is not competent use this language to make disputes less detectable. In the examples of this chapter, switching to another language is systematically done for this specific purpose, mainly to exclude teachers, and include peers. Of course there are many examples available in the data where CS is done for a different reason or where the function is not clear. However, when pupils are doing CS for the sake of excluding the teacher from whatever conduct they are doing, they seem to be orienting to a norm of showing allegiance to their peers. I take it that this norm is a central one in monolingual, as well as, bilingual classrooms. In bilingual classrooms, thus, pupils have an additional resource for orienting to this norm. The main point is that because of the distribution of resources in bilingual classrooms, bilinguals have a different social organization than monolingual classrooms. This ultimately may have consequences for how learning is organized.

Chapter 7: Bullying

Cooperative learning design is the dominant form of teaching in the two schools. Accordingly, students spend a considerable time working in groups away from adult supervision. Teachers' attention is usually distributed over several groups. Acting on their own, students quite often indulge in matters that seem irrelevant to the school task, e.g., listening to music. However, in cases where groups are formed of heterogeneous members, e.g., two boys and a girl, or two Arabs and a Somali, bullying regularly emerges. Power asymmetry is at the heart of bullying, where bullies usually target a certain characteristic or quality about a victim that is perceived as a negative characteristic or a "weakness". This chapter will focus on three types of bullying among the peer-group, depending on the "features" being targeted: 1- sexual harassment, where gender issues seem to be at play, 2- ethnic bullying, where ethnicity and color are targeted and 3- individual bullying which is concerned with a certain individual characteristic that is perceived by the bully – and some bystanders – as a deficiency or a weakness. These three categories are based on the way previous researchers have configured bullying (e.g., Zins 2007; Cowie 2008). Participants in this study – as the examples will show- do not orient to the different categories as different types in some cases, as the victims show similar responses and reactions to all bullying. Whether a bully targets a gender characteristic, ethnic characteristic or individual characteristic, victims orient to it as something "personal", and their reactions become violent as a bullying scene persists. Bystanders, i.e., students who happen to be in the scene mostly react by laughter or they might assume different statuses and alignments. Some general features about all forms of bullying are the following: a- bullying is time consuming and might take all the time allocated for a group work, b- it leads to the distraction of not only the bully and the victim, but also the bystanders, c- the languages employed in the process seem to serve different functions. d- A prominent feature of all the bullying is its dependence on allusions, metaphors, similes, puns, and other figures of speech and subtle forms of talk. e- "Bullies" and "victims" are categorical terms used in the analysis, and the two categories sometimes seem to be intermingled, where a "victim" might seem as a "bully" by overreacting. The analysis will be concerned with the participants' methods in doing bullying, and the different roles assumed by bystanders, including teachers' intervention.

Bullying – Research and definitions: There is no consensus among researchers on a single definition for bullying (Cowie 2008; Dixon and Smith 2011; Zins 2007). One definition is by Sveinsson and Morris (2007: 11) who consider bullying as "the intentional and unprovoked aggression that involves disparity of power between the victim and his or her perpetrator(s)". In defining bullying, most of the literature focuses on one or more characteristics of the following: 1- negative behaviors, 2- repeated over time, 3- towards someone who has difficulty defending themselves, and they mostly 4- stress the imbalance of power and deliberate intent (Cowie 2008; Dixon and Smith 2011). Others stressed the point that bullying usually takes place in a context of a group of peers (Salmivalli 1998). Nevertheless, each of these criteria is debated as Dixon and Smith (2011) tackle their problematic nature, assuming a difficulty in categorizing behaviors as "positive" or "negative", or the duration and frequency of such behaviors to be regarded as "bullying". Cowie (2008) considers that it is enough for harassment to happen once to be categorized as bullying or even to happen without "deliberate intention" (Dixon and Smith 2011). It is also assumed by many researchers that undesirable behaviors are understood to potentially serve some function within the relationship. If an intervention focuses on stopping certain types of behavior but does not adequately addresses the functions they serve, people may employ alternative behaviors to fulfill

the same purpose. Verbal aggression may replace physical aggression; indirect aggression may replace verbal aggression and so forth. To understand the particular function behaviors are serving, it is necessary to identify the underlying process that is generating them (Dixon and Smith 2011: 16).

Research concerned with bullying distinguishes between direct physical, direct verbal and indirect aggression. Direct physical aggression includes such behaviours as pushing, hitting, punching or kicking. Direct verbal aggression may take the form of yelling abuse at another, name-calling, using insulting expressions or making verbal threats. Indirect aggression, sometimes referred to as social aggression or relational aggression, as the term implies, uses less direct forms of aggressive behavior such as spreading malicious rumors about another, excluding a person from the group, etc. (Cowie 2008: 3). Moreover, indirect aggression has been divided into subtypes, reactive (e.g. an angry or defensive response to provocation) and proactive aggression[41] (e.g. to obtain a desired goal such as the bully's need to dominate others or to acquire status in the peer group) (Cowie 2008: 4; Salmivalli 1998).

Some researchers distinguish between *Bias Bullying* which is related to "ethnicity" and "gender", and individual bullying, which refers to discrimination on a more individual basis (Smith 2011: 22). In some studies, the distinction is based on the basis of its motivator. Cowie (2008) refers to *racist bullying*: (mostly when children from ethnic minority groups experience indirect bullying of a racist nature for example, because of the color of their skin); *gender bullying*: which might include sexual bullying and behaviors ranging from sexual name-calling by boys, to rumor-spreading and destruction of sexual reputations (this form doesn't take into account the dispute as a form of confrontation, rather deals with bullying from a retrospective); *homophobic bullying* which is concerned with such groups as lesbians – gays / or children of lesbians and gays. Smith (2011: 30) defines *bias bullying* in the following manner: "some bullying is based on, or justified by the fact that the victim being a member of a particular group – often a marginalized or disadvantaged one – rather than on individual characteristics."

Pikas (1989) distinguished two types of victims: the so-called passive victim, who has not directly provoked the bullying; and the provocative victim, who can be thought to have contributed to their being bullied by having acted in an annoying, provocative way around peers. Most of the research on bullying focuses on bullies and victims, and very little attention is paid to the various roles played by the group in a bullying episode. However, Cowie (2008: 7) and Salmivalli (1998) distinguish four participant roles: *Assistants* actively participate in the bullying through physically restraining a victim; *Reinforcers* provide positive feedback to a bully by shouting encouragement; *Outsiders* contribute indirectly to a bullying situation through silent approval or by not taking a stance against a bully and finally, *Defenders* actively defend victims by intervening in the bullying process. Research in this field asserts that the role that a bully-victim takes is context-dependent and not necessarily stable and static over time (Cowie 2008: 8). We can assume as well that the roles played by the group/bystanders are not static and in the same episode we might see passive *Outsiders* turning into *Defenders*, or even *Reinforcers* turning into *Victims* – and we might see the same bully launching remarks of *bias bullying* towards a Somali, and intimidating personal insults staged against a girl.

[41] Salmivalli (1998) considers the proactive type as bullying, and excludes the reactive type from the definition in that according to her bullying "is typically not a reaction to a provocative act on the part of the victim (although bullies may justify their actions by claiming so (p: 11)"

Through their review of the literature on bullying, Dixon and Smith (2011) state that the most used approach to find out about school bullying is pupil self-report data in questionnaires, where information is limited to what is in a structured questionnaire. Peer nominations is another method, where pupils are asked to nominate classmates for involvement in roles such as bully or victim; and to a lesser degree direct observations by watching in the playground or by using audio and video recordings. Smith doesn't recommend the last method as it is time consuming, and it may be biased towards detecting physical bullying, rather than more subtle verbal and indirect forms. Experts in the field refer constantly to the limitations of the methods used in data collection (e.g., Dixon and Smith 2011; Salmivalli 1998), and that little is known about what the victims do in actual bullying situations (e.g., Salmivalli 1998: 16).

Interviews and questionnaires might tell us about the rate of bullying and the reasons behind it, but many issues remain obscure, like for example the way victims react, and the way bullies manipulate the environment for their own interests. In the following two sections, we will see forms of bullying (the first is sexual/gender bullying, while the other ethnic bullying) that are video-recorded during the participants' involvement in group work/collaborative learning sessions. The method of data collection in the current study, and which is represented by videorecordings bypasses to a great extent the limitations mentioned by Dixon and Smith, and Salmivalli. The data shows that the victims are not completely helpless, and they resort to different strategies to defend themselves. We also see how the bullies exploit the situation and context, to the extent that their bullying behavior seems to be almost parasitic to the official activity. The recordings also show the actual language and actions taken by the participants – including the behavior of different bystanders and the way they act in the process of bullying. As we saw in the previous chapter, code-switching is employed to exclude teachers and prevent them from intervention. Interestingly, victims might become defenders of bullies when teachers detect or suspect that bullying is going on. A micro analysis of the episodes will necessarily increase our understanding of what bullying is, and how participants act and behave in real time, rather than knowing about bullying from retrospective and ethnographic interviews. As Sacks (1992: 27) argues: "the trouble with ethnography based on interviewing is that they're using informants; that is, they're asking questions of their subjects. That means that they're studying the categories that members use, to be sure, except at this point they are not investigating their categories by attempting to find them in the activities in which they're employed." In the ethnographic part of this study, I referred to the hierarchical relationships that dominate the social-scene of the schools being investigated, and that ethnicity and gender seemed to be essential elements that shape the social relations among the participants. In this chapter, hierarchical relationships, for example male superiority and female inferiority, or Arab superiority over Somali will be investigated in the participants' actual interactions.

It is important to stress that the victims might orient to the characteristics being targeted as having a sexual or racial nature, but the reactions are not necessarily any different from each other, and teachers are mostly kept out and not given a chance to intervene in an effective way. An adult observer, on the other hand, might orient to the different types as belonging to different categories depending on the traits being targeted and on the participants involved. This chapter is structured according to the categories used in previous research (gender, ethnic, individual). This structure aims at showing the reader how the participants orient to the three types and to stress the point that there is no essential difference in the participants' methods in doing the different types of bullying. Even the categories "bully" and "victim" are based on the assumption that one disputant is weak or vulnerable in some way and the other is strong. What researchers might call a "victim", for

example, based on interviews might not be as such interactionally, and a "victim" is capable of initiating verbal and physical violenc, just like the "bully". Moreover, the categories "bully" and "bullying" are used by a teacher in two examples only of the sequences of this chapter, and yet the participants (disputants, bystanders) do not agree with these categories and orient to the "bully" as "comedian" and to the "bullying process" as a game.

The examples which will be analyzed in this chapter are taken from two lessons, the duration of each is 90 minutes, and in this sense the examples represent case studies (of the same participants, sitting in the same place, to do a certain activity, in the presence of the same teachers, and these case studies of bullying are solely from school A). Examples from other lessons, and from school B will also be used to support certain analytical issues.

A- sexual harassment:

The following examples are taken from a group work session in history class, where two boys (Adham and Musa) and a girl (Ilham) were instructed by their teachers to work in the class (one teacher is Danish male, the other is Arab female). The class was nearly empty, as the rest of the pupils were also working in groups, but outside the classroom (pupils and teachers might enter the class from time to time). The group were provided with sheets of papers, and were required to read certain passages and answer questions. Each pupil had to contribute in a specific way. One has to read aloud, another has to give a summary, and a third must provide a title, and collaboratively, they had to answer the questions using their own words. From the very start, the two boys start to make intimidating remarks about Ilham as they whisper to each other from time to time and share a giggle. In the following episode, Ilham shows reluctance to cooperate with the two boys, and creates excuses to leave the group. (Teacher is Danish male) Example: (7.1)

1-Adham: jo hun skal, jeg er [ligeglad eller jeg gider ikke. 2-Musa: [men jeg skal først finde en overskrift 3-Ilham: ADHAM IKKE VÆRE SÅ ond (0.3) 4-Adham: jeg er ond (0.9) 5-Musa: sådan er det bare big boss (1.9) 6-Ilham: du plejer at være sød mod piger Adham (.) kom så (0.3) 7-Adham: (addresses Teacher) hun har ikke fundet et afsnit he:::he:::. (2.3) 8-Teacher: Ilham↑ 9-Ilham: ja↑ (0.4) 10-Teacher: nu skal du koncentrere dig (1.4) 11-Adham: [hun er sammen, hun er sammen to lak- 12-Ilham: [jeg kan ikke arbejde med to drenge 13-Teacher: jo: [jo: 14-Adham: [hun er sammen to lækre drenge og så vil hun ikke arbejde 15-Teacher: hvad mere forlan[ger du↑ 16-Ilham: [jeg skal på toilet (1.5) 17-(Musa and Adham laugh – Ilham walks away) 18-Adham: hun er irriterende 19-Teacher: jamen så [fortsætter i to 20-Adham: [Ilham↑ jeg kommer med hehehe	1-Adham: yes she must, I don't [care or I will not bother 2-Musa: [but I must first find a title 3-Ilham: ADHAM DON'T BE SO evil (0.3) 4-Adham: I'm evil (0.9) 5-Musa: that's how it is big boss (1.9) 6-Ilham: you used to be sweet with girls Adham (.) go on (0.3) 7-Adham: (addresses Teacher) she has not found a paragraph he:::he::: (2.3) 8-Teacher: Ilham↑ 9-Ilham: yes↑ (0.4) 10-Teacher: now you must concentrate (1.4) 11-Adham: [she's together, she's together with two delic- 12-Ilham: [I can't work with two boys 13-Teacher: ye:s [ye:s 14-Adham: [she's together with two delicious boys and she will not work 15-Teacher: what more do [you want↑ 16-Ilham: [I have to go to toilet (1.5) 17- (Musa and Adham laugh – Ilham walks away) 18-Adham: she is annoying 19-Teacher: well so [continue you two 20-Adham: [Ilham↑ I'm coming with you hehehe

Ilham: I can't work with two boys (12)

The group is engaged in a cooperative work, and they have to coordinate their efforts to accomplish the required work. Lines (1 -5) reveal two oppositional stances, as Adham insists that Ilham has to do her part, Musa aligns himself with Adham, while Ilham rejects to cooperate. In (6) Ilham alludes to Adham's history and that he used to be kind with girls, and therefore he has to be kind to her. By this, Ilham has placed herself within the frame of girls and females, while Adham is within the frame of boys, and she appeals to the gender categories, rather than to the category of "fellow pupils". In (7) Adham rejects Ilham's request, and takes action that reveal him as "evil" by reporting Ilham's shortcomings to the teacher, i.e., she hasn't accomplished what is required from her. The teacher intervenes, requesting from Ilham to concentrate. Reporting someone's shortcomings/misbehavior to the teacher is against the norms of the participants (as we have seen in the previous chapter) but in the context of this episode, reporting to the teacher is to be seen as a way of bantering and putting more pressure on the opponent party. Moreover, this reporting from the point of Ilham could be seen unavoidable as the teacher noticed that the group is quarreling. Ilham responds to the teacher – and to the bantering – by providing an excuse regarding her inability to accomplish her job, namely, that she cannot work with two boys (12), and thus she appeals again to the categories boys and girls. Adham proceeds with his bantering in (11-14), providing reasons as to why Ilham has to comply and cooperate with the group, i.e., she is working with two delicious boys. On one hand, Adham praises himself and his peer Musa and the category of males they belong to, while on the other he pinpoints Ilham's deficiency in that all the conditions that are likely to entice her to concentrate are available. By this, Ilham is not treated as an asexual fellow pupil, rather as a female sitting between two attractive boys. The participants, thus, orient to gender categories interactively. Moreover, this orientation to gender categorization seems to be marked as it moves into the sexual realm by the use of "lækre = delicious". The teacher in (15) aligns himself with Adham's position, as he asks the rhetorical question *what more do you want?* The question is an agreement with Adham that Ilham has all the reasons to cooperate. Now that the two boys and the teacher have formed a front in Ilham's face, Ilham withdraws from this argument by stating that she will go to the toilet (16). The two boys laugh in (16), an indication that they succeeded in subduing/teasing her, and while she was still within the hearing range, Adham tells her *I will come with you*, a statement which shows how the process of bantering moved from the category of innocent and playful comments and became sexual harassment. Adhams' method of

harassment is incremental, where he starts with opposition, then he appeals to gender categories as he categorizes himself as a sweet boy, and ends with a bizarre suggestion, i.e., to join Ilham in the toilet. His final proposal to accompany her in the toilet can be construed as a way of testing the limits, and whether he can transgress further. Ilham's defensive method is comprised of avoiding the confrontation by withdrawing from the scene. Perhaps Ilham's orientation to gender issues is the very thing that has invited Adham to start with sexual harassment, especially Ilham's coquettish manner and actions in (3) and (6).

In the following examples, we will see the methods employed by Adham and Musa in their quest to harass Ilham, and the counter strategies employed by Ilham as she defends herself. One method is comprised of uttering nonsensical terms, which have no meaning in Danish, but a meaning can be generated in the Arabic language. Example (7.2)

1-Ilham: det er kedeli:gt 2-Musa: Hold din [kæft 3-Adham: [hvad du **kost**↑(0.5) 4-Musa: hehe hvad du **kost**↑ (2.3) 5-Adham: hvad du **koster**↑ 6-(Ilham pretends searching in her pencilcase)	1-Ilham: it's bori:ng 2-Musa: shut your [mouth 3-Adham: [what you food? (0.5) 4-Musa: hehe what you food[42]? (2.3) 5-Adham: what do you cost? 6-(Ilham pretends searching in her pencilcase)

Adham: what do you cost (5)

In (1) Ilham complains that the activity she and her group are doing is boring. Musa responds with an insult (2), while Adham produces a nonsensical question in (3). The nonsensicality is due to the word *kost = food/or whore (slang)* which is a noun, in time the question in hand requires a verb after *du =you.* The syntactic structure of the question is also erratic, in that a verb has to follow *hvad = what*. However, the participants are likely to interpret the nonsensicality of the question by focusing on the term which is rendering the question nonsensical, and this term is "*kost"*, and which sounds the same as the Arabic word *kos = cunt*. Musa in (4) reacts by laughing and then he parrots the same question to Ilham. Adham in turn (5) attempts to make more sense, by producing another nonsensical question, which on one hand reduces Ilham into a slut as he asks her *How much do you cost?*, replacing *kost (noun)* with *koster (verb)* while at the same time maintaining a word that contains the syllable *kos.* All these meanings and associations of sounds are comprehensible as playing on sexual content for the three bilingual participants. As in the previous example, when

[42] *Kost* (Danish) might also mean *broom* (English)

Adham offered to go with Ilham to the toilet, and she didn't respond, Ilham chooses to remain silent in this episode, and pretends searching her pencil case as if she is not hearing what the boys are saying.

Play on words can be an effective method in sexual harassment, and contrary to previous research on bullying which shows the victims as completely helpless, we see the victim here resorting to various methods to counter the bullies. Example (7.3)

1-Adham: kom [nu læs 2-Musa: [Herfra dertil (1.3) er det meget for dig↑(0.6) 3-Ilham: rigtig meget 4-Musa: *er da-muss-koss* he:::he: (1.2) 5-(Ilham bends her head down and partly hides a smile with her hand). 6-Adham: (smiling) læ:::s (1.7) 7-Musa: kom nu bare (.) det er kun dertil (0.4) 8-Ilham: kun her↑ (0.8) 9-Musa: nej dertil 10-Ilham: okay (0.4) 11-Adham: skal jeg læse det for dig↑ 12-Ilham: ja (0.5) læse det for mig 13-Musa: nej↑ (0.7) 14-Adham: Ilham *e::r* (.) kom nu læs (1.5) 15-Ilham: jeg er lesbisk (.) ved i det↑ (0.5) 16-Musa: ja (0.6) 17-Adham: Du er også ordblind, læs (0.8) 18-Ilham: (reads) xxxxxx 19-Adham: Ilham er blevet en mand,[du har fået en grov stemme 20-Musa: [har du glemt kameraet↑ 21-Ilham: hvad↑ 22-Musa: har du glemt kameraet↑ (Ilham looks at the camcorder and covers her face)	1-Adham: come [now read 2-Musa: [from here to there (1.3) is it too much for you↑ (0.6) 3-Ilham: really too much 4-Musa: is Damascus (= ***this one's dick sucked a cunt***) he:::he: (1.2) 5-(Ilham bends her head down and partly hides a smile with her hand). 6-Adham: (smiling) rea:::d (1.7) 7-Musa: just come on (.) it is only till there (0.4) 8-Ilham: only here? (0.8) 9-Musa: no till there 10-Ilham: alright (0.4) 11-Adham: should I read it for you? 12-Ilham: yes (0.5) read it for me 13-Musa: no↑ (0.7) 14-Adham: Ilham is = *penis* (.) come on read (1.5) 15-Ilham: I'm a lesbian (.) do you (plural) know that? (0.5) 16-Musa: yes (0.6) 17-Adham: you are also dyslexic, read (0.8) 18-Ilham: (reads) xxxxxxxx 19-Adham: Ilham has become a man, [you've got a rough voice 20-Musa: [have you forgotten the camera? 21-Ilham: what? 22-Musa: have you forgotten the camera? (Ilham looks at the camcorder and covers her face)

Musa: have you forgotten the camera? (22)

In this episode, Adham urges Ilham to start reading (1); Musa provides directions regarding what is required to be read (2), followed by a direct question that shows Musa as someone concerned about Ilham, and whether the amount of reading she is supposed to read is too much for her; Ilham responds with an affirmative *really too much*, an upgrading format *(3);* Musa switches from the serious to the satirical tone in (4), as he asks Ilham the nonsensical question *er damaskus (is*

Damascus)? Musa's laughter after uttering the question is based on the notion of pun related to the term (er Damascus / *er da-muss-kos*), where *er* in Danish means (is), while in Arabic it means *penis, da = this, Muss = suck,* and *kus* means *cunt*. In using this pun, Musa was repeating the same format of his question in (2) (er det meget for dig= is it too much for you) and he can easily avoid the blame in case of detection, in that such a pun is like a boomerang: if you hear what I say dirty, then you have a dirty mind, and he can avoid the blame by stating that there is nothing wrong with mentioning the capital of Syria. Musa's laughter is an invitation to others to join the laughing; Ilham demonstrates an understanding of Musa's pun as she bends her head down, and hides a smile.


(Musa: er Damascus)

Adham smiles while he urges Ilham to start reading (5), while Musa returns to the serious tone as he urges her to read, minimizing the required effort of reading as he tells her *it's just until her;* in (8) Ilham is doubtful about Musa's directions, and wants confirmation, so she asks *only here?,* Musa corrects himself in (9), as he refers to a bigger passage to read. In (11) Adham volunteers to read the passage for Ilham, demonstrating that he is concerned about her. But as soon as he starts to read, he shows that he is sarcastic as he starts with *Ilham e::r.* Like Musa when he produced his pun of *er Damascus,* where he showed interest and concern in helping and directing Ilham, Adham does the same, where he shows concern and interest in helping Ilham in reading, but what he utters is another pun, *Ilham e::r* which in Arabic means *Ilham is penis,* in addition to *læs =read* which might contain the sounds of lesbian. The two boys chose to talk about sex implicitly using pun; they exploited the sounds of words which bear double meanings in Danish and Arabic. Ilham, on the other hand, responds to this sexual harassment explicitly by declaring to the two boys that she is lesbian, and by asking them if they already know about this (15). Her categorization of herself as a lesbian could be seen as a way of defending herself and a way of telling them that she is a female and yet she is one who has no interest in boys. Her explicit talk about sex is met with rejection from the two boys, where Musa responds with *Ja=yes* (16) without further elaboration and without showing surprise about Ilham's declaration, while Adham attacks her in (17) accusing her of being dyslectic. As she starts reading (19) Adham proceeds with implicit sexual comments, producing a statement which accords with his previous pun, i.e., *Ilham is a dick,* as he comments on her voice and that it has become rough and Ilham has become a boy. It is as if the explicit talk about sex has the power to remove Ilham from the category of females and place her in the category of males. Adham's talk about Ilham's transformation overlaps with Musa's warning to Ilham that there is a camcorder. This warning reveals that talk about sex is acceptable for the boys as long as it is implicit, and it becomes unacceptable once it becomes explicit.

Ilham copies what the boys are doing, but she does it differently as her terms can be explained only in Danish. She practically succeeds -at least momentarily - to stop their playful use of words. She talks about herself, while they talk about her. Seemingly, she acts as helpless and submissive, receives orders and obeys them. However, her strategy of countering the boys' implicit sexual talk is comprised of making the topic explicit. Musa's strategy is comprised of prefacing his pun with an offer of help or concern. The same strategy is repeated by Adham. In their allusive talk, the boys seem to be soliciting allusive responses from Ilham, so they can proceed with the conversation. Sacks (2000: 434) argues that the proper literal way to talk about sex is to talk about it allusively. So that if you talk about sex literally you're not talking about sex properly, you're talking about sex "frankly". The boys' allusive talk is countered by Ilham, where she avoids allusiveness and resorts to talk about sex frankly. It is safer for them to do it implicitly, by manipulating the situation and the rules of language and be in the safe mode.

Harassment can be done by whispers, and the victim might opt for new defensive methods. In the following episode, Adham proposes to inscribe letters and tattoos on Ilham's hand, for which she accepts. Example (7.4)

1-Adham : (reads what he writes) *shee::::l* (1.0) med to e'er *kaman a'ashan haik tseer* °sexy° (0.3) 2-Ilham : hvad sagde du↑ (.) SEXY↑ (looking at the camcorder) 3-Adham : ne::j↑ (hits Ilham with his fist on her shoulder) <u>fuck</u> dig↑ hvorfor lyver du↑ (1.5) *khalas* jeg tager også den der *dayeb*↑ (Ilham stands and clearly feels pain, and complaints saying: Abbaha) 4-Ilham : jeg er ligeglad 5-(boys laugh) 6-Ilham : kom så:: 7-Adham : *khalas* jeg tager din penalhus (0.6) 8-Ilham :kom så:: (0.4) genfortælle 9-Musa : nå ja (0.5) handlede ,ok den handlede om 10-(Ah whispers to Ilham) 11-Ilham : hvad sagde du↑ hvad ER jeg↑ 12-Adham: du er så sød (.) jeg sagde	1-Adham : (reads what he writes) *shee::::l* (1.0) with two e's extra *in order to make it* °sexy° (0.3) 2-Ilham : hvad sagde du↑ (.) SEXY↑ (looking at the camcorder) 3-Adham : no::↑ (hits Ilham on her shoulder) <u>fuck</u> you↑ why are you lying↑ (1.5) *well* I'll take this one as well *alright*↑ (this one= pen) (Ilham stands and clearly feels pain, and exclaims in Somali: *father*) 4-Ilham : I don't care 5-(boys laugh) 6-Ilham : go ahea::d 7-Adham : *that's it* I'll take your pencil case (0.6) 8-Ilham: go ahea::d (0.4) retell 9-Musa : well yes (0.5) it deals, alright it's about 10-(Adham whispers to Ilham) 11-Ilham : what did you say↑ what *AM* I↑ 12-Adham: you are so sweet (.) I said

Adham: fuck you why are you lying? (3)

In this episode, Ilham uses a strategy of amplifying what has been whispered to her. In (1) Adham writes on her hand the word *sheel*, and he reads what he writes, telling Ilham that he is writing the

word with two e's in order to make it sexy, with the last word being whispered while Adham covers his mouth with his hand. Ilham in (2) amplifies the whispered term by introducing it with a question: *what did you say? sexy?* In this way, Adham meant to introduce an element of privacy when he whispered "sexy" to Ilham, while Ilham opposes this privacy by making it audible for everyone, and by placing Adham in a corner of accusation and blame for using such terms. Adham responds to Ilham's method with physical and verbal violence. First he denies that he whispered such a thing, then he hits Ilham on her shoulder and uses abusive language *fuck you*, followed by an accusation of lying *why are you lying?* and finally he resolves to punish her by confiscating her materials (pencils and pens) (3). However, the process of confiscation is done through a question that is supposed to produce an agreement: *I'll take this, ok?* ; Ilham responds with indifference (4) Adham treats Ilham's response in (4) as a way of not caring for her things, and so he tells her that he will take her pencil case (6). Although Ilham was punished for amplifying what Adham whispered to her, she repeats the same method when Adham whispers to her in (10), and amplifies in a question format: *what did you say? what am I= hvad ER jeg?* (with ER being stressed and pronounced aloud to highlight perhaps its Arabic meaning, *penis*). Adham responds for this second time in a gentle way saying that he said that Ilham is sweet, orienting to the Danish meaning of the question, and dismissing the Arabic denotation. Again, harassment done through whispers is countered by Ilham through amplifying the whispers, and by involving others in the scheme which Adham attempted to maintain as something private between him and Ilham. The use of Arabic and pun seem to be central in the process of harassment as well as the process of defense. The amplifying of what a bully whispers – including the terms that might bear double meanings in Danish and Arabic – disrupts the scheme of harassment, and the aggressor seems to be pressed to quit the process. Adham's scheme is interrupted as he denies in (3) what he said, and in (12) he is forced to amplify what he did not whisper. As in the previous example, the victim's method (lines 2 – and 11) is effective in terms of interrupting the scheme of harassment.

At some points in the interaction, the victim might lose control and start to test the limits of her defensive strategies, as in the following example. Example (7.5)

1-Ilham: (reads) der var ingen [viduer-	1-Ilham: (reads) there were no [windows-
2-Adham: [*she:::l*	2-Adham: [(*flirtatious term*)
3-Ilham : *wehyat allah* (pushes her body back and away and turns head back – covers face with her two palms)	3-Ilham: *by Allah* (pushes her body back and away and turns head back – covers face with her two palms)
4-Adham: lade som om jeg ikke er der, lade som om jeg ikke siger noget (.) Læ::s	4-Adham: pretend that I'm not there, pretend as if I am not saying anything (.) Rea::d
5-Ilham: Adham gå på toilet	5-Ilham: Adham go to the toilet
6-Musa: e::h:hehe	6-Musa: e:::hehe
7-Adham: (stands and pretends to leave) så kom med	7-Adham: (stands and pretends to leave) then come with me
8-Ilham: nej jeg går [ikke jeg kommer efter dig	8-Ilham: no I [won't, I'll follow you
9-Adham: (sits back) [jeg kan ikke lide det (.) læ::s	9-Adham: (sits back) [I don't like it (.) Rea::d
10-Teacher: hey hvad sker der↑	10-Teacher: hey what is happening there?
11-Osama: Teacher↑	11-Osama: Teacher↑
12-Ilham: e:h Osama hehehe	12-Ilham: e:h Osama hehehe
13-Teacher: hvad sker der↑	13-Teacher: what is happening?
14-Adham: Osama piller ved den =*camera* (puts his tongue out)	14-Adham: Obaida is tampering with it (it=camera). (Adham puts his tongue out)
15-Osama: Ja:↑ jeg piller ved den	15-Osama: yea:h? I'm tampering with it
16-Teacher: eh: jeg kommer ud til dig, tag computeren med	16-Teacher: e:h I'll come out to you, take with you the computer
17-Ilham: (reads) så det eneste lys [kom fra-	17-Ilham: (reads) so the only light [came from-
18-Adham: [*She:::l*	18-Adham: [(*flirtatious term*)
19-Musa: *lik* lade som om han ikke er der	19-Musa: *you* (pejorative) pretend that he is not there
20-Ilham: gå på toilet NU (0.5)	20-Ilham: (covers her face) go to the toilet NOW (0.5)
21-Musa: *he::: kammilhom*	21-Musa: hehehe *complete it*
22-Ilham: tage bukserne af så kommer jeg	22-Ilham: take the pants off then I will come
23-Adham: *ya waili* (0.4)	23-Adham: *what the hell (0.4)*

24-Musa: tage bukserne af så kommer hun he::: siger hun 25-Adham: Sige *wallah quran*↑ 26-Ilham: *wallah quran* gå 27-Adham: kommer [du så med mig↑ 28-Ilham: [ja *wallah quran* gå 29-Adham: kom (pushes his body as if to stand) 30-Ilham: GÅ:: fuck (1.5) 31-Adham: *bas wallah ma biddi*	24-Musa: take the pants off then she comes he::: she says 25-Adham: say *by allah by quran?* 26-Ilham: *by allah by quran* go 27-Adham: so you [are coming with me? 28-Ilham: [yes *by allah by quran* go 29-Adham: come (pushes his body as if to stand) 30-Ilham: GO:: fuck (1.5) 31-Adham: *but by allah I don't want*

Ilham: tage bukserne af så kommer jeg (22)

In this sequence we see a repetition of the same interactional process: from (1) to (9) and from (17) to (31). Each of the two subsequences opens in the same way, as Ilham reads the assignment, and is interrupted by Adham's flirting term "sheel", which overlaps with Ilham's utterances before she completes reading the sentences. His actions in (2) and (18) are not only interruptions, but also a hindrance for Ilham to proceed with reading, as he allows her some space to read but not to complete the sentence. Adham's action is represented by uttering a term which is basically not a neutral term nor it is a term that one says as a compliment to a girl, as the term might be loaded with sexual connotations. However, he utters this term in a whisper, and it is not a direct accusation for her that she is a "slut", and his whispering signifies his awareness that he is saying something which is "not allowed". Ilham's first response matches this description, as she demonstrates the qualities of being "bashful" and "shy" and "timid" where she draws herself away from the desk, demonstrating that she cannot tolerate hearing such terms (see the figures below)

(Ilham's reaction in turn 3)

(Ilham's reaction in turn 20)

However, after achieving this reaction from Ilham, Adham seems to halt his "offense" or "flirt" as he announces to her that she can continue reading and that she has to pretend that he is not there and not saying such terms that arouse her "bashful femininity" (4). This same action is proposed by Musa in line (19). The subsequent turns mirror each other as well, as Ilham's imperatives of (go to the toilet) (5) demonstrate a sort of punishment and consequence for Adham's action, i.e., when you speak in a dirty language, then you have to leave the desk – which might mirror the way a mother acts when her child makes an offense on the table. However, Adham turns this action into something else as he asks Ilham to join him (7), but Ilham again continues to act the role of the "mom" who will follow him afterwards and punish him, and this sequence ends with Adham's inability to proceed with talking about sex in a frank way where he announces "I don't like it – read" (9). After the teacher's interruption – Ilham reproduces the whole sequence again from line 17 – she reads, Adham utters the same flirting term – Musa reproduces Adham's initial justification that Ilham has to read and pretend that he is not there, then Ilham goes on with the same suggestion that Adham has to go to the toilet, but now she is quite more frank than the previous turn, as she calls things by their names, and that he has to take his trousers off and wait for her to come. Adham's reaction to this frank talk is again one of withdrawal, where in (23) he pushes himself back and adjusts himself on the seat uttering "what the hell", as if demonstrating to her that "I didn't mean to go that far". Musa, the bystander, pushes Adham to accept the challenge (24), and Adham plays the role for a short while then he terminates the game as he announces "I don't want" (31). Ilham here is in a situation where she wants to get rid of the sexual bantering and harassment by the boys, so she uses their "bantering statements" in order to get rid of them. As in the previous episode, Ilham chooses to talk about sex explicitly, and observers might imagine what might happen in the toilet when a boy and a girl are there. To prevent any imagination, she provides details for Adham to tempt him to leave and to escape from the burden of exchanging implicit talk about sex with a boy, which if she does might indicate compliance to his implicit sexual scheme. If Adham accepts the challenge and goes to the toilet, he will discover afterwards that he is a fool waiting all alone in the toilet! If he doesn't go, then he will demonstrate to Ilham that he is not the tough boy and that he is a boy of words and not actions. The turns from (25) to (30) both Adham and Ilham provide minimal responses which demonstrate an inability to go farther in this talk, in that it is explicit. Ilham establishes her adversative position on the grounds of explicit talk, and she confers upon herself a resisting shield capable of obscuring farther talk. Clearly, Ilham outwits Adham and liquidates his allusive scheme which attempts to entrap her within a sexual frame and regard her as an object of sex. Her angry responses (e.g., turn 30) are clear and direct and cannot be considered allusive, in time Adham's method of flirtation is comprised of the Arabic "she:::l", which is an outdated and an allusive term used to flirt in an impolite way with a stranger, and it has sexual connotations.

Moreover, the sequence might also indicate that Ilham is not "innocent", and if Adham's action is concerned with "flirting" with her, then there is no need to report him, and she is not the "innocent bashful" girl in this case, in that she is the one who is transforming the allusive talk into something "frank" and clear. It could be interesting as well to notice the Teacher's interruption, who observes that something wrong is going on with the group (where they laugh, stand, and make

noise) so he intervenes in (10). The first response to the teacher comes from Ilham, who with her laughter and by uttering the name of a pupil "Osama" who is not part of the group (12) diverts the attention of the teacher from the group to a possible culprit from outside the group, and as if telling the teacher to mind his own business and not intervene in the group's private business – and this is an orientation to the norm of excluding teachers which was described in the previous chapter. Adham cooperates with Ilham as he reproduces her claim by reporting the same "culprit" (14). The point that has to be stressed here is that our perceptions of the terms "bully" and "victim" might mislead us to the thought that a "victim" is helpless and defenseless, and this is not true. The example here shows that the "victim" relies on resources that turn things upside down, where the "bully" seems to be harassed with explicit talk about sex, and the "victim" abstains from seeking intervention by the teacher.

Even when the interaction becomes "violent" and dependent on muscles in several sequences, the "victim" shows the same stamina in resisting, and she might as well counter an interruption of her reading with physical violence as the following example might show: example (7.6)

1-Ilham:(reads) [° xxxx xxx xxxxx xxxx °	1-Ilham:(reads) [° xxxx xxx xxxxx xxxx °
2-Adham: (to Musa) [*Yaani Allah la ywafaak* (0.5)	2-Adham: (to Musa) [*that is may allah never bless you* (0.5)
3-Adham: læs (1.5) læser du quran eller hvad↑	3-Adham: read (1.5) are you reading quran or what↑
4-Ilham: [hahahahahaha]	4-Ilham: [hahahahahaha
5-Adham: (to Musa) [læste hun quran↑]	5-Adham: (to Musa) [did she read quran↑
6-Ilham: (stands and hits Ahmad with pencil case) jaaa *yallah* (0.3)	6-Ilham: (stands and hits Adham with pencil case) yea::h *come on* (0.3)
7-Adham: læste du quran↑(2.5)	7-Adham: did you read quran↑(2.5)
8-(Adham hits Ilham with pencil case)	8-(Adham hits Ilham with pencil case)
9-Ilham: *wehyat allah* (stands and hits Adham with pencil case)	9-Ilham: *by allah* (stands and hits Adham with pencil case)
10-Adham: (hits Ilham with two pencil cases)	10-Adham: (hits Ilham with two pencil cases)
11-Musa: *lak khalas*↑(0.5) *lak* lade være↑(0.5) tage jer nu sammen [mand	11-Musa: *hey you stop* (0.5) *hey* stop it↑(0.5) get a grip now [man
12-(Ilham and Adham collect their pencil cases)	12-(Ilham and Adham collect their pencil cases)
13-Ilham:[ikke osse det er ham	13-Ilham: [isn't it? It's him
14-Musa: også dig(3.5)	14-Musa: you as well (3.5)
15-Adham: gå med dig eller jeg smadrer dig mand (returns to seat and drops pencil case on table)	15-Adham: go with you or I'll smash you (returns to seat and drops pencil case on table)
16-Musa: Ilham lade være (3.0)	16-Musa: Ilham stop it (3.0)
17-Adham: *mahlaha*↑	17-Adham: *how sweet she is*↑
18-Ilham: bare hvis det der den blev flækket (1.0) hvor er mit penalhus↑	18-Ilham: just if this there was broken (1.0) where is my pencil case↑
19-Adham:den er på toilet.(2.1)	19-Adham: it's in the toilet (2.1)

Unlike the previous example, where Adham's interruption of Ilham's reading can be considered "harassment" in that he utters an indecent term while she was reading in an audible voice, Adham's interruption in this example is more concerned with the way Ilham is carrying out the task of reading in a faint inaudible voice (1). Adham's directive to Ilham to read in (3) is an indication that he cannot see her reading, and after a pause he notices that she is actually reading in a very faint voice which he assesses as "reading quran" – in that Muslims usually read quran in an inaudible faint voice. Ilham's first response to this interruption is a laughter (4) which mirrors again her coquettish behavior. As Adham dwells on this assessment of "reading quran" (5), Ilham responds with violence as she stands and hits Adham with pencil case, leading to a physical fight where the two exchange hitting each other with pencil cases. To be beaten by a girl might not yield a good reputation for a boy like Adham who considers himself the leader of the class, and this might interpret his angry and sarcastic responses in (15,17,19). In the middle of this violence, Musa emerges as a pacifier, putting the blame squarely and equally on the disputants (11, 14,16). The example here is meant to show that sometimes in the sequences we might fail to see how a "victim" is really a "victim", and to highlight the point that physical violence might replace verbal violence, and such forms of violence are a resource for both bully and victim. Moreover, Adham's violent and sarcastic responses in this sequence can be seen as an orientation to Ilham's unexpected mode of conduct. Neither in the tradition of the participants' homes, nor in the social roles expected from males and females are females expected to act in a violent and aggressive way. Acting in a submissive and helpless manner is what one expects from a "girl", and this is far from the tough conduct that Ilham demonstrates in this episode, to the extent that the categories of "bully" and "victim" seem almost to be blurred.

The process continues afterwards, and Ilham devises new ways to protect or defend herself, as we see in example (7.7).

1-(Adham shows a necklace around his neck - Musa stretches his hand to see it) 2-Musa: *she:::l* [sølv ?] 3-Adham: *[odrob]* (1.5) 4-Musa*:* er det sølv↑ (0.4) 5-Adham: jeg har fået den for iman (0.5) 6-Ilham: NEJ↑ 7-(Adham and Musa laugh) 8-Musa: jo:: det tror jeg på 9-Adham: da jeg var hjemme hos hende hehe: *shee::l* (4.5)	1-(Adham shows a necklace around his neck – Musa stretches his hand to see it) 2-Musa: (*flirtatious term)* [silver?] 3-Adham: [*hit*] (1.5) (flirtatious term) 4-Musa: is it silver? (0.4) 5-Adham: I've had it for Iman (= from Iman) (0.5) 6-Ilham: NO↑ 7-(Adham and Musa laugh) 8-Musa: ye::s I believe that 9-Adham: when I was at her home hehe: (*flirtatious term*) (4.5)

10-Musa: Adham↑(.) da du var hjem hos hende gav du hende sch:: hehehe (puts his finger against his mouth) (1.3) 11-Adham: da jeg var hjem hos hende gav jeg hende sch:: (places his finger against his mouth) og hun drakkede schh 12-(Musa and Adham laugh) (1.0) 13-Ilham: MIG↑(1.4) og jeg gav dig sch:::: igås↑ (moves her hand towards her mouth as if introducing something into her mouth) (0.4) 14-Adham: *she::::l (0.7)* 15-Musa: og hvad er din sch:: så↑ 16-Ilham: sch::: det er bare sjov (4.0) 17-Musa: okay kom nu: (0.3) 18-Ilham: *wallah khalas* ikke tale om sexede [sådan noget 19-Musa: [o::h hehe 20-Adham: [e::h m::: 21-Musa: hehehe °hold din kæft° 22-(Ilham leaves her seat) (3.5) 23-Ilham: (from far away) det er jer der taler om det 24-Adham: [eh? 25-Musa: [ne:j 26-(silence while Ilham is away – nearly 30 seconds – Ilham returns to her seat) 27-Musa: kom nu:: (1.0) læs (0.5) 28-Ilham: jeg har sagt det til [ham (ham =Morten) 29-Musa: [sige *wallah* 30-Ilham: *wallah* 31-Musa: [*laih?* 32-Adham: [hvad har du sagt til ham? (0.4) 33-Ilham: at i taler om sådan noget piger og sex (0.3) 34-Musa: hold din kæft mand det har vi ikke (0.5) 35-Adham: sige *wallah quran* du sagde det til ham↑ 36-Ilham: det filmer (points to the camcorder)	10-Musa: Adham↑ (.) when you were at her home you gave her sch:: hehehe (puts his finger against mouth) (1.3) 11-Adham: when I was at her home I gave her sch:: (places his figner against his mouth) and she drinked (drank) sch: 12-(Musa and Adham laugh) (1.0) 13-Ilham: ME? (1.4) and I gave you sch::::, didn't I? (moves her hand towards her mouth as if introducing something into her mouth) (0.4) 14-Adham: (*flirtatious term*) (0.7) 15-Musa: and what is your sch:: so? 16-Ilham: sch:::: (be silent) it's just for fun (4.0) 17-Musa: alright come now: (0.3) 18-Ilham: *by allah enough* don't speak about sexy [such things 19-Musa: [o::h hehe 20-Adham: [e::h m::: 21-Musa: hehehe °shut up° 22-(Ilham leaves her seat) (3.5) 23-Ilham: (from far away) it's you (plural) talking about it 24-Adham: [eh? 25-Musa: [No:: 26-(silence while Ilham is away – nearly 30 seconds – Ilham returns to her seat) 27-Musa: come now:: (1.0) read (0.5) 28-Ilham: I've said it to [him (him=Teacher) 29-Musa: [say *by allah* 30-Ilham: *by allah* 31-Musa: [*why*? 32-Adham: [what did you say to him? (0.4) 33-Ilham: that you (plural) are talking about such things girls and sex (0.3) 34-Musa: keep your mouth shut man we have not (0.5) 35-Adham: say *by allah by quran* you told him? 36-Ilham: it's filming (points to the camcorder)

Ilham: and I gave you sch:: (13)

Musa enquires about Adham's necklace and whether it is silver (2-4) introducing his question with the exclamatory *sheel*; Musa's exclamation overlaps with Adham's exclamation *odrob= hit = flirtatious term*, revealing that the two boys are creating a mood of fun cooperatively. Adham doesn't answer Musa's question, rather he provides a statement that it was Ilham who gave it to him (5); Iman denies with a raised volume (6), leading the two boys to laugh, and Musa aligns himself with Adham as he declares that he believes in what Adham says, and implicitly accuses Ilham of lying (8). Adham resolves to create a plot for the story of how he received the necklace, so in (9) he introduces a new line of action to the story and that he received it when he was at her home. Musa, in turn (10) addresses Adham and attempts to give rise to the action – and invents events which are

meant to be inserted within Adham's story, so he repeats Adham's line of action by assuming that when Adham was home with Ilham, Adham gave her schhh (something which cannot be articulated in words, as Musa puts his finger on his lips, a gesture which indicates a secret or something unspeakable); Adham repeats Musa's line of action (12), and adds a new event to the story, that Ilham drank schhh (once again, this schh utterance implies many things in the imagination of the speakers and hearers); amid the boys' laughter, Ilham objects to the claims, asking the rhetorical question *me?* and then repeats what the boys claim and terminates her turn with a tag question *i gås = didn't I*? tagged to the statement *and I gave you schh* simultaneously while she makes a gesture as if introducing something into her mouth (13), removing the "schh" from being something implied into something explicit that can be demonstrated in gestures (see the figure above). The statement, the gesture and tag question function as an oppositional strategy to that adopted by the two boys. Musa inquires about the meaning of Ilham's schh (15), to see if they are all talking about the same implied thing; Ilham responds that it is just something for fun (16); Musa urges the group to start reading (17), and Ilham does the same, begging the boys by the name of God to stop talking about sex (18). The boys produce laughter of surprise and denial and make sounds of shock. Musa shuns Ilham by telling her to shut up (19). Ilham's method is different here, and it is represented by speaking directly and openly to the boys and requesting from them to stop talking about sex. Receiving no positive answer, she decides to leave the desk in order to talk to the teacher. When she returns she declares that she informed the teacher about their sexual talk. The rest of the interaction shows the two boys' fear and denial of what Ilham had told the teacher, as they inquire about details regarding what she said. Whether Ilham has really told the teacher is not important here, and what matters is that her claim of exposing their misconduct was enough to stop the two boys. In this episode, Ilham uses three methods to oppose the boys; the first is her default method represented by switching the topic of sex from being an implicit topic into an explicit one. The second is a direct request to stop talking about sex. And the last method – which is the most effective – is to seek intervention from the teacher, or even to threaten of revealing the misconduct to the teacher. In many situations, girls prefer to remain silent than expose the offender and the greatest majority of the pupils prefer to handle their disputes without having intervention from teachers. Although Ilham was effective in defending herself by using different methods, many other girls lack the skill to deal with such situations. The following example might show the reaction of other Arab girls to sexual harassment. Example (7.8)

1-Ikhlas: ok nu er jeg oplæser↓ khalil↑ khalil har du fundet en overskrift↑	1-Ikhlas: alright now I'm the reader↓ khalil↑ khalil have you found a title↑
2-Khalil: tie stille (0.8)	2-Khalil: quiet (0.8)
3-Ikhlas: Teacher↑(1.0)	3-Ikhlas: Teacher↑ (1.0)
4-Khalil: hvad↑(0.3)	4-Khalil: what↑ (0.3)
5-Ikhlas: Har du fundet en overskrift↑(.)	5-Ikhlas: have you found a title↑ (.)
6-Khalil: ja	6-Khalil: yes
7-Ikhlas: hvad er det?	7-Ikhlas: what is it?
8-Khalil: kondom	8-Khalil: condom
9-Ikhlas: hva↑	9-Ikhlas: what↑
10-Khalil: kondom	10-Khalil: condom
11-(Ikhlas covers her face)	11-(Ikhlas covers her face)
12-Ikhlas: h::::::	12-Ikhlas: h::::::
13-Khalil: Ved du hvad det er↑ (0.9)	13-Khalil: do you know what it is↑ (0.9)
14-Ikhlas: hvad har du skrevet↑	14-Ikhlas: what did you write↑
15-Khalil: jeg e:h jeg e:h xxxxxx video min overskrift var det ja	15-Khalil: I e:h I e:h xxxxxx video my title was this yes condom

kondom [hehehehehehe] 16-Ikhlas: [det er altså] ikke en overskrift	[hehehehehehe] 16-Ikhlas: [well it is] not a title


Ikhlas covers her face (11)

Khalil rejects to comply with Ikhlas' request to provide a title, so Ikhlas seeks the teacher's intervention by calling on her (3), and by this she departs from the normative way of behavior, in that asking for a teacher's intervention is against the norms. This threat causes Khalil to comply with Ikhlas' request (4), and since his directive to Ikhlas to be quiet was met with a threat of seeking intervention from a teacher, he chooses to silence her by introducing a topic that has nothing to do with their assignment, that is, condom. Just the mentioning of condom was enough to change Ikhlas' attitude – where she was ready in the beginning to seek intervention from the teacher, she turns purple in color and covers her face once she hears Khalil's suggestion, and the teacher's intervention is no more an option, as she might not be able to articulate what Khalil has already said.

Interestingly, the girls in general seem to be more mature about sexual issues, and they are likely to respond to the boys' bantering and sexual talk in the same way adult women are expected to deal with such an issue. Consider the following example, where Erina is a Muslim Bosnian girl who is harassed by Monir as he announces to her that "Anas" wants a "pussy". (The example is from school B, and Erina is sitting with a group of girls, separate from the group of Arab boys). Example: (7.9)

1-Monir: Erina↑ (.) han vil have en kusse (points at Anas) (3.5) (Anas hits Monir on his head) 2-Erina: Tage jer lige sammen (0.7) (Monir leaves his seat and goes beside Ihsan) 3-Anas: der er et kamera <u>nigger</u> (.)	1-Monir: Erina↑ (.) he wants a pussy (points at Anas) (3.5) (Anas hits Monir on his head) 2-Erina: get a grip (both of you) now (0.7) (Monir leaves his seat and goes beside Ihsan) 3-Anas: there is a camera <u>nigger</u> (.)


(Anas on the left hitting Monir on the right)

Monir's announcement in (1) is embarrassing for Erina and Anas, and it is a harassment against Erina in that she is singled out as the one who must satisfy Anas. Erina's response in (2) is a mature one and it is something that one might expect from an adult. The inclusion of Anas in her response as she addresses (jer = plural you) is an indication that Anas has to be rebuked as he might have told Monir about his interest in Erina, and her statement can be equivalent to "grow up little kids and stop talking about such things". Although it is possible for boys to harass girls in school B as in the above example, such harassments do not persist or extend over a long period of time, as groups in this school are comprised solely of boys-only or girls-only groups.

Bully and victim methods in a nutshell: The bully's method of harassment is comprised of an orientation to gender categories as he banters a girl using terms that bear sexual connotations and suggestions. One method can be seen in making inappropriate suggestions, or in the use of puns, and in picking terms and words that sound neutral or even meaningless in Danish, but imbued with sexual meanings in Arabic. Whispering is another way, which goes hand in hand with allusive forms of talk. The bystander in this process is a boy, who clearly does not remain passive or neutral; rather he sides with the bully, either by laughing at the comments which the bully produces, or by repeating the statements which he utters. Another bystander is the teacher, who upon noticing that something suspicious is going on intervenes, but is shunned away by the "bully" and "victim" alike. The victim, on the other hand, employs four methods to protect or defend herself. The first is escapism and creating excuses to leave the desk (example 7.1). The second is represented by ignoring what the bullies are saying, and remaining silent – a not very effective strategy as bullies continue with the process (example 7.2). The third is by transforming the implicit talk into explicit, a successful strategy to stop the immediate assault (examples 7.3 to 7.5). The fourth method, which is the most effective, is to seek intervention from a teacher, or even to threaten the aggressors of reporting their conduct to a teacher (example 7.7). However, we have to think of the methods used by a victim in sexual harassment as reactions to the bully's methods. In other words, Ilham's methods are dependent on the context and the methods employed by the bully. The bully in this case makes use of allusive talk, puns, and flirtatious sexual terms in Arabic. The girl, on the other hand, counters this method by speaking clearly about sex and avoids allusiveness. Her defensive tools are sometimes "blatant" (e.g., Example 7.5 and 7.7) but effective in terms of stopping the harassment or confusing the harasser. While the boys rely on their knowledge of the two languages and resort to play on words, the girl maintains the use of Danish. At some points in the interaction, the "victim" might become violent and might as well initiate physical violence against her opponent, thus, blurring the line between "victim" and "bully".

Teachers are usually bystanders, and there are cases where teachers detect or suspect that a dispute is going on between pupils as in example (7.5). In such cases, teachers would intervene. The participants in such cases might use some of the methods described in the previous chapter to keep the teacher outside the domain of their conflict, or modify their methods of engagement, or the dispute might lapse into a *one down – one down* competition (A- he hurt me! B- he hurt me more!). The following examples will deal with forms of disputes when a teacher spots that a suspicious act is going on.

Teachers' intervention: The following extract is from the same group work session which was concerned with Bias-bullying/sexual harassment. The teacher (Asma) intrudes while the group is engaged in conflict talk. Example (7.10)

1-Musa: hvorfor gør i det alle sammen på Ilham↑ hahaha(1.2) 2-Adham: det er mel hahahaha (1.3) (mocking voice) se hva du har gjort se↑ 3-Musa: hvad er der så specielt ved hende↑[i gør altid sådan↑] 4-Adham: [også du har ødelag]t min trykblyant (0.3) 5-Ilham: det var ikke mig, det var Muhammed.(0.5) 6-Adham: det var dig der havde den, du havde [ansvaret f]or den 7-Musa [*hallaa inta*] hvad er det der er så specielt ved hende at i altid gør sådan? 8-Ilham: schhh schhh schhhhh (she hits Musa repeatedly) 9-Musa: [*wilik* lade være] 10-Ilham: [JEG ER SÅ BILLIG]det er derfor. (0.9) 11- (Asma enters the class) 12-Asma: i arbejder slet[ikke] 13-Musa: [hun]slår mig hele tiden.(1.0) 14-Ilham: det er fordi han taler så meget.(2.0) 15-Musa: så kom nu [læs]. 16-Asma: [han]laver sjov kan jeg se. 17-Ilham: se↑ 18-Musa: *dab* læs.(1.8) 19-Musa: hun læser quran lige før. 20-Asma: hahahahahaha 21-Ilham: e::h han lyver, *wallah* jeg ikke læst quran, *yallah* hvor er det↑ 22-Musa: *dab* kom nu, [du er nået her] 23-Adham: [det er dig der] læser, det er ikke [os jo] 24-Asma: [nu sk]al du svare ham hvor er det 25-Ilham: jeg ved [det ikke] 26-Adham: [det er jo] hende der[læser, ikke os] 27-Musa: [kan du se hun] følger ikke med i sig selv mand 28-Adham: og det er hende der læser plus.(1.3) 29-Asma: ved i hvad↑i flytter så det e:::r Ilham der sidder der hvor Musa sidder [og så sidder Musa her 30-Ilham: [nej nej Asma *dab*	1-Musa: why do you all do it against Ilham? hahaha (1.2) 2-Adham: it is flour hahahaha (1.3) (mocking voice) see what you've done, see↑ 3-Musa: what is so special about her↑ [you (plural) always do this? 4-Adham: [also you've broken my pencil (0.3) 5-Ilham: it wasn't me, it was Muhammad (0.5) 6-Adham: it was you who had it, you had the [responsibility for it 7-Musa: [*now you* what is it that is so special about her that you (plural) always do this? 8-Ilham: schhh schhh schhh (she hits Musa repeatedly) 9-Musa: [*you* (pejorative) stop 10-Ilham: [I'M SO CHEAP, that's why (0.9) 11-(Asma enters the class) 12-Asma: you are not working 13-Musa: she's beating me all the time (1.0) 14-Ilham: it's because he talks so much (2.0) 15-Musa: so come now, [read 16-Asma [he's making fun, I see 17-Alham: see? 18-Musa: *alright* read (1.8) 19-Musa: she was reading Quran before 20-Asma: hahahahaha 21-Ilham: he's lying, *by allah* I haven't read Quran, *go on* where is it? 22-Musa: alright come now,[you've reached here 23-Adham: [it's you who reads, it's not [us well 24-Asma: [now you must answer where is it 25-Ilham: I don't know 26-Adham: it's of course she who [reads, not us 27-Musa: [do you see? she is not attending by herself man 28-Adham: and it is her who reads, plus (=in addition) (1.3) 29-Asma: you know what? you (plural) will move so it i::s Ilham who sits where Musa is sitting [and then Musa sits here 30-Ilham: [no no Asma *well*

Asma: you are not working (12)

Lines (1-10) show a dispute that has a one-up/one-up pattern, where one party is blaming, and the opponent party is countering the blame. The reference to "flour" and Musa's questions in (1-3-7)

are part of the sexual harassment, where previously Adham mentions that the touch of Ilham's butt feels like "flour". Ilham in the meantime maintains her default method of defense of making the boys' allusive talk explicit, as she refers to herself as "cheap" (10). Ilham's hitting of Musa and her daring answer shows her dispute with Musa as following a one up/one up pattern. The teacher (Arab female) at this moment enters the classroom and hears what is happening, so she rebukes the group by telling them *you are not working* (11). The participants' methods of engagement in the dispute change at this moment. Ilham's immediate response to the teacher's intrusion is to cover her mouth – a demonstration of fear that the teacher could have heard her referring to herself as "cheap" (see the figure above). Lines (12-28) demonstrate a one-down/one-down pattern, and the winner in such a pattern is the one who escapes the blame. Although Ilham had the chance to report to the teacher what is happening or how the boys are harassing her, she dares not do so, and instead she restricts the blaming issue to what the teacher has seen, and provides justification for her behavior of hitting Musa. Musa rejects to be exposed as the sole culprit in the group, and he seeks to include others within the circle of culprits, so he accuses Ilham of reading quran (18). Adham interferes in (23) as he aligns himself with Musa and puts extra blame on Ilham, and the dispute becomes a vicious circle of blames and counter blames. What is remarkable here is that Ilham does not tell the teacher about the previous harassment, which might mean that she subscribes to a norm among the participants of not involving teachers in their disputes. This also means that any measure that the teacher will take will be based on what she has heard and seen, rather than on what actually happened. In other words, the question of harassment – which is the real issue in this instance – will not be addressed, and the participants were successful in diverting their teacher's attention to deal with side issues instead of the real issue.

The measure taken by the teacher is represented by placing Ilham between the two boys. However, Ilham abstains from exposing the real issue, although the new measure influences her most. Ilham practically clears her harasser from any blame. Example: (7.11)

1-Adham: Jeg kigger bare på dem 2-Musa: det er jo ikke mig 3-Adham: de åbner altid en diskussion 4-Ilham: det bliver værre Teacher det bliver værre to drenge for- 5-Teacher: det er fint, så kan du styre dem 6-Adham: har jeg [gjort noget↑] 7-Ilham: [mig styre d]em↑ 8-Teacher: ja 9-Adham: jeg har ikke gjort noget. 10-Ilham: nej jeg siger heller [ikke] 11-Teacher: [Adham] du har ikke gjort noget , vi siger heller ikke at i har gjort noget,…	1-Adham: I'm just looking at them 2-Musa: it is not me 3-Adham: they are always opening discussions 4-Ilham: it gets worse Teacher it gets worse two boys for- 5-Teacher: it's fine, so you can control them 6-Adham: have I [done anything? 7-Ilham: [me control them? 8-Teacher: yes 9-Adham: I haven't done anything 10-Ilham: no I don't say (you've done anything) [either 11-Teacher: [Adham you haven't done anything, we are not saying that you (plural) have done something, …


Ilham: me control them? (7)

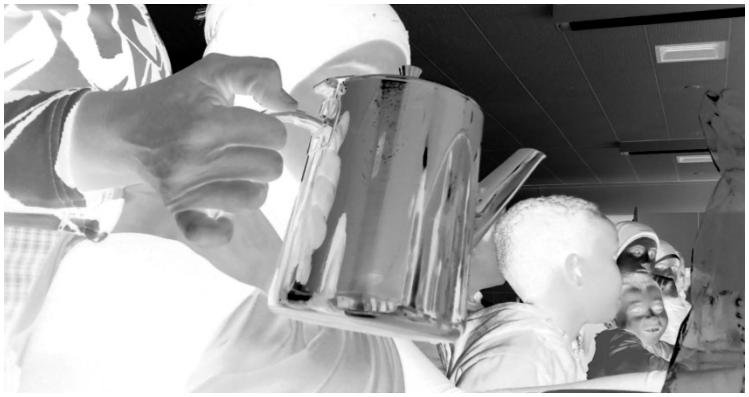
Adham reduces himself into an onlooker (1) and implicates Musa and Ilham (3), and asks for confirmation (6) and answers himself (9), and receives confirmation from Ilham and teacher that he is unguilty (10) and (11). His method of escaping the blame is effective. Although the one down/one down competitive method is effective in escaping the blame and in incriminating the oppositional party, this method requires joint cooperation between the members of the same party – as Musa and Adham did – in order to be successful. More importantly, the norm of preventing teacher from intervention is maintained by all the participants involved.

B- Ethnic Bullying:

Participants' methods in ethnic bullying are comparable in many ways to the methods employed in sexual harassment. While the bully in sexual harassment makes use of puns and play on words, the bully in ethnic bullying resorts to the use of figurative language which can be perceived as neutral statements by a bystander. The victims' defensive methods are also comparable in many ways. In sexual harassment, the victim's defensive methods are characterized by the use of insults, threats, and outward bursts of anger that show an inability to control the situation. The same can be said about the victim's defensive method in ethnic bullying, and which is represented by a gradual rising line of action that reaches its apex with some forms of physical violence and violent language. Disputants employ different methods in order to prevent teachers from intervention, e.g., maintaining a neutral tone of voice, switching to Arabic in the presence of a teacher, and using metaphors and personifications in exchanging insults.

The following episodes are extracted from a day when participants had to do an activity in the kitchen-classroom during Project-Week. Two Danish female teachers were responsible for 20 pupils (Arabs and Somalis / males and females) of different ages – ranging from grade 3 to grade 6. Pupils were divided into pairs in the beginning to prepare dough and bake. In the meantime, they were given sheets of papers to work on word meaning. Pupils were then asked to check their bread which was being baked, and they had to eat their bread while sitting around a table. The two teachers served tea, and pupils had to socialize freely. For nearly one hour, a sixth grader Arab boy (Ala) manipulates the classroom setting to bully and intimidate a fourth grader Somali boy (Sahm) and a sixth grader Arab girl (Noha). The process starts when the pupils sit around the table for eating and drinking (see the figures below for how the participants are seated). The episodes in this section involve the following participants: fourth grader Somali (Sahm); sixth graders Arab boys (Ala, Musa), sixth graders Arab girls (Noha, Samia, Fatmah), in addition to a number of Arab boys and girls of different ages, who mostly react with laughter. Teachers (Maria; Pamela).

(Noha, Sahm and Musa – facing them Ala and Samia)



(Teacher serving tea)

Example (7.12)

1-Ala: ***ew* (.)** jeg skal have lidt salt så jeg kan spise dig (.) [det smager ikke godt (0.5)	1-Ala: ***ew* (.)** I need a little salt so I can eat you (.) [it doesn't taste good (0.5)
2-Musa: [hahahahah	2-Musa: [hahahahah
3-Ala: måske jeg koger dig først (3.0)	3-Ala: maybe I'll cook you first (3.0)
4-Sahm: er det virkelig sjov?	4-Sahm: is it really funny?

Ala in turn (1) addresses Sahm by comparing him to food. Musa's laughter in (2) corresponds and overlaps with Ala's complaint that eating Sahm without adding salt will not give a good taste. Musa aligns himself with Ala as he laughs (2), and confirms that what Ala has uttered is funny. Having received this confirmation, Ala proceeds with the analogy between Sahm and food, suggesting that he might need to cook Sahm before eating him (3). Being the one addressed in this sequence, and noticing that he is becoming a laughing stock, Sahm responds by asking a rhetorical question *is this really funny?* (4). By asking this question, Sahm is not waiting for an answer, and his question can be simply perceived as a statement that counters Musa's response and stance in turn (2), and to demonstrate to Ala that he is not funny. A reaction to a joke can be displayed by producing laughter, and not by asking a rhetorical question. Sahm's question can also be seen as an implicit polite response that requests from Ala to stop this analogy, or at least that he is not entertaining Ala's remarks. This sequence reveals that an action taken by a speaker can be perceived in different ways - or even in opposite ways - by the hearers, corresponding to the roles they play in the interaction. Basically, Ala's first turn in this sequence introduces him as a comedian for Musa, and as an aggressor for Sahm. Musa and Sahm's responses correspond as well with their roles in this conversation, where Musa is merely a bystander or an audience and he is not addressed directly by Ala, whereas Sahm is the target of Ala's comical statements. The bully's method is comprised of doing an analogy between Sahm and food, and the victim's defensive method is comprised of asking a rhetorical question. At this point, we can't fathom Ala's motivation in

targeting Sahm, and there is no clear reference to race, and the motivation can be anything, for example, Sahm's race, his young age, skin color, the way he is seated, etc.

The following episode takes place moments after the teachers announce Ala as the winner of a quiz, and for which he receives a bar of chocolate as a prize. This episode is an elaboration on the previous episode, and it shows how bystanders are recruited to the interaction as Ala exploits the techniques and norms of communication for this purpose. Example (7.13)

1-Ala: JEG TROR JEG IKKE VIL SPISE DIG MERE (.) jeg får en her (2.0) 2-Ala: han ligner dig (0.5) er det ikke din fætter? (1.3) 3-Musa: (laughs and chokes with what he is eating) 4- Sahm: hold din munden (0.3) 5-Ala: ER DET IKKE DIN FÆTTER? (3.5) 6- (collective laughter, Noha, Musa, Samia) 7- Ala: skal jeg spise dig eller ham? (1.5) er det en pige eller dreng? (3.0) 8-Noha: hahahaha 9-Samia: bare sige det er en dreng	1-Ala: I THINK I WON'T EAT YOU ANYMORE (.) I've got one here (2.0) 2-Ala: he looks like you (0.5) isn't it your cousin? (1.3) 3-(Musa laughs and chokes with what he is eating) 4-Sahm: shut your mouth (0.3) 5-Ala: ISN'T IT YOUR COUSIN? (3.5) 6- (collective laughter: Musa, Samia, Noha) 7-Ala: should I eat you or him? (1.5) is it a girl or a boy? (3.0) 8-Noha: hahahaha 9-Samia: just say it is a boy (=suppose it is a boy)

(Musa bends head down while laughing and choking) (3)

In (1) Ala continues with his scheme of drawing an analogy between Sahm and food, but the bar of chocolate which Ala has received is used as a new resource to enhance the comparison and to recycle his previous analogy, where Sahm is treated as a bar of chocolate, and Ala can choose to eat the chocolate or Sahm. In (2) Ala elaborates on this comparison, using the simile *he looks like you*, with the chocolate bar being personified and referred to as "he", implying to Sahm and the audience that he is referring to Sahm's dark color, and he proceeds further as he inquires about the relation between chocolate and Sahm, and whether Sahm and the chocolate bar are cousins. The comparison works well, as Ala receives a confirmation from Musa's laughter (3) that what he is saying is funny. In (4) Sahm opposes Ala's demeaning discourse by the directive *shut your mouth.* Ala's method of trapping Sahm is comprised of asking questions (2-5-7). Sahm is trapped, and answering Ala's question in (2) with "yes" or "no" would simply mean an acceptance of Ala's metaphor and discourse. Sahm's polite response in the previous episode is to be contrasted with his aggravated response in line (4) of the sequence in hand. Ala's interactional behavior reveals him as making use of what Schegloff (1968) calls conditional relevance of one item on another, which means that in the presence of the first item (e.g, questions) the second (answer) is expected, "upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first; upon its non-occurrence it can be seen to be officially absent – all this provided by the occurrence of the first item." Principle of conditional relevance implies that when a question does not receive an answer, questioners treat the answer as "noticeably" absent, and the subsequent conduct of the questioner is to repeat the question, or simplify it (Sidnell 2010: 64). In Ala's case, he does not receive an answer for his question in (2), so he uses prosodic features as he repeats the same question in (5) with a raised volume to make

himself more audible. This method achieves two things: the pursuit of an answer and the attraction of more audience, where we see in (6) a collective laughter as more pupils are alerted by his loud voice. It's worth noting here that as in the first episode, Ala's remarks are interpreted and perceived by the hearers in different ways, and the demarcating line between what is "funny" and what is "not funny" seems to be blurred. Sahm treats Ala's remarks as insulting and pejorative, and he abstains from giving answers that correspond with Ala's questions. After recruiting more audience demonstrated by a laughter response in (6), Ala repeats the same discourse of questions and answers, and personifies the chocolate bar to justify the comparison, and in (8-9) we see how bystanders – audience – alter their "participation status" (Goffman, 1979) from that of onlookers to participants, where Noha laughs, while Samia provides a suggestion which reveals her as accomplice to Ala. Line (9) can be also read as a demand from Ala to elaborate further, and Samia in this turn displays the opposite strategy of Sahm, who by remaining silent attempts to downgrade Ala's discourse. The bully's method in this example is comprised of asking questions that are meant to enhance the analogy between the victim and chocolate, while the victim counters this method by an imperative (4). In this example it become clear that Ala is targeting Sahm's race as the analogy is based on color.

So far, we do not see a method of switching to Arabic in order to preserve the bullying scene within the private sphere of the pupils, and there is no need to do that, as the teachers are busy doing other activities of serving tea, and their attention is dispersed over the 20 pupils they have to monitor, and who seem to be doing various activities: socializing, eating, drinking. Ala in the process is resorting to the use of rhetorical devices as a strategy of accomplishing the process of intimidating Sahm, and through which he doesn't use adversative language, swear words, or abusive language. These are some factors which helped him maintain the activity within the small circle, and he relied mostly on terms which are appropriate to the setting and the activity they were doing. In a kitchen one is expected to use terms related to food, cooking, etc. As in the section which dealt with sexual harassment, oppositional turns are not constructed through the use of physical or verbal violent language, rather through the use of pun (in sexual harassment) and through the use of different figures of speech in ethnic bullying (for example, metaphors and personifications), and the two sections might serve as demonstrations of the participants' competence in the languages they speak, and how this knowledge represents a resource in their daily interactions and disputes. However, the purpose of exploiting this knowledge seems to be deviant as it is employed in disruptive forms of communication, and aims at preventing teachers' intervention. In this sense, bilinguals demonstrate a preference for subtle language use instead of outward violent language in disputes which can be construed as bullying. This preference is mostly manifested in the turns which are initiated by the bully/aggressor.

In the next episode, Sahm breaches a norm and alerts the teachers. Example (7.14)

1-Pamela: NE::J↓ HVEM HAR [GJORT MIN TESKE VÅ:D↑	1-Pamela: NO:: WHO HAS [MADE MY TEASPOON WE:T?
der er en der har dyppet teskeen ned (.) nø:j hvem er det↑	someone has dipped the teaspoon down (.) no::who is that?
2- Ala: [jeg tror jeg vælge at spise dig	2-Ala: [I think I'll choose to eat you
3-Musa: det er Maria haha	3-Musa: it's Maria
4-Noha: Ne::::j	4-Noha: No:::
5-Pamela: xxxxxxxxxxxxx	5-Pamela: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
6-Ala: hvad så↑ hahahaha	6-Ala: so what? hahahaha
7-Maria: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	7-Maria: xxxxxxxxxxxxxx
8-Sahm: (points at Samia) DET VAR HENDE	8-Sahm: (points at Samia) IT WAS HER
9-Samia: Ne::j	9-Samia: No::
10-Boy: (points at Sahm) det er dig.	10-Boy: (points at Sahm) it is you
11-Sahm: Nej [DET VAR HENDE, DET VAR HENDE, jeg såt	11-Sahm: No [IT WAS HER, IT WAS HER. I seen you self, I

dig selv, jeg såt dig selv. det var dig	seen you self, it was you
12-Musa: [Spis ham Ala hahaha	12-Musa: [Eat him Ala hahaha
13-Noha: det hedder [jeg så dig selv (mocks) jeg såt det selv	13-Noha: it's called [I saw you myself (mocks) I seen it self
14-Musa: (mocks) [jeg såt hahaha	14-Musa: (mocks [I seen hahaha
15-Samia: [det er rigtigt Ala, spise ham xxxx xxxx	15-Samia: [it is true Ala, eat him xxxx xxxx
16-Ala: jeg tror ikke han smager godt	16-Ala: I think he doesn't taste good
17-Samia: det er rigtigt jeg tror heller ikke han smager godt	17-Samia: it's true I don't think he tastes good.

Musa: Eat him Ala hahaha (12)

Pamela's shrill voice interrupts the course of activities taking place on the table, as she laments that someone has dipped the spoon in tea. Although Pamela's disappointment is formulated as a question, her statement can be read as a complaint that the spoon has become wet, and no punishment or measures would be taken against the one who had done it. This is how Musa, for example, perceives Pamela's question, as he in (3) accuses Maria (the teacher) of being the doer, and his giggles signal that the situation is not of serious nature. (The overlap in (1) and (2) is not a real one, as Pamela addresses the entire class, while Ala addresses Sahm). However, Sahm finds the way open to retaliate and hurt those who were making fun of him. Pointing his finger at Samia, who aligned herself with Ala, Sahm repeats with his shrill voice the statement *It was her* thrice (8-11), an indication that he perceives the situation to be of serious nature and entailing serious consequences – perhaps punishment . Participants in general avoid reporting each other to the teachers, and children usually avoid appearing as telltales. Almost immediately, Samia denies the accusation (9), while one of Sahm's peers points at him and accuses him of being the one who dipped the spoon (10). An accusation and reporting to the teacher is the victim's third method in resisting bullying.

However, this reporting to the teacher breaches a rule that pertains to the group, and Sahm has to face the subsequent attack by the group. Musa and Samia urge Ala to eat him, and again they align themselves with Ala's position, and recycle his metaphors which drew the analogy between food/chocolate and Sahm (12 - 15) and both Musa and Noha mock Sahm's statement *jeg såt dig selv* (13-14). Although correcting a speaker is necessary for communication, and is always thought of as something positive from the part of the interlocutors, but in the context at hand, Noha's correction (13) is almost negative, and doesn't serve to maintain a healthy communication, rather to pinpoint a new feature of weakness related to Sahm's language that has to be targeted. Receiving no response from the teachers regarding his attempt to incriminate Samia, and seeing that the entire group are now mocking him, Sahm becomes more intimidated, and recoils upon himself, and abstains from doing any activity other than staring with his blank face, while Ala and Samia – who initially compared his taste to chocolate - proceed to make comments about his "bad taste" (16-17). In short, Sahm's action has transformed the passive bystanders into active retaliators and defenders of Samia, where the entire group aligned themselves against him, despite the fact that Samia was the one who dipped the spoon in tea. This mob-mockery indicates that the participants have spotted a violation to a norm, i.e., the norm of avoiding reporting each other to teachers. The situation escalates into group bullying due to Sahm's violation of the norm.

In the next example, the teachers praise the group and consider them as the most cooperating group – demonstrating in this assessment the group's ability to keep the bullying activity hidden: Episode (7.15)

1-Maria: så, det vi tror vi forslår 2-Pamela: det der afsnit med med ligsom på klassen, det her er det bedste hold, 3-Maria: Ja 4-Pamela: det synes jeg også vi skal prøve at foreslå, fordi de har været rigtige gode dem her 5- Maria: ligesom når man får point når man kører rundt i altså når i laver dette over i skoven der får i også for hvor gode og, hvor gode i er til at samarbejde og høre efter og sådan noget. Jeg synes sørme i har været gode. 6- (Laughter) 7-Maria: hvad er det der er så morsomt nu? (0.5) 8-Ala: SPIS SÅ DU KAN BLIVE FED, SÅ JEG KAN SPISE DIG (3.0) 9- (laughter) 10-Maria: (addresses Sahm) hvorfor har du ikke noget smør på? (0.5) Skal du ikke have noget? (0.9) 11-Sahm: jo 12-Maria: jo jamen er det lige sprunget over dig? (0.3) 13-Noha: jeg har givet ham 14-Ala: det vil jeg sige i må ikke spise ham. 15-Noha:(addressing Samiha) *Wili* 16-Samia: *koli khara ahsan ma taameelik yah khara* 17-Noha*: taameeli yah* hehe 18- Samia: *halla'a a'ashan bas ashof shkheerik*	1-Maria: so, what we believe we suggest 2-Pamela: this section there with with as in the class, this is the best group 3-Maria: Yes 4-Pamela: I think also we should try to suggest, because they have been really good ones here 5-Maria: like when you get points when you drive around in other words when you do this in the forest that gets in also gets how good and how good you are to cooperate and listen and things like that. Damn, I think you have been good 6- (laughter) 7- Maria: what is it that which is so funny now? (0.5) 8- Ala: EAT SO YOU CAN GET FAT SO I CAN EAT YOU (3.0) 9- (laughter) 10-Maria: (addresses Sahm) why you don't have butter? (0.5) Won't you have some? (0.9) 11- Sahm: yes 12-Maria: yes? well has it just jumped over you? (0.3) 13-Noha: I have given him 14-Ala: I will say you should not eat him 15-Noha: (addresses Samia) *hey you* (pejorative) 16-Samia: *eat shit or else I will feed him shit for you* 17-Noha: *feed him hehe* 18-Samia: *now (I will) only to see you snoring*

(Ala: spis så du kan blive fed så jeg kan spise dig) – Maria faces Sahm, standing behind Ala

From (1-5) the two teachers announce to the class that they have been the best team to work and cooperate together; this announcement is interrupted in line (6) as some pupils burst in laughter, and this attracts Maria's attention that something covert is going on, as she inquires about the reason of this laughter (7). She doesn't receive a direct answer, but Ala's comment in (8) gives the teacher a hint that what they are laughing at is not something related to her announcement; rather it is related to Sahm –who is not eating and drinking like the rest. Ala's directive to Sahm in (8) is partly addressed to Sahm, and partly an answer to the teacher's inquiry and the raised volume demonstrates that Ala is performing in an overt manner in the presence of the teacher. Ala's method is comparable to his method in example (6.13). If Sahm will eat – like the rest of the group – his action will be construed as compliance with Ala's directive, and an acceptance of Ala's metaphor

which compares him to an animal that has to graze in order to be eaten afterwards. The evaluation to Ala's pejorative comparison comes from the audience, who burst in laughter, and the teacher is alerted to a situation where one pupil is discriminated against and has become a laughing stock of the group. The teacher observes that Sahm is not sharing in the eating and drinking activities of the group, so she addresses the issue of why Sahm is not participating, and she disregards the group's reaction and Ala's statement (10 -12) . Since Noha is sitting next to Sahm, she considers the teacher's question as directed to her – or at least placing blame on her as she could have passed the butter to the group by deliberately skipping Sahm, so (13) can be read as an opposition to the teacher's mistaken assumption, and a way to avoid the blame. She also acts at this point as a nurturer for Sahm, as she actively seeks to bring him the butter. Noha's conduct initiates a dispute with Samia – who was previously exposed by Sahm as the one who dipped the spoon in tea – and she sees in Noha's conduct an alignment with Sahm. However, the presence of the teacher makes it difficult for Samia to oppose Noha's alignment, in that opposing her would also be an opposition to the teacher herself who wants the group to help Sahm. Switching to Arabic is important at this point, as Noha initiates a sequence (15) perhaps to justify her action, and the subsequent turns demonstrate Samia' stance that "the friend of my enemy is my enemy", a justification for her to stage insults against Noha which are comprised of conditional *unfriendly suggestion (Ljung 2011).* In their responses, the two girls maintain a neutral tone of voice in Arabic to keep their dispute within the private sphere. Switching to Arabic in the presence of a teacher and maintaining a neutral tone of voice while exchanging insults is a frequent method which bilinguals resort to in order to accomplish their dispute on their own without allowing the teachers to intervene.

Several factors contributed and helped keeping the bullying process within the private sphere: 1- Ala's exploitation of terms related to the very activity they were doing, i.e., "eating", "chocolate", "cooking", etc., and his use of such terms is parasitic to the activities they were doing in the kitchen. 2 - His interrogation of Sahm is built on what apparently seems to be innocent short questions which could be hard for someone not sitting on the table to understand the real reference; questions like "he looks like you, isn't he your cousin?" are almost impossible to be perceived as bullying by a teacher who has no idea that the speaker is holding a bar of chocolate and referring to this chocolate with the pronoun "he". 3- Ala follows the rules of normal conversations where he repeats the question when he doesn't receive an answer, and he raises his voice in the pursuit of the answers and attracts more audience, while exploiting the absence of answers to continue bullying. Moreover, he maintains a neutral mode in his prosody and does not laugh. 4- Ala's bullying is accumulative and incremental in that his metaphors and personifications are built in the beginning on the analogy between Sahm and food – any food; then he increases the level of bullying by drawing the analogy between Sahm's dark color and chocolate; and finally ending by considering Sahm an animal. His method enables him to proceed with his intimidating remarks even in the presence of a teacher, because his bullying is achieved by employing subtle metaphors and rhetorical devices rather than formulaic offensive remarks and statements. Goffman's (1968) "secondary adjustment" is at play in this regard. As a rule, bullying is an illegitimate act, but it can be legitimized simply by modifications to the language, where the use of metaphors and avoidance of direct insulting terms confers upon the act a legitimate status or at least keeps the activity hidden from the teachers. The same can be said regarding the dispute in this last episode (15-18) between Noha and Samia, where it is inappropriate to use offensive language, e.g., "eat shit", in the presence of a teacher, but switching to a code incomprehensible by the teacher enables the girls to continue their dispute, and to stage insults freely. Code-switching and metaphors are two methods employed by the participants to achieve a disruptive goal. The two methods are meant to exclude teachers' interventions and to maintain the dispute within the private sphere.

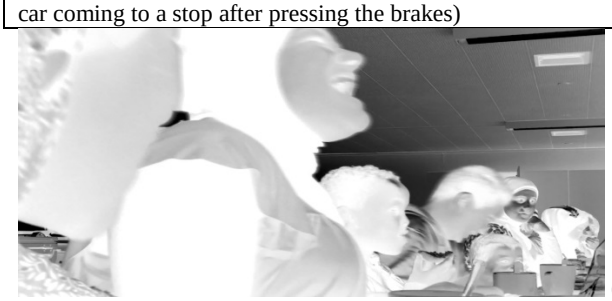
Victim's defensive methods: Similar to Ala's incremental method of bullying, Sahm's method of countering Ala is also incremental, and is comprised of short responses (where Ala assumes a one up position (in 7.12), Sahm takes the one down position, as he opposes Ala with "is it really funny?". As the bullying increases, and Sahm's color of skin is targeted in (7.13), his response is heightened with the offensive directive "shut your mouth" (one up vs. one up), followed by a series of silences as he abstains from providing answers (one up/one down), but no escalation happens. Sahm finds the chance to retaliate and hurt those who are hurting him, as he exposes Samia to the teacher with an accusation – a strategy which was not successful, as all the pupils aligned themselves against him and targeted him in various ways, including what they consider an inappropriate way of using Danish (7.14). While in (7.15), he remains silent as a teacher was intervening and witnessing what is happening. In this episode, Sahm puts the burden of stopping the bullying on the teacher's shoulders, as he competes for a one down position in the presence of the teacher and makes it clear for her that the group are not taking care of him. Previous research has shown that the victim is mostly a passive participant, who mostly compete for a one down position and shows no response. However, as the examples above show, the victim could be vulnerable (in terms of being younger than the bully, or in terms of belonging to a stigmatized group), but he/she responds to the bully and is capable sometimes of staging insults. Dixon and Smith (2011) have shown that bullying episodes follow a pattern of one up vs. one down competition, which in a way might mean that when bullying is concerned, there seems to be a preference for submission from the side of the victim, which is clearly not the case in the aforementioned examples (and in the examples which were concerned with sexual bullying, as the victim defends himself/herself and resists in various ways), and the victim shows – in different contexts – a tendency and preference for retaliation. This difference in the findings can be a result of applying different research methods. While Dixon and Smith (2011) and others have depended on interviews to construe what a bullying episode might look like, the examples in this study depict the actions and behaviors of the participants in real time.

C- Individual bullying and Teachers' intervention:

So far, we have seen how bullies, victims and bystanders react and assume different roles in the process of bullying. The question we need to tackle now is related to teacher(s)' interference in this act, and whether teachers perceive that the dispute - or the process which is going on under their supervision – is a bullying, and how the participants and bystanders react to teachers' interventions: (in the next examples, the teachers are Maria and Pamela) – Example (7.16)

1-Ala: spis hurtigere (addresses Sahm)	1-Ala: eat faster (addresses Sahm)
2-Maria: nej lade ham dog være (0.5)	2-Maria: no let him be (0.5)
3-(Musa and some others laugh)	3-(Musa and some others laugh)
4-Ala: vi leger	4-Ala: we are playing
5-Noha: Ala *oskot (0.4)*	5-Noha: Ala *be silent (0.4)*
6-Maria: kender du ham i forvejen eller det er bare ren e::h (2.0)	6-Maria: do you already know him or it is just e::h (2.0)
7-Ala: kender jeg dig↑	7-Ala: do I know you↑
8-Maria: hvad klasse går du i↑ (addresses Sahm)	8-what grade are you in? (addresses Sahm)
9-(laughter)	9- (laughter)
10-Sahm: fire a (1.5)	10-Sahm: four a (1.5)
11-Maria: og [du er i sjette (addresses Ala)	11-Maria: and [you are in sixth (addresses Ala)
12-Noha: [jeg troede han gik i tredje	12-Noha: [I thought he was in the third
13- Ala: han er min bedste ven (0.4)	13-Ala: he's my best friend (0.4)
14-Ala: min hund (1.5) jeg går ture med ham hele tiden	14-Ala: my dog (1.5) I go for walks with him all the time
15-(collective and intermittent laughters) (3.5)	15-(collective and intermittent laughters) (3.5)
	16-Maria: (addresses Sahm) do you think he is funny?

16-Maria: (addresses Sahm) synes du han er sjov↑ 17-(Sahm moves his head left and right) 18-Boy: det synes jeg (1.3) 19-Maria: (addresses Sahm) nej (.) vil du gerne have han skal stoppe↑ 20-Sahm: ja:: 21-Noha: *khalas* [Ala bare drille mig *yallah* 22-Maria: [så skal du bare sige til ham han skal stoppe 23-Ala:°sto::p° STO::::P↑ e::eh:::: (Ala makes a sound of a fast car coming to a stop after pressing the brakes)	17-(Sahm moves his head left and right) 18-Boy: I think so (1.3) 19-Maria: (addresses Sahm) no (.) do you want him to stop? 20-Sahm: ye::s 21-Noha: *enough* [Ala just tease me, *go on* 22-Maria: [then you should just tell him he should stop 23-Ala: :°sto::p° STO::::P↑ e::eh:::: (Ala makes a sound of a fast car coming to a stop after pressing the brakes)


(reaction to Ala's "Sto::::p") (23)

Ala urges Sahm to be fast in eating so that he can eat him afterwards; Maria in line (2) intervenes directly to protect and defend Sahm – as she has perceived from the excessive laughing of the group and from Ala's comments that Sahm has become a target for the group, since he is not sharing them the laughter, and awkwardly sharing in the group's activities of eating and drinking. Maria's intervention is comprised of a directive addressed to the bully (2). Despite the serious tone of voice used by Maria, the participants do not orient to this intervention as something serious (3), while Ala justifies the process by categorizing it as a play or game (4). Ala continues with his merry tone as he refers to Sahm with the insulting statement "my dog". A collective laughter that follows makes it clear for the teacher that a process of bullying is going on, and she receives more signs about this as she interrogates and hears Sahm's minimal responses in (10), (17) and (20) which reveal the extent of his intimidation by Ala and the group. This episode shows two parallel contexts constructed simultaneously, a serious one that takes place between Maria and Sahm, and a fluid one constructed by Ala and the group who aligned themselves with his performance. Ala crosses the limits in (23) as he mocks her instruction to Sahm in (19, 22). The bully's method in this episode is comprised of describing the bullying as a game, and of mocking the teacher who attempts to stop the process. Abstaining from escalating the situation by taking a decisive decision (e.g., to ask Ala directly to stop or even to send him outside the class for his misconduct), Maria resolves to solve the issue by telling the group a story which became popular on youtube and which deals with the theme of bullying and its negative consequences. Example (7.17)

1-Maria: har i set den der video↑ 2-Boy: xxxxxxxxxxxx 3-Maria: ne::j↓ youtube det var den mest sete video i sidste uge 4-Samia: nej hende der damen der kom ind i bazaren 5-Maria: nej (1.0) det er en dreng (.) prøve at høre efter 6-Ala: er det ikke ham↑ 7-(collective laughter) 8-Maria: det er den mest sete video 9-(collective laughter) 10-Maria: det er en dreng som bliver mobbet den er optaget i en skolegård og han bliver mobbet han er tyk og stor og de er virkelig hård ved ham og lige pludselig der kan man bare se så har han altså fået nok, har du set det Pamela↑ 11-Pamela: nej 12-Maria: det var i tv avisen, fordi det var simpelthen det mest sete klip 13-Pamela: ja	1-Maria: have you seen that video↑ 2-Boy: xxxxxxxxxxxx 3-Maria: no::↓ youtube it was the most seen video last week 4-Samia: no she there the lady who came into the bazaar 5-Maria: no (1.0) it's a boy (.) try to listen 6-Ala: isn't it him↑ (him = Sahm) 7-(collective laughter) 8-Maria: it is the most seen video 9-(collective laughter) 10-Maria: it is a boy who is bullied it is recorded in a schoolyard and he is bullied he is fat and big and they are really tough on him and all of a sudden there you can just see he has thus had enough, have you seen it Pamela↑ 11-Pamela: no 12-Maria: it was on TV news because it was simply the most seen clip 13-Pamela: yes

14-Boy: jeg har set den 15-Maria: så du det↑ 16-Maria: så ham drengen der,jamen der er en dreng, som er lidt stor i det 17-Boy: og så [ligge ham ned [den store dreng 18-Musa: [okay okay 19-Ala: [okay okay rolig 20-Ala: vi kan ikke forstå 21-Ma: så tager han ham, han står op og de andre er ved at mobbe ham og prikker til ham og slår ham også og alt muligt, lige pludselig tager ham der drengen den anden og så kaster ham op i luften og kaster ham ned 22-Noha: *wa:law:* 23-Maria: han gør så ikke mere, så går han (.) men der kan man bare se han havde fået nok, og hold da op de andre de (whistles) trækker sig lige tilbage (.) og det er altså [hvad mobning kan gøre ved en 24-Noha: [Ali skal jeg gøre det til dig↑ 25-Samia: hvo [hvor går han hen↑ 26-Noha: [må jeg gerne gøre det [på Ali↑ han driller hele tiden 27-Ala: *wallaw* [bolle første bolle i det mindste 28-Noha: *wala kol khara*	14-Boy: I've seen it 15-Maria: have you↑ 16-Maria: so him the boy there, well, there is a boy who is a a little big 17-Boy: and so [cast him down [the big boy 18-Musa: [alright alright 19-Ala: [alright alright calm down 20-Ala: we can't understand 21-Ma: so he takes him, he stands up, and the others who bully him and tease him and beat him also and everything, suddenly he takes that boy and then throws him into the air and throws him down 22-Noha: *wa:law: (surprise exclamation)* 23-Maria: he doesn't do anything else, so he leaves (.) but you can just see he had got enough, and o:h God the others they (whistles) withdraw straight away (.) and this is [what bullying can do to you. 24-Noha: [Ala should I do it for you↑ 25-Samia: whe [where is he from↑ 26-Noha: [I like to do it [on Ala↑ he teases all the time 27-Ala: *wallaw (surprise exclamation)*[have sex first, have sex at least 28-Noha: *you (perjorative) eat shit*

(Noha: Ala skal jeg gøre det til dig?) (24)

The teacher's intervention in this episode is comprised of narrating a story that might highlight to the group the negative effects of bullying. She has simply perceived that the process which is going on under her supervision is "bullying", and therefore, she attempts to depict a popular bullying scene from youtube so that the pupils can avoid hurting each other. There is no doubt that the teacher's narrative is serious, but the pupils attempt in various ways to make the teacher's narrative as a medium for their sarcasm. As the teacher tries to attract the attention of the group and mentions that the story is about a "boy", Ala sarcastically comments with the question "*isn't it him"*, i.e., Sahm"; after the teacher completes her story and delivers the moral of the story "*this is what bullying can do to you*", Noha addresses Ala that she would like to do the same with Ala (24 – 26), providing him in a way with a reason to target her, and his insult is answered with an insult, where Noha uses the formulaic Arabic "*eat shit*" (27 -28). The teacher's strategy to stop the bullying has failed, and exchanging insults after the teacher concludes her story is a token that narrating a story is not an effective strategy to stop bullying, and some participants from the very start attempt to dilute the seriousness of the teacher's tone by orienting to her parable as something funny. As in the previous episode where Ala mocks the teacher and transforms her directive into a medium of sarcasm, Noha and Ala in this episode transform the teacher's serious tone while narrating the story into a medium of sarcasm. The last two lines (27 – 28) reveal the methods of the disputants. While

Ala uses metaphors and non-violent language in insulting others, Noha uses violent language as she switches to Arabic to prevent the teacher from intervention. Attempts to prevent teachers from intervention can be further illustrated through the following example. Example (7.18)

1-Ala: vi gå tur i dag (1.0) og hvis der er en der slår mig↑ (.) hopper du hurtig på ham (1.0) 2-Sahm: HOLD DIN KÆ:FT 3-Ala: la wallah 4-Musa:(addresses Ala) han skærer brødet stykker i små små stykker sådan hehehe (3.0) 5-Musa:(addresses Sahm) [sige sige til ham jeg har fået nok 6-Ala: [der er mere smør (.) vil du ikke slik? der er mere smør 7-Noha: [*Ala osko:::t*↓ 8-Sahm: [hold din kæft (1.2) 9-Ala: nej↑ (0.4) gider ikke høre jer 10-Maria: nej men du bliver ved↑ han mener det når han siger du skal stop 11-Ala: jamen vi lege:r 12- Maria: [jamen det er jo jamen du skal være opmærksom 13-Noha: [Ala khalas ikke mere bare gøre det ved mig jeg er klar jeg hører altid [*yallah* 14-Ala: [okay 15-Maria: >du skal høre efter når han ikke synes det sjovt mere jeg har altså svært [ved at finde ud hvornår det er sjovt og ikke sjovt< 16-Ala: [kan du ikke hente den der 17-Ala: det er ikke hans tur det er hendes tur 18-Noha: du må gerne drille mig °*yallah*° (1.0) 19-Maria: det er da forfærdeligt 20-Noha: jeg er vant til det	1-Ala: we'll take a walk today (1.0) and if someone hits me, you jump on him quickly (1.0) 2-Sahm: SHUT YOUR MOU:TH 3-Ala: *no really* 4-Musa: (addresses Ala) he cuts the bread into pieces, into very small pieces like this hehehe (3.0) 5-Musa: (addresses Sahm)[tell tell him I've had enough 6-Ala: [there is more butter (.) won't you lick? there is more butter 7-Noha: [*Ala be sile:::nt*↓ 8-Sahm:[shut your mouth (1.2) 9-Ala: no↑ (0.4) don't want to hear you (plural) 10-Maria: no but you keep (on this)↑ he means it when he says you must stop 11-Ala: well, we are playing 12-Maria: [well it is well you must be aware 13-Noha: [Ala *stop* no more just do it against me I'm ready I always hear [*go on* 14-Ala: [alright 15-Maria: >you should listen when he doesn't think it is funny, I have difficulty [in finding out when it is fun and when it is not < 16-Ala: [can't you get this there 17-Ala: it is not his turn, it is her turn 18-Noha: you're welcome to tease me °*go ahead* ° (1.0) 19-Maria: that's terrible 20-Noha: I'm used to it

Noha: Jeg er vant til det (20)

This episode involves the intervention of teachers who seem to be unable to draw the line between what is "funny" and what is "not funny". When the episode starts, pupils were returning to their seats holding their packed lunch, as the teacher asked them to eat their food. Few pupils – including Musa, Ala, and Sahm – didn't comply with the teacher's directive and remained seated in their places, sipping their tea. Ala's statement in (1) is a continuation of a previous bullying sequence against Sahm. In this statement, Ala compares Sahm to a dog, and reminds him of his job, i.e., to protect Ala. Thus, from (1) to (9) we see an insulting analogy by the bully answered with an insulting directive by the victim, which is close to previous episodes. Bystanders, Musa and Noha, display ambivalent alignments (e.g., see Musa's turns 4 and 5), while Noha's directives (7 and 18) in the two languages are uttered in the presence of the teacher. The use of Arabic in commanding Ala is meant to put an end for the process of bullying, which was established from the start by using

Danish as a medium of performance. Switching to another medium, might entail a switch in topic (Gafaranga 2007). These directives are opposed in (9) by Ala, and despite the insulting nature of his analogies, he maintains a polite use of linguistic items. Maria is monitoring what is happening, and she notices that a front is established in Ala's face. Upon hearing Ala's rejection to comply with the commands, Maria intervenes and aligns herself with Sahm and Noha (although I assume that she couldn't understand Noha's Arabic directive "*oskot = be silent*", she must have assumed that Noha's utterance reveals some complaint). Maria reminds Ala of an important rule: he must stop when Sahm says stop (10). Maria didn't want to impose silence, and her intervention is comprised of backing the weaker party. This intervention is countered in (11), where Ala construes the process of bullying as a game and play, and he refers to himself and Sahm with the pronoun "we", to mislead the teacher into assuming that the two parties are equal, and that their activity is legitimate. In (10,12,15) Maria shows concern in backing Sahm and in stopping the bullying process. Noha, who initially opposed Ala, changes her participation status, and aligns herself with Ala, to drive Maria away. Thus, she in (14) commands Ala to stop dealing with Sahm, and to bully her instead, where the two directives are uttered in Arabic (*Khalas* = stop bullying Sahm), and (*yallah* = go on in bullying me), countering what the teacher was attempting to do, i.e., to stop the entire process of bullying. As the teacher announces the muddle she is finding herself in, namely that she cannot tell whether what is happening is "fun" or "not fun", Ala complies with Noha's directives, simultaneously while answering the teacher that he will not target Sahm and that he will switch the targets (17). Both Noha and Ala collaborate to confer legitimacy to the action they are doing, by calling bullying a game, and by encouraging Ala to proceed with the game/bullying.

To her dismay, Noha accepts to be bullied at the cost of driving the teacher away. Example (7.19)

21-Ala: hunde pige hehehe	21-Ala: dog girl hehehe
22-Maria: det må da være frygteligt [Noha::↓ du skal ikke finde dig i noget	22-Maria: it must surely be terrible [Noha::↓ you shouldn't find yourself in something
23-Noha: [det er lige me::get↓	23-Noha: [it doesn't matte::r↓
24-Noha: (addresses Ala) yallah kaffi	24-Noha: (addresses Ala) *go on continue*
25-Ala: IKKE [SPISE SÅ ME:::GET↓	25-Ala: DON'T [EAT SO MU:::CH↓
26-Noha: [han siger det han siger det men han får tæsk alligevel i [pausen	26-Noha: [he says what he says but he will be beaten up anyway in [the break
27-Ala: [ikke spise he::he::	27-Ala: [don't eat
28-Noha: hahahaha	28-Noha: hahahaha
29-Ala: du kan godt dø af det↓ dø af det	29-Ala: you can die from it↓ die from it
30-(collective laughter) (1.5)	30- (collective laughter) (1.5)
31-Maria: er du e::h er du e:h er du en mobber↑	31-Maria: are you a::: are you a bully↑
32-(Noha threatens to hit Ala with a piece of cloth)	32-(Noha threatens to hit Ala with a piece of cloth)
33-Musa: nej nej han er komiker han er komiker	33-Musa: no no he is comedian he is comedian
34-Maria: er han komiker↑ du skal ikke man skal ikke være ondskabsfuld	34-Maria: is he comedian↑ you shouldn't one shouldn't be evil
35-Musa: det skal man [da	35-Musa: one mu[st
36-Maria: [ne::j man kan godt være sjov uden at være ondskabsfuld	36-Maria: [no:: one can be funny without being evil
37-Ala: det er fordi hun er min hund (1.5)	37-Ala: it's because she is my dog (1.5)
38-Maria: du har da mange hunde[da	38-Maria: you've got many [dogs
39-Ala: [vi går tur	39-Ala: [we take a walk
40-Noha: HAY OKHTAK BITO'OU:L A'ANNA [WALA	40-Noha: *THAT'S YOUR SISTER YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT, [YOU* (pejorative)
41-Ala: [vi går tur hver dag	41-Ala: [we take a walk every day
42-Noha: e:::::h↓	42-Noha: e::::h↓
43-Maria: skal du ikke hente din madpakke↑ (addresses Ala)	43-Maria: won't you bring your lunch pack? (addresses Ala)
44-Ala: og så er der en der hopper på mig	44-Ala: and then there is someone who jumps on me
	45- (collective laughter)
	46-Noha: hahahahahahaha and then you eat also dog food, don't

45-(collective laughter) 46-Noha: hahehahehahehahe og så spiser du også hundemad ikke↑ 47-Ala: slik dig lidt tilbage 48-Noha: *ta'aa la hon wala hayawa:n eh arrib* 49-Ala: hund (.) hør efter læg den fra dig 50- (collective laughter)	you↑ 47-Ala: lick you a little is left 48- Noha: *come here you anima:l, eh get closer* 49-Ala: dog (.) listen put it from you 50- (collective laughter)

(Noha: come here you animal – hand raised and threatens to hit with knife) (48)

Ala is no more concerned with the discourse going on between Noha and Maria, and he resolves to humiliate Noha (21) by calling her "dog". While a discourse of disagreement between Noha and Maria goes on (19 – 30), Ala targets different characteristics related to Noha, with a concentration on food and eating (since Noha is a bit fat, and she is eating her lunch). Demonstrating to the teacher that what is happening is a game, Noha reacts with laughter at Ala's comments. Yet, Maria is convinced that what is happening is "bullying" and not a "game", and Noha's laughing reactions to Ala's insulting comments were not convincing enough to Maria, so she intrudes again, and asks Ala directly if he were a bully (31). As before when Noha came to Ala's help, Musa now rushes to reject the teacher's category of "bully", and introduces a new category that fits Ala better, that is, a "comedian", and in a way he corrects his teacher, that she is mistaken by assuming that Ala is a "bully". Again, this can be seen as a way of forming a front in the face of the teacher – that she has to stay away from the pupils' own business. In (34) Maria asks a question of denial and surprise: is he comedian? She then shows the difference between a comedian and a bully, in that a comedian is not malicious, and comedy shouldn't result in hurting others. Musa demonstrates to the teacher what "comedy" in his understanding means, and it can of course entail "evil" towards others (35). This claim is rejected by Maria where she states that one can be "funny" without the need to be malicious, and in this way, Maria tries to demarcate the line between "comedy" and "bullying", and the basic criterion in this distinction is that comedy entails fun without hurting anyone, while bullying entails fun based on hurting others. Ala opposes the teacher's stance, as he proceeds in bullying Noha (37), justifying what he is doing by stating that Noha is his "dog". His response, in a way, shows disrespect for the teacher who is trying to teach him and his peers a basic rule of respecting others and not assaulting them; he also challenges the teacher's criteria of categorization. Ala's criterion is like Musa's, not based on who is "getting" hurt, rather, it is based on the observed reaction of the audience. Maria senses that Ala is disrespectful or at least not paying attention or respect to the "serious" tone which she employed in order to drag the group out of this process, so

she sarcastically answers his statement in (37) by assuming that he has many dogs (where she heard him earlier addressing Sahm as his dog (in 1)). Noha attempts to resolve the situation in her own way – and contrary to what she claimed earlier that she is accustomed to "bullying", she is really hurt by Ala's statements, but in the presence of the teacher, she needs to do this in a "face-saving" way, and the only available method is to switch to Arabic and exclude the teacher, achieving three objectives: 1- teacher stay away 2- my dignity is saved as I am not contradicting myself when I told the teacher that I am accustomed to bullying, and 3- retaliate and insult Ala in the same way he insulted me. Her statement in (40) can be interpreted in two ways: either she means that she herself is like Ala's sister and he is not supposed to talk about her in such a way in that brothers and sisters do not offend or hurt each other; or – and this is the meaning I am more inclined to especially that Noha's prosody reveals extreme anger while uttering the words – that it is Ala's biological sister who is a dog, and therefore Ala himself is a dog. In this retaliation she attempts to teach Ala a lesson that he shouldn't talk badly about a girl like her, in the same way he doesn't like anyone to talk badly about his own sister.

In the participants' culture, one might swallow an insult waged against the "self", like for example "fuck dig", but when the insult is waged against the mother or the sister, then it requires retaliation[43]. Noha's switching to Arabic alienates the teacher and puts her in a position where she cannot take action. Several indications in the interaction demonstrate that the teacher is aware that what is happening is "bullying" and shouldn't happen inside the class. The teacher's narration of the story of bullying; her intervention to empower the victim and to stop the bully; and her direct question to the "bully" of whether he is a "bully", are all but demonstrations that she is orienting to the process as an instance of bullying. However, the group's methods have formed a barrier in her face, and prevented her from taking serious action. Therefore, instead of proceeding forward by discussing the issue of "bullying" and "comedy", she attempts to divert the attention of the group, by suggesting that Ala bring his lunch – like the rest – and eat (43); but her suggestion is completely ignored, as Ala proceeds his bullying, showing again disrespect for the teacher, as her questions and comments are not taken seriously, or at least not respected, where the continuation of the process can be seen as transforming her comments and intervention into a medium of ridicule. Seeing that her strategy is not changing or stopping the process, Maria retreats, and leaves the scene for the process to go on, where Ala and Noha exchange insulting remarks, with Noha expressing anger as she constantly switches to Arabic in her retaliations (as in 41). Noha's method is comprised of allowing the dispute with Ala to proceed in the presence of the teacher, but she chooses to switch to Arabic constantly each time she will retaliate with an insult, excluding the teacher in this manner and maintaining the dispute within the private sphere. Moreover, the insults which Noha use in defending herself are formulaic insults in the Arabic language and culture, and translating them into Danish would make them less effective or less violent.

As the first teacher (Maria) has failed to put an end to the bullying, the second teacher (Pamela) intervenes. Example (7.20)

51-(Noha threatens to hit Ala with a towel in her hand)	51- (Noha threatens to hit Ala with a towel in her hand)

[43] The participants' orientation to this cultural element will be explained and discussed in chapter 8 - Insults

52-Pamela: E::H DET VIL JEG SIGE NU SKAL I STOPPE NU HEY HEY SLUT NU SLUT nu er der blevet grinet nok↓ 53-Ala: det er bare en leg 54-Pamela: ja den er ved at udvikle sig til at være for meget (.) har du ikke en madpakke med↑ 55-Ala: jeg er ikke sulten 56-Pamela: du du er ikke sulten↓ du skal stoppe nu↓ hvis du e::h↓ trænger til noget luft så sætter du dig ned i den anden ende på min plads 57-Ala: jeg spiser min madpakke på: i pausen 58-Pamela: det må du ikke (.) fordi du må ikke tage madpakke med udenfor (.) så spis den nu 59-Ala: men han er levende 60-Musa: he::he:: (3.0) 61-Noha: *dakhe:::lak*↓ (2.0) han tror han er sjov (1.0) 62-Ala: er jeg sjov Musa↑ 63-Musa: [ja 64-Noha: [nej 65-Ala: brgg 66-Noha: °*lahsak teezi*°	52-Pamela: E::H WHAT I WANT TO SAY, NOW YOU MUST STOP NOW HEY HEY END NOW END now (you've got) enough laughing 53-Ala: it's just a game 54-Pamela: yes it's developing and exceeding the limits (.) don't you have lunch pack with you? 55-Ala: I'm not hungry 56-Pamela: you you are not hungry↓ you must stop now↓ if you e::h need some air so seat yourself down in the other end of my seat 57-Ala: I eat my lunch pack during recess 58-Pamela: you can't (.) because you are not allowed to take lunch pack with you outside (.) so eat it now 59-Ala: but he is alive (he = Sahm) 60-Musa: he::he:: (3.0) 61-Noha: (*exclamation of disagreement*) (2.0) he thinks he is funny (1.0) 62-Ala: Am I funny Musa↑ 63-Musa: [yes 64-Noha: [no 65-Ala: brgg 66-Noha: °*lick my ass*

This episode reveals some form of deviation from the norms of interaction (like most of the previous disputes which involve teachers' intervention), in that it is usually expected that pupils show compliance with a teacher's directive, and what Ala is doing is just the opposite, as he maintains his sarcastic tone while the teacher's shrill voice demands from everyone to stop (52). Ala has already argued with Maria that what is happening is a play, so he claims the same in (53). As Maria attempted to put an end for the process initiated by Ala by asking him if he has a lunch pack, Pamela does the same and asks Ala if he has a lunch pack (54); Ala in his turn treats her question as an instruction to eat his lunch, for which he responds with *I am not hungry* (55); Pamela then suggests another solution, that Ala simply has the possibility of changing his place (56) but Ala continues his turn in (57) by suggesting that he will eat his lunch during recess. Pamela then explains to him that this is against the rules, and it is not allowed for pupils to eat their lunch outside the classroom, and so she demands that Ala eat his lunch immediately, for which Ala responds sarcastically that his lunch – Sahm – is alive, indicating that Sahm should be eaten after cooking (59). We are here in a situation where the teacher is pushing the interaction towards a serious frame, while Ala insists to keep the interaction within his fluid frame of sarcasm, displaying a form of disrespect for teachers' instructions, and carelessness about the rules. He is the one who creates the rules, and he (in collaboration) with his peers, including some of the victims, disrupts the order and discipline which the school attempts to impose.

Noha's switches to Arabic seem to add another layer of opposition between herself and Ala, and she is careless about the audience, or more precisely she deliberately switches to Arabic to exclude the audience in order to stress that her messages are directed to one person only, i.e., Ala. We can also account for Noha's switches by relying on the "angry" content of her messages which are comprised mainly of directives (*khalas = enough* / *yallah = go on*) or insulting formulaic statements (40 – 66). In (62) she starts by uttering a term that reveals her emotional dissatisfaction, and then she switches to Danish in that her statement *han tror han er sjov* is meant to achieve two things: an assessment that Ala is not funny, and to leave the door open for others to show agreement with her. Ala in his turn, doesn't claim that he is funny, instead he seeks what Noha has sought, i.e., recognition and assessment from the audience by asking Musa to provide an assessment, for which Musa provides a positive response. The criterion of being funny is already established and it is seen in the process of laughing, regardless of who is hurt. This leads Noha in (66) to lose control as she

whispers her offensive words. One can also assume that the choice of language- particularly Noha's switch to Arabic – could be determined by the notion of domain, in that experts have pointed out that bilinguals use their codes for different topics and domains, and in the example at hand, we clearly have an issue of emotions at play, where Noha is angry and clearly losing control, leading her to utter and express this anger in the preferred language.

In several examples above we have seen that the process of preventing teachers from intervention requires the collaboration of all the members of the group/ participants. We have seen this phenomenon in sexual harassment where Ilham – supposedly the victim – cooperates with the bullies to divert the teachers' attention or to prevent them from intervening. A similar thing happens in ethnic and personal bullying, where Noha – victim – also cooperates with the bully in order to push the teacher(s) away. Interestingly, pupils might also do just the opposite, and might incorporate a teacher in order to bully someone. However, this process might not work if the group's members do not cooperate in the process. The example is from school B (Teacher = Pernille) Example (7.21):

(Anas calls on a Somali boy - Boria) 1-Anas: *boya boya* (0.6) Buryaga Buryaga (0.3) 2-Burgan: hvad er det for noget↑ (0.7) (about the camera) 3-Monir: [hvad rager det dig 4-Anas: [vi bliver optaget (3.5) 5-Ihsan: pernille↑(.) burgan driller hele tiden anas 6-Anas: nej 7-Burgan: oy 8-Ihsan: han går forbi han taler mens han siger hvad er det↑ hvad er [det↑ 9-Anas: [nej nej han driller altså ikke [pernille 10-Pernille: [° det er da ikke at drille Ihsan° 11-Ihsan: jo jo han går forbi han forstyr forstyrrer os 12-Anas: nej han driller altså ikke (0.5) Ihsan ikke lyve 13-Pernille: hvad er det for noget at sige↑(1.1) 14-Anas: °han driller [os ikke° 15-Ihsan: [okay okay (2.8) 16-Anas: nå vil i have den (0.6) (den= a sheet of paper) 17-Monir: han sagde okay okay (.) så tag den fra dig mand (.) ja han spiller dum han siger okay okay han truer dig sådan (gestures with his hand a threatening gesture) Hvis jeg var dig jeg vil bare okay okay du er ikke venner [med mig 18-Anas: [jeg hader dem alligevel *wallah* (.) 19-Ihsan: du skal ikke se den der? (.) 20-Anas: hva? (.) 21-Ihsan: *wallah* ham der burgan *wala shi* (.) jeg prøver at hjælpe dig i står og diskuterer, jeg prøver at hjælpe dig, så dig du giver skylden på [mig. 22-Anas: [næ fordi det var faktisk mig der drillet ham, det er derfor [det er mig der drillet ham 23-Monir: [ham der han begyndte at sige buryaga buryaga ha::: (0.3) 24-Ihsan: *dab* okay hvorfor kom han så (mocks) HVAD ER DE::T↑ 25-Anas: han må gerne spørge hvad er det ,han spørger hvad kameraet er (.) 26-Ihsan: ja men hvorfor på sådan en snobbet måde↑ (0.8) Kan han så ikke sige anas hvad er det der↑ (0.7) 27-Anas: han spurgte faktisk os alle sammen (0.6) 28-Monir: *Ma sahih*	(Anas calls on a Somali boy - Boria) 1-Anas: *paint paint* (0.6) Buryaga Buryaga (0.3) 2-Burgan: what is this↑ (0.7) (this=camera) 3-Monir: [none of your business 4-Anas: [we're being recorded (3.5) 5-Ihsan: pernille↑(.) burgan is teasing anas all the time 6-Anas: no 7-Burgan: oy 8-Ihsan: he passes by and talks while he says what is this↑ what is [this↑ 9-Anas: [no no he is not teasing, [pernille 10-Pernille: [°that's not teasing Ihsan° 11-Ihsan: yes yes he passes by he disturb disturbs us 12-Anas: no he is not teasing (0.5) Ihsan do not lie 13-Pernille: what's that you are saying↑ (1.1) 14-Anas: ° he is teasing [us not° (=he is not teasing us) 15-Ihsan: [alright alright 16-Anas: well will you (plural) get it (0.6) (=it=sheet of paper) 17-Monir: he said alright alright (.) so take it from (yourself) man (.) yes he is acting stupid he says alright alright he threatens you like this (gestures with his hand a threatening gesture) (to Ihsan) if I were you I'll just alright alright you are not a friend [with me (=not a friend of mine) 18-Anas: [I hate them anyway *by allah* 19-Ihsan: you won't see this one there? (.) 20-Anas: what? (.) 21-Ihsan: *by allah* he that burgan *is nothing (.)* I'm trying to help you, you (plural) stand and argue , I try to help you and you blame [me 22-Anas: [no because it was actually me who teased him, that's why, [it's me who teased him 23-Monir: [he there he started to say buryaga buryaga ha::: (0.3) 24-Ihsan: *well* alright why did he come (mocks) WHAT IS THI::S↑ 25-Anas: he can ask what is this he asks what the camera is (.) 26-Ihsan: yes but why in such a snobbish way↑ (0.8) can't he just say Anas what is this↑ (0.7) 27-Anas: he actually asked us all together (0.6) 28-Monir: *not true*


(Burgan passing behind Monir – Ihsan sitting on the left side of Monir – Anas facing them) (teacher passing)

In this episode, Anas makes fun of Burgan- an outgroup pupil from another class- while Burgan was passing in the corridor to reach his class. Anas calls him *boya boya = paint paint.* Burgan walks towards the boys seated on their desk and inquires about the camera (2), and he receives the second insult as Monir shuns him away (3). The teacher Pernille pops up in the corridor, and Ihsan implicates Burgan by accusing him of teasing Anas (5). However, Anas denies this accusation (6) – in a minimal response, and puts emphasis on this denial (9), and goes further to accuse Ihsan of lying (12 - 14). The teacher rejects Ihsan's claim, and she and Burgan continue their way to the class. Anas' oppositional stance in the presence of the teacher, and his non-alignment action with Ihsan's claim brings the group's fury upon him. Monir aligns himself with Ihsan, and provides a punishment for Anas' behavior "…if I were you (Ihsan)…you (Anas) are no more my friend" (17). Ihsan's discourse afterwards rests on the notion of prejudice towards Burgan, while Anas attempts to not lose his peer-group: he hates Burgan (18), and defends his position when the teacher was present by confessing that he was the one who offended Burgan (22). The implication here is that truth doesn't matter, and an in-group member is supposed to use all the possible means available (including lying) in order to defend the group as a whole. Although Ihsan orients to what he attempted to do as "help" (21), Anas orients to this help as a matter of altering the facts. Both Monir and Ihsan expelled Anas from the group because he went against the norm of showing solidarity with his ethnic group. Showing ethnic allegiance is a norm that has to be maintained under all circumstances. The violation of this norm can lead to ostracism, or perhaps punishment measures. This could be an explanation for why Ilham (in sexual harassment) abstained from implicating the boys in several examples when a teacher pops up or attempts to intervene, and why Sahm (in ethnic bullying) generated the group's fury when he accused Samia of dipping the spoon in tea (example 7.14). In any case, Anas receives a punishment later on by his group, as they marginalize him and do not include him in their activities. The punishment is a consequence of Anas' behavior in the presence of the teacher. Monir and Ihsan in the following snippet write some secrets, and treat Anas as an outsider. Example (7.22)

1-Anas: hvorfor må jeg ikke se det↑ 2-Ihsan: fordi hvem var det der gav skylden på mig↑ (0.3) 3-Anas: [*wallah* det var ikke mig 4-Ihsan: [(mocks Anas' voice) nej han drilte os ikke han drilte os ikke han drilte os ikke, hvad er det for noget [at sige xxxxxx 5-Anas: [det var mig der drilt ham 6-Ihsan: men alligevel HVORFOR SKAL DU SÅ SIGE DET↑ (1.4) *tse* Hvorfor kan du så ikke give skylden bare fucking dig mand 7-Anas: hvorfor må jeg så bare ikke [se det ↑ 8-Ihsan: [skrid med dig mand (0.5) 9-Anas: okay	1-Anas: why am I not allowed to see it↑ 2-Ihsan: because who was that who put the blame on me↑ (0.3) 3-Anas: [*by allah* it wasn't me 4-Ihsan: [(mock's Anas' voice) no he didn't tease us he didn't tease us, what a thing [to say xxxxxx 5-Anas: [it was me who teased him 6-Ihsan: but in any case WHY DO YOU HAVE TO SAY THAT↑ (1.4) *tse* why you can't blame just fucking you man 7-Anas: why I'm just not allowed to [see it? 8-Ihsan: [fuck off man 9-Anas: alright 10-Ihsan: fuck off

10-Ihsan: skrid med dig	

Contrary to Ihsan's previous discourse, where he attempted to blame Burgan, and claimed that he was helping a group member, he highlights in this example the rules that pertain to the peer-group, in that an in-group member must align himself with the rest of the group against outsiders at any cost (6), and he demonstrates that his accusation of Burgan was established on lies. In terms of alignments, the two snippets can be construed as a form of "if my friend defends my enemy, my friend becomes my enemy". Moreover, the one-down competition in the presence of the teacher – to show that Burgan inflicted damage on the group – becomes a one-up competition when the teacher is absent, as Ihsan relies mostly on staging insults (6-8-10) and mocking (4). Anas, in his turn, maintains the one down position, to prevent escalation, and to regain the group's trust.

These examples reveal two contradictory methods in doing disputes, depending on the presence or absence of teacher. In the absence of a teacher (or authority), transgression (in the form of insults, physical violence) is the dominant form of dispute and the main characteristic of the dispute is a one up/one up competition. In the presence of the teacher, participants act in a submissive manner, and try to compete for a one down position to escape the blame. Teachers' interventions in many cases are rendered meaningless because of the deliberate altering of events as participants struggle to maintain ethnic or group allegiance.

Many of the disputes which are dealt with in the literature revolve around forms of disagreement regarding a certain issue which is not personal, i.e., disputes which attempt to enforce rules of justice that pertain to a certain group (this is a feature of adult disputes, for example Kangasharjo 2009), or are concerned with property for example, *A-this is mine B- No this is mine* (Church 2009). However, for the participants of this study, the most frequent form of disputes is concerned with prejudices, gender, race and social hierarchy. Disputes which are mostly motivated by prejudices can be better called bullying in that they are characterized by power asymmetry between the disputants.

Conclusion:

As all the examples have shown, there could be a mismatch of power between bullies and victims (for example, the bully could be more articulated in using language, older than the victim, or perceived to belong to an ethnicity which - in his view or according to his culture – has a higher status than the victim's ethnicity, etc.). Victims, on the other hand, are not completely helpless, and

they have many resources to rely on or to protect themselves, especially in relation to seeking intervention from authoritative teachers. However, reliance on teachers is in most of the cases avoided as the participants orient to a norm of keeping their disputes amongst themselves. This norm is mostly adhered to by: 1- not calling upon a teacher when a dispute ensues, 2- maintaining a neutral prosody and speaking in a lowered volume if a teacher is close or within a hearing range, 3- orienting to calling the illegitimate activity as something else, for example, a bullying process is called a game or play, and a bully is categorized as a comedian, 4- switching to Arabic (which is a language incomprehensible by the greatest majority of the teachers, and this switching occurs at the point when a dispute becomes visible (for example, exchanging violent insults). In this sense, the function of Arabic is disruptive, and is meant to keep a dispute hidden. Even when we take the examples of sexual harassment into consideration, we see that the use of puns and the participants' knowledge of Arabic are used for the sole purpose of harassing a fellow girl sexually. 5- In most of their interventions, teachers are ineffective, and in many cases teachers themselves become the object of the participants' ridicule and sarcasm. The examples which have been dealt with so far reveal that bullying – whether ethnic bullying, sexual bullying, or individual bullying - is a form of dispute, and it is not necessarily built on a one up (bully) vs. one down (victim) competition pattern. Previous research on bullying has shown that bullying takes the form of one up (bully) vs. one down (victim) pattern (Dixon and Smith 2011), (Salmivalli 1998), (Zins 2007). In other words, the study of bullying from a retrospective has demonstrated that the bully maintains an aggressive behavior all the time, while the victim maintains a submissive behavior. In this study, however, the examples show that there is an alternational pattern in the interaction between bully and victim, as the victims demonstrate their oppositional stances in various ways, including offensive and insulting retaliations, which render the pattern of interaction sometimes into one up vs. one up.

More importantly, the examples in this chapter highlight an important phenomenon represented by the participants' unserious orientation to teachers' directives and comments. In many examples when teachers are pulled to intervene, their authority is challenged by the participants in various ways.

Chapter 8 – Rule-Teaching Disputes

Disputes might take various forms and shapes, and can be motivated by various factors which can be social, cultural, sexual, age –related, but a binding feature for most of them is a tendency to achieve power and dominance. Violating established norms of groups, arguing over matters related to truth and justice, attempts to teach others the "right" way of conduct and behavior, are all potential platforms that generate disputes. In this chapter, we will see disputes that are motivated by breaching the rules of conduct and norms. As in the disputes which are construed to have three phases, rule-teaching disputes might follow the same three-phase oppositional pattern. Church (2009) demonstrates that ownership disputes are the most relevant and frequent type to preschool children. This is not the case for (12-13 years old) children, where it seems that teaching the rules of communication, or proper behavior is the most common. Church (2009) has also documented that the most frequent form of opposition is done through the use of negatives (No – don't, etc.), while in the current study participants rely on various resources that demonstrate their subtlety in doing opposition. The participants' methods in doing opposition while teaching the rules will go under three categories: teaching through insults, teaching through cultural terms, and teaching the rules of communication. The three categories show how the participants monitor each other's actions, and might increase our understanding of how they police each other and what are the actions/topics that arouse the participants' intolerance. Moreover, the phenomenon that the examples below deal with is concerned with how the participants monitor each other, and how they produce assessments that sometimes might amount to insults. Doing assessments is a routine activity when persons partake in social activities (Pometantz 1984). However, in the case of the participants, doing assessments doesn't require from the assessor to participate in an event, rather he/she could be merely a bystander, a police, who monitors others' violations. In many cases, such assessments are answered with oppositional turns and might amount to violent reactions. In a sense, the assessor in many cases assumes the role of a "teacher" over the other participants who are assumed to be transgressing. Moreover, the assessor in many cases delivers the assessment in a form of an insult. In a way, the way the participants assess and criticize each other demonstrate how they socialize in their daily lives and how they teach and learn from each other the proper way of conduct. The examples below represent a range of interactional, related practices, and are analyzed by a CA-inspired interaction analysis approach.

Teaching through insults: The following examples demonstrate how opposition to a "transgressor" is done through emulating the transgressor. "An eye for an eye" seems to be a motivation for opposition. Any bystander within a hearing range might interfere with an ongoing interaction, and thus alert the interactant(s) to what is considered violations. The assessor delivers an assessment in a form of an insult. Example (8.1)

(Music is heard in the background – outside the classroom) 1-Boy: er det ikke khalil der synger↑ 2-Musa: nej han er i OBSen 3-Noha: Osama 4-Musa: ja måske Osama 5-Noha: jeg tror det er Osama 6-Samia: jeg kender ham ikke 7-Noha: jo du kender ham godt (.) ham den laveste i vores klasse (2.0) 8-Ala: han er højere end dig (0.3) (collective slight laughter) 9-Noha: NE::J↑(.) det er ikke for at være ond men det er altså	(Music is heard in the background – outside the classroom) 1-Boy: isn't it Khalil who is singing? 2-Musa: no he is in the OBS 3-Noha: Osama 4-Musa: yes perhaps Osama 5-Noha: I think it is Osama 6-Samia: I don't know him 7-Noha: Of course you know him well (.) him the shortest in our class (2.0) 8-Ala: he is taller than you (0.3) (collective slight laughter) 9-Noha: NO::↑(.) it's not to be mean but it is true (1.1)

rigtig (1.1) 10-Ala: og du er den tykkeste for [din klasse 11-Noha: [hahahaha (2.0) 12-Ala: det er ikke for at være ond (1.7) bare sådan for at sige det 13-Noha: ***eeh ya'ani***↑	10-Ala: and you are the fattest of [your class 11-Noha: [hahahaha (2.0) 12-Ala: it's not to be mean (1.7) just wanted to say it 13- Noha: ***so: what****?*

Noha: eeh ya'ani (13)

Noha treats Samia's denial of knowing Osama as owing to her forgetfulness, and so she proceeds by providing a feature about this absent person which might remind Samia of him (7). The feature which Noha picks is unique to the person, in that he is the shortest in the class. Noha is just following the norm in this way, and she identifies the absent person by his physical features to make him recognizable for Samia (7). The conversation is between Samia and Noha, while Ala is merely a passive bystander who interferes in (8) as he depicts Noha's remark and demonstrates that her identification is unacceptable. He deliberately turns Noha's statement *the shortest in the class* from being an identification statement uttered in a context of making someone recognizable into a statement that pinpoints a negative feature about an absent person. Ala displays an understanding of Noha's statement as something mean, and responds accordingly by claiming that Osama is taller than Noha. Ala's interference in (8) is treated by Noha as an accusation of backbiting an absent person, and thus she resorts to defend herself, stating directly that what she has intended by her statement in (7) is meant to make the absent person recognizable rather than having anything against him, postulating that what she has said is just the truth (9). Ala resolves to teach Noha the norm in (10), that certain features are inappropriate to be used to identify people, even if it were the truth. He reenacts what Noha has done, and teaches her the basic premises of communication: that others have mental and emotional states like ourselves, and that identifying someone by a negative feature is likely to hurt him/her in the same way Noha is being hurt when Ala identifies her by a feature which she perceives as negative – although she pretends indifference as she laughs in (11) and reveals carelessness in (13) where she responds to Ala's lesson with *so what.*

The episode has to do with descriptions and evaluations, and the ethnomethodological assumption that descriptions are not just descriptions, but assessments of some sort (Rasmussen 2012). Noha shows an orientation through facial expressions that what she is doing is an identification and description rather than assessment, but can we do a description without assessment? When Noha says the descriptive "shortest", nobody says anything afterwards and a long pause follows (2.0); she smiles as she reads the faces and how they perceived her description as an assessment. She is doing a description and at the same time thinking of what others are thinking. "He is taller than you" counters her assessment which she claims that it is only a description, and they laugh as they treat it as an evaluation. In (9) she sticks to her "no", and the opposition here is not about her being shorter or taller, rather about the idea that she is not assessing. Ala's project is to show that a description is not just a description, rather it is an assessment, and when you describe in public then you are assessing at the same time, i.e., you know

as I know that this description is a negative evaluation. She recognizes what he is doing by laughing as he describes her as the fattest, and he challenges her claim and he continues quoting her "I am just describing as you did" and by describing we do evaluation. Switching to Arabic *e:h ya'ani = so what* is meant to solicit a termination for this argument. As this excerpt shows, pupils monitor each other's actions and make assessments regarding all the actions taking place in their presence. When an action constitutes a violation to their expectations, bystanders interfere. This interference can be done through criticism and by reenacting the same action taken by the transgressor against the transgressor, no matter how insulting the action might be. "Do as you would be done by" seems to be a justification for the insulting language used by a bystander monitoring the interactional environment.

The use of insulting terms is very common among the participants, and policing each other's actions results in severe criticism of certain actions that are deemed inappropriate. The transgressor's reaction to the assessment can be violent. Example (8.2)

1-Adham: hende hun har ikke fundet noget endnu (1.3) 2-Musa: Hende de::r [*bil zbali* 3-Adham: [nej hun skal, *wallah* jeg er ligeglad (.) hvad skal [hun finde↑ 4-Ilham: [*WALLAH* DET ER KEDELIGT (.) Adham ikke være så ond 5-Adham: jeg er ond, det var mig der gjorde hele dit projekt 6-Ilham: ja:: (.) og hvem var det der sagde til Asma du er god↑ (1.3) 7-Adham: jamen det var jeg også (.) sige nej↑ [sige nej↑ 8-Ilham: [Nej 9-Adham: hvorfor lyver du↑ sige *wallah* jeg ikke var↑ Sige *wallah* jeg ikke var↑ 10-Ilham: schhh [schhh 11-Musa: [sige *wallah* til hvad↑ (0.6) 12-Adham: *ma ahlaha*↑ (1.2) 13-Musa: *ma ahla* (0.8) Abbas han siger det (mocks) *mahla:* 14-Adham: sige *wallah koran*↑(1.4) (reads) nummer to i gruppen [giver afsnit 15-Musa: [jeg skal lige, hvad hedder det 16-Adham: [hvad skal hun gøre↑ 17-Ilham: [ikke tale om Abbas, ikke tale om Abbas (presses her pencil on Musa's hand) 18-Musa: hold din kæft, hold din kæft	1-Adham: her she has not found anything yet (1.3) 2-Musa: her the:re [*in the garbage* 3-Adham: [no she must, *by allah* I don't care (.) what should [she find? 4-Ilham: [*BY ALLAH* IT IS BORING (.) Adham don't be so evil 5-Adham: I'm evil, it was me who made your entire project 6-Ilham: ye::s (.) and who was it who said to Asma you are good? (1.3) 7-Adham: well it was me also (.) say no↑ [say no↑ 8-Ilham: [NO 9-Adham: why are you lying? say *by allah* I was not? say *by allah* I was not? 10-Ilham: schhh [schhh (directive for silence) 11-Musa: [say *by allah* to what? (0.6) 12-Adham: *how sweet she is*↑ (1.2) 13-Musa: *how sweet he is(0.8)* Abbas he says it (mocks) *how swee::t he is* 14-Adham: (to Musa) say by allah by quran↑ (1.4) (reads) number two in the group [provides a paragraph 15-Musa: [I need what it is called 16-Adham: [what should she do? 17-Ilham: [do not talk about Abbas, do not talk about Abbas (presses her pencil against Musa's hand) 18-Musa: shut your mouth, shut your mouth

Ilham: do not talk about Abbas, … (17)

This sequence can be divided into two disputes, and the movement from one to the other is dependent on the notion of "inappropriate" behavior or statement of a participant. The first dispute

(1-12) is related to the rules of cooperation and the expression of gratitude which we might owe to others when they help us. In (1) Adham complains that Ilham is not cooperating in doing the activity; Musa in line (2) aligns himself with Adham as he uses the insulting term "*bil zbali* = in the garbage", demonstrating that garbage is Ilham's proper place and that she has to be ignored. Adham in (3) insists that she has to do her part. Each of the disputants (Adham and Ilham) accuses the other of wrong doing and defends himself/herself. Adham's statement "I am evil" is ironical and is meant to be heard as "I am good", and he gives the proper verification by alluding to a past experience that is enough to distance him from the category of "evil", and simultaneously places Ilham in the category of evil in that she is ungrateful. Ilham in (6) treats Adham's response as an accusation of being evil and ungrateful, and so she resorts to defend herself, by alluding to the same experience mentioned by Adham, and that she acknowledged his effort and was grateful when she told Asma (the teacher) that Adham was good. The dispute shows that some norms should not be violated, like the norm of expressing gratitude, or the norm of cooperating in a school task. Moreover, the participants demonstrate their oppositional stances not only through negatives, but also through the incorporation of past experiences, sarcasm, accusations and insults. More importantly, the interactants assess each other's actions (or lack of actions) through insults.

After producing the ironical exclamation *mahlaha = how sweet she is* (12) (a formulaic Arabic statement which is usually uttered to make fun of someone, or to demonstrate disagreement), the second dispute starts. The statement is typically perceived in the sense of: "how ridiculous someone is /how stupid someone is/ what a big liar someone is/ etc." This statement usually marks the end of a dispute, and Adham chooses to use it to terminate the dispute and to demonstrate that it is futile to argue with an "ungrateful" and a "liar". Musa in the meantime picks the term "*mahlaha= how sweet"* and starts to mock one of his absent fellows, Abbas, who usually uses the same expression (13). There is a considerable delay between Musa's turn (13) and Ilham's intervention to defend Abbas (17) where she verbally opposes Musa with the imperative "do not" and inflicts a measure of physical punishment as she pricks Musa with her pencil (17); while Musa ends the dispute with the insulting directive "shut up". Unlike the dispute in (8.1) which ends when one disputant submits – even in an implied manner – to the other party, here we see that the participants maintain a one up position in their competition for power, as one violates a social norm as he mocks an absent fellow, and the other defends the absent fellow. Opposition in the second part is done through physical violence which is concomitant with negatives (don't) and insults (17-18).

Slandering is usually opposed by the participants, and certain behaviours which show alignment with a slanderer are also rejected, as the following example might show. Example (8.3)

(Osama stands in front of the camcorder) 1-Ilham: stå, ja stå der (0.6) 2-(Osama runs away) 3-Musa: *roh* [*wala* 4-Ilham: [STÅ (.) KOM OG STÅ (1.1) 5-Adham: han kan alligevel ikke nå kameraet [hehehe 6-Musa: [hahaha (0.6) 7-Ilham: hvor er i onde mod ham (0.4) 8-Musa: hvor er du ond [mand	(Osama stands in front of the camcorder) 1-Ilham: stand, yes stand there (0.6) 2-(Osama runs away) 3-Musa: *go away* [*you* (pejorative) 4-Ilham: [STAND (.) COME AND STAND (1.1) 5-Adham: he can't anyway reach the camera [hehehe 6-Musa: [hahaha (0.6) 7-Ilham: how evil you (plural) are against him (0.4) 8-Musa: how evil you are [man

9-Adham: [ej kom nu fortsætte 10-Ilham: du grinede af det (addresses Musa)	9-Adham: [well come now continue 10-Ilham: you laughed at it (addresses Musa)

Osama is an outsider who attempts to distract the group by blocking the camcorder. Ilham encourages him (1-4), while Musa opposes him (3). Adham remains neutral about Osama's behavior, but he makes an assessment regarding the futility of Osama's action, i.e., he is too short to reach the camcorder and block it (5). Musa aligns himself with Adham's sarcastic comment as he laughs (6), and then with Ilham as he reiterates Ilham's statement and accuses Adham of being evil (8). Ilham in (10) opposes Musa's alignment with her, and she reads it as an attempt to distance himself from the notion of "evil", and she provides a justification for her opposition: *you laughed at it* (10), demonstrating that he has no right to accuse others of being evil when he showed alignment with the slanderer. It is at the same time a way to teach him that he cannot react to the same event in two opposing ways, and her statement can be seen as a rebuke to Musa who in a way is contradicting himself. Moreover, like the previous examples, the episode involves the way a description is perceived as a form of assessment and slandering. It also involves the teaching of the rule that one should maintain one position in a dispute, and not perform opposing alignments that contradict each other. As in the previous example, the participants are constantly monitoring each other's actions, and they keep alternating between the role of "police" and that of "transgressor".

A similar dispute can be seen in the following example, but the participants switch their roles, in that it is Ilham who is perceived as a slanderer, while the two boys oppose her. (Example 8.4)

1-Musa: gå væk med dig Noha 2-Adham: *she:::l* 3-Ilham: kom lige kom lige, jo *wallah quran* kom lige *bihyat immik* kom (.) og stå lige der (points at the camcorder) (0.3) 4-Musa: NEJ (0.5) hun vælter det hele 5-Ilham: °det er meningen° (1.9) 6-Ilham: ryk den ryk den 7-Noha: Ilham [Ilham bare ryk dig Ilham 8-Musa: [kan du ikke forstå? hun hun siger du er fed, Noha Noha ikke røre den 9-Adham: kom nu igang 10-Musa: jalal↑ 11-Ilham: han siger vi skal gå igang, og når vi taler siger du jalal 12-Noha: kom så, kom så Ilham (puts a paper in front of the camcorder) 13-Musa: jalal↑ (2.0) 14-Ilham: ja::↑ (.) *abbahasadi* (1.5) KOM SÅ (0.3) 15-Musa: det er [dig hehehe 16-Ilham: [nåh (0.5) stop lade være med at grine (0.6) (reads) men de var- 17-Musa: ok jeg mener det Adham lade være *wallah (.) khalas (.)*dig og din *sheel* 18-Adham:*shee:l* det er ham der griner 19-Ilham: jalal↑ vil du gerne stå her, fordi Noha kom til at rykke den her (points at camcorder) 20-Adham: *walak* hende der hun lyve::::r↓ *khalas wili wehyat okhti* du er ikke sjo:v eh læs	1-Musa: go away with yourself Noha 2-Adham: (*flirtatious term)* 3-Ilham: just come just come, yes *by allah by quran* just come *by the life of your mother* come (.) and stand just there (points at the camcorder) (0.3) 4-Musa: NO (0.5) she overturns it all 5-Ilham: °that's the point° (1.9) 6-Ilham: pull it pull it (it = camcorder) 7-Noha: Ilham [Ilham just pull yourself Ilham 8-Musa: [can't you understand? she she says you are fat, Noha Noha don't touch it 9-Adham: come now continue 10-Musa: Jalal↑ 11-Ilham: he says we should go ahead, and when we talk you say jalal 12-Noha: come on, come on Ilham (puts a paper in front of the camcorder) 13-Musa: jalal↑ (2.0) 14-Ilham: ye::s↑ (.) (*somali exclamation*) (1.5) COME ON (0.3) 15-Musa: it's [you hehehe 16-Ilham: [oh (0.5) stop enough laughing (0.6) (reads) but they were- 17-Musa: alright I mean it Adham enough *by allah (.) enough* (.) you and your *flirtatious term.* 18-Adham: *flirtatious term* it's him who is laughing 19-Ilham: jalal↑ would you like to be here because Noha was about to pull this here (points at the camcorder) 20-Adham: *you* (pejorative) she there she is lyi:::ng *enough you* (pejorative) *by my sister* you are not funny eh read.

As in the previous example (7.3), the present episode provides a similar situation, but the participants' alignments are different. (1-10) we see Musa and Ilham having oppositional stances regarding the camcorder, as Ilham wants Noha to block it, while Musa wants it to remain intact. Noha in this part is ridiculed (as fat). However, as Jalal appears, Ilham abandons the required serious mode and requests from him to stand near the camera, accusing Noha of tampering with it (19). Adham defends the "absent" Noha by accusing Ilham of lying, and by telling her that implicating Noha is not funny, and ends his turn by urging Ilham to read. Adham perceives Ilham's conduct as inappropriate – even if Ilham is doing it for fun. It was Ilham who urged Noha to tamper with the camera, and then it was Ilham who exposed Noha as the one responsible for "trouble" – and accusing Noha of wrong-doing in front of Jalal is deemed by Adham as completely unacceptable, and required from Adham to defend the absent person (Noha) and to accuse Ilham of lying and of being not funny. Consequently Adham considers Ilham responsible for all the delay to commence the group work. As in the previous disputes, the dispute here remains suspended and unresolved, and none of the participants submits to the will or desires of the opponent party. The episode serves as well as an example of objection to inappropriate conduct represented by implicating an absent person. It also shows how a description can serve as an assessment of a negative feature. In the previous example, Osama is too short to reach and cover the camera, while in the present example, Noha is too fat that she might overturn everything, and the contradiction of the participants' actions is clear in the two examples, where in the previous example, Ilham defends the absent Osama and rebukes Musa, here it is Musa who defends Noha, and rebukes Ilham for making an assessment about her shape, and Adham at the end defends Noha when Ilham implicates her. These examples show the way the participants monitor each other, and how they attempt to teach each other the appropriate conduct, though the process of teaching is not smooth all the time, and it is mostly implicit. Oppositional turns in this example are mostly done through the use of negatives, accusations, sarcasm, and insults.

The participants in the four previous examples are Arabs. In many examples, speakers from other ethnicities are normally involved. In the following, we see forms of disputes which involve non-Arab speakers (in the following snippet, all are Arab boys except for the Somali girl Samar. The group have a task of editing a video which was previously recorded by them, and they are supplied with one computer on which Osama is working on, where he is trying to modify the color of Adham). The boys take the good seats on the desk, and leave Samar behind them sitting on the window niche for the entire group work. Example: (8.5)

1-Samar: gør ham (.) gør hans [ansigt eh oh	1-Samar: make him (.) make his [face eh oh
2-Osama: [det er ikke din tur bare	2-Osama: [it's not your turn
3-Samar: [lilla	3-Samar: [purple
4-Adham: [*wlak* hvis i laver mit ansigt hvid, jer er ligeglad (.) helt hvid hvid ligesom is (.)	4-Adham: [*you (pejorative)* if you make my face white, I will not care (.) completely white white as ice (.)
5-Musa: jeg laver dig somalier	5-Musa: I will make you Somali
6-Osama: *wallah la a'amila wallah*	6-Osama: *by Allah I will do it by Allah*
7-Musa: jeg laver dig *somali* (0.4)	7-Musa: I will make you *Somali (0.4)*
8-Samar: hvad har du noget imod somalier?	8-Samar: what do you have anything against Somalis?
9-Musa: ikke [noget	9-Musa: no[thing
10-Osama: [boom	10-Osama: [boom
11-Adham: han sagde bare han laver mig somalier, altså somalier	11-Adham: He just said he will make me Somali, that is Somali
12-Musa: gør dig somalier (.)	12-Musa: make you Somali (.)
13-Osama: altså han gøre ham <u>black</u>	13-Osama: well he will make him <u>black</u>

(Samar:...do you have anything against Somalis?

(left to right: Osama, Adham, Musa)

Samar attempts to suggest a color in (1-3), but this attempt is shunned by Osama in (2) as it seems she talks when it is not her turn (but it could be more about putting her in the margin and not taking interest in her opinion). Adham – the one whose picture is being edited on the computer, suggests the white color (4) but it is not a racial color, since he suggests white as ice, something extraordinary. So far, we have two suggestions for colors, purple and white as ice. Musa in his turn (5) suggests "Somali" which is not a color but race. If Adham wants "white white as ice" to look funny, then "black black as Somali" might be more hilarious. This suggestion is accepted by Osama (6) and repeated by Musa (7) where he uses the Arabic term "*Somali*" instead of Danish (Somalier). Opposition comes in (8) as Samar inquires if Musa has anything against Somalis, and as the group use the term Somali in a pejorative and disdainful manner. Samar's inquiry functions, as well, as a form of reminding the group that Somali is not a color, but a race, and that the task assigned to them require from them to search for colors and not race. The three boys seem to cooperate afterwards to justify the choice of "Somali" as a color. Musa denies to have anything against Somalis, Adham repeats the statement in a manner as if he were saying (what's wrong with making me Somali?) without providing a real justification, while Osama applies the color as he utters "boom" while editing on the computer, and then stresses the racial issue further as he utters black (13). Unlike previous studies which have documented that the most frequent form of opposition is done through the use of negatives (No – don't , etc. , for example Church 2009), opposition and alignment can be done through questions and inquiries, a strategy which perhaps can entangle the "wrong doer" in longer stretches of discourse to provide answers and justifications for their actions. However, when the matter is concerned with breaking the rules of conversation, as it is the case in the first two lines, where Samar speaks when it is not her turn, direct opposition is normally done through direct negative forms: "it's not your turn". Samar's lesson to the boys in this example is that they have no right to allude to her race in a pejorative manner. Samar's criticism of the boys' action in (8) causes the boys to bumble while they struggle to provide a justification for their choice of the color "Somali".

The following example involves (two Arab boys : Musa and Mahir, and two Somali girls Aya and Nida). They were told to stay in the classroom during recess, and prepare a list of items which they have to buy for a celebration related to the school. As in the previous examples, some participants orient to slandering an absent person as an inappropriate conduct which must be opposed. Example (8.6):

1-Musa: hvorfor har du skrevet pizza igen↑ (.) 2-Nida: det er hende der (0.4)	1-Musa: why have you written pizza again↑ (.) 2-Nida: it is she there (0.4)

3-Aya: det der snacks, det er jo ikke mad, det hører til det der 4-Musa: *wlak* glem det (0.3) 5-Nida: er chips ikke mad↑(.) hvad er [chips lavet af↑ 6-Mahir: [hold jeres kæft 7-Nida: scchh hvad er chips lavet af↑ 8-Aya: sådan noget [lækkert 9-Musa: [kartofler 10-Nida: kartof[ler 11-Aya: [ja men du ved, altså, jo men det er, nej ikke pomfritter (0.3) 12-Musa: hende der hun er dum mand 13-Nida: pomfritter 14-Aya: jo men ikke chips ikke sådan mad 15-Nida: *wallah* jeg vidste ikke der var en pige dummere end dig (0.7) 16-Musa: Noha 17-(Musa sees the reaction in the faces, and starts to whistle as he pushes his torso back) 18-Mahir: hold kæft i er bare til grin, kom nu 19-Nida: hvad siger du↑ hold kæft din idiot (0.5) 20-Nida: du skal ikke sige noget om Noha, [Noha hun er her jo ikke 21-Aya: [hun er ikke dummere end mig (4.0) 22-Musa: hvad mere↑ 23-Aya: vi skal gå i gang	3-Aya: that's snacks, it's not food, it belongs to that there (i.e snacks) 4-Musa: *you* (pejorative) forget it (0.3) 5-Nida: is chips not food↑(.) what is [chips made of↑ 6-Mahir: [shut your (plural) mouths 7-Nida: scchh what is chips made of? 8-Aya: something [delicious 9-Musa: [potatoes 10-Nida: pota[toes 11-Aya: [yes but you know, well, yes but it is no not French fries (0.3) 12-Musa: she there she is stupid man 13-Nida: French fries 14-Aya: yes but not chips not such food 15-Nida: *by allah* I didn't know there was a girl dumber than you (0.7) 16-Musa: Noha 17-(Musa sees the reaction in the faces, and starts to whistle as he pushes his torso back) 18-Mahir: shut up you (plural) are just fools, come on 19-Nida: (to Musa) what do you say↑ shut up you idiot (0.5) 20-Nida: you shouldn't say anything about Noha, [Noha she is not here 21-Aya: [she is not dumber than me (4.0) 22-Musa: what more↑ 23-Aya: we have to proceed.

(Nida: you shouldn't say anything about Noha…

(left: Nida and Aya – right: Mahir and Musa)

(1-14) the two girls oppose each other regarding the categorization of "chips", and whether it should be regarded as "food" or not; the two boys reveal their dissatisfaction regarding the dispute, where Musa dismisses the issue as insignificant (4) and categorizes Aya as "stupid" (12) for rejecting the consideration that chips is "food", while Mahir does the same and reveals his dissatisfaction with the dispute as he pejoratively directs the girls to "shut up" (6). The girls do not reach a compromise, and Aya insists on regarding chips as an item which doesn't belong to the category "food". Nida resolves to end the dispute on her own terms (15) by giving the assessment that "she has never known a girl dumber than Aya", aligning herself with Musa's offensive description in (12). The topic of the dispute changes as Musa answers Nida's assessment, where he suggests that "Noha" is dumber than Aya (16). The two girls defend the absent Noha. Nida retaliates, asking the rhetorical question "what do you say"; she has of course heard what Musa said, and she doesn't need to hear what he said again, and this question is a way of rejection and opposition to what Musa has uttered. The question is followed by a direct attack, with an insulting directive "shut up" and insulting descriptor "you idiot". After a short pause, where Musa remains silent, Nida proceeds with her defense of Noha, giving the directive that Musa shouldn't mention "Noha", and reminds him that

she is “not here”, and that he broke the rule by slandering an absent fellow pupil, and this overlaps with Aya’s defense of Noha where she rejects the idea that “Noha is dumber than her”. Musa’s silence demonstrates his acceptance of defeat, where a long silence (7.0) is broken by Musa’s orientation to proceed with the task (22). In this example, opposition is done mainly through formulaic insults “hold kæft =shut up”, “i er bare til grin = you are fools”, “idiot=idiot”, “hun er dum=she is stupid”. This adversarial discourse which is based solely on staging insults prolongs the dispute. However, when persuasive justifications are provided as in Nida’s argument in (20), the dispute and opposition seem to dwindle.

In the following episode, attempts to teach others the rules by giving directives is not a successful method, as directives that are concomitant with insults might lead to escalation: example (8.7):

1-Nida: oy wallah quran HVER GANG DU SIGER HVORFOR GØR AW xxxxx (places the pencil at the edge of the table and hits it from one side so the pencil flips in the air)	1-Nida: oy by allah by quran EACH TIME YOU SAY WHY DO AW xxxxx (places the pencil at the edge of the table and hits it from one side so the pencil flips in the air)
2-Aya: tag dig sammen, Nida:↑ du skal ikke en gang være en af de der udlændinge escht tage dig sammen	2-Aya: GET A GRIP NIDA:↑ you shouldn’t be one of those foreigners escht get a grip
3-Nida: nananana:::h hehehe (repeats action in 1)	3-Nida: nananana:::h hehehe (repeats action in 1)
4-Musa: *dab* pizza og hvad mere↑	4-Musa: *well* pizza and what more↑
5-Aya: ej tag jer sammen.*Wallah* Mahir	5-Aya: no get a grip (to all).*by allah* Mahir
6-Musa: *wallah* i er til grin	6-Musa: *by allah* you are fools
7-Mahir: skal jeg vise jer↑ skal jeg vise jer↑ (moves to pick the pencil from the floor)	7-Mahir: should I show you (plural)↑ should I show you (plural)↑ (moves to pick the pencil from the floor)
8-Aya: de er til grin, [kom nu stop	8-Aya: they are fools, [come on stop
9-Musa: [var det ikke dig, der sagde tage det seriøst	9-Musa: (to Mahir) [wasn’t it you who said take it seriously?
10-Mahir: jo:: hold din kæft dig så inden du får den i øjet	10-Mahir: ye::s shut your (singular) mouth you (pejorative) or you will get this (pencil) in the eye
11-Musa: *’o::l wallah*↑	11-Musa: *say by allah*↑
12-Mahir: *wallah*	12-Mahir: *by allah*
13-Ni: ehehehehehehe	13-Nida: ehehehehehehe
14-(Mahir hits Musa on his face twice with a pen)	14-(Mahir hits Musa on his face twice with a pencil)
15-Musa: skrid med dig mand	15-Musa: fuck off man
16-Mahir: du får den i øjet	16-Mahir: you will get it in the eye
17-Nida: hey stop nu, stop stop stop	17-Nida: hey stop now, stop stop stop
18-Mahir: ikke spil dum	18-Mahir: don’t be stupid
19-Aya: han spiller ikke dum, han er dum	19-Aya: he is not acting stupid, he is stupid
20-Mahir: det er rigtigt	20-Mahir: that’s right
21-Aya: (touches Musa’s hand) ej det er bare for sjovt, *wallah quran* , han er den klogeste i klassen i det hele taget	21-Aya: (touches Musa’s hand) no it’s just for fun, *by allah by quran* , he is the smartest in the class as a whole
22-Musa: kom nu tage jer sammen	22-Musa: come on get a grip
23-Aya: ja *wallah* kom så	23-Aya: yes *by allah* come on

(Aya: GET A GRIP NIDA:↑ you shouldn’t be one of those foreigners escht get a grip)

In this episode, Musa and Aya are aligned together as they urge the group to commence the task, while Nida and Mahir are busy in a competition as to who can flip the pencil. (1-8) Musa and Aya establish their opposition by giving directives to the opposing party, comprised in the first place of rules related to proper way of communication, where Nida's loud voice and play in (1) is opposed by the directive "get a grip" in (2) and a reminder that Nida shouldn't act like "foreigners", including a second directive "escht" which is typically perceived as an imperative of silence. The same directive is repeated in (5) and addressed mainly to Mahir. Musa, on the other hand, attempts to engage the opposing party in the task, as he inquires about more items to include (4) – a strategy that is likely to divert their attention from the irrelevant game and immerse them in the task, followed by insulting statements "i er til grin =you are fools" (6-8), as the opposing party resists the directives and proceed with their play, demonstrating their oppositional stance simply by not showing compliance with the directives. Musa proceeds in his attempt to bring some discipline and to force the devious members to orient themselves to the task in hand, so in (9) he reminds Mahir of his initial directive and the need for carrying out the task seriously. This causes the dispute to escalate, and what happens afterwards is a sheer display of power, where Mahir displays that he can break the rules by relying on his muscles. He gives the insulting directive "shut up" followed by a threat, where the pencil which was the tool for playing with Nida becomes a weapon, and Musa is given the option to choose between two things: either he shuts his mouth, or he will get the sharp pencil in the eye. Musa doesn't show compliance with any of the two options, so he challenges Mahir's directive, by competing for a one-up position (*o'ool wallah = say by allah? = are you serious? = you can't do that*). This challenge is met with Mahir's readiness to execute his threat, as he utters "*by allah*" demonstrating that he is serious, and by physically hitting Musa with the pencil on his nose and cheek (12-14), and by reminding Musa of the initial threat – that next time Musa will get it in the eye.

The physical assault on the nose and cheek are just a warning (16). As in the previous examples, adversative talk is comprised mainly of insulting terms, and directives are either ignored or met with sarcasm – or even with more nuanced opposition based on threats. Threats can end a dispute, as we see in this example, but the cost is physical pain or damage inflicted upon the weaker party. Opposition in this episode is done through insults, polite admonition (9), threats, sarcasm, and physical violence. The example demonstrates that it is not always safe to teach others the rules because the social environment of the participants is violent, and Musa's polite admonition in (9) is perceived as a weakness and is answered with violence.

Some insults can be established by the use of "dig = you" in final position, and it seems to be the case that such a usage is incorporated from the pejorative Arabic "*wila =you*" which is usually addressed to someone inferior in position. Consider Mahir's insult in (10) "hold din kæft dig= shut your mouth *you*". This pejorative use of "dig" is well established among the Arab speakers of this study, and the addressee typically interprets "*dig = you*" in final position as a form of insult. The

following example might provide further clarification for the pejorative use of "dig". Example: (8.8):

1-Adham: hey ikke læse så meget **dig** (0.7) 2-Musa: det er en afsnit, **dig** 3-Musa: (continues reading) (2.0) 4-Adham: ikke sige **dig** (.) sige adham (.) 5-Musa: *wallah*↑	1-Adham: hey don't read too much **you** (0.7) 2-Musa: it's a paragraph, **you** 3-Musa: (continues reading) (2.0) 4-Adham: don't say **you** (.) say adham (.) 5-Musa: *by allah*↑ *(=are you serious?)*

(Adham points finger at Musa in a warning)

In (1) adham gives a directive followed by the pejorative "dig = you", Musa answers this insult with a tit for tat (2); Adham objects to the use of pejorative"dig", and commands Musa to use "adham" instead (4); Musa in his turn rejects to comply with this demand, as he asks the rhetorical question "*wallah? = by allah*? = are you serious?/really?/"[44] (5)– demonstrating in an implied way that he used the pejorative "dig" in the first place to defend himself, and because he was addressed in this manner by Adham. In a way, the lesson we get from this snippet is "do to others as you would like them to do for you". This strategy might work sometimes, as it is the case in this example, but it might fail in many other examples (for example 8.7), as participants perceive themselves as occupying different levels in the pyramid of power.

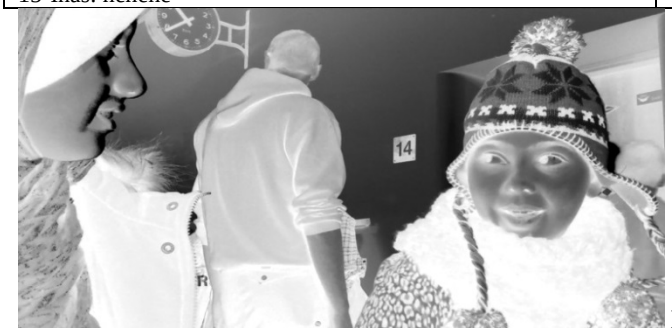
In all the examples in this section, we see disputes that involve more than two participants (except for (8.8)), where a dispute is motivated by one thing and shifts to something else which is mostly related to norms and rules of conduct and communication and a concern about the proper way of representing or identifying absent people. Attempts to teach the norms is done mainly in a way, where insults, pejorative language, threats and physical violence constitute a major tool in creating adversative positions, while the teaching of norms of communication is done mainly in an implicit way. As the examples have shown, the assessor in many cases produces the assessment or the criticism in a form of a violent verbal or nonverbal action or both; or in many cases as well, the "transgressor" responds to the assessment in a violent and insulting manner.

Teaching through cultural terms: In the following, we will see examples of adversative talk, which involve the teaching of norms which pertain to the home culture, and the manner in which this is done is direct and explicit. In many cases, female participants orient to cultural terms that mirror the way they were socialized. The socializing or "cultural" terms used by them are "haram = forbidden" and "'aib = shame", and these terms are assessments of an action or conduct that contradicts the

[44] This usage of "by allah?" should not be perceived as a solicit to confirm a previous claim, as it comes directly after a command, and it is thus a sarcastic mode of rejecting the order.

assessor's expectations. Unlike the previous forms of assessments which are delivered in an insulting manner, the participants typically respond to "haram" and "'aib" with agreements. The following example involves the two speakers Inas and Basma. Two other girls are sitting with them, but they do not interfere in this sequence: Example (8.9)

1-Inas: jeg har lyst til at bagtale nogen (1.7) 2-Basma: du må gerne bagtale Gina (0.6) 3-Inas: ja:: 4-Basma: °den kælling h: **sorry**° 5-Inas: e::h::: (shock exclamation) 6-Basma: *el salamo a'alaykom hehe* (3.0) 7-Inas: ej hallo *haram hal kilmi (1.3)* 8-Basma: ja **sorry** det kom ud af min mund (1.8) 9-Inas: ja altså men det er *a'aib(2.0)* 10-Basma: du siger det kun foran den der (.) (den der = camera) 11-Inas: ne:j sgu [da 12-Basma: [jo:: (.) 13-Inas: jeg er sgu ikke sådan en 14-Basma: xxxx xxxx du en 15-Inas: hehehe	1-Inas: I want to slander someone (1.7) 2-Basma: you are allowed to slander Gina (0.6) 3-Inas: ja:: 4-Basma:° the bitch h: **sorry**° 5-Inas: e:::h::: (shock exclamation) 6-Basma: *peace be upon you hehe (3.0)* 7-Inas: well hallo *this word is forbidden (1.3)* 8-Basma: yes **sorry** it came out of my mouth (1.8) 9-Inas: yes, well, but it is *shameful (2.0)* 10-Basma: you say this only in front of this (camera) there. (.) 11-Inas: no:: [damn 12-Basma: [ye::s (.) 13-Inas: I'm not a damned such one 14-Basma: xxx xxxxx you one 15-Inas: hehehe



Basma left, Inas right: well hallo this word is forbidden (7)

Although the two participants have an agreement regarding the "absent Gina", and they share the same feelings regarding her (1-2-3), the dispute between the two girls erupts as a result of Basma's use of the term "bitch". Basma utters the term in a whisper, and she quickly orients to the inappropriateness of using such a term, as she demonstrates this by stating sorry (4). Inas' exclamatory shock in (5) is answered by Basma in (6) by using the Arab formal greeting, which might in some way demonstrate her acknowledgement that she has made a mistake by using the term "bitch". In (7) Inas directly refers to the religious taboo regarding the use of such a word, as she categorizes this term as "*haram = religiously forbidden = taboo*", leading Basma to repeat her apology, and to justify her use as a slip of the tongue (8). Unconvinced, Inas orients to the social inappropriateness of the term "*a'aib = shame*", that is, the one who uses such a term will be shamed (9), so now Basma retaliates by accusing Inas implicitly of "hypocrisy", in that she is orienting to the cultural and religious meanings of the term just because of the camera. From (11 to 15) we see a series of assertions (yes), and negations (no) – a kind of direct oppositional turns that in some way match the direct attempt of Inas to teach the norms of her culture (religious Haram = forbidden/ and social a'aib =shame), and these turns are characterized by providing minimal responses. Switching to Arabic while using the two terms (*haram* and *a'aib*) indicates that the girls are socialized according to this tradition which considers that a girl is not allowed to use some terms, and because the two terms are culturally loaded with meanings that pertain to their home culture, in that switching to any other language to express the meanings of the two terms will not serve the same function. Arabs in general are socialized by parents /elders /teachers/ Imams/ etc. according to the norms and tradition of (*haram* and *a'aib*), and any unacceptable act or behavior can be categorized as either *haram* or *a'aib* depending on whether it is religiously unacceptable or socially

unacceptable, and regardless of the religiosity of the one doing the socialization. Thus, an Arab child is likely to hear these two terms several times every day from (parents, siblings, neighbors, etc.) and even peers, as it is the case in this example. However, the two terms are not mutually exclusive, as many acts and conducts can be both *haram* and *a'aib*. Moreover, the two terms are not used by all Arabs to refer to the same thing, as the notion of *a'aib* is related to the social class, and what is shameful/disgraceful for the lower classes, for example, might not be as such for the upper classes; the same can be said regarding the term *haram*, where it depends on the individual's religious sect and the way that sect – or Imam – interprets the religious text or categorizes the different activities in terms of "*halal* =religiously acceptable" or *haram = forbidden*.

What matters for this discussion is that these cultural terms are used as tools to establish opposition and to express adversative stances by the participants. The terms are also assessments as they are meant to criticize certain "inappropriate" actions. The participants are familiar with the terms, and usually the use of such terms leads to the dwindling of the dispute and in many cases to submission from the participant who is accused of doing something "*haram* or *a'aib*". A bystander who is not involved in a dispute might very well change the status of their participation and become active participants once they see that there is a violation to the religious or social limits. In the following example, Ala is bullying Sahm and Noha, and Fatima is not involved in their dispute, but once she notices that the disputants are breaching the norms of conduct, she intervenes with an assessment about the activity of the disputants. Example: (8.10)

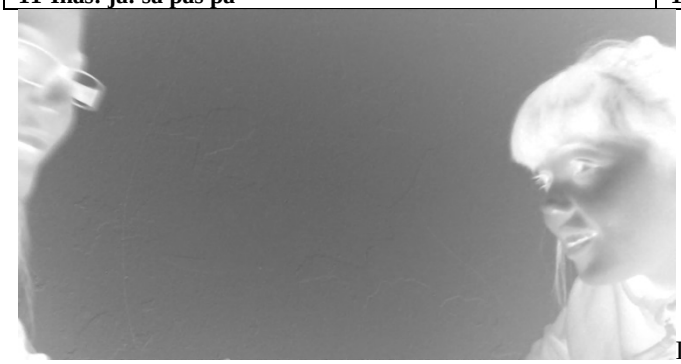
1-Ala: (to Noha) hund 2-Noha: hold kæft (2.0) 3-Ala: ej nu gider jeg ikke have at du siger til mig 4-Noha: ***lahsak teezi , biddi ahki*** (0.7) 5-Ala: Sahm (0.9) du slår min hund til 6-Noha: ***walak kol khara*** 7-Fatima: det er ***haram wallah***	1-Ala: (to Noha) dog 2-Noha: shut up (2.0) 3-Ala: no now I don't want you to say this to me 4-Noha: ***lick my ass, I want to talk*** (0.7) 5-Ala: Sahm (0.9) hit my dog 6-Noha: ***you (pejorative) eat shit*** 7-Fatima: that's ***forbidden by allah***

We cannot be sure what is it exactly which is assessed as "haram" by Fatima (7). It could be the idea that Ala is crossing the limits as he insults Noha and Sahm by calling them dogs (1-5), or it could be Noha's inappropriate use of swear words and directives "lick my ass – eat shit" (4-6), or it could even be the entire dispute and situation created by Ala's aggressive conduct. The point is that categorizing a certain conduct as "*haram* or *a'aib*" might change the stance of the participants in a dispute, or even might lead to a change in the attitude of the offender and to change their alignments (as we saw in example 8.9; whereas in 8.10 the disputants proceed with their use of violent language and the immensity of the offensive language leads to farther escalations).

The two cultural terms are not used solely among those who pertain to the Arab/Islamic culture, rather the participants attempt in various ways to spread their cultural heritage and to enforce the same categorizations on the conduct of peers who are not necessarily Arabs. In the following example, Erina (Bosnian) complains about her situation where she is supposed to cooperate with Arab girls to solve her math assignment, but in various ways the group isolate her and make her feel marginalized: Example 8.11 (The bolded lines pertain to the relevant conversation)

1-Erina: jeg er træt (.) og jeg er muggen (.) og jeg har det lort (0.4) **2-Erina: seriøst jeg bliver så su:::r (.)** **3-Inas: du skal ikke sige det (0.7)** 4-Rola: det er altså tres	**1-Erina: I am tired (.) and I am musty (.) and I'm feeling like shit (0.4)** **2-Erina: seriously I'm getting so angry (.)** **3-Inas: you shouldn't say that (0.7)** 4-Rola: it's also sixty

5-Yosra: hva?	5-Yosra: what?
6-Inas: det er *a'aib(0.4)* når der er kamera (3.0)	**6-Inas: it is *shameful* (0.4) when there is camera (3.0)**
7-Yosra: nej det er rigtigt, Inas det er tres?	7-Yosra: no it is right, Inas it is sixty?
8-Inas: er det også lige meget? (1.1)	**8-Inas: doesn't it matter for you? (1.1)**
9-Yosra: fordi hundrede tres plus tres	9-Yosra: because one hundred sixty plus sixty
10-Erina: nej (0.5)	**10-Erina: No (0.5)**
11-Inas: ja: så pas på	**11-Inas: ye:s so beware**



Inas: det er aib når der er kamera (6)

In (1-2) Erina is simply complaining about her participation in a group work and the way her Arab peers made her feel, as they seemed to ignore her for most of the time. Her complaint can be also construed as an evaluation for the group work. This conduct is opposed by Inas in (6), where she imposes the concept of "*a'aib*" on Erina's complaint. Of course, it is neither *a'aib* nor *haram* to complain, but as I mentioned earlier, what is *a'aib* for someone, might not be as such for someone else. The point is that Erina orients to this Arabic term, and agrees with Inas in (10), in that it matters for her to avoid the conduct which is construed as *a'aib*. As she has won the argument and the enforcement of her cultural principles, Inas produces a farther directive to end this opposition (11), a warning, or even a threat. Unlike the threat in (8.7) which was meant to inflict physical aggression, the threat here is about being "shamed/disgraced", and which might have meaning in gaining or losing access to the group. It has to be stressed that I have no examples where boys use the terms *a'aib* and *haram*, although boys might refer to forbidden things according to their cultural/ religious beliefs without necessarily using the two terms. This might indicate that girls and boys submit to different socialization processes. Variations could be dependent on the patriarchal Arab cultural heritage, which assigns a superior position for boys and masculinity, and an inferior one for girls and femininity.

In some cases, it seems that the use of other terms – shock exclamation - might function or do the same job as "haram" and "aib". Example 8.12

Tina: den er fucking let den her	Tina: it's fucking easy this one
Inas: HE:::::Y ↑	Inas: HE:::::Y ↑

Inas: HE::::Y

It is also possible that the matter of monitoring the environment is concerned with the camera as Basma accused Inas in example (8.9). In fact, there are many examples which are concerned with "camera/observer paradox", where the participants seem to have an urge to transgress, but they are curbed by the presence of the camera, or sometimes they are led to seek alternative ways to do the transgression. Examples like these are many, and they mostly pertain to girls. Boys in general show carelessness about the camera, as one might get from the following discussion between Noha and Adham: Example (8.13)

1-Noha: Stella↑ °Be:::::th↑° 2-Adham: Beth↑ 3-Samar: Bitch↑(Adham and Noha look at each other in amazement as Samar has decoded the term "Beth") 4-Noha: *Mra'abeenna* (.) *Uh osama↑ mra'abeenna bil camera* 5-Adham: hvad så *yaani*↑ er i bange for at opføre jer ordentlig↑	1-Noha: Stella↑ °Be:::::th↑° 2-Adham: Beth↑ 3-Samar: Bitch↑ (Adham and Noha look at each other in amazement as Samar has decoded the term "beth") 4-Noha: *they monitor us (.) isn't it Osama↑ they monitor us with the camera* 5-Adham: So what *even if they do*↑ are you afraid to behave properly↑

(left: Musa, Osama / right: Sara, Adham/ Teacher behind Adham while uttering line 5)

The group invent a secret code to defame their teacher, by using the term "beth" to suggest "bitch". By this, the group are aware that they are transgressing, but what matters for them is whether this "transgression" is meant to be caught or observed by an adult. Noha expresses this concern in line (4), where she hints that "they", i.e., the adults (the teacher and Jalal) are monitoring them for transgressions. Adham shows carelessness about this possibility. Many social Arab researchers have dealt with the concept of "'aib = shame", and they suggested that the term is very important in the processes of upbringing and socialization, and that the term is basically relevant to the lower classes who feel that others are observing or monitoring their transgressions. From this perspective, they

consider that any action which can be considered a transgression is potentially imbued with two meanings. The first meaning is that the action is "'aib = shame" when there is an observer. The second meaning is that the same action ceases to be "'aib" when done stealthily and unnoticed by any observer. For Noha, in this example, she applies the double standards for the same action. She orients to her action not as a transgression while doing it stealthily (1), then she is alerted to the presence of the Camera when Sara uses the term "bitch", and thus in (4) Noha orients to the "'aib =shame" of the action in that there is a camera observing what they are doing.

Social researchers like Halim Barakat, Azmi Bshara, and Hisham Sharabi usually refer to the destructive processes of upbringing which are based on the concepts of "haram" and "'aib", and they usually provide examples like a mother who is holding the hand of her child in a park, and the child feels an urge to pee, so she tells him wait a little bit until no one is watching, and then she leads him behind the tree to pee, or when a child is done with eating his sandwich and he needs to get rid of the trash in his hand, so the mother waits until nobody is in the street and then she asks her child to throw the trash in his hand, telling him "nobody is looking, throw it now". They argue that such processes of upbringing lead the child to grow up with double-standards about "transgressions". A transgression is a shame only if there are observers. The same thing we see in many of the examples regarding the transgressions the participants commit. They do orient to what they are doing as something "haram" or "'aib" or a "transgression", but at the same time, this orientation is not meant to deter them from doing transgressions, rather to find ways for how to do it stealthily and away from observers. The reference to the camera is equivalent to the reference to an observer: Example (8.14)

1-Inas: hallo hva↑ hvad er der godt ved ghetto↑ [om jeg må spørge 2-Basma: (mocking voice) [jeg vil gerne have ham, han skal være min, han er så dejlig 3-Rola: [hvem↑ 4-Inas: [altså der sidder et kamera 5-Basma: sorry, seriøst siger sorry. hun siger du snakker selvom det er xxx xxx	1-Inas: hallo what↑ what is the good about ghetto↑ [if I may ask 2-Basma: (mocking voice) [I'd like to have him, he is mine, he is so lovely 3-Rola: [who↑ 4-Inas: [well there is a camera 5-Basma: sorry, seriously I say sorry. She says you talk even though it is xxx xxx

(left: Basma and Inas, facing Rola, Tina)

In this example, Inas inquires about the reasons why Tina likes to go to the ghetto (1) Batool answers the question by making fun of Tina who is in love with a boy from the ghetto, and she mocks her way of speaking (2). Inas – The Arab girl - who objects to Basma's action, while Tina – a Danish girl - who is being mocked smiles to what Basma, says. Inas simply considered Basma's action as a transgression because of the presence of the observer, i.e., the camera.

The use of the cultural assessment terms demonstrates that the practice is basically done by girls and not boys. The terms are assessments of situations that are socially or religiously deviant. The participants, regardless of their ethnicity or religious group, demonstrate an awareness of what the terms mean, and they are, thus, a resource that the participants rely on to teach each other the proper social conduct.

Teaching the rules of communication: violating the norms of communication can be also a platform for disputes. Example (8.15)

1-Inas: hallo i skal også lave noget (2.2) 2-Inas: jeg snakker til en væg (.) jeg snakker til en væg igå↑(0.4) 3-Rola: jamen du nævner ikke de navne du snakker til (.) 4-Inas: jeg kigger på dig (0.3) 5-Rola: jamen jeg kigger også på dig	1-Inas: hello you (plural) must also do something (2.2) 2-Inas: I'm talking to a wall (.) I'm talking to a wall, aren't I? (0.4) 3-Rola: well you didn't mention the names you're talking to (.) 4-Inas: I'm looking at you (0.3) 5-Rola: well I'm also looking at you

(Rola: jamen du nævner ikke de navne du snakker til

In (1) Inas assumes the role of the leader of the group, as she produces a directive to her group. Seeing that the girl facing her (Rola) is not responding, she produces a complaint in the form of an insult (2), as she addresses Rola directly by this complaint, comparing Rola to a wall, as both Rola and the wall haven't shown compliance with her directive. Formulating this complaint in a yes/no question format, might alert the intended person – although the tag question is meant as a rhetorical question, where we expect the addressee to respond with a clarification for not responding rather than yes/no answer. Rola, in her turn (3) defends her position and puts the blame on Inas for not specifying or choosing her addressee, and perhaps she could be referring to Inas' directive in (1) where she addressed the group as a whole using (plural we). This claim is rejected, as Inas holds her position by assuming that Rola was the one who has been addressed, simply because she is looking at her. Oppositional turns in this example are characterized by being sarcastic (2) and the disputants use each other's arguments (4-5).

Some disputes can be related to "repair" and "correction", where disagreement is mostly established because of an inappropriate use of certain terms. Prior to the following episode, Inas and other participants talk about the need to draw a heart (part of their math assignment), but for some reason Erina wasn't involved in that talk. Example (8.16)

1-Inas: jeg laver bare et hjerte nemmere er det ikke (.) 2-Erina: (reads) °over et kvarte° (0.7) NÅ:: SKAL VI LAVE ET HJERTE I DEN DE::R↑ (1.1) 3-Inas: altså hvad er det vi har stået og vrøvlede om↑ (0.3)	1-Inas: I'll just make a heart it can't be easier (.) 2-Erina: (reads) °over a quarte:r° (0.7) ALRI::GHT (.) SHOULD WE MAKE A HEART IN THIS THE::RE? (1.1) 3-Inas: well what is that we stood and talked nonsense about?

4-Erina: vrøvlede↑ (.) 5-Inas: ° ja° 6-Erina: ved du godt hvad vrøvlede [betyder↑ 7-Inas: [ja (.) snakkede (0.6) 8-Erina: nej (.) god nej [ehehe::::: 9-Inas: [nå:	(0.3) 4-Erina: talked nonsense? (.) 5-Inas: °yes° 6-Erina: do you know what talked nonsense [means? 7-Inas: [yes (.) talked (0.6) 8-Erina: no (.) good no [hehehe 9-Inas: [we:ll

Inas: altså hvad er det vi har stået og vrøvlede om (3)

In line (1), Inas is thinking aloud regarding the next step she will do – as a result of her previous talk with the group. In (2), Erina inquires if she has to draw a heart – which indicates that she wasn't paying attention to the discussion among the girls. This inquiry is perceived negatively by Inas, and a sign that the previous discussion regarding the need to draw a heart was insignificant and nonsensical to the extent that Erina is unaware of it, and so she categorizes the previous discussion from Erina's perspective as incomprehensible nonsensical talk – producing in a way an implied assessment of Erina's mental powers who perceive the sane and sensible talk as rubbish or babbling. Erina's defense of herself is comprised of an inquiry about the meaning of "vrøvlede = talked nonsense" (4-6) not because she does not know what it means, but to make sure that her opponent is aware of the meaning. Inas in her turn provides a euphemistic meaning for "vrøvlede" stating that it means "talked" (7), an attempt perhaps to curtail the disagreement or oppositional stance she has created against Erina. Although the definition is not convincing for Erina (8), Inas does not argue further and ends the sequence with an exclamation (9) that demonstrates her acknowledgement that the way she defined the term was not accurate. As in the previous example, sarcastic assessment (3) triggers the subsequent adversative talk.

When one addresses a group while gazing at one member in a group, it might indicate that that particular member is the target who must speak next (example 8.15), and not paying attention to what the group have already discussed, might provide a motivation for a dispute (example 8.16). In the same way, referring to someone present by using pronouns – instead of mentioning their names – can be deemed inappropriate or unacceptable, and thus might be disputed as we see in the following example. Example (8.17)

1-Yosra: er det et E↑ 2-Rola: Ja 3-Inas: ej det er synd for hende (.) hallo en dag skal vi også lave en tjenste til hende der, en eller anden overraskelse til Rola (.) det er altid hende der laver vores ting vi kan ligeså godt indrømme det. 4-Yosra: ej hold op 5-Tina: jeg har ikke kigget efter hende der	1-Yosra: is it an E↑ 2-Rola: yes 3-Inas: well I feel sorry for her (.) hello one day we have to do a favour for her there, some surprise to Rola (.) it's always her who makes our things. we might as well admit it. 4-Yosra: well stop 5-Tina: I haven't looked at her there 6-Inas: well hello

6-Inas: altså hallo 7-Yosra: HENDE DER↑ prøv sige hendes navn 8-Tina: hendes navn, hende der Rola 9-Yosra: hende der Rola, sige hendes navn 10-Inas: (to Tina) altså ikke for noget, [men hvis hun ikke var der, så ville du være fortabt, (to Rola) du betyder virkelig meget.	7-Yosra: (mocking) SHE THERE↑ try and say her name 8-Tina: her name, her there Rola 9-Yosra: she there Rola, say her name 10-Inas: (to Tina) well not for anything, [but if she were not there, so you would be lost . (to Rola) you really mean a lot.

(Rola, Tina , Mariam)

(Basma, Inas, Yosra)

(Yosra: hende der, prøv sige hendes navn (7))

The girls involved in this episode attempt to show gratitude for one of them – Rola, as she seems to be the dynamo of the group, and the one who helps the group in doing the assignments. In line (3) Inas expresses her feelings of gratitude, and presents the case to the girls in a form of a suggestion, that they have to surprise Rola one day. In line (5), Tina rejects the idea that she owes Rola a favour, as she claims that she hasn't looked at "hende der =her there". Although it seems that Tina is not intending harm or insult by referring to Rola with "hende der", this way of reference is perceived by Yosra as an expression of ungratefulness, thus she mockingly repeats Tina's referential statement "hende der", and invites Tina to refer to Rola by using her name. From Yosra's perspective, it is more appropriate and respectful to refer to someone by using his/her name, than by using the deictic "hende der", and in this way she aligns herself with Inas who attempts to show gratitude for Rola, and opposes Tina who doesn't share the same feelings for Rola. In (8) Tina seems to be in a loss regarding the insistence on referring to someone by his/her name, and as if she wants to say "we all know who we are talking about", and for her "hende der" and "Rola" are one and the same, and perhaps the two references are equally respectful, which is clearly not as such for Yosra, who in (9) repeats her directive to Tina to refer to Rola by using her name, while in (10) Inas

follows suit and aligns herself with Yosra, and again attempts to highlight the role which Rola plays in the group, as she refers to the situation of Tina in case Rola were not there, and that Tina would be a loser. Opposition is mostly established through mocking what has been uttered by the oppositional party, and through directives regarding the appropriate ways of referring to a person. In this way, the dispute can be also construed as a form of teaching the norms.

In the next example, loud voice is rejected, and the dispute switches from one topic to communicative norms. Example: (8.15)

1-Yosra: hvorfor kom du ikke↑ (0.3) 2-Rola: JEG KOM I VAR DER IKKE, MIG JEG [STÅR E::H 3-Basma: [ikke råbe ikke råbe vi er lige her foran dit ansigt, [slap af 4-Rola: [okay okay 5-Tina: hvorfor ringede du ikke eller noget↑ skrev 6-Rola: JEG HAVDE IKKE JERES NUMMER °for fanden°	1-Yosra: (to Rola) why didn't you come↑ (0.3) 2-Rola: I CAME YOU WEREN'T THERE, ME I [STAND E::H 3-Basma: [do not scream do not scream we are just here in front of your face, [relax 4-Rola: [alright alright 5-Tina: why didn't you ring or something ↑ texted 6-Rola: I DIDN'T HAVE YOUR NUMBERS °damn°

The girls had a plan to meet, yet for some reason Rola couldn't be with the group. In (1) Yosra inquires about the reasons why Rola didn't come with them, and this is answered in (8), where Rola flips and in a raised volume reveals that she complied with the plan, and it is the group who didn't come. In (3) Basma attempts to teach Rola the rule that there is no need to scream when the addressees are close to her, an opposition to the way Rola's message is delivered, rather than a contestation of the idea that it is the group who didn't stick to the plan. Basma's opposition is established on the notion of conversational norms, and is comprised of negative directives "do not scream", followed by a justification for this directive "we are just here in front of your face", and closes her turn by a directive "relax". Rola complies with this directive in (4), but she flips again in (6) as a response to Tina's inquiry. In this example, opposition is established by using a raised volume, which might lead the opponents to dismiss the topic of dispute, and focus on issues related to norms of communication.

This chapter attempted to show the participants' methods in doing opposition to each other while teaching each other the "proper" way of conduct and norms. In the first and third categories (teaching through insults, and teaching the rules of communication) the participants employ a panoply of methods while demonstrating their adversarial attitudes, of which the use of direct negatives (No – don't, etc.) is merely an infrequent way of displaying opposition. The participants are apt to use more subtle ways in showing opposition, and the most frequent ways are emulation and mimicry, sarcasm, accusations, insults, and mocking. In addition, they frequently resort to threats and physical violence. Such methods are likely to lead to aggravation. Establishing opposition through polite admonition is rare. Moreover, girls' opposition might include verbal violence, but this would never transpire into physical violence as it is the case with disputes that involve boys. In the second category (teaching through cultural terms) the participants – especially the girls – show an inclination to use cultural terms which have social and religious connotations, e.g., *haram, a'aib*. The participants in general show an orientation to these terms by compliance. Moreover, the participants make use of the impolite addressee terms like *wila – wili* to assume

opposition, and they seem to have incorporated this usage of the addressee terms into Danish, by using "*dig = you*" in final position, to emphasize the inferiority of the addressee relative to the speaker.

As the participants assessed and criticized each other, they demonstrated their knowledge of the "event" or the "practice" being assessed and the extent to which the practice or event constitutes a violation to their norms and expectations. The excerpts in this chapter were only concerned with "negative assessments" where a participant is criticized on the basis of a certain violation or inappropriate behavior. There were different ways to "express" their rejection, unacceptance or criticism of the "events", where in some cases opposition amounted to verbal and physical violence. The data used in this chapter sheds light on the ways the participants socialize in the classrooms, and how on the long run might learn from each other what is appropriate and inappropriate. More importantly, the examples demonstrate that the processes of socialization and learning from each other take place in a violent environment, where insults, and physical and verbal violence are part of their daily interactions.

Chapter 9 - Insults

Introduction:

Studies concerned with bilingualism treat the phenomenon of code-switching as something positive as it indexes a speaker's competence and creativity in the languages at his/her disposal (e.g., Jørgensen 2008; Rampton 2005). However, as implied in the previous chapters, code-switching sometimes seems to serve a disruptive function, especially when it is used as a tool to exclude teachers from intervention. This chapter will delve a bit more into the world of disputes in order to highlight the participants' use of insults. As the examples will show, the distinction between personal and ritual insults can be discerned by looking at the nature of the insult and the reaction of the participant being insulted – including whether the target is an ingroup or outgroup member. In the same way that real insults are considered disruptive and part of a bigger frame, i.e., a dispute, ritual insults are also disruptive to the group work. This chapter will draw a distinction between personal insults which we are likely to encounter in disputes similar to the ones analyzed in previous chapters, and ritual insults (Labov 1972b), and will attempt to show the crucial differences between the participants' ritual insults and Labov's. Moreover, the examples will show that the participants frequently switch to Arabic when they use insults.

Personal and ritual insults: It could be hard to provide a universal definition for what an insult is, as it is closely related to the processes of socialization which vary from one culture to another. In the Western culture for example, it is polite if a pupil addresses a teacher by his first name, but it is an insult in the Arab culture. Nevertheless, many researchers have attempted to deal with insults from various perspectives, and perhaps the most well-known study related to insults and which has inspired many researchers afterwards is that of Labov (1972b), where he distinguishes between personal insults and ritual insults. Ritual insults (known as sounding, signifying, woofing, cutting) are seen as a speech event and verbal resource of peer-group members (adolescent and pre-adolescent activity), where communal shared knowledge is necessary to understand the actions taken and performed by the speakers, and in this sense ritual insults are to be perceived as a game, rather than as real insults. According to Labov (1972b) sounding for example is always thought of as talking about someone's mother and relatives, and it is usually answered by other sounds (Labov 1972b: 319). The format is usually prefaced with "your mother", for example, "your mother play dice with the midnight mice", and the primary mark of positive evaluation of a ritual insult is laughter (Labov 1972b: 325). Labov warns us that a ritual insult ceases to be as such and becomes a personal insult if it can be real. He gives the following example:

Rel: shut up please!
Stanley: …… 'ey, you telling' me?
Rel: Yes, Your mother's a duck.

According to Labov, Rel's use of "your mother's a duck" led Stanely – who is the leader of the group – to dismiss the issue and to consider it a ritual insult which is unserious. If Rel had answered with "yes" only in his second turn, the two disputants would have traded some punches, according to Labov. His unseriousness in the second turn is somehow extrapolated to the first turn, and so "shut up" is not serious, same as "your mother's a duck" is untrue. "Among young adults, to say "I fucked your mother" is not to say something obviously untrue. But it is obviously untrue that "I fucked your mother from tree to tree" (Labov: 1972b: 340). The former will certainly be perceived as a personal insult, while the latter as a ritual insult. In other words, the more bizarre, obscene, and farfetched the metaphor is, the less insulting the statement would be, and thus would prevent escalation. Moreover, "a personal insult is answered by a denial, excuse, or mitigation, whereas a sound or ritual insult is answered by longer sequences, since a sound and its response are essentially the same kind of thing, and a response calls for a further response" (Labov 1972b: 335). The most important element that relates to ritual insults is that participants in such exchanges consider the insults as untrue and are not taken in a serious way.

Targeting relatives: Depending on the data and the community of the participants of this study, there is no place for ritual insults which attempt to depict mothers or relatives. This doesn't mean that the data doesn't include insults that are staged against mothers and relatives, rather, whenever mothers and relatives are mentioned, in whatever context, it would be perceived as a personal insult. Consider the following example (9.1):

1-Adham: *yallah* osama læs (0.3) 2-Musa: *yallah (1.3)* 3-Nida: læs dig din *khara (.)* 4-Osama: hold din kæft nida (.) 5-Nida: ok ok videre (0.3) 6-Osama: *yil'an ras elli khallafik* (.) 7-Adham: *kont baddak t'olla* din e::::h↓ (moves lips) (1.1) 8-Adham: *mosh kont biddak t'olla* (moves lips) 9-Osama: *la'a khalas (2.0)* 10-Adham: thooth	1-Adham: *come on* osama read (0.3) 2-Musa: *come on (1.3)* 3-Nida: read you your *shit* (= read you shit) (.) 4-Osama: shut your mouth nida (.) 5-Nida: alright alright go on (0.3) 6-Osama: *damn the head who gave birth to you* (.) 7-Adham: *you were going to tell her* your e::::h↓(moves lips) (1.1) 8-Adham: *isn't it? were you not going to tell her* (moves lips) 9-Osama: *no that's it* (2.0) 10-Adham: thooth

Osama is too slow in accomplishing what is required from him, so some of the group members urge him to commence the reading (1-2-3). However, in (3) Nida tags an insult where she describes Osama as "*shit*" after giving her command of reading. This insult is answered by Osama with another insult as he orders Nida to "shut her mouth" (4), an escalative pattern as both Osama and Nida compete for a one-up position. Nida gives a signal of withdrawal, by giving a directive to Osama which is neutral and doesn't contain any insult, starting with a one down competition (5). Osama goes on to stage more insults (formulaic Arabic insults which are well-known in the Arab culture), however, he modifies some of the offensive terms in the formulaic statement, where the original one is "*damn the (cunt) which gave birth to you*[45]", and replaced the offensive word "cunt" with "head", giving a euphemistic version of the formulaic curse which has a mitigating effect on

[45] Another formulaic curse that sounds the same in the Arab culture is "Damn the womb that carried you", and Osama's statement and Adham's query indicate that the participants are familiar with all these formulaic statements.

the dispute (6). Nida is Somali, and although she speaks and understands Arabic (for example, line 3), she might not be aware of the original form of the curse, and she maintains silence after hearing Osama's insult, dismissing it as insignificant or unserious. Adham, on the other hand, is aware of the original formulaic statement, and so he inquires from Osama if he were going to use the original statement (7-8), demonstrating at the end what that statement is through the use of a nonsensical term "thooth" (10). Previous to this episode, Adham explains to a girl that "thooth" means "koss = cunt". The method in this example is represented by replacing an offensive term with a less offensive one. Another method to create a euphemistic effect is to mention the formulaic statement, without mentioning the taboo word. Example (9.2)

1-Ihsan: (reads) ALLE UDSAGNESORDENE STÅR I NAVNEFORM 2-Monir: he::y *ma ta'ayit* ***ya ibn el ha***	1-Ihsan: (reads) ALL THE VERBS ARE IN THE FORM OF NAMES 2-Monir: he::y *do not scream* ***you son of a***

This insult is very common among Arabs, and it is left to the imagination of the hearer to complete the curse by any term, for example "bitch, dog, donkey, etc.", and there is no specification whether the target is the father or the mother, and in this way it is usually dismissed as unserious as the offensive word is not mentioned. In the next sequence, we see another form of a curse staged against parents, and is dismissed as insignificant. Example (9.3)

1-Adham: lade mig se den mand (takes Musa's pencil) 2-Adham: er den god↑ 3-Musa: ja 4-Musa: hvad sker der for din, den er handikappet 5-Adham: din far han er handikappet. Min den er den bedste (shakes the pencil) 6-Adham: det er din der er handikappet, se↑ se↑ den går ned af sig selv.	1-Adham: let me see it man (takes Musa's pencil) 2-Adham: is it good↑ 3-Musa: yes 4-Musa: what is happening to your (pencil), it is handicapped 5-Adham: your father he is handicapped. mine (my pencil) is the best (shakes the pencil) 6-Adham: it is yours which is handicapped, see↑ see↑ it falls down by itself.

Musa attributes a deficiency to Adham's pencil in (4) describing it as handicapped, where the pencil is in a way personified; Adham in his turn treats Musa's statement as a personal insult, and retaliates by staging an insult against Musa's father (5), using the same term which is used by Musa in (4) to describe Musa's father (a competition for a one up position). Receiving no answer from Musa, Adham returns to the comparison between the pencils, and attributes a deficiency to Musa's pencil (6). Again, the offense against the father is treated as insignificant, as it doesn't include a formulaic statement, rather it was devised by Adham. Compare this example, with the following. Example (9.4)

1-Adham: *sheeel* (.) *lik* læ::s °*yilaan abooki kalb*° 2-Ilham: *abooy*↑ 3-Musa: ups 4-Adham: *haik shi* (.) hehe nej nej ikke dig (0.4) læs (2.2) 5-Ilham: hvor er jeg nået↑(1.1) 6-Musa: du er nået her.(1.0)	1-Adham: (*flirtatious term*) (.) *you* (pejorative) rea::d °*damn your dog father*° 2-Ilham: *my father*? 3-Musa: ups 4-Adham: *something like that* hehe no no not you (0.4) read (2.2) 5-Ilham: where have I reached? (1.1) 6-Musa: you've reached here (1.0)

Adham banters Ilham with the term (sheel = flirtatious term), and directs an insult to her father "*damn your dog father*" as he commands her to read (1). This statement is formulaic and widely used among Arabs to stage insults in serious disputes, and it is oriented to by Ilham as offensive. The case here is that formulaic statements like these are always interpreted as offensive and face-threatening, whereas devising new terms or insults which sound unfamiliar (as in the previous example, your father is handicapped) are dismissed as inoffensive and unserious. Ilham has heard well that it is her father Adham is talking about, so her question *my father?* is not a yes/no question, rather it has to be seen as an objection to include her father in the dispute, and a reminder to Adham that he is crossing the limits (2). The question "my father?" can be also construed as a threat, in the sense that if you "really mean my father, then I will do this and that". Musa reacts shockingly to the offense staged by Adham (3), while Adham treats Ilham's "my father?" as a question, demonstrating his carelessness that yes it is her father who is meant, followed by a laughter and a denial that he is not serious, and ends his turn by urging her to read (4). The example shows that staging formulaic insults against parents/relatives is unaccepted, and is quite often oriented to as personal – rather than ritualistic – and might very well lead to aggravation and escalation in the participants' disputes.

Compare this example with the following example, where mothers are targeted, and yet the participants do not react violently. Example (9.5)

1-Anas: ihsan↑ ihsan↑ hvornår skal du møde i skolen i sammetid? (.)	1-Anas: ihsan↑ ihsan↑ when shall we meet in the school at the same time? (.)
2-Ihsan: (mocking voice) jeg tnepper din mor oh ja (.)	2-Ihsan: (mocking voice) I vuck your mother oh yeah (.)
3-Anas: ej hvornår↑(.)	3-Anas: well, when↑ (.)
4-Jamal: ripper din mor	4-Jamal: open/cut your mother
5-Monir: jeg får isser (.) jeg knepper jer (.)	5-Monir: I get crowns (.) I fuck you (plural) (.)
6-Malik: se det gør ondt det her (.)	6-Malik: see it gives pain this here (.)
7-Ihsan: jeg fryser jeg fryser (.) Jeg typer (2.0)	7-Ihsan: I freeze I freeze (.) I typer (2.0)
8-Malik: jeg elsker din mor	8-Malik: I love your mother

We do not see a fight in this instance, simply because the boys involved are not addressing each other directly, and there seems to be little connection between the different turns. What they seem to be doing is to provide nonsensical terms that might rhyme with the word "knepper = fuck", and coining the nonsensical terms with the mother theme (tnepper – ripper – isser – typer). When "knepper =fuck" was mentioned in (5), it was coined with "jer = you plural" and not with the mother. Again, when a sensical statement was mentioned about the mother in (8), the term "elsker = love" replaced the term "knepper = fuck". Even in a non-serious context, the boys display that there are restrictions regarding the collocation of "fuck + mother", and the process can be done through the use of nonsensical terms, or even through modifications to the original formulaic insults. In the next example, "fuck + mother" are collocated and addressed to the participants, but the method used is "conditional": Example (9.6)

1-Anas: (pretends to sneeze)	1-Anas: (pretends to sneeze)
2-Ihsan: ja hun kommer nu (0.5)	2-Ihsan: yes she is coming now (0.5)
3-Monir: *ew* ikke spytte, [*WALLAH QURAN*	3-Monir: *ew* don't spit, [*BY ALLAH BY QURAN*
4-Anas: [hey det er ham der begyndte	4-Anas: [hey it's him who started
5-Monir: den første der spytter på mig jeg flækker hans mor	5-Monir: the first who spits on me I will split his mother (0.3)

(0.3) 6-Anas: MOREN↑ 7-Monir: ja hans mor ja hehe 8-Malik: (mocking voice) ihsan↑ det ham der spyttede, flæk hans mor 9-Anas: [ja du spyttede også (to Malik) 10-Monir: [ham der rammer mig, jeg knepper hans mor sådan (acts as if someone is sitting in his lap) da da da (nobody spits)	6-Anas: THE MOTHER↑ 7-Monir: yes his mother yes hehe 8-Malik: (mocking voice) ihsan↑ it's him who spat, split his mother 9-Anas: [yes you spat also (to Malik) 10-Monir: [whoever hits me, I fuck his mother like this (acts as if someone is sitting in his lap) da da da (nobody spits)

Monir is irritated by the behavior of his peers who are spitting on each other, where he gives the directive "don't spit", followed by the emphatic "*by allah by quran*" (3). However, this directive is likely to be ignored and might not curb his peers or deter them from spitting, so he empowers his directive by resorting to the theme of "mother" – a conditional threat that whoever spits, his mother will be offended (5). Malik and Anas exchange accusations as to who started (8-9), while Monir provides more conditions for his threat – it doesn't matter who started, what matters is whoever hits him will have his mother offended, and he provides an action where he demonstrates what he will do with the "mother", an attempt that would scare his peers away from breaching the condition, and would necessarily curb their desire to spit (10). The example shows that insulting mothers is not an act that can happen directly; rather it is used as a "threat", or a consequence if the addressee(s) cross(es) the limits. Moreover, this threat is an effective one and capable of preventing the group from doing the "condition" on which the threat is attached. In the following, we see a similar example, where the collocation of (fuck+mother) is attached to a condition – though the condition is in the past, and not the future. (All participants are Arabs except for Khalil (Somali)): Example (9.7)

1-Khalil : øv: hvem har pruttet↑ [fuck det lugter] 2-Ilham : [khalil der står] dit navn 3-Adham : fuck (.) sagde han fuck min mor↑ (0.3) 4-Musa : hvad↑ 5-Adham : sagde han fuck min eh din mor adham↑ 6-Musa : nej 7-Khalil : fuck det lugter her mand 8-Adham : sagde han↑ 9-Musa : han sagde hvem har pruttet↑ (0.5) 10-Adham: jamen sagde han ikke fuck din mor↑ (.) SAGDE DU FUCK MIN MOR KHALIL↑ (2.5) 11-Adham: så fuck din mor, hvis du sagde det (.) 12-Khalil: jeg sagde fuck det lugter din fucking (0.3) (Ilham restores her pen from Adham's hand) 13-Adham: nå:::h 14-Khalil: ham der manden han filmer jer	1-Khalil: ugh: who has farted? [fuck it stinks 2-Ilham: [Khalil it says your name 3-Adham: fuck (.) did he say fuck my mother? (0.3) 4-Musa: what? 5-Adham: did he say fuck my eh your mother adham? 6-Musa: no 7-Khalil: fuck it stinks here man 8-Adham: did he say? 9-Musa: he said who has farted? (0.5) 10-Adham: well did he not say fuck your mother? (.) DID YOU SAY FUCK MY MOTHER KHALIL? (2.5) 11-Adham: so fuck your mother if you said that (.) 12-Khalil: I said fuck it stinks you fucking (0.3) (Ilham restores her pen from Adham's hand) 13-Adham: we:::ll 14-Khalil: the man there he is filming you

This episode shows participant framework across space, where Khalil is not in the same group, but in the same class. Ilham mediates and answers Khalil by accusing him of farting, and they all seem to be monitoring each other. Adham creates participatory framework, where on the cultural level, he orients to the insult against his mother as a matter that requires from him to control the situation. He maintains a hierarchy and reveals that he is higher in rank than Khalil, and more powerful. Adham's retaliation is about status. Monitoring the environment depends on two norms or rules, where Adham displays that: 1- if what Khalil has said is an insult, he has to act promptly, and he has to 2- make sure what the insult is in order to act accordingly. Musa does the minimal thing, and this is not what Adham is interested in. It is the insult which is important for Adham, and Musa attempts

to distance himself from this affair. Adham gives up when he uses the conditional insult (11), and Khalil cannot react unless he insulted Adham's mother. Adham receives several chances in the sequences to understand that he misunderstood (5-6) and (8-9), but he was simply fishing for a positive answer in order to retaliate and offend Khalil. Attacking the mother requires retaliation, whereas attacking Adham (din fucking = you fucking) (12) is of no meaning or significance. Khalil's reference to the camcorder is another way of asking Adham to shut his mouth[46]. In a way, the way Adham ends the dispute represents an "imagined" offense/insult which is answered with an equal measure of "conditional" offense/insult– a tit for tat, which is meant to put Khalil in his inferior place. Once again, staging insults by using the mother theme is something to be done as a threat, and is attached to a condition, rather than an act that can be addressed directly. These examples reveal that there seems to be a self-containing system of norms which may be informed by macrostructures, but are nevertheless done in the micro. The macro world of the participants prohibits insults against parents, and this prohibition is manifested in the micro attempts of the participants to monitor each other and assume the role of the guardians of their cultural norms.

Offending mothers is prohibited according to the norms of the participants, and this is a reason why most of the participants' disputes are diffused once the offence against mothers is used indirectly or as a threat. When mothers are offended directly, escalation follows. Example (9.8)

1-Malik: o:h u:h o:h ana::s↑ 2-Anas: det er ligesom din mor [XXXXXXX XXX XXX 3-Malik: [ana:::::s↑ (moan) 4-Ihsan: (to malik) o:::w han sagde din mor 5-Anas: jeg sagde det er ligesom din mor 6-Ihsan: (to malik) o:::w han sagde ligesom din mor 7-Anas: jeg sagde det faktisk til dig, men det er lige meget 8-Ihsan: e:::h *kalb hayawan* ***sharmoot*** 9-Ihsan:(hits Ahmad on the back of his head)xxx xxxx min mor 10-Anas: DIN MO::R 11-Ihsan: vi kom op og sloges bare fordi ayman sagde hvad hedder det min mor 12-Anas: DIN MO::R er god til at lave mad 13-Ihsan: jeg går ind nu	1-Malik: o:h u:h o:h ana::s↑ 2-Anas: it's just like your mother [XXXXXXX XXX XXX 3-Malik: [ana:::::s↑ (moan) 4-Ihsan: (to malik) o:::w he said your mother 5-Anas: I said it's like your mother 6-Ihsan: (to malik) o:::w he said like your mother 7-Anas: I said it actually to you, but it doesn't matter 8-Ihsan: e:::h *dog animal* ***bitch***[47] 9-Ihsan:(hits Ahmad on the back of his head)xxx xxxx my mother 10-Anas: YOUR MOTHE::R 11-Ihsan: we went to fight just because ayman said what is it-my mother 12-Anas: YOUR MOTHE::R is good in making food 13-Ihsan: I'll go inside now

Malik produces sexual moans while he utters Anas' name (1-3), pretending that he is engaged in a sexual affair with him. This action is treated as extremely offensive by Anas, so he retaliates by insulting Malik's mother, and that the sexual moans Malik is producing are akin to the sexual moans of Malik's mother when she was with Anas, and supposedly she was also uttering Anas' name. The offense is direct and face-threatning from the two parties involved, and any movement, gesture, or utterance produced by Malik, will be also extrapolated to include Malik's mother. Malik shies away from proceeding with his sexual depiction as a result of Anas' retaliation against the mother, and the dispute with Anas is thus difussed. However, Ihsan alert's Malik that a norm is

[46] Khalil in fact doesn't care about the camera, because in many examples, he deliberately poses in front of the camera and utters dirty terms. He simply doesn't want to escalate the dispute with an Arab, and at the same time doesn't want to lose his face.

[47] In Arabic, the term *sharmoota = bitch* is the most demeaning term one can direct against a female, and the term is construed as a feminine noun, and there is no masculine noun equivalent to the feminine "sharmoota", but Ihsan derives a masculine noun from the feminine term, simply by deleting the feminine gender suffix "a", rendering it into a masculine *sharmoot.*

breached (4) and that a mother is being insulted, “he said your mother” (4). Anas corrects Ihsan that this is not precisely what he said, rather he used a simile “it’s like your mother”, and the offense is not direct, and it is not Malik’s mother for real, rather it is “like” Malik’s mother. Ihsan then repeats his alert, considering the simile as equally offensive (6), and Anas in his turn directs the offense against Ihsan for insisting on pushing the diffused dispute with Malik to escalation. Thus, Anas claims that he meant Ihsan’s mother (7). Ihsan retaliates physically and verbally, where he hits Anas on his head, and directs offensive terms against him “dog, animal, bitch” (8-9), and provides a consequence for insulting his mother, as he depicts how he fought with someone named Ayman just because he said “your mother” (11). Ihsan is simply threatening Anas by narrating the story with Ayman, i.e., mentioning my mother means a fight. Anas complies with Ihsan’s threat, and at the same time, he demonstrates that saying “your mother” is not an insult, nor it has to be taken aggressively, and thus he coins “your mother” with something positive “is good in making food”, which is neither offensive nor threatening, and it fits what the boys consider as the major thing required from a good mother, i.e, making food (12). The second dispute with Ihsan is thus dispersed.

In the bullying section between Ala and Noha, we saw how Noha targets Ala’s sister – returning an insult with a similar insult, and which is similar to Malik’s insult against Anas in example (8.8) where Anas retaliates by targeting Malik’s mother. The offense which Ala stages against Noha (that she is a dog), is retaliated by Noha who directs the same insult to Ala’s sister, a tit for tat. Example (9.9)

37-Ala: det er fordi hun er min hund (1.5) 38-Maria: du har da mange hunde[da 39-Ala: [vi går tur 40-Noha: ***HAY OKHTAK BITO'OU:L A'ANNA*** [***WALA***	37-Ala: it’s because she is my dog (1.5) 38-Maria: you’ve got many [dogs 39-Ala: [we take a walk 40-Noha: ***THAT’S YOUR SISTER YOU’RE TALKING ABOUT [YOU*** (pejorative)

Ljung (2011: 115) argues that “the violent reactions that may occur are probably not caused so much by the factual content of the speaker’s disparaging remarks as by his/her violating the central role assigned to mother-son, brother-sister relations in the male code of honor in many cultures.” It is also worth mentioning that mothers, fathers, and the honor/chastity of sisters are considered sacred by the minority culture to which the participants belong. This sacredness is manifested sometimes in the way they swear (for example, by allah – by quran – by my father – by the life of my mother – by the chastity of my sister, etc.). All these forms of swearing demonstrate the extent to which relatives in general, and mothers and sisters in particular, are deemed as sacred by the participants, and males are mostly responsible for protecting them. Mothers, fathers and sisters can never be targets for ritual insults, and whenever relatives are mentioned or targeted, a dispute is likely to escalate. This doesn’t mean that the participants do not practice a form of ritual insults, in that they do exchange insults ritualistically, where the sequence is usually very short and depends on providing a quick answer, mostly of sexual nature, accompanied in many cases with alliterative terms, puns, or humerous suggestions.

The disputes mentioned so far are mainly related to personal insults in serious disputes. Ljung (2011) distinguishes between ritual insults, name-calling, and unfriendly suggestions. He considers

that "name-calling is a category of verbal abuse in which the speaker typically directs a disparaging apithet at the addressee" (for example, fool, stupid, animal, etc.) and the examples above reveal an extensive use of such terms[48]. The unfriendly suggestions or commands "are not interpreted literally but whose negative literal meaning determines the secondary meaning that they receive when used as swearing" (Ljung 2011: 115)[49]. For example, "go to hell" is a formulaic string that expresses the speaker's desire to be rid of the addressee, and the same applies to "eat shit" or "lick my ass", when the speaker wants the addressee to be silent. Many of the examples above show the participants' reliance on such unfriendly suggestions in establishing their oppositional turns. In this sense, an insult is an action which might serve to marginalize, ostracize, or even enhance peer group, and this action will necessarily produce a reaction. Evaldsson (2005) in her study of school children in Sweden finds that insulting is not "a separate or well-structured isolated speech activity. Rather, insulting is a parasitic activity that takes its shape from the sequential context (e.g. second insults attacks, recycling of arguments, evaluation alignments, repeating the striking part, substitutions, code-crossing)," and this finding can be extrapolated to the study of disputes in this chapter, in that it could be hard to assume that insults are used or exchanged between participants in isolation from a certain form of dispute/disagreement. Exchanging insults is merely parasitic to the on-going activity, and it provides a material for the disputants to enhance their oppositional turns. In light of the data at hand, most of the formulaic insults used by the participants of this study are in Arabic, and might thus confer upon the motivation of disputes a cultural element, or perhaps there is a tendency to use offensive terms in a language incomprehensible by teachers in order to escape apprehension.

Evaldsson (2005) finds that collaborative response work to insults diminishes the gap between personal and ritual insults in that shifts between playful return-insults and serious responses demonstrates the complex relationship between the real and unreal. However, this ambiguity cannot be extrapolated to the data of this study, and a distinction can be drawn between the real and the unreal. One criterion is that serious disputes quite often escalate and might spiral out of control, whereas the unreal ones do not. Insults used in real disputes are delivered with angry tone of voice and quite often concomitant with contextualization cues (raised volume, frown, aggressive gestures, punches, etc), whereas the unreal ones are typically delivered with a neutral paralinguistic behavior or with a laughter, except in the cases when disputants want to mislead teachers into believing that a friendly talk is going on instead of a serious dispute. The insults which we have seen in this chapter are part of a bigger frame, i.e., a dispute. Some disputes are generated by ethnic and racial matters (bullying a Somali) – others are generated by gender issues (sexual harassment), a third type is related to individual characteristics (individual bullying, based on individual descriptions: short, fat, etc), a fourth form is concerned with teaching cultural rules or the proper norms of communication,

[48] There are two kinds of evaluative nouns, those expressing the speaker's positive feelings concerning others and those conveying his/her negative attitudes which are also known as epithets (…) the epithets may be either expletive or non-expletive. The members of the first category are taboo words like arsehole, bastard, wanker; those in the second are non-taboo words like fool, idiot, wimp. Nouns like traitor, idiot and snob are epithets, while teacher, judge and parent are not (Ljung 2011: 125).

[49] The number of potential unfriendly suggestions is in principle almost infinite, and can be represented in terms of demeaning acts recommended to the addressee, like arse-kissing (licking), cock-sucking, shit-eating, and self-fucking (like go fuck yourself), while (fuck you is identified as a curse) (Ljung 2011: 137).

and finally insulting teachers which has nothing to do with rituals, in that *ritual insults* is perceived to be an activity that pertains to ingroup peer members. The next section will deal with forms of the participants' ritual insults, and the criteria which distinguish such insults from serious ones.

Ritual Insults:

Ritual insults are perceived to be a form of offensive language which is not oriented to as face-threatening, and it is basically an in-group activity, and mostly between close friends or members of the same clique. However, Labov's ritual insults is in itself and by itself a genre or a game that pertains to a specific ethnic/cultural group, which is mainly concerned with adversative in-group parties who compete on outwitting each other, using the mother as a major theme. The ritual insults which will be dealt with in the following examples pertain to the Arab/ghetto group, and it might include offensive language which can be used in serious disputes, except that the insult/threat is dismissed as unserious, and in most of the cases it is unanswered, or answered with short responses which might include repetitions of the same insult, or even an insult of a similar nature which doesn't bear escalative consequences. Thus, the sequences are characterized by being short. Practicing such insults cannot be regarded as a genre by itself, rather it is mostly a form of assessment of a certain activity conducted by the in-group member. Labov's ritual insults, on the other hand, are comprised of extended sequences of exchanging insults for hours, without anyone getting offended. The themes and topics of the insults in this study vary from situation to situation, and – unlike Labov's insults – the mother and family members are usually avoided, and the individual himself is in some way targeted. Sacks (2000: 157)[50] argues that a central feature of teenager's conversations is "that an insult is properly followed by another, or a return to it", and he refers to "playing the dozens", which is a Negro kids' insult game, which is usually done before some audience, where the audience, by its reaction, decides that the game is over. As we will see in the coming examples, the presence or absence of audience is optional for the participants of this study. Sacks also points to the classic ways of handling insults by providing an ancient Greek story: ("A pert youth meeting an old woman driving a herd, called "Good morning mother of assess." "Good morning, my son," she returned). Sacks considers that the response of the "mother of assess" is elegant as she makes her status a consequence of the speaker's status who insulted her, and he points out that "kinship obviously is the most powerful way of doing that". An important distinction which must be stressed between the ritual insults which are mentioned by Labov and Sacks, and those which comprise this study, is that the former is not parasitic to an ongoing activity, rather it is an activity and a game which is practiced for the sake of practicing it, while the ritual insults in this study can be seen as highly parasitic to an ongoing activity (the default activity is the school task), and thus disruptive. Moreover, the exchange of insults might start with one topic, but it might develop into something serious. The following example might illustrate how bantering turns into something serious. Example (9.10)

1-Monir: Erina↑ (.) han vil have en kusse (points at Anas) (3.5) (Anas hits Monir on his head) 2-Erina: Tage jer lige sammen (0.7)	1-Monir: Erina↑ (.) he wants a pussy (points at Anas) (3.5) (Anas hits Monir on his head) 2-Erina: get a grip (both of you) now (0.7)

[50] Lecture 5 "Tying rules, Insult sequences"

(Monir leaves his seat and goes beside Ihsan)	(Monir leaves his seat and goes beside Ihsan)
3-Anas: der er et kamera nigger (.)	3-Anas: there is a camera nigger (.)
4-Monir: hvad? (.)	4-Monir: what? (.)
5-Anas: der er en kamera nigger	5-Anas: there is camera nigger
6-Monir: xxxx xxxxx (0.4)	6-Monir: xxxx xxxxx (0.4)
7-Anas: *wallah* han er glad grim	7-Anas: *by allah* he is happy ugly
8-Erina: Hvad siger han↑ hvad siger han↑	8-Erina: what is he saying↑ what is he saying↑
9-Monir: ja det kommer fra dig ehe::hehehe	9-Monir: yes it comes from you ehe::hehehe
10-Anas: hva↑ xxxx xxxx til Erina↑	10-Anas: what↑ xxxx xxxx to Erina↑
11-Monir: mig↑	11-Monir: me↑
12-Anas: ja	12-Anas: yes
13-Monir: *la airy*	13-Monir: *like my dick*
14-Anas: *tab khod airy*	14-Anas: *so take this my dick*
15-Monir: *ehe:m: sof honeek ma 'indak airy ehe:*	15-Monir: *ehe:m: stand in line there you have no dick ehe:*
16-Anas: *a'atolak airy*	16-Anas: *it matches your length my dick*
17-Monir: *ma 'indak air*	17-Monir: *you have no dick*
18-Anas: xxxxxxxxxxxx (gestures the size of his dick)	18-Anas: xxxxxxxxxxxx (gestures the size of his dick)
19-Monir: min er større end din he::	19-Monir: mine is bigger than yours he::
20-Anas: jeg hader bare når du er sådan	20-Anas: I just hate it when you are like that
21-Monir: okay okay ,giv mig min fem kroner tilbage	21-Monir: alright alright, give me back my five crowns (money)
22-Anas: næ	22-Anas: no
23-Monir: fuck dig, giv mig dem tilbage	23-Monir: fuck you, give me them back
24-Anas: næ	24-Anas: no
25-Ihsan: NADA::::↑	25-Ihsan: NADA::::↑
26-Monir: giv mig dem tilbage (repeats monotonously)	26-Monir: give me them back
27-Anas: jeg giver altid dig	27-Anas: I always give you
28-Monir: hvad↑	28-Monir: what↑
29-Anas: jeg giver dig altid	29-Anas: I always give you
30-Monir: hvad↑ hvad↑ hvad↑ hvad↑	30-Monir: what↑ what↑ what↑ what↑
31-Anas: i fredags i fredags i fredags	31-Anas: last friday last friday last friday
32-Monir: hva↑	32-Monir: what↑
33-Anas: i fredags	33-Anas: last friday
34-Monir: der gav du ikke	34-Monir: then you didn't give
35-Anas: og i går hvor meget↑ hvor meget↑ hvor meget *yallah ihki ihki ihki*	35-Anas: and yesterday how much↑ how much↑ how much *go on speak speak speak*
36-Monir: fire kroner.	36-Monir: four crowns.
37-Anas: jeg gav dig alligevel (1.6)	37-Anas: I gave you anyway (1.6)
38-Anas: og nudler nudler, *ew* Monir↑ Monir↑	38-Anas: and noodles noodles, *ew* Monir↑ Monir↑
39-Monir: det var ham der gav mig den (places his hand on Ihsan's shoulder)	39-Monir: it was him who gave me it (places his hand on Ihsan's shoulder)
40-Anas: næ det var mig der købte den	40-Anas: no it was me who bought it
41-Monir: hvad snakker du om man↑	41-Monir: what are you talking about man↑
42-Anas: det var mig der købte den og jeg gav også Ihsan to	42-Anas: it was me who bought it and I gave also Ihsan two
43-Monir: jeg gav dig pengene tilbage	43-Monir: I gave you the money back
44-Anas: nej det gjorde du ikke	44-Anas: no you didn't
45-Monir: jo ho::	45-Monir: yes of course
46-Anas: ja i dag	46-Anas: yes today
47-Ihsan: (sings) o::::h fald til ro:::	47-Ihsan: (sings) o::::h calm do:::wn

One can identify several sequences in this episode: 1- (1-12) a bantering sequence, where Monir attempts to embarrass Anas and Erina, and he was opposed by Erina and Anas on different grounds. While Erina asks the boys to "get a grip", Anas finds Monir's action inappropriate because of the camera, and he stages insults of the category "name-calling", for example, "nigger" and "ugly". 2- (13-20) Anas' opposition is answered by an escalative level of offensive language, where Monir shows carelessness about Anas' concerns as he assesses the situation as "like my dick" and switches into Arabic (13), leading to an aggravated sequence, where the two boys exchange insults – mostly in Arabic – as each tries to outwit the other in boasting their masculinities . 3- In (21) Monir moves to a new sequence, as he attempts to punish Anas by asking him to return his money,

a sequence which extends to line (46), where the boys allude to their mutual experience and to what each of them owes the other. This last sequence signifies that the previous exchange of insults was to some extent serious, and it resulted in the liquidation of the friendship between the two boys as the insults have evolved into a full-fledged dispute. Ritual insults, on the other hand, never escalate in such a way, though the nature of the language used could be equally offensive, and might fall under the following categories:

I - Targeting an outgroup member: Example (9.11)

(talk about Justin bieber) 1-Monir: *lak lak* det er kun grimme piger (points at the girls) der går efter ham 2-Jamal: ja: hahahaha 3-Monir: er vi ikke↑ er vi ikke enige↑ 4-Anas: ja Erina han siger du er grim 5-Monir: det er kun grim piger der går efter ham	(talk about Justin bieber) 1-Monir: *you you* (pejorative) it's only ugly girls (points at the girls) who are after him 2-Jamal: ye:s hahahaha 3-Monir: don't we↑ don't we agree↑ 4-Anas: yes Erina he says you are ugly 5-Monir: it's only ugly girls who go after him

Implicating someone with problems with others is a common method in the participants' ritual insults and play. Although Monir makes a pejorative assessment about the girls and describes them as ugly, the girls didn't hear the assessment, and as in the previous example, which escalates into a serious dispute between the two boys, Anas here informs Erina of what Monir has said, while Monir dismisses the implication as unserious, and treats it with indifference. Such a way of handling what Goodwin might call (He-said/ She-said), might have serious consequences in case the reporting speaker reports to someone doesn't speak Arabic, as in the following example. Example (9.12)

1-Osama: *aya el awalani walla el khaili*↑ 2-Adham: *wala:::w*↑ (.) 3-Adham: (to Sara) han taler om dig, det ved du godt, bare så du ved det. Han siger sara hun er fucking, du ved. 4-Sara: du ved godt jeg ikke er dum. (.) 5-Adham: hva? 6-Sara: jeg mener det er det rigtigt	1-Osama: *which one? the first or the weird?*↑ 2-Adham: *wo:::w*↑ (.) 3-Adham: (to Sara) he is talking about you, you know just so you know. he says sara she is fucking, you know 4-Sara: you know I'm not stupid (.) 5-Adham: what? 6-Sara: I think it is true.

What Osama has uttered in (1) is free from insults, and he is not talking about Sara. However, because he said what he said in Arabic, Adham takes a chance to implicate Osama with troubles as he reports to Sara (a Somali) that Osama has insulted her (in Arabic), and Sara believed in Adham's claim. Even when Arabic is not used for a disruptive purpose, listeners might alter the content and make it disruptive.

Example (9.13)

1-(a group of Danish boys are passing in the corridor) 2-Osama: **danimankiyi** *hadol* **danamonkiyi** *wlad el haramiyi*	1-(a group of Danish boys are passing in the corridor) 2-Osama: **danimankiyi** *those* **danamonkiyi** *sons of the thieves*

The bolded words are nonsensical terms derived from the Arabic *danimarkiyi = Danes*; while *danimankiyi* doesn't sound pejorative, *danamonkiyi* includes the sounds of Monkey, giving what

might mean "Danes are monkeys". Although the insult to the group of Danish boys could have been answered seriously, and might have escalated into a serious dispute, had the insult been in Danish, it remains true that the insult is not addressed to them, rather to the boy sitting with Osama, and Osama in this way is just displaying his linguistic abilities of deriving alliteratative terms. Example (9.14):

1-Musa: *akh*, jeg er træt 2-Adham: hold din kæft de kigger på os den fucking *sharmota*	1-Musa: *ugh* I'm tired 2-Adham: shut up they are looking at us that fucking *bitch*

The two boys are sitting in the corridor, and their teachers came out of the class. As in the previous example, the insult is meant to be heard by Musa and not by the teacher who is not within an audible range. Deriving terms based on pun and alliteration is a common practice among the participants. The insults in this sense are not necessarily meant to target someone; rather they might be produced as a way of suggestion, and are more a display of the participants' linguistic abilities.

Omran is an outgroup boy who has a speech defect represented by pronouncing /r/ as /l/ . Example (9.15):

1-(Omran is passing) 2-Adham: omlan omlan omlan °***hayawa::n***°	1-(Omran is passing) 2-Adham: omlan omlan omlan °***anima::l***°

Adham's pronunciation of the boy's name while calling him can be construed as "bullying" in that he is targeting an actual deficiency related to the boy, yet the boy makes no response and continues his way. While the actual deficiency of the boy is mocked, the name calling "*hayawan = animal*" is whispered in order to be heard by those sharing the desk with Adham, but not by Omran. The choice of "hayaw**an**" is meant to rhyme with "Oml**an**". In some cases, deriving fun is done simply by uttering offensive terms. Example (9.16)

1-Musa: ved du hvad de siger rigtigt↑ 2-Musa: det rigtig de siger ***ya atil ya maatool*** 3-Osama: ***w inta olta maatool*** 4-Musa: ja men xxxxxx ***ya nayik ya manyook w inta olta manyook*** 5-Musa: (whispers) jeg flækkede af grin af det	1-Musa: do you know what they say for real↑ 2-Musa: originally they say ***either killer or killed*** 3-Osama: ***and you said it killed*** 4-Musa: yes but xxxxxx ***either fucker or fucked and you said it fucked*** 5-Musa: (whispers) I cracked up laughing on this

In this instance, the boys are imitating Arab actors, but Musa twists the original statements uttered by the actors and replaces "*killer*" and "*killed*", with offensive terms "*fucker*" and "*fucked*", while at the same time maintaining the same syntactic categories (4). As in the previous example, nobody is targeted by these terms; Musa's replacement of the terms is merely a display of his linguistic abilities, and a form of deriving fun by uttering them. In the next example, a boy is targeted by the use of offensive language. The episode can be seen as bullying, except that the victim/target is not listening, and the two bullies are merely entertaining themselves by using offensive terms and images. Example (9.17)

1-Mahir: ham der tyksak, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx 2-Mahir: når han bliver gift (Adham hits Mahir with his pen on	1-Mahir: he there fatty, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx 2-Mahir: when he gets married (Adham hits Mahir with his pen

face) 3-Mahir: når han bliver gift 4-Adham: nej nej du ved godt når han skal giftes skal han ikke have det der ***ta'im*** på (.) skal han ikke xxxx med ***byiji haiki*** (gesturing showing himself fat and with big belly) lalalala ***w bas yo'od a'al korsi btinkisir***. når han skal ned af trapperne og danse ***byinkisir el daraj***. 5-Mahir: ***lamma biddo yneek bifa'esa la marto*** 6-Adham: ***lamma biddo yneek byinkisir el takhit w lamma biddo yidbik btinkisir el ard*** 7-Mahir: ***bikassir el takhit lamma biddo yneek ekh bikassir el takhit*** ehehehe 8-Adham: ibo hvad skal du i fremtiden↑ skraldmand↑	on face) 3-Mahir: when he gets married 4-Adham: no no you know well when he gets married he will not wear that ***suit*** (.) he will not xxxx with ***he will come in such a way*** (gesturing showing himself fat and with big belly) lalalala ***and when he sits on the chair it will be broken***. when he goes down the steps and dance ***the steps will break*** 5-Mahir: ***when he will fuck, he will crush his wife*** 6-Adham: ***when he will fuck the bed will be broken, and when he will dance the dancing floor will be broken*** 7-Mahir: ***he will destroy the bed when he will fuck ekh he will destroy the bed*** hehehehe 8-Adham: ibo what will you be in the future↑ garbage man↑

The two boys share their views regarding an outgroup boy, as Mahir in (1) describes Ibo as "fatty". The two boys invent a series of images and incidents that fit Mahir's initial description "fatty". All what the boys say about Ibo is meant to be heard by them only (in addition to two girls who share the desk with them), and the pejorative images about Ibo are so bizarre to the extent that Ibo appears like a caricature whose life is messed because of his fatness. The discourse of caricaturizing Ibo is translated in (8) into a direct assault on Ibo, where Adham calls Ibo to inquire if he will be "a garbage man" in the future, an assessment which Adham based on the images he and Mahir created earlier in this sequence, and which were established on the notion of Ibo's fatness. Although there is nothing wrong or bad about being "garbage man", yet pupils might perceive it as a pejorative assessment, since it is not a job that requires many skills or has a prestige. Ibo doesn't answer or retaliate, and that's why this example is considered an instance of ritual[51]. Assessing an outgroup member through the use of negative and bizarre images is a common activity among the pupils. The images are depicted in Arabic, as it is the case in most of the situations when the participants need to use offensive terms. Arabic makes the talk a private issue that pertains to the group sharing the desk. Ibo is merely providing a substance for the joke which draws mostly on sexual language. The bullying is done in Danish, and comprised of one single pejorative assessment: "will you be a garbage man in the future"?

In the next two examples, the boys derive fun as they call on others using offensive terms: Example (9.18)

1-Boy: Eddie↑ vil du gå ned og drikke eller hva↑ 2-Monir: har lavet mig↑ 3-Anas: *airy↑ bi'ollo airy (0.3)* 4-Monir: *AIRY*↑ (0.4) 5-Anas: *airy (0.4)* 6-Monir: *AIRY*↑ 7-Ihsan: [smil til kameraet, smil til kameraet 8-Monir: [*AIRY* 9-Anas: *AIRY*↑ 10-Ihsan: smil til kamerae:::t (2.5) 11-Anas: jeg ved det (.) det er sådan han hedder (0.3) 12-Ihsan: hvad↑ (.) 13-Anas: så du ikke *abl shway*↑ (1.1)	1-Boy: Eddie↑ will you go down and drink or what↑ 2-Monir: have done me↑ 3-Anas: *my dick↑ he calls him my dick (0.3)* 4-Monir: *MY DICK*↑ (0.4) 5-Anas: *my dick (0.4)* 6-Monir: *MY DICK*↑ 7-Ihsan: [smile to the camera, smile to the camera 8-Monir: [*MY DICK* 9-Anas: *MY DICK*↑ 10-Ihsan: smile to the camera::: (2.5) 11-Anas: I know it (.) that's what his name is (0.3) 12-Ihsan: what↑ (.) 13-Anas: didn't you see *before a short while* ↑ (1.1)

[51] I reckon that this is not an enough criterion to consider this episode as an example of "ritual", in that Ibo could be afraid to respond or answer, but I included it here as an instance of ritual in order to highlight the nature of the language used between the two boys.

14-Ihsan: Jalal kan godt forstå arabisk den her ha:ha: 15-Anas: jeg ved det, det var sådan han sagde	14-Ihsan: Jalal can understand Arabic this here ha:ha: 15-Anas: I know, it was like what he said.

Example (9.19)

1-Anas: oma::r↑ 2-Ihsan: (soprano) oma:::a↑r:: ***a:::r***↑ wa:::::r 3-Monir: hey kamera kamera (.) dum:::::	1-Anas: oma::r↑ 2-Ihsan: (soprano) oma:::a↑r:: ***di:::ck***↑ wa:::::r 3-Monir: hey camera camera (.) stu:::pid

The two episodes above are very similar, and they are demonstrations of pun, where in the first example, the group hear someone calling on "Eddie", which is pronounced as "*airy = my dick*", and so Anas and Monir entertain calling the boy in Arabic "airy", amid Ihsan's warnings to the boys that Jalal can understand Arabic. Anas dismisses Ihsan's warnings and he is not to blame because that's what the boy is actually called. In the second episode, Anas calls on Omar, while Ihsan repeats the call, but at the same time he derives sounds which rhyme with Omar, including "a::r = dick", and again he is warned that there is a camera by Monir, and the action is assessed as stupid.

Many of the ritual insults mentioned above depend on the notion of pun and alliteration, especially such terms and sounds that have meanings in Arabic and Danish, and where the term could be inoffensive in one language, but offensive in the other. The targets involved in these insults are mostly absent people or outgroup members, and the most recurring theme in this category is of sexual nature with the intention of deriving fun in the peer-group. Whether in the presence or absence of adults, switching to Arabic occurs mostly when the participants use offensive terms. The same methods can be applied when the target is an ingroup member, as in the following example, where Musa pretends to call his friend Obaida, for the purpose of entangling him in a game of alliteration. Example (9.20)

1-Musa: obaida↑ obaida↑ obai**da**↑ *teezak mita'aw**da*** hehehe	1-Musa: obaida↑ obaida↑ obaida↑ *your ass is used to* hehehe

II- **Ritual assessments:**

Most of the examples mentioned so far – whether in serious disputes or ritual ones – include one form or another of name-calling. However, in serious disputes, name-calling might result in serious rifts between the disputants, and in most of the cases, name-calling is a strategy used to devalue an argument, or degrade a certain act by alluding to the participant's mental state or way of thinking. This might be also done through calling the opponent names of animals that show the opponent's stupidity or some other features which some animals might signifiy (for example, donkey signifies stupidy). This category is very common and ubiquitous among the participants, to the extent that calling others with such names seems to have lost its insulting feature, and the target in most of the cases abstains from retaliating. The category might also include such addressee Arabic terms like (*wila, wala, walak, wili, wilik, lik, lak*) which are usually used to select a speaker, and which signify that the selected participant is inferior to the speaker. However, because these terms are used very frequently, they also seem to have lost their insulting connotations. In the next example, we see the use of ritual "stupid" as an assessment that doesn't fit what is being assessed. Example: (9.21)

1-Adham: hent lige bogen (0.5) 2-Abbas: vent vent vent vent (0.6) 3-Adham: men *lak* vent har du ikke din bog med↑ (.) 4-Abbas: nej (.) 5-Adham: dumme	1-Adham: go and get the book (0.5) 2-Abbas: wait wait wait wait (0.6) 3-Adham: but *you* (pejorative) wait don't you have your book with you↑ (.) 4-Abbas: no (.) 5-Adham: stupid

In this example, Adham's categorization of Abbas as "stupid" is based on the notion that Abbas didn't bring his book with him, which means that the term "stupid" is used arbitrarily, and doesn't offer a real/serious assessment of the situation, and thus it is ritualistic, and not answered by Abbas. Adjectives and nouns can quite often be used to make assessments, for example, calling someone "fool/bitch" might serve as an assessment of the target's mental abilities or chastity, while calling someone "ass/dick" can be construed as insults which do not offer any assessment. Consider the following example. Example (9.22)

1-Mahir: tomatsælger tomatsælger har du nogle tomater til mig 2-Yasin: zoologisk have har ringet, de vil have dig tilbage↓	1-Mahir: tomato seller tomato seller do you have some tomato for me 2-Yasin: the zoo have called, they want you back↓

The two boys involved in this episode exchange such insults for nearly 40 minutes, and yet both of them maintain neutral prosodic features. Although one might fail to see line (1) as offensive, in that there is nothing wrong if one chooses to sell tomato, but the participants orient to a grocer as inferior and lacks the prestige. Yasin, on the other hand, is clearly offensive in his retaliation, as he tells Mahir that his place is the zoo implying that Mahir is an animal, and he dramatizes the insult, in that the zoo is demanding Mahir's return, and Mahir is to be perceived as an animal at large.

The next example demonstrates how the relation between the insulting-assessment term and what is being assessed is arbitrary. Example (9.23)

1-Ihsan: har i taget har i lavet opgave ti↑ 2-Monir: mig ikke nået til det 3-Ihsan: ja okay (.) opgave elleve 4-Anas: jeg har ikke hvo↑ hvor er opgave elleve↑ monir↑ 5-Monir: opgave elleve det er den 6-Anas: ***tab yalla:h↑ olna el jawa:b***↓ 7-Monir: jeg tror nok det er den 8-Anas: fjols ***yallah***	1-Ihsan: have you taken have you done exercise ten↑ 2-Monir: me (did) not reach to it 3-Ihsan: yes alright (.) exercise eleven 4-Anas: I haven't whe↑ where is exercise eleven↑ monir↑ 5-Monir: exercise eleven it is this 6-Anas: ***well come o:n↑ tell us the answe:r***↓ 7-Monir: I think it is this 8-Anas: fool ***come on***

As in the previous example, Anas's categorization of Monir as "fool" in line (8) doesn't produce any response from Monir, and the insult is thus dismissed as insignificant or unserious. Moreover, the term "fool" doesn't offer an assessment of Monir who is slow to provide Anas with the required answer. Most of the ritual insults which belong to this category of nouns/adjectives seem to be chosen arbitrarily, and they are not real assessments of the situation. This phenomenon is not restricted to boys, as girls make a similar use of such nouns and adjective. Example (9.24)

1-Yosra: bruge den der blyant til at røre min xxxxxxxxxxx (.) (clears the area of her table) *Bahzeeli shway* (addressed to rola) 2-Basma: *ta'ait meen*↑ 3-Yosra: *hay la hay el baghli* (addressed to Rola) (2.3)	1-Yosra: use this pencil to touch my xxxxxxxxxxx (.) (clears the area of her table) *give me a space* (addressed to rola) 2-Basma: *whose is this*↑ (this=eraser) 3-Yosra: *this is for this mule* (addressed to Rola) (2.3)

4-Basma: det er min	4-Basma: it's mine

Basma asks about the owner of the eraser (2), leading Yosra to assume that it is Rola's, since the owner of something is not expected to inquire about his/her belongings. Yosra refers to Rola with the term mule, an insult that is not answered by Rola, who is an ingroup member. Rola doesn't orient to it as an insult, and this indicates that it is a kind of ritual language among the girls. Usually, the term (*baghli = mule*) is used among Arabs to refer to the stubbornness of someone. However, the situation here is not related to stubbornness, and thus it is an arbitrary term, comparable to the ritual insults mentioned above.

The examples above show how the participants use nouns and adjectives ritualistically in doing assessments that bear little relevance to what is being assessed. In the examples below we will see some statements that serve as clichés in doing assessments. Example (9.25)

1-Monir: **ham der han er væk** (.) han siger hver gang den er op på hundrede views han får penge for det 2-Ihsan: prøv tænk justin bieber (.) 3-Monir: ja 4-Ihsan: *wala:::w* 5-Jamal: den er helt op på syv hundrede millioner 6-Monir: okay os vi har to tusind seks hundrede (.) vi har mere end et hundrede hvorfor får vi [ikke penge↑ 7-Anas: [når man kommer op på hundrede tusind din æg 8-Monir: jeg tror man (.) det er bare løgn 9-Anas: jeg ved det ikke sådan [siger min bror 10-Monir: [selvom man laver en pladekontrakt selvom man laver en pladekontrakt 11-Jamal: [spare mere 12-Ihsan: **Anas han var helt væk**, han siger hver gang der er en views jeg får ti kroner ha: 13-Jamal: ehahaha 14-Ihsan: *wala::w* så os vi vil være rich nu (1.2) 15-Jamal: ehehe ti kroner hehe::	1-Monir: **he there he is gone** (.) he says each time it receives one hundred views he gets money for that 2-Ihsan: try and think justin Bieber (.) 3-Monir: yes 4-Ihsan: *wala:::w* (surprise exclamation) 5-Jamal: it's totally up on seven hundred millions 6-Monir: alright us we have two thousand six hundred (.) we have more than one hundred, why don't we [get money↑ 7-Anas: [when you reach up to one hundred thousand you egg 8-Monir: I think (.) it's just a lie 9-Anas: I don't know that's what [my brother says 10-Monir: [even if you make a record deal even if you make a record deal 11-Jamal: [save more 12-Ihsan: **Anas he was completely gone**, he says each time someone views (it) I get ten crowns ha: 13-Jamal: ehahaha 14-Ihsan: *o::h* so us we will be rich now (1.2) 15-Jamal: ehehe ten crowns hehe::

Prior to this episode, Anas makes the claim that youtube pays money to the user if his/her uploaded video receives a certain number of views. The group (Ihsan, Monir, Jamal) reject this claim by way of sarcasm. The first sarcastic assessment of the claim is leveled at Anas's existence (1) "he is gone", as if there is no difference between his presence or absence. From (2 to 6) the boys logically question the claim, in that they have a video on youtube with a number of views, and yet they don't receive money for it. Anas defends his position by modifying his claim, followed by leveling an insult at Monir "you egg" (7). Monir's opposition in (8) and that the claim is a lie, leads Anas to distance himself from the claim, and that he is not the author of this claim, rather it is his brother's (9). Despite the explanation that Anas provided, the group proceed to tease him with sarcastic remarks, as Ihsan repeats the same sarcastic statement "he was gone" (12), while Jamal demonstrates his sarcastic attitude through intermittent laughters (13 -15). Although the disagreements in this example sound real, and the boys are serious about their positions, we cannot assume that there will be further consequences for such disagreements. Besides, the assessment "he is (completely) gone" (1-12) seems to be relevant to the situation, in that what Anas is postulating is

something illogical. In the next example, we see a similar assessment, which assumes that one is "not in harmony with the world". Example (9.26)

1-Tina: Han fandt ud af hvad vi sagde, hvad vi gjorde. da da du skubbede mig ind i ham. 2-(Inas is startled and shocked - puts hand on her mouth) 3-Tina: Min far Han ved det. Han ved det hele 4-Inas: ved han også det med mig↑ 5-Tina: næ 6-Inas: ej hallo han må ikke tro jeg er en eller anden fri pige ehe 7-Basma: er du da ikke fri↑ 8-Rola: u::h (uh =yes) 9-Inas: snak- 10-Basma: hvad↑ 11-Inas: hallo 12-Basma: sho::↑ 13-Inas: ja tie stille 14-Basma: ja men hvad sagde du overhovedet↑ 15-Basma: han må ikke tro jeg er en fri pige eller [hvad sagde du 16-Inas: [**hende der hun følger ikke med i verden** 17-Basma: jamen je jeg tegner	1-Tina: he found out what we said, what we did, when when you pushed me on him. 2-(Inas is startled and shocked - puts hand on her mouth) 3-Tina: my father knows it. he knows it all 4-Inas: does he also know (that which is) related to me↑ 5-Tina: no 6-Inas: no hello he must not think of me as a sort of free girl ehe 7-Basma: are you not free↑ 8-Rola: ye::s 9-Inas: talk- 10-Basma: what↑ 11-Inas: hello 12-Basma: wha::t↑ 13-Inas: yes be silent 14-Basma: yes but what did you say after all↑ 15-Basma: he shouldn't think I am a free girl or [what you said 16-Inas: [**she there she is not in harmony with the world** 17-Basma: well e: I'm drawing

In the previous example, the boys made use of "he is gone", in this example which involves four girls (Inas, Basma, Tina, Rola), Inas makes use of the sarcastic statement "…not in harmony with the world" (16), a sort of assessment that targets Basma's disqualifications, and her inability to produce rational judgment. This sarcastic assessment was delivered after the two girls demonstrate a misunderstanding in lines (6-7), where Inas doesn't want Tina's father to think of her as a "free girl", while Basma asks if Inas is not "free", assuming that Inas is a free girl. Inas orients to this question as an insult, and she denies being a "free girl", and consequently she sarcastically considers Basma "not in harmony with the world". Basma defends her misunderstanding, i.e., she was drawing (17), and perhaps couldn't hear the discourse which preceded Inas' talk about "free girl". Such forms of sarcastic assessments are also used in relation to school activities and assignments, as the following example might show. Example (9.27)

1-Yosra: **du er helt væk ind** bare for at sige det (1.3) 2-Rola: NE:J JEG ER EJ (.) SE SELV (.) du skal gange det der to skal have parantes og de der to skal have[parantes 3-Yosra**:** [**din klovn** jeg skal sige dig noget 4-Inas: [jeg tror bare jeg arbejder alene 5-Yosra: [den der parentes nej nej den der i parentes den skal væk og den der parentes skal væk så er de der to sammen og de der to er sammen (0.3) kan du fatte det nu↑ (0.6) 6-Rola: nej (.) hvor er viskelæderet↑ hvor er viskelæderet↑	1-Yosra: **you are completely gone** just needed to say it (1.3) 2-Rola: NO: I'M NOT (.) SEE YOURSELF (.) you must multiply these two there must have parenthesis and these two must have [parenthesis 3-Yosra: [**you clown** I'll tell you something 4-Inas: [I just think I'm working alone 5-Yosra: [this parenthesis there no no this there in parenthesis should be removed so these two together and these there are together (0.3) do you understand it now↑ (0.6) 6-Rola: no (.) where is the eraser↑ where is the eraser↑

In this episode Rola has made a mistake in answering her math question, and Yosra intrudes to help her, prefacing her help with the sarcastic assessment "you are completely gone" (1), and later produces more insults, like "you clown" in (3), and which is also an assessment of Rola's mental abilities, in that clowns belong to the world of circuses, and not to the world of rational judgments. In some studies, for example, (Rasmussen 2012) she made the case that judgments and assessments

of this sort, for example “you are sick in the head”, are meant to exclude the target from the group, and to consider him/her devious and unable to act and behave properly in his social world and environment. However, in the case of the participants of this study, the situation is different, and using such assessments are not meant to exclude the target, and the example at hand might provide a proof for this claim, in that Yosra after producing her two pejorative assessments (1-3) she proceeds to explain her point of view, and to make it clear for Rola that she was wrong, and she actually succeeds in this, as Rola at the end struggles to correct her answer (6). Moreover, the use of such assessments is very common and frequent in various contexts, and the target no more orients to them as “insulting” or face threatening. Example (9.28)

1-Inas: okay kom nu så nu begynder vi (1.6) 2-Inas: (sings) spying (.) EJ: UNDSKYLDE (.) nu har jeg fået den i hovedet (.) okay kom nu (.) så siger vi (.) 3-Rola: jeg hader det fordi jeg har fået den i hovedet 4-Inas: ja alt det hun (Erina) synger om man får den i hovedet 5-Erina: xxxxxx [og så hader i mig, i ved godt hader det er et kæmpe ord 6-Rola: [nej ikke sådan på den måde (1.3) 7-Inas: *lik wallah* **hende i dag hun er helt væk** 8-Rola: he::he::he:: 9-Inas: hun tror på alt (0.9) 10-Erina: **du er da også væk** (0.8) 11-Inas: hvad↑ (0.3) 12-Erina: **du er da også he::helt væk** (Inas does not respond and returns to her assignment)	1-Inas: alright come on so now we begin (1.6) 2-Inas: (sings) spying (.) NO: SORRY (.) now I’ve got it in my head (.) alright come on (.) then we say (.) 3-Rola: I hate it because I’ve got it in the head 4-Inas: yes all what she (Erina) sings one gets it in the head 5-Erina: xxxxxx [and so you (plural) hate me, you know hate is a big word 6-Rola: [no not in such a way (1.3) 7-Inas: *you by allah* **she today she is completely away** 8-Rola: he::he::he:: 9-Inas: she believes in everything (0.9) 10-Erina: **you are also away** (0.8) 11-Inas: hvad↑ (0.3) 12-Erina: **you are also he:: comepletely away** **(**Inas does not respond and returns to her assignment)

Erina was chanting prior to this scene, and both Inas and Rola follow suit as they murmur what Erina has chanted, and thus they blame her for this distraction as they want to concentrate on their school task. Although Rola and Inas do not say that they hate Erina, rather they hate the idea of having the song in their heads (3-4), Erina orients to this “hate” as something personal, and she attempts to clarify to the girls what “hate” entails (5). This perception of “hate” by Erina is rejected by Rola (6), while Inas assesses Erina’s mental abilities for such a misunderstanding by assuming that Erina is “completely away” (7), since she “believes in everything” (9). Erina, in her turn, retaliates by using the same assessment (10 – 12), and in the second time, the assessment is produced with laughter (12). The next example offers an insight into the multiple ways of making such “insulting” assessments. Malik and Jamal narrate how they got stoned – though being passive smokers – as they sat in the same place where Malik’s brother was smoking hash. Example (9.29)

1-Monir: var det din storebror der gjorde det↑ 2-Malik: [ja] han gjorde det der psh:: (puffing sound) 3-Jamal: [ja] 4-Malik: vi blev skæve 5-Jamal: efter ham ders storebror han gør sådan der esh:::: (inhale sound) han trækker helt ind sådan her ef:::: og så kommer der sådan en store en 6-Monir: hvad siger din mor↑ 7-Malik: hva↑ 8-Monir: hvad siger din mor↑ 9-Jamal: de ved det ikke 10-Anas: ved hun det egentlig 11-Monir: så din mor hun ved intet i din familien ***tse wain el khara na'amal***	1-Monir: was it your big brother who did it↑ 2-Malik: [yes] he did that psh:: (puffing sound) 3-Jamal: [yes] 4-Malik: we were stoned 5-Jamal: after him his big brother he does like that esh:::: (inhale sound) he pulls completely inside like this here ef:::: and so comes there such a big thing 6-Monir: what does your mother say↑ 7-Malik: what↑ 8-Monir: what does your mother say↑ 9-Jamal: they do not know 10-Anas: does she know it for real? 11-Monir: so **your mother she knows nothing about the family *tse where the shit was done***

12-Malik: min storebror han er min mors dreng	12-Malik: min storebror han er min mors dreng

Monir orients to the personal narratives of Jamal and Malik as something transgressive, and thus he asks about the authority, i.e., the parents and their role in monitoring what happens at home (6). After receiving the answer from Jamal, and that the mother doesn't know about what her son does at home, Monir gives an assessment of the situation, namely, "she (the mother) knows nothing about the family", and thus she is not doing her role as a mother responsible for the conduct of her children, while the activity of smoking hash at home is referred to with the metonymy "where the shit was done". In this instance, Malik and Jamal were revealing their story to boast an experience that would bring them closer to the ranks of adults, but the assessment they receive from Monir is a downgrading one – insulting in a way – but nevertheless, it doesn't lead to escalation or further developments that might have influence on the group. Even in cases when such assessments are direct, the target doesn't orient to them as "insulting", and in many cases he/she abstains from retaliating. Example (9.30)

1-Osama: *walaw* what I have lavet (0.4) 2-Musa: you have lavet **dum i din hoved** he:he: (1.5) 3-Osama: what i have lavet↑ (0.7) 4-Musa: **du har lavet dum i din ansigt (0.5) og du er dum i din ansigt** 5-Osama: hula bula musa prutter	1-Osama: *walaw (surprise exclamation)* what i have done (0.4) 2-Musa: you have **done stupid in your head** he:he: (1.5) 3-Osama: what i have done↑ (0.7) 4-Musa: **you've done stupid in your face (0.5) and you are stupid in your face** 5-Osama: hula bula musa farts

Osama and Musa are cooperating to do an assignment for the English class on a computer – and this justifies their use of English in this instance. Osama deletes an important file by accident, and so he acknowledges his mistake in (1) as he wonders "what have I done". The insulting assessment follows directly as Musa "goes mental" in Rasmussen's (2012) terms, and degrades the mistake of Osama by stating that he has "done stupid in his head" (2), followed by a series of similar insulting assessments, which can be seen as variations of the first assessment, i.e., "you've done stupid in your face and you are stupid in your face" (4). Again, Osama doesn't show any serious orientation to these insults, and Musa continues to work with Osama without further problems. In the next example, Aya makes a degrading assessment of Yaseen's hearing abilities because she called him several times and he didn't respond. Example (9.31)

1-Aya: **hvor hører du fra ud af røven↑ hvor hører du fra ud af røven↑** 2-Yaseen: hvad↑ 3-(boys laugh) 4-Aya: **du er døv**, *wallahi* (.) yaseen yaseen yaseen og du hører mig ikke 5-Musa: [alle sammen fornærmer yaseen idag. Yaseen det her er ikke din dag idag 6-Aya: [jeg stod der og kaldte mohamed og kan ikke høre mig. Jeg kalder på amal og hun kan høre mig. Og du kan ikke høre mig 7-Yaseen: Ok hvad er det du vil↑ 8-Aya: er dig og hanna bedste venner↑(0.3) 9-Yaseen: ikke nu (0.4) 10-Aya: hvorfor↑ (.) 11-Yaseen: det ved jeg ikke 12-Musa: yaseen yaseen det er bare ikke din dag idag hva↑. Alle	1-Aya: **from where do you hear from your ass↑ from where do you hear from your ass↑** 2-Yaseen: what↑ 3-(boys laugh) 4-Aya: **you're deaf**, *by my allah* (.) yaseen yaseen yaseen and you don't hear me 5-Musa: [all are insulting yaseen today. Yaseen this is not your day today 6-Aya: [I stood there and called mohammad and he can't hear me. I call amal and she can't hear me. and you can't hear me 7-Yaseen: alright what's that you want↑ 8-Aya: are you and hanna best friends↑ (0.3) 9-Yaseen: not now (0.4) 10-Aya: why↑ (.) 11-Yaseen: I don't know 12-Musa: yaseen yaseen it's just not your day today, is it↑. everybody insults you (2.0)

sammen de fornærmer dig (2.0) 13-Yaseen: hahaha jeg har ørevoks i ørerne	13-Yaseen: hahaha I have wax in the ears

Yaseen's inability to hear Aya is deemed abnormal, and he is assessed as someone who hears from his ass – unlike ordinary human beings (1), and then he is considered deaf (4). Although the two assessments can be considered insulting, Yaseen shows tolerance, and continues to talk to Aya afterwards, as he inquires about the reasons for calling him and answers her politely (7 -11), and at the end he orients to the incident as a joke as he provides an assessment for the reasons why he couldn't hear Aya (13), i.e., he has wax in the ears, and this assessment is prefaced with laughter. Thus, Aya's insulting assessments are not real insults, and Yaseen orients to them as jokes.

The aforementioned forms of assessments are practiced by both boys and girls; however, boys have a greater tendency to make assessments by using sexual terms. Consider the following example, where Jamal takes Malik's pencil which is small in size. Example (9.32)

1-Malik: det er en gave, det var en gave, giv mig den (0.5) 2-Jamal: en gave↑ (1.1) 3-Malik: ja og [det er mig der har fået den 4-Jamal: [er den ligeså stor som din pik↑ 5-Ihsan: [ehahaha 6-Monir: [hahaha 7-Jamal: Også nok lidt stiv	1-Malik: it's a gift, it was a gift, give it to me (0.5) 2-Jamal: a gift↑ (1.1) 3-Malik: yes and [it's me who has got it 4-Jamal: [is it as big as your penis? 5-Ihsan: [ehahaha 6-Monir: [hahaha 7-Jamal: also a little stiff

Malik wants to retrieve his pencil from Jamal's hand, but Jamal finds the pencil unworthy and worn out, so he compares the sizes of the pencil and Malik's penis, to ridicule Malik's attempt to retrieve the "gift". As the boys orient to Jamal's comparison/assessment as a joke (5-6), Jamal provides further details for his comparison, "also a little stiff" (7). Malik doesn't orient to this comparison – which targets his masculine abilities – as insulting, and he doesn't answer it or retaliate, and this is an important feature of ritual insults, which are usually not answered. Boys frequently make pejorative and ritualistic assessments by relying on explicit comparisons and images of sexual nature, and these are not oriented to as insulting. Example (9.33)

1-Monir: han har ikke set hende ægte (0.7) 2-Jamal: har han ikke↑ (0.3) 3-Ihsan: (sings) kamilla du er [min skat 4-Monir: [han har ikke set hende ***min tahit*** 5-Ihsan: (to Malik) har du aldrig set hende↑ 6-Malik: jo (.) jeg har set hende på webcam (.) men jeg jeg har ikke set hende i virkeligheden	1-Monir: he hasn't seen her for real (0.7) 2-Jamal: hasn't he↑ (0.3) 3-Ihsan: (sings) kamilla you are [my love 4-Monir: [he hasn't seen her ***from below*** *(= her sexual organs)* 5-Ihsan: (to Malik) have you never seen her↑ 6-Malik: yes (.) I've seen her on webcam (.) but I I haven't seen her in real life

In this episode, the boys are bantering Malik because he is in love with a girl he met on the internet. In line (4) Monir provides what could be considered a criterion regarding the most important thing to be seen in a girl, and that is, one has to see her "*min tahit = from below = her private organs*). Neither Malik, nor the other participants object to this claim/assessment, and Malik in particular doesn't orient to it as an offense, rather he shows an implied agreement, as he defends his "love" on the grounds that he saw her on the webcam (6). Crucial here is that only the offensive term (*min*

tahit = sexual organs) is used in Arabic. Terms and assessments of sexual nature might sound "loaded" to the participants in Danish, or it could be the case that they switch to Arabic when they need to mention an offensive term in order to be in the safe mode if a teacher or a bystander overhears what they are talking about.

III: witty responses:

Witty answers or responses pertain to the category of adjacency pairs; however, the questions or comments are answered in unexpected ways, where the speaker usually alludes to other meanings in his/her responses. For most of the cases, the response or answer is irrelevant for the question, and do not fit the situation and the context, but is made possible through the use of "pun". Consider the following example. (9.34)

1-Osama: mus kom nu:: (urging him to commence the task) 2-Musa: ***bteezak*** hehehe	1-Osama: mouse come no::w 2-Musa: ***inside your ass*** hehehe

Osama is urging Musa to commence the task of reading with the directive "come now", and uses the nickname (mus = mouse) to refer to Musa, and he prolongs the utterance of "now", which is appropriate enough to urge Musa. Musa answers this directive by imagining a situation that shows Musa to be engaged with a sexual affair with Osama, and as if Osama's directive "mus kom nu::" is depicted from a sexual affair where Osama is moaning and begging Musa to have "orgasm: come", and Musa's "in your ass" reveals how he orients to the meaning of Osama's directive. Osama treats Musa's "insult" as a game or some form of play where they attempt to outwit each other through unexpected use of language. Example. (9.35)

1-Ihsan: skriv spørgsmålet til svaret, svaret i vordingborg (.) Hvor bor Johannes? (.) vording[borg 2-Malik: [***bkossi*** hehehe (Ihsan makes no comment)	1-Ihsan: write the question to the answer, the answer in vordingborg (.) where did johannes live? (.) vording[borg 2-Malik: [***inside my vagina*** hehehe (Ihsan makes no comment)

As in the previous example, Ihsan is working on his assignment, and thinking aloud to receive feedback from the group, and he is guessing that Johannes lived in Vordingborg. Malik answers him jokingly that he lived inside his vagina. This episode is different from the previous one, in that the insult is not staged against Ihsan himself, rather against the historical character Johannes. There is also the assumption of ridiculing Ihsan for being serious about the assignment, and the feedback which Malik provides is irrelavent and unexpected. However, as in the previous example, the offensive term (*bkossi = inside my vagina*) is delivered in Arabic, same as (*bteezak = inside your ass*). In the two examples, the taboo terms are followed by laughter, demonstrating that the insult is just a joke. More importantly, the opposing parties dismiss the insult and do not retaliate or orient to it as an insult. Example. (9.36)

1-Inas: hvor er du grim 2-Basma: hahahaha tak og i lige måde	1-Inas: how ugly you are 2-Basma: hahahaha thanks and same for you

Unlike the previous two examples, in this episode the insulting assessment is staged in the first turn, and the receiver of the insult orients to it as unserious, as she prefaces her response with a laughter, followed by a polite/sarcastic “thanks”, and then returns the same negative assessment with “same for you”. There is no language switching in this example, as in the previous examples, because the assessment “ugly” is not offensive. Example (9.37)

1-Anas: (playfully as if throwing something) *wattu:::* 2-Monir: (imitates Anas’ utterance) fuck you::::	1-Anas: (playfully as if throwing something) *du:::ck* 2-Monir: (imitates Anas’ utterance) fuck you::::

In this example, Anas scares his peers by pretending to throw something on them, and thus he gives them the directive to duck. Monir answers this warning with the insulting “fuck you” which alliterates with “*wattu = duck*”.

Staging insults constitute one of the norms of the participants, and it is widely used in their daily interactions and for different purposes. The criteria to distinguish between serious insults and ritual insults depend on the target in some cases, and on how a dispute develops in other cases. While insults which target relatives are usually considered serious and are likely to lead to escalation, ritual insults mostly target a certain aspect about the addressee, who quite often is an in-group member. Ritual insults mostly fall within the domain of assessments, and the language used in most of the cases demonstrates two important points: 1- the offensive part is usually delivered in Arabic, 2- and the Arabic part is in many cases a formulaic insult (which is a cliché that is well-known in the Arab culture, and it is not a statement that is devised by the participants themselves. In the same way we consider “*wallah* = by allah, *wehyat el nabi* = by the prophet, *wehyat immi* =by my mother, *quran* = by quran, etc” as cultural terms rooted in the participants’ Arab culture, the insults are also cultural terms which are acquired from their Arabic minority community. Terms like (*wila, wili, lak*, etc.) which assume that an addressee is in an inferior position, or demonstrate a speaker’s hostility, are also part of the participants’ jargon, and are also cultural terms which belong to the Arabic community. As in all the examples that have been mentioned in the previous chapters and considered disruptive to the school task, the examples in this chapter are also disruptive to the school task as they take place while the participants are engaged in group work.

Part IV – Conclusion

Chapter 10 – Discussion

This chapter will discuss the findings of part II and III in light of previous research concerned with minority school children in Denmark and beyond, taking into perspective the way this study diverges and converges with explanations provided in previous research. Previous research attributed the bilinguals' lack of achievement to macro-structures concerned with governmental policies, racialized media discourses, and biased school policies that marginalized bilinguals. The method of research in these studies is concerned with ethnographic interviews. The current study, however, follows an ethnographic/ethnomethodological perspective regarding the bilinguals' interactions while engaged in group-work. The detailed analysis of the participants' interactions reveals a lack of achievement locally: It shows how bilinguals may organize their actions while engaged in group-work. This chapter discusses to what extent analysis of such local organization may contribute to an understanding of bilinguals' lack of academic achievements overall.

Part II of this study investigated ethnographically the social structures in two classrooms in schools that host a majority of bilinguals, while part III provided a systematic analysis of the participants' interactions while engaged in group work. The themes which were investigated from this perspective can be summed up in the following: 1- group work and the lack of cooperation in doing a school task, 2- pupils' relations with teachers 3- categorizations which reveal that social relations are based on gender and ethnic hierarchies, where girls seem to be pressured to conform to certain norms and specific mode of conduct which is not required from boys , and hierarchical relationships that characterize social relations among Arabs and Somalis. These themes were investigated further in part III through the participants' interactions and actions as situated in classroom and group-work. Chapter 6 a-provided the characteristics of the bilinguals' disputes and their methods in doing disputes inside the classroom, and the way they orient to a norm of keeping disputes to themselves. Moreover, this chapter also investigated the participants' orientation to their teachers' directives. Instead of directive-compliance system, the participants challenge their teachers' talk and directives in various ways, where the typical way of responding to a teacher's directive is directive-incompliance or directive-negotiations, delays, insults. b- The themes concerned with social hierarchies as based on gender and ethnicity are investigated further in chapter 7, which offered an insight on bullying forms waged against girls and a Somali. c- Chapter 8 revealed the way the participants' monitor each other's verbal and non-verbal actions, and the way they orient to specific actions as deviant, and offered an insight of the girls' orientation to police each other's actions by using and orienting to cultural terms "haram /forbidden" and " 'aib/ shame". Chapter 9 investigated the use of insults among the participants which is a crucial element in their disputes, in addition to the use of ritual insults which reveal the unhealthy social relations and the violent language that prevails among the participants in school settings. The use of Arabic, in the meantime, is highlighted in the different chapters, as it is a tool that provides the participants with a resource to keep disputes amongst themselves and hidden from teachers, in addition to its use

to show incompliance with teachers. Thus, in the same way a dispute is considered disruptive to the cooperation which is meant to prevail in group-work, the use of Arabic is also disruptive as switching to this language seems to be motivated by the participants' orientation to exclude teachers. The basic issues described in part II, i.e., problems in group-work, problems in social relations, are investigated further in the participants' interactions as situated in the two institutions. An understanding of the participants' problems and disruptions, in addition to code-switching, finds its interpretation in the local context of the classroom, rather than in a broader context related to political discourses or assumptions about the minority community of the participants. In what follows, I will discuss these findings in relation to previous research that dealt with minorities in mainstream schools.

First, the description presented regarding the "oppositional identity" and disruptive practices, trouble-making, lack of motivation to cooperate with teachers and peers from other ethnicities and religious groups, etc. which prevail in the schools investigated by (Gilliam 2006, 2007, 2008) or by Jaffe-Walter (2013) resonates to a great extent with the description of the Arab pupils' practices and affiliations provided in this study. However, the explanation these studies provide regarding the "oppositional hard masculine identity" or "submissive marginalized identity" among minority pupils depends to a great extent on the discourse concerned with "majority" and "minority". Minority pupils' opposition – whether in terms of being hard and tough or in terms of withdrawal - is portrayed by this research in terms of being reactive to the "macro discourse" that prevails in the political circles and the broader community, and in terms of reactions to policies practiced by the schools and teachers. Such policies – as previous research argued - push the minority pupils outside the frame of inclusion and drags them into the limits of deprivation and marginalization. However, if we zoom in into the nature of the disruptive practices of this study, the motivation for such practices doesn't resonate with previous research, in that the disruptive practices seem to be locally emergent in the classroom, or group work, or teacher-pupil interaction, and macro-issues such as discourses or policies are seldomly oriented to as relevant by the participants. For example, harassing an Arab girl by Arab boys, bullying a Somali boy by an Arab, imposing someone's appropriate form of conduct by orienting to minority terms of socialization (/haram/'aib), challenging teachers' directives and talk (including Muslim teachers), are all instances that reveal the participants' detachment and disorientation to any hegemonic discourse that exists outside the classroom. The motivation for such disruptions can, in an ethnomethodological sense, be understood as arising from the local context of the group work and the classroom. In other words, all the disputes and disruptions described in III are dependent on resources circumscribed by local needs.

Second, while previous research relied on the ethnographic interviews as a main method of data collection, the current study relied on the "naturally occurring data" of interactions taking place in specific contexts. Previous researchers asked about categories that already exist in the discourses of the broader community, and considered the informants' answers as evidence to the existence of such discourses. In this study, the participants' different problematic social relations and disruptions were investigated in their interactions. Being trouble-maker, tough, masculine, and aggressive towards teachers and peers seem to a great extent dependent on the local context that has little to do

with ideological perceptions concerned with majority vs. minority discourses. Different methods of analysis, thus, yield different explanations of the same phenomena.

Nevertheless, the participants do orient to ethnic and religious categories, and some of the examples demonstrated their awareness of what can be termed "majority" and "minority" discourses, which considers minorities as inferior and even of attributing to ethnic categories "e.g., immigrants, Arab, perker" negative descriptions. The use of these categories and orientation to them reveals their awareness of their position in the society as a minority group and their awareness of the societal discourses that label the minorities with different categorical descriptions. Their orientation to this majority discourse might as well index their "low self-esteem" and an awareness of their position as a stigmatized group. Psychologists assumed that denigrating others – in the way Arabs bully and denigrate Somalis is also a phenomenon which indexes low self-esteem. But this cannot be regarded as a consequence of marginalization processes in their schools or discrimination against them. In addition, the participants' practices reveal a great deal of disruptions not only against the classroom setting or school requirements, but also against their home culture and parental authority. The use of swear words by boys and girls, the wearing of Hijab and tight clothes, their lack of cooperation towards academic achievement, frequent absenteeism, forgetting school material and assignments, pretending sickness, etc. can be also seen as disruptions to parental authority, as it would be hard to imagine that parents endorse such practices.

Cummins (2000: 40) argues that the "starting point for understanding why students choose to engage academically or, alternatively, withdraw from academic effort is to acknowledge that human relationships are at the heart of schooling." Cummins uses this statement to highlight the importance of pupil-teacher relationships, but we cannot ignore the other human relationships represented by peer relationships, opposite sex relationships, and relations with other ethnic groups. Relationships with the others stem from an understanding of the self, that is, who we are and how we view ourselves. The participants demonstrate in their daily discourses, and through their talk and jokes, their inferior status and position relative to the majority community. They acknowledge that they are "perkere =niggers"; they are aware that the majority community polices them inside and outside the school, and at times their discourses reveal a recoil upon the self, as they attempt to distance themselves from Arabs, perkere and foreigners, or simply by ascribing to Arabness negative qualities which originate in majority media to represent specific political stances towards immigrants in general (e.g., backwardness, retardation, ungratefulness, etc). At times, the participants' behavior shows ambivalence, in that they defy the majority community by ascribing to themselves an "ethnic" and "religious" identity which is adversative to that of the majority community. Straddling and having each foot in a separate culture results in contradictory behaviors, as it is the case with Hijab and the accompanying dress-code which doesn't fit with it. Cummins (2000: 40) argues that "Subordinated groups that fail academically have generally been discriminated against over many generations. They react to this discrimination along a continuum ranging from internalization of a sense of ambivalence or insecurity about their identities to rejection of, and active resistance to, dominant group values. At both extremes, alienation from schooling and mental withdrawal from academic effort have been a frequent consequence." Alienation from schooling can be seen in all the practices that run adversative to the disciplinary

agenda of the school. However, this study doesn't show that the political and hegemonic discourses of media find an echo in the micro world of the schools, and there are no institutional practices that can be described as biased or imbued with racism and discrimination, or "systematic processes of marginalization". This is not meant to deny that such hegemonic discourses or biased school policies exist and might influence the bilinguals' schooling experiences in multiple negative ways. However, the objective of the current study was not to investigate the problem of bilinguals through the filters of previous macro-research. Rather, the objective was to investigate what happens inside the classroom and to provide a description of the interactions that take place while bilinguals are engaged in group work. What happens inside the classroom and how things happen is a more important issue for this study than to put the blame on the school policy, or the home culture of the bilinguals, or even the majority discourse.

One way to explain pupils' withdrawal from the academic life of school can be found in the clash of values between school and home. Many Muslim homes consider a female as decent and chaste if she avoids sleepovers, wears headscarf and avoids relations with males, and they pressure their daughters to conform to these norms; Danish schools, on the other hand, demand from pupils to be involved in the social life of the school, which include sleepovers and male-female relations. Such a clash is likely to result in withdrawal from the social life of the school where the pupil inflict a self-imposed marginalization upon himself/herself, in that they might find it easier for them to withdraw than to explain the values of their home. Low self-esteem and inferior status have negative consequences not only on the relationships between pupils and teachers, but also among peers from different ethnicities. Dixon and Smith (2011) argue from a psychological perspective that stigmatization may be employed by individuals who perceive themselves to be low in the social hierarchy, and denigrating others result in a relative increase in status. Somalis in particular were seen to be inferior, and were constantly bullied by the Arab participants. Although Somalis are a majority in the classroom, Arabs saw themselves higher in rank and status than Somalis. Dark skin color was an object of ridicule and bullying in many instances. One negative implication that such a consideration had on the school experience was the impossibility of creating successful group-works from mixed ethnicities that are willing to be engaged in a cooperative learning session. In Such mixed groups, Somalis are normally marginalized or bullied by the Arabs.

Adversative talk was also a characterizing feature between boys and girls, and gender was a rigid boundary in forming groups. As with the ethnic boundary, which prevented cooperation in collaborative learning sessions, gender boundary had also the same function, and girls were normally marginalized in such groups or even harassed by the boys. The immediate consequence is an inability to accomplish the required school task. Both Maegaard (2010) and Quist (1998) downplayed the importance of ethnicity as a group boundary in their studies, and stressed the gender boundary. This difference in the findings can be explained by referring to the participants of the current study and who were a majority in the two classrooms, while in the previous studies, the bilinguals were a minority. In any case, forming heterogeneous groups (mixed gender and mixed ethnic groups) resulted mostly in conflicts, where participants in such groups used a form of communicative language which is detached from academic language.

Pupil-teacher relations and communication: Relations with teachers pose another problem in the participants' school experience. This is manifested mainly in the participants' negative assessments of their teachers which seem to be based on mere prejudices and cultural differences. Such negative assessments were stressed interactionally as they challenged teachers' instructions, directives and talk. A teacher can be labelled a "bitch", for example, if she talks about her "boyfriend". Another teacher can be a "Satan" or a "witch" because she belongs to an unorthodox Islamic sect. Examples in chapters 6 and 7 revealed to a great extent that teachers do the sort of things which are bound to the category "teacher", as they warn, give directives and instructions, make announcements, manage to solve problems, intervene in pupils' disputes, etc. A category-bound responsibility of the membership category "pupil" entails compliance, orienting to a teacher's talk by listening and being attentive. However, in the case of the participants of this study they masqueraded their transgressions through different methods including code-switching, or through negotiations, hesitations, insults, and ridicules that preface compliance or incompliance sometimes. Instead of the expected "instruction-compliance" Francis and Hester (2004) adjacency pair between teacher and pupils, the participants of this study demonstrated in some cases a system comprised of instruction – negotiations, hesitations, ridicule, sarcasm, insults, and compliance. Directives are understandable as setting up an expectation of compliance, but the pupils circumvent this by doing something different as the analyses have shown. By circumventing they actually orient to the norm without following it. Quite often, this system led to the distraction of teachers and pupils. Participants, thus, in their actions and reactions while interacting with teachers were not orienting to macro-social discourses concerned with majority and minority, rather they were managing to keep their disputes, for example, hidden and to drive teachers away so that they can continue with their transgressions based on the local interest of conducting a dispute or bullying on their own. Teachers are constantly challenged and defied as the participants employed different communicative methods towards this end. The consequence of such actions is destructive in all measures, as cooperation between pupil and teacher is replaced with deception where pupils strive to appear disciplined in the presence of the authority, but will transgress in the absence of this authority and they have devised multiple ways to transgress in the presence of teachers and prevent them from intervention. The participants of this study do not orient to these issues as problems that have consequences on their academic achievement, rather they seem to consider such practices and transgressions as "norms". Needless to say that such norms are not compatible with the view on educational development and pedagogical strategies that the Danish schools seem to have.

Group-work and language use: Cummins (2000: 35-6) makes a distinction between "academic language" and "communicative language" , by stating that " considerably less knowledge of language itself is usually required to function appropriately in interpersonal communicative situations than is required in academic situations. The social expectations of the learner and sensitivity to contextual and interpersonal cues (e.g. eye contact, facial expression, intonation, etc.) greatly facilitate communication of meaning. These social cues are largely absent in most academic situations that depend on knowledge of the language itself for successful task completion. In comparison to interpersonal conversation, the language of text usually involves much more low frequency vocabulary, complex grammatical structures, and greater demands on memory, analysis,

and other cognitive processes." When a collaborative learning session is spent on music, fights, bullying, gossip, jokes, etc., it becomes natural to expect immediate failure to accomplish a task, and on the long run an inability to acquire the appropriate linguistic and academic skills, as the process of attaining fluency is an accumulative process of acquiring academic language.

Given that group work takes more than 90% of the time allocated for a lesson, the language used in cooperative learning sessions is the interactional language, which is different from academic language. To cite Cummins again regarding the differences between the two, "in the area of conversational skills, most native speakers have reached a plateau relatively early in schooling in the sense that a typical six-year-old can express herself as adequately as an older child on most topics she is likely to want to speak about and she can understand most of what is likely to be addressed to her. While some increase in conversational sophistication can be expected with increasing age, the differences are not particularly salient in comparison to differences in literacy-related skills; compare, for example, the differences in literacy between a twelve and a six-year-old student in comparison to differences in their conversational skills. (Cummins 2000: 35)). In this sense, the participants of this study are using the time allocated for improving their academic skills by employing interactional and communicative language which cannot enhance their ability to manipulate language in increasingly abstract academic situations. Moreover, if teachers are the only fluent Danish speakers from whom the participants are supposed to acquire Danish, it follows that the more the time teachers spend talking Danish, the more the participants will learn the academic language, and conversely, the more the time the participants spend in cooperative learning sessions – under the conditions described in this study - the more their language skills will deviate from the academic language.

An insight into the interactions that take place inside the group-work shows the participants – regardless of their gender, or whether they are rule-abiding or tough and careless – in situations where they all alternate between non-academic actions (for example, disputes.) and academic actions, as bullies and victims alike in addition to trouble-makers would be directing each other to "read" or "stick" to the teachers' directives.

Language policy and language use: Arabic language has no official meaning for the participants' academic achievement as Arabic teaching is not part of the pupils' curricula. Linguists have often referred to the negative aspects of bilingualism in Denmark as they considered that the final evaluation of bilinguals is dependent on their fluency in the Danish language without taking into consideration the bilinguals' competences in the minority language (e.g., Holmen: 2008, 2004; Jørgensen 2008; Møller, Jørgensen and Holmen 2014). Moreover, governmental policies, regardless of the policies imposed on schools, that is, whether the policy bans the teaching of minority languages or allows the teaching of minority languages, the aim is often to enhance the minorities' qualifications in the majority language. While many linguists and some politicians consider that the teaching of minority languages necessarily enhances the minorities' abilities in the majority language and creates a healthier school experience for the minorities (e.g., Cummins 2003; Møller, Jørgensen and Holmen 2014), other governments considered that discarding the teaching of minority languages and spending on teaching the majority language, with the introduction of Danish

as a second language, is capable of improving the minorities' linguistic abilities in the majority language. Regardless of the policy imposed, Arabic and other minority languages, are used not only in the playground, but also inside the classroom, and while pupils are involved in group work or when they interact with teachers. To what extent this use of "Arabic" serves the academic purpose? By reflecting on all the examples concerned with keeping a dispute hidden from teachers, we see that the use of Arabic is done for the sole purpose of deviating from the school task or the design of group work, and it is a resource that provides them with an outlet to transgress. This argument is not meant to be used as an excuse to ban the use of minority languages, rather to find alternative ways to make the use of Arabic and other minority languages serve the academic purpose.

In the introduction of this monograph, I referred to the governmental plan of re-introducing teaching in the minorities' mother tongues, and which is based on the assumption that improvement in the majority language (Danish) is dependent on the improvement in the minority mother tongues. This governmental measure could be futile if other factors (social, cultural, pedagogical) are not taken into consideration. Despite the fact that mainstream research that takes into perspective bilinguals' school experience have reported a positive association between additive bilingualism and students' linguistic, cognitive, or academic growth[52], it remains true that additive bilingualism as defined and described in these studies is concerned with a whole panoply of social and cultural issues that are not only linguistic.

Additive bilingualism is a goal that is regarded to be not achievable in isolation from the socio-economic status of the bilinguals, their cultural affiliations and psychological situations, their status relative to the majority community, and the role of the school staff and policy-makers in creating an environment that is meant to promote and enhance the bilinguals' L1 as well as their L2. Cummins (2000: 37) defines additive bilingualism as a form of "bilingualism that results when students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language". Although a small number of participants have received instruction in MSA or Classical Arabic in complementary schools, this doesn't mean that they have developed conceptual and academic skills while acquiring Danish in regular schools. Classical Arabic is concerned mainly with archaic jargon and syntactic structures that pose difficulties for veteran Arab scholars, while MSA is a second language for native Arabs and which is not used in daily communication and interactions, in that speakers of MSA develop their skills as a consequence of educational programs that use MSA in all academic subjects (history, geography, mathematics, biology, etc). Arabic diglossia poses another problem in this regard, in that bilinguals will continue to use Arabic dialects in their daily communication while MSA will be reserved for reading and writing. Whether the bilinguals speak L1 fluently or not does not seem to be an important issue that will necessarily affect their L2 (Danish). The government's plan is, nevertheless, useful in the sense that it is always good to learn a second language, but it might not be the sole factor that guarantees improvements in the bilinguals' language skills in Danish. What seems to be a linguistic problem among bilinguals is, in fact, embedded in socialization processes,

[52] Jim Cummins (2000), for example, points out that more than 150 empirical studies were carried out during the past few decades, and they all stress the positive role of additive bilingualism.

and the study at hand attempted to investigate such issues by relying on the participants' discourses and practices inside classrooms. The findings demonstrate that the problem is not essentially linguistic or essentially embedded in the minority culture of the participants.

Code-switching and disputes: In relation to the interaction analyses the students orient to a norm of keeping disputes to themselves. This is done in a variety of ways. First, students typically do not call directly upon a teacher when some kind of disagreement is evolving between them. Abstaining from seeking a teacher's intervention, participants usually orient to a norm of relying on their verbal or physical muscles to handle a dispute, leading in many situations to escalations and aggravations. Second, disputes become recognizable as soon as a party has made an opposing move. A dispute in a classroom full of people can be recognizable for bystanders, and bystanders in their turn can get involved as they change their participation statuses. Interestingly, disputers often allow other pupils to contribute, comment or interfere in the dispute. Teachers may be bystanders of a dispute as well, and may thus intervene to empower one of the disputants or at least to prevent a dispute from escalation. A dispute which is in the process of escalation can be represented by raised volume, swear words, physical threats, violent gestures, in addition to other paralinguistic behavior. Teachers usually orient to this paralinguistic behavior in order to detect disputes, but pupils employ a variety of methods in order to avoid having teachers overhear or interfere in their disputes. Pupils might, thus, 1- keep their voices down or 2- assert to the teacher that nothing is wrong upon detection. 3- A systematic way in which this last method is employed is by asserting to the teacher that they are playing. 4- The most successful method, however, is to switch to Arabic. The first three methods may be employed when the teacher is competent in the same language(s) as the pupils. If this is not the case, however, the fourth method, i.e., code-switching, may be used. This is a recurrent pattern in the data which this research has been dealing with. There are cases where it is difficult to assign a motivation for code-switching. However, most of the cases show that switching to another language is systematically done for a specific purpose, mainly to exclude teachers and authority, and to include peers. This norm is a central one in monolingual, as well as, bilingual classrooms. Yet, in bilingual classrooms pupils have an additional resource for orienting to this norm. In monolingual classrooms teachers have the authority to settle disputes whenever they detect them. In a bilingual classroom, the opportunity for detecting disputes is much less. Consequently, and since the time allocated for collaborative learning in many cases takes more than 90% of the time allocated for a lesson, it means that a dispute might go on for a long time and distract all the participants. Code-switching in this sense provides a resource for deviation from the official activity assigned to the pupils, and it is utterly disruptive. The main point is that because of the distribution of resources in bilingual classrooms, pupils have a different social organization than monolingual classrooms. This ultimately has consequences for how learning is organized.

In his study of the motivation for code-switching among Turkish-Danish students (of the Køge project), Jørgensen (1998; 2008) makes the point that code-switching is meant to empower the speakers by switching from the devalued minority code (Turkish) to the valued majority code (Danish). The direction of switching, according to this pattern, is a strategy employed by the bilinguals which enabled them to move from the emotional and private issues to the public school task, and helped the bilinguals to be in harmony with the requirements of the institutional social

order. In other words, Turkish bilinguals wielded power by switching from the we-code (Turkish) to they-code (Danish). Among Arab speakers in this study, however, wielding power is done through a strategy of reversing the direction of switching from Danish to Arabic. It could be argued as well that wielding power is not the issue in their case, as the matter could be more about excluding teachers/adults.

Showing allegiance to the ethnic group finds resonance in several other studies conducted in Denmark. Jørgensen (2008; 1998) demonstrates the view that in interpersonal relations, bilingual children rely on linguistic resources to derive power, based on their knowledge of the different values assigned to their languages, where "speakers of some languages, or varieties of language, automatically can expect to be able to wield more power than speakers of some other languages, or varieties, everything else being equal. Likewise, bilingual speakers can expect to have more success with trying to change the world using one of their languages than the other language, everything else being equal" (Jørgensen 1998: 237). According to Jørgensen, dominance is the exercise of power in a particular situation involving particular interlocutors, where we might see power asymmetry based on the social identity or the statuses of the interlocutors, for example pupil-teacher. However, dominance can be also established by the linguistic strategies employed by the interlocutors (Jørgensen 1998: 237). Jørgensen relies on Gumperz' dichotomy of code-switching, i.e., "situational" vs. "metaphorical", where the former is determined by factors outside the content of the particular interaction, and power-asymmetry between languages can be considered as one of these factors. Gumperz's (1982) labels *we-code* vs. *they-code* is crucial to understand this model, where the *we-code* is perceived as the minority code, which is usually devalued and is meant to confer upon its speakers a status of low prestige relative to the majority language. Studies dealing with stylistic practices demonstrate the view that switching to a minority code (for example ethnolect – multiethnolect) can be a sign of showing solidarity with an ethnic group, and a deliberate attempt to distance oneself from the majority. The same principle can be extrapolated to the switching to a minority language (for example Arabic), and can be thus regarded as a sign of solidarity with an ethnic group.

Switching to Arabic is an effective method employed by the participants in order to alter the balance of power when teachers are involved in some form of disagreement with pupils. As I have argued earlier, teachers' orders, directives and recommendations are quite often not responded to with compliance, rather with argumentation and insults. The participants' method in this regard is to switch to Arabic, and to use insulting formulaic statements. Using Arabic in this regard is a resource which enables the participants to show allegiance to their ethnic group, as it includes speakers of Arabic and holds teachers in abeyance to keep them as passive bystanders. The same can be said when teachers are not a party in a dispute, but merely bystanders. In addition to code-switching, participants might use nonsensical terms and puns to accomplish their disputes while keeping teachers in a passive position.

Group work sessions provide a fertile ground for bullying, which is a form of dispute characterized by imbalance of power between the parties; for example gender bullying or ethnic bullying. Contrary to what most of the literature on bullying attempts to show regarding the behavior of victims and that they are mostly helpless, this study investigated three forms of bullying and showed that the victims actively defend themselves, through return of insults for example or other methods. The implication here is that group work session – where teachers are

mostly not monitoring what is going on – provide a platform for sexual harassment when a girl is forced to cooperate with boys, or ethnic bullying when a Somali is placed among Arab boys. Moreover, bullying methods vary, and bullies employ a host of linguistic skills based on their knowledge of the two languages. The methods involve the use of puns, play on words, in addition to metaphors. Surprisingly enough, the participants in bullying (the bully, the victim, and the audience) maintain the norm of keeping the dispute to themselves by using code-switching as a main resource to prevent teachers from intervention, and thus, the use of Arabic is in many cases disruptive.

The study has also revealed that the methods employed by the participants while attempting to teach the rules are mostly violent and involve the use of insults and other impolite forms to impose what they think is appropriate and right. On one hand, the use of cultural-police terms indexes that the participants are socialized according to a strict code of behavior which takes into consideration the participants' religious beliefs and the social traditions that pertain to their home culture. In many situations, terms like "haram" and "'aib" are not meant to be negotiated. Assessing an activity as "*haram*" or "*a'aib*" might very well curb the transgressor, and in many cases, participants attempt to impose such assessments on peers from other ethnic groups, or who are not necessarily Muslims. On the other hand, the terms also serve as tools that can put an end to a dispute, and the participants can thus be said to wield power by applying such terms. While in many situations a bystander might change his/her status of participation once he/she notices that something "*haram*" or "*a'aib*" is going on, in no example where teachers are insulted or addressed in an inappropriate way a bystander intervenes to categorize the activity as "*haram*" or "*a'aib*".

"Insults" is another activity which is very common and frequent in the participants' interactions, and which can be real or ritual, depending on the context. Many of the insults used are cultural terms. Unlike Labov's ritual insults, which is an in-group speech event that targets the mother and other relatives, the participants' ritual insults do not target mothers and relatives, as mothers are considered sacred and used in oath-taking. The participants' ritual insults are mostly formulaic terms, and closely related to cultural insults which are used among Arabs (for example, unfriendly-suggestion: *kol khara =eat shit – tilhas teezi= lick my ass*). Such formulaic statements are used by boys and girls alike. Other forms of ritual insults which are usually dismissed and not returned by the addressee are based on puns and alliterations, where the participants stretch their linguistic muscles and show their knowledge of two languages. In this sense, unlike Labov's ritual insults which is an activity or a game which is practiced for its own right and might extend for hours, Arab participants' insults in this study – in its two forms, real and ritual - is a parasitic activity, which is practiced in the middle of a lesson or other serious activities, and is mostly staged in Arabic.

Chapter 11 – Concluding Remarks

Major Findings:

The main research questions of this study were: 1- what are the participants' disruptive practices that might constitute a deviation from the school norms? 2- How do the participants disrupt the teaching design while involved in group work and in classroom setting? Based on the ethnographic description of part II and the interactional analysis of part III, 3 major findings arise from the ethnographic description and the interactional analysis. The first major finding is that Arabic, which is the participants' mother tongue, and a language that is not considered a resource for academic achievement by the schools investigated, is used by the participants inside and outside classrooms, and while they were engaged in academic tasks and doing group work. Switching to Arabic, however, was part of the participants' methods to exclude teachers, or to keep their affairs in group-work hidden, or even to conduct disputes, or devise insults in a language incomprehensible by the greatest majority of teachers. The use of Arabic, thus, can be considered disruptive in the sense that switching to Arabic counters the requirements of the schools, group work, and teachers' directives. Attempts to exclude teachers – as the analyses have shown – show that such a strategy is common among the participants. Even the participants who can be considered "nerds", "rule-abiding", and "school oriented" followed the same methods in code-switching to exclude teachers or to keep a dispute to themselves. Moreover, bullies and victims alike seemed to cooperate in many occasions to drive teachers away or to prevent them from intervention. The overall description of the social interactions/practices and code-switching in the classrooms of this study gives a negative picture in that such practices in many cases go against the situated goals of the classroom and the teachers' designs.

The second major finding of this study is that group-work is applied as a major teaching design in the two schools investigated. The general expectation of the teachers of this study is that pupils are meant to cooperate and learn from each other while solving a certain academic task or assignment. However, much of the time allocated for group work is spent by the bilinguals doing things that are seemingly irrelevant to the academic school task. The participants, thus, were able to circumvent and disguise their actions that are irrelevant to the school task by applying various strategies, of which code-switching constitutes a major strategy. Moreover, a great deal of the participants' transgressions goes unnoticed by the teachers, as teachers do not control or monitor what goes on among the different desks. Pointing to the problems that emerge while students are engaged in group work might indicate that (group work) as a teaching method must be avoided – or pointing to the problems that arise as a result of the teachers' policies in forming heterogeneous groups (mixed ethnic groups or mixed gender groups) might give the impression that teachers should alter their policies. This is not what I intend to say in this study. The overall objective was to get insight and to describe what the participants do while they are engaged in group work, and how they interact and spend their time. Finding that the time is mostly spent in disputes and disagreements which amount to violence in some cases reveals only a small portion of what

happens in such classrooms, and still much is needed to be investigated in order to have knowledge about the entire picture.

A third major finding of this study is represented by the "violent" school experience that many of the participants lead. The participants orient to ethnic, religious, and gender categories, and deal with each other on assumptions based on social hierarchies that take into consideration ethnicity, gender and religious-sect into perspective. The chapter on bullying revealed the extent to which verbal and non-verbal violence constitute an event that occurs not only in the playground – while pupils are left to socialize on their own – but can happen as well while pupils are engaged in group work or sometimes when teachers are present in the classroom. This violence transpires in many cases in the insulting and violent language used by them while interacting with each other or even sometimes while interacting with teachers.

Contributions:

The findings of this study have three contributions to the existing research. First, while previous research on bilingual school children applied mainly the ethnographic interview as a research method, and considered the macro-structures and macro discourses as a main culprit to blame for the bilinguals' shortcomings in Denmark (for example, governmental policies, school policies, or even racist teachers for their roles in marginalizing bilinguals) the current study relied mainly on naturally occurring data, and showed that a great deal of the problems that arise in classrooms that host bilingual children are a result of the bilinguals' actions and interactions, and not necessarily motivated by a macro discourse outside the school or outside the classroom. Moreover, while many statistical studies and governmental reports found a relation between bilingualism and failure, and attempted to put the blame on the bilinguals' minority cultures, this study has shown that the bilinguals' conduct in many cases demonstrated a deviation from the frames of the minority culture and also from the borders of the majority culture. In addition, while previous research strived to find answers for the question why bilinguals' lag behind their ethnic Danish peers in different school subjects, and why they develop a rough and hard masculine identity that counters the expected academic identity, the current study strived to provide a description of what the bilinguals do inside the classroom and how they do and interact with all the people involved in their classrooms.

A second contribution can be seen in the motivation for code-switching. Experts in the field of bilingualism (for example, Normann Jørgensen, Anne Holmen, Jim Cummins, Kovacs 2007, Bialystok 2001, Monica Heller) have stressed the positive role of code-switching and the use of minority languages in different contexts, in addition to the positive role such a usage might contribute to the overall school experience of bilinguals and minority children. However, the current study sheds light on how code-switching can be disruptive, and thus, does not serve the academic purposes and expectations of the schools. Moreover, a great deal of the research concerned with minorities in Denmark goes under dialectology, and attempts to study the minorities' switching to another dialect for the purpose of comparing and contrasting linguistic differences between minority and majority dialects, or to assign a social function for this switching. The current study, on the other hand, attempted to shed light on the motivation for code-switching

inside the classroom to determine the extent to which code-switching bolsters the academic purposes.

A third contribution is to the field of "bullying". While most of the studies concerned with bullying relied mainly on the ethnographic interviews in order to know about bullying and how it happens, the current study relied on videotaped data of several episodes that can be construed as "bullying". The detailed analysis of the interactions between all the parties involved in bullying scenes, including bullies, victims, and bystanders, increases our knowledge of how bullying starts and endures, and how victims react and alternate between defense and waging violence against the bully.

Limitations:

Providing answers for the question why bilinguals conduct themselves in the manner they do can be done with uncertainty and this is closely related to the limitations of the research method of this study. The study was limited to investigating the research questions inside the classroom, while the participants' local community and the participants' parents and their perspectives regarding their lack of contribution in the process of educating their children, were beyond the scope of this research. Such an investigation might provide us with insight regarding the extent to which the local community and the participants' homes are responsible for what can be considered devious socialization processes. Similarly, another limitation can be concerned with an inability to know how monolingual classrooms conduct group work, and what policies do teachers apply in such classes. Comparing and contrasting bilingual and monolingual classrooms might shed light on the extent to which teaching designs and classroom policies could be considered issues in teaching bilinguals. The study has also shown signs of different socialization processes among boys and girls, but stopped short of pointing ways forward for analyzing how the different socialization processes influence the participants' academic achievement. A longitudinal study that takes into account the participants' final results upon the completion of the grade-school might enable the correlation of certain socialization processes with the results.

A third limitation in this study is concerned with its perspective, in that it is more descriptive than interventionist, and it tended to provide a description of the existing practices rather than experiment with ways as to how to alter the motivation for code switching inside the classroom, i.e., to find ways where code switching to a minority code does not necessarily serve a disruptive purpose, rather the opposite, where the motivation for code switching can be channeled in the direction of contributing to the bilingual academic achievement. However, such a research perspective might require an unlimited cooperation among all the people involved in the research – school administration, teachers, and participants, and this unlimited cooperation was not available for this study.

While many politicians and academics still try to reduce the problem of bilingualism in Denmark within a deterministic conception of minority culture or even within processes of bilingualism, and seem to provide simplistic answers by adopting policies that would either ban minority mother tongue education or promote it, the scope of this study hopes to alert all the people concerned to the

complexity of the problem, and the necessity to deal with the question of socialization before dealing with what languages to promote or ban.

Directions for future research

This study has shown that code switching and the use of minority languages is a practice among bilinguals in majority schools that attempt to promote the majority language. However, there are bilinguals in other types of schools, e.g., where they can be a minority in the classroom, or even private schools where the entire population of a classroom are bilinguals who speak the same minority and majority languages, and where instruction in the minority language is integrated in the curricula. Exploring the conduct of bilinguals in classrooms of different school environments and where different teaching designs and policies are employed remains yet to be explored. Moreover, there could be a need for longitudinal studies, which are capable of investigating the bilinguals' use of the two languages inside the classroom and to tie this with the results they attain after finishing grade-school. Moreover, there is a need for future research to be more creative and not only descriptive of the code switching practices inside the classrooms, and which are usually conducted by an outsider (a researcher) with a limited agenda. This creativity in research can be done by adopting an interventionist perspective, where instead of an outsider, teachers themselves might be the researchers and must alternate between different teaching methods – or even to have close collaboration between the teacher and the researcher and to a certain degree encourage the use of minority languages in school assignments and tasks.

In addition, a successful school experience depends on the collaboration between home and school. While the schools attempt to provide resources that would enable parents to help their children in their homework and assignments, parents seem to be absent from the picture. A further investigation of the reasons why parents of Arab origins do not cooperate with the school seems to be important. The schooling system in Denmark – as elsewhere – is built on the premises of cooperation between school and parents.

Finally, this study attempted to describe the bilinguals' experiences and practices that might have negative impact on their academic achievements. Such practices cannot be eliminated by forbidding the use of "Arabic" for example, or by imposing a police design that could be capable of monitoring violations. Rather, school systems must find ways to integrate the bilinguals' minority languages with the school curricula, and to seek ways that would provide the bilinguals with confidence regarding their minority languages and to enable them to use it in positive ways – not only as a tool for transgression.

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Odense Kommune Opgørelse 2009 – folkeskoler

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Informed consent – School A –

Kære ……..

Mit navn er Jalal El Derbas (Ph.D.-studerende - SDU) og er i gang med at forske i tosprogethed. Jeg ønsker at undersøge de faktorer, der påvirker de sproglige evner hos tosprogedes to sprog (Arabisk og Dansk). De faktorer, der skal undersøges, er sociale, økonomiske og uddannelsesmæssige. Projektet påbegyndes med et etnografisk feltarbejde, som består af direkte observation og den måde din søn/datter interagerer og bruger hans/hendes to sprog i og uden for klasseværelset, interviews (fx med lærere og skolepersonale om din søn/datter, interviews med forældrene til nogle af de studerende, brug af skolerapporter og dokumenter / osv.)

Det overordnede mål med dette projekt er at give et overblik over miljøet, og betingelser, der vil gøre det muligt for din søn/datter at erhverve og bruge hans/hendes to sprog på en fornuftig og forsvarlig måde. Dette projekt vil blive overvåget af to eksperter i sprog og kommunikation fra Syddansk Universitet i Danmark: Professor Teresa Cadierno, og Professor Catherine Brouwer. Projektet er finansieret af Det Frie Forskningsråd – Kultur og Kommunikation (FKK).

Dataindsamlingen vil strække sig over en spændvidde på et år, og derfor ville jeg være taknemmelig, hvis De vil tillade mig at observere, registrere og interview din søn/datter, og hvordan han/hun interagerer med sine omgivelser. Hensigten er ikke at ændre din søn/datters adfærd.

Jeg vil gerne forsikre Dem om, at optagelserne vil udelukkende blive brugt med henblik på min egen forskning, og materialet vil blive lyttet til, transskriberet og analyseret af ovennævnte personer. Identiteten af din søn/datter bliver behandlet fortroligt. Det vil være muligt at få en kopi af optagelsen og/eller transskriptionen, hvis dette ønskes. Du kan til enhver tid trække dit samtykke tilbage uden nogen negative konsekvenser.

Med venlig hilsen

Jalal El Derbas (ph.d.-studerende - Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation - SDU)
Mobil: 23250863 jalal@language.sdu.dk

Jeg accepterer at Jalal El Derbas optager min søn / datter og forstår, at dette vil udelukkende blive brugt med henblik på sproglig forskning. Jeg har ret til at lytte/se alle lyd/video-bånd optaget med min søn/datter og redigere i materialet. Identiteten af min søn/datter forbliver anonym. Jeg forstår, at jeg til enhver tid kan trække mit samtykke uden nogen negative konsekvenser.

Navn..... Underskrift.....

Appendix 2 – Informed consent A – Arabic

حضرة ولي أمر التلميذ\ التلميذة .....

أنا المدعو جلال الدرباس ـ مُعيد في قسم اللغة والتواصل من جامعة جنوب الدانمارك ـ أقوم حالياً ببحث حول ثنائية اللغة ـ أي من كان عنده أكثر من لغة أم ـ وسأعمل من خلال هذا البحث على تحديد العوامل التي تؤثِّر على المقدرة اللغوية للأطفال الذين يتمتعون بثنائية لغوية. البحث سيشمل اللغة العربية والدانماركية. العوامل التي سيتم البحث فيها تشمل الحالة الإجتماعية ، الإقتصادية والتعليمية. عملية البحث ستكون ميدانية ، بمعنى أن الباحث سيتواجد في الأماكن التي يتواجد فيها التلاميذ بشكل عام ، وجمع المعلومات سيكون من خلال أخذ الملاحظات وكيفية تواصل ولدكم \ ابنتكم مع محيطه ومدى قدرته على استخدام اللغتين العربية والدانماركية داخل وخارج الصف. الدراسة ستعتمد أيضاً على المقابلات مع المدرِّسين والمربِّين أو حتى مع بعض الأهالي، هذا بالإضافة إلى جمع التقارير المدرسية التي تتناول العملية التعليمية.

الهدف الأول والأخير من هذا المشروع هو إعطاء صورة واضحة ودقيقة حول البيئة والمناخ التعليمي الذي من شأنه أن يعزِّز من قدرات التلاميذ على إكتساب واستخدام اللغة العربية والدانماركية بشكل صحيح وسليم. نتائج الدراسة الميدانية ستشكل المادة الرئيسية لبحث الدكتوراه الذي يُفترض أن يظهر بعد ثلاث سنوات من الآن. سَيُشرِف على هذا البحث إثنتان من المتخصصات في مجال اللغة والتواصل من جامعة جنوب الدانمارك: البروفيسورة تيريزا كدييرنو والبروفيسورة كاثرين برور. هذا المشروع مُمَوَّل من قِبَل:مجلس الأبحاث المستقلة ـ الثقافة والتواصل.

Det Frie Forskningsråd Kultur og Kommunikation (FKK)

عملية جمع المعلومات قد تمتد لفترة تزيد عن السنة ، ولهذا سنكون لكم من الشاكرين إن أذِنتم لنا بأن نسجِّل ونلاحظ ولدكم وهو يتواصل مع محيطه التربوي والإجتماعي. وفي هذا المجال نحرص على إبلاغكم بأن التسجيلات لن تُستخدم على الإطلاق إلَّا لأغراض هذا البحث ، وأن المواد المسجَّلة أو المكتوبة وتحليل المعلومات لن يطَّلِع عليها إلّا المجموعة التي تقوم بهذا البحث. وفي حال إستشارة باحثين آخرين فلن يكون ذلك على حساب كشف هوية ولدكم / ابنتكم. كما أنه في مُطلق الأحوال لن يتم الكشف عن هوية ولدكم أو هوية ذويه عند كتابة البحث وإعداده للنشر. بالإضافة ، سيكون من دواعي سرورنا أن نزوِّدكم بنسخة عن التسجيلات التي قد يكون لولدكم علاقة بها / أو عن النسخة المكتوبة المستقاة من التسجيلات في حال رغبتم بذلك. أخيراً ، يتوجب علينا أن نُعلمكم بأنه لكم الحق المطلق في الطلب إلينا عدم إشراك ولدكم في هذه الدراسة في أي مرحلة من مراحل البحث وسنحترم رأيكم وموقفكم. ونرجو من الله التوفيق لأبنائكم.

في حال أردتم المزيد من التفاصيل حول هذه الدراسة باللغة العربية ، يمكنكم الإتصال بجلال الدرباس على الرقم : 23250863

أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني : jalal@language.sdu.dk

مع الإحترام

أنا ولي أمر التلميذ / التلميذة ..... أُوافق على أن يقوم جلال الدرباس بإشراك ولدي / إبنتي في البحث المتعلق بالتلاميذ أصحاب اللغة الثنائية ، وأن يستخدم ما يجمعه من معلومات لأغراض البحث اللغوي فقط. من حقي كولي أمر أن أطّلع وأستمع لكل التسجيلات التي يكون فيها لولدي / إبنتي صلة ، ومن حقي أن أقوم بمحي أو إستقصاء بعض التسجيلات في حال إرتأيت ذلك. وبمُطلق الأحوال ، فإنه لن يتم الكشف عن هوية ولدي /ابنتي أو هوية أي أحد من عائلتنا ولن تُستخدم الأسماء الحقيقية عند كتابة البحث. كما أنه من حقنا أن نرفُض إشراك ولدنا / ابنتنا في أي مرحلة من مراحل البحث دون أن يكون لذلك أي نتائج سلبية علينا ، وعلى هذا أُوقِّع بالموافقة على إشراك ولدنا /ابنتنا :

توقيع ولي الأمر **تلفون:.....**

.....

Appendix 3 – Informing parents of non-participant students

Dear Parents……..

My name is Jalal El Derbas (PhD student – SDU) and I am currently doing a research on bilingualism and investigating the factors that affect the linguistic abilities of the bilinguals' two languages (Arabic and Danish). The factors to be investigated are social, economical, and educational. The project consists of observation of how children interact and use their two languages inside and outside the classroom. Your son / daughter happens to be in the same class of the students who will be the major focus of the study, and therefore, this paper is meant to inform you that Jalal El Derbas will accompany some teachers and make observations about the students who have Arabic background.

Best Regards

Jalal El Derbas

Appendix 4 – Informing teachers

Tosprogethed: Arabisk - Dansk

Projektet er finansieret af Det Frie forskningsråd kultur og Kommunikation (FKK).

Det vigtigste mål med dette projekt er at indkredse nogle af de faktorer, som gør tosprogethed en ufordelagtig tilstand i Danmark. Arabisk-dansk tosprogede i Danmark er ikke en homogen gruppe, og deres sprogfærdigheder i dansk og arabisk varierer fra den ene til den anden afhængigt af en række faktorer, hvoraf skolemiljø og samfundsøkonomiske påvirkninger kan have en central rolle.

Målgruppen der er i fokus er arabisk-dansk tosprogede elever. De er blevet tosprogede via forskellige ruter, vilkår og erfaringer. Fælles faktoren blandt dem er, at de er "tidligt tosprogede", dvs. de er blevet udsat for to sprog før puberteten.

Udgangspunktet for dette projekt vil bestå af etnografisk feltarbejde på to skoler. En klasse vil blive udvalgt på hver skole, der skal undersøges og observeres. Etnografisk feltarbejde vil bestå af flere elementer bl.a. observering af elevernes adfærd både indenfor og udenfor klasseværelserne, interviews med lærere og skolens personale, skole rapporter og dokumenter. Etnografiske data vil blive indsamlet over en periode på flere måneder på hver skole.

Den etnografiske del af undersøgelsen vil blive suppleret med en kvantitativ undersøgelse med henblik på at kaste lys over andre faktorer end skolemiljø. Data for denne del skal bruges til at fastlægge, hvorledes de tosprogede har opnået de to sprog, varigheden og hyppigheden af brugen af hvert af de to sprog, tilfældene, hvor disse sprog anvendes, og en række andre socioøkonomiske faktorer, der kan korrelerer med tosprogedes færdigheder i dansk og arabisk. Denne kvantitative undersøgelse vil bestå af spørgeskemaer og interviews med børnenes forældre og direkte observation af den sociale verden, der omgiver de tosprogede.

De indsamlede data vil også kunne bruges til at undersøge, hvorfor nogle tosprogede er på samme faglige niveau som deres etnisk danske jævnaldrende, og hvorfor andre ikke er.

Projektet vil blive superviseret af to eksperter på området for sprog og kommunikation fra Syddansk Universitet: Ph.D. Lektor Teresa Cadierno og Ph.D. Lektor Catherine Elisabeth Brouwer.

For mere information, kontakt venligst:
Jalal El Derbas (Ph.D. studerende) / Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation - SDU.

Mobil: 23250863
jalal@language.sdu.dk

Appendix 5- Informed consent – School B

Til 6.C's forældre

Mit navn er Jalal El Derbas (Ph.D.-studerende - SDU) og er i gang med at forske i tosprogethed. Jeg ønsker at undersøge de faktorer, der påvirker de sproglige evner hos tosprogedes to sprog (Arabisk og Dansk). Projektet påbegyndes med et etnografisk feltarbejde, som består af direkte observation og den måde din søn/datter interagerer og bruger hans/hendes to sprog i og uden for klasseværelset.

Det overordnede mål med dette projekt er at give et overblik over skole miljøet, og betingelser, der vil gøre det muligt for din søn/datter at erhverve og bruge hans/hendes to sprog på en fornuftig og forsvarlig måde. Dette projekt vil blive overvåget af to eksperter i sprog og kommunikation fra Syddansk Universitet i Danmark: Professor Teresa Cadierno, og Professor Catherine Brouwer. Projektet er finansieret af Det Frie Forskningsråd – Kultur og Kommunikation (FKK).

Dataindsamlingen vil strække sig over 3 til 5 måneder, og derfor ville jeg være taknemmelig, hvis De vil tillade mig at observere, registrere din søn/datter, og hvordan han/hun interagerer med sine omgivelser.

Jeg vil gerne forsikre Dem om, at optagelserne vil udelukkende blive brugt med henblik på min egen forskning. Identiteten af din søn/datter bliver behandlet fortroligt.

Med venlig hilsen

Jalal El Derbas (ph.d.-studerende - Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation - SDU)

(Hvis I har nogen spørgsmål er I velkommen til at kontakte Jalal El Derbas)

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Forældres underskrift:…….

Appendix 6 – Informed consent – Arabic

حضرة ولي أمر التلميذ\ التلميذة .....

أنا المدعو جلال الدرباس ـ مُعيد في قسم اللغة والتواصل من جامعة جنوب الدانمارك ـ أقوم حالياً ببحث حول ثنائية اللغة ـ أي من كان عنده أكثر من لغة أم ـ وسأعمل من خلال هذا البحث على تحديد العوامل التي تؤثِّر على المقدرة اللغوية للأطفال الذين يتمتعون بثنائية لغوية.
البحث سيشمل اللغة العربية والدانماركية. العوامل التي سيتم البحث فيها تقتصر على البيئة التعليمية. عملية البحث ستكون ميدانية ، بمعنى أن الباحث سيتواجد في الأماكن التي يتواجد فيها التلاميذ بشكل عام ، وجمع المعلومات سيكون من خلال أخذ الملاحظات وكيفية تواصل ولدكم \ ابنتكم مع محيطه ومدى قدرته على استخدام اللغتين العربية والدانماركية داخل وخارج الصف.

الهدف الأول والأخير من هذا المشروع هو إعطاء صورة واضحة ودقيقة حول البيئة والمناخ التعليمي الذي من شأنه أن يعزِّز من قدرات التلاميذ على إكتساب واستخدام اللغة العربية والدانماركية بشكل صحيح وسليم. نتائج الدراسة الميدانية ستشكل المادة الرئيسية لبحث الدكتوراه الذي يُفترض أن يظهر بعد ثلاث سنوات من الآن. سَيُشرِف على هذا البحث إثنتان من المتخصصات في مجال اللغة والتواصل من جامعة جنوب الدانمارك: البروفيسورة تيريزا كدييرنو والبروفيسورة كاثرين برور. هذا المشروع مُمَوَّل من قِبَل:مجلس الأبحاث المستقلة ـ الثقافة والتواصل.

Det Frie Forskningsråd Kultur og Kommunikation (FKK)

عملية جمع المعلومات قد تمتد لبضعة أشهر، ولهذا سنكون لكم من الشاكرين إن أذِنتم لنا بأن نسجِّل ونلاحظ ولدكم وهو يتواصل مع محيطه التربوي والإجتماعي. وفي هذا المجال نحرص على إبلاغكم بأن التسجيلات لن تُستخدم على الإطلاق إلَّا لأغراض هذا البحث. كما أنه في مُطلق الأحوال لن يتم الكشف عن هوية ولدكم أو هوية ذويه عند كتابة البحث وإعداده للنشر. ونرجو من الله التوفيق لأبنائكم.

في حال أردتم المزيد من التفاصيل حول هذه الدراسة باللغة العربية ،أو تودون إبداء ملاحظاتكم ، يمكنكم الإتصال بجلال الدرباس على الرقم : 23250863

أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني : jalal@language.sdu.dk

Appendix 7

Glossary of transcript symbols

[a left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset

(0.0) Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time by tenths of seconds

(.) a dot in parentheses indicates a brief interval (less than 0.3)

:: Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound.

↑ or ? shift into high pitch

↓ or . shift into low pitch

˚whisper˚ whispered sound /softer than the surrounding talk

XXX sounds uncomprehended by the transcriber.

CAPITAL upper case indicates loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.

(Action) actions / gestures are described in parantheses.

***Italics* italicized sounds are "Arabic"**

<u>English</u> English words are underlined

- **Hypthen indicates an abrupt hault or interruption in utterance**