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The Silenced Discourse: Students with Intellectual Disabilities at the Academy of Music in Sweden

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Abstract: In this article, based on a larger research project, the ambition is to critically discuss the first collaboration between students with intellectual disabilities and the Academy of Music in Sweden. The article presents an analysis of video observations of lessons in rhythmic, related to an encounter between the students with intellectual disabilities and a group of student teachers. The theoretical and methodological framework emanates from post-structuralist and social constructionist theories. The results show that the silenced discourse, the unspoken, is constructed from the fact that the students with disabilities both are insufficiently skilled for the task as leaders in rhythmic, and less skilled than the student teachers. Finally, the silenced discourse is discussed, where assumptions of normality and issues of inclusion are addressed as well as a hegemonic discourse in the Swedish politics of education.

Introduction

In 2008, the Swedish Government ratified an UN resolution concerning the Rights of Disabled Persons (Soc.dep., DS, 2008:23), which states that persons with intellectual disabilities should be given access to higher education, vocational training, adult education and life long learning on equal terms with others. The resolution reveals a shift in paradigms, from an attitude towards persons with disabilities as objects in need of support, to persons capable of making their own decisions, provided that the environment is adjusted and adequate assistance is offered. Despite this and the fact that education is considered such an important aspect for an independent life and good living conditions, persons with intellectual disabilities have limited possibilities to study at institutions of Higher Education in Sweden today. In fact, there are no examples of Governmental support of studies in higher education for persons with intellectual disabilities in the aesthetic field.

This article, based on a larger research project, has the ambition to critically discuss the first collaboration between students with intellectual disabilities (SID) and the Academy of Music (AM) in Sweden. Here, concepts as normalization, empowerment and constructions of identities are considered as central. The article focuses on the students' lessons in rhythmic, their reception of the education, the knowledge formation that is constructed and the discourses that develop in interaction between students and teachers in a classroom context. The aim is to investigate subject positions that are constructed in rhythmic lessons relating to an encounter where SID are working with a group of student teachers, and to describe how constructions of identity are manifested in interaction between the actors. Furthermore, the aim is to describe the knowledge formation that is constructed within this context.

Studies about SID that are gaining access to a university setting promotes inclusion as an ideal model. In a two-year certificate course in Dublin, the phenomenon of inclusion was studied through the experiences of students with intellectual disabilities, their families and the teachers (O'Brien, Shevlin, O'Keefe, Fitzgerald, Curtis & Kenny, M, 2009). Results show that the students became more included within the university setting and experienced an increased independence, confidence and social networking. The findings were similar to studies made in Australia and North America (Hart et al. 2006; McDonald et al., 1997). In a study focusing on an inclusive college course where pre-service teachers and peers with intellectual disabilities study together, the results reveal that pre-service teachers consider the course a positive academic experience and express sympathies with inclusive teaching, having experienced that SID can handle serious academic content. The SID is constructed as a socially situated individual facing increasing knowledge, social integration, a widened social network and personal independence (Carroll, Blumberg, Petroff, 2008; Carroll, Petroff & Blumberg, 2009). So, inclusion is realized in integrated student groups, where SID study together with non-disabled students. Arguments for positive effects from such an organization for learning are clearly addressed. The university student with intellectual disabilities is constructed as well-adjusted and socially situated. This leads to increased subject matter knowledge and competence, social integration, improved social networking and personal independence. From a general perspective on students with disabilities in higher education, inclusion is not seen as a linear output but an ideological position with the capacity to change traditional hierarchies within education, an emancipatory way of working (Brandon & Charlton, 2011).

Concerning problematic aspects for SID within a university setting, organizational and social obstacles are mentioned. Students with disabilities face obstacles related to the physical environment, information access, entrance to education, levels of awareness, and assumptions of "normality" (Tinklin & Hall, 1999). SID at the university also express concerns about access to jobs in the future as well as opportunities for lifelong learning, which is considered to make the ratification of the United Nations Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities even more important, with its emphasis on a rights-based life for people with disabilities who have previously been marginalized (O'Brien, Shevlin, O'Keefe, Fitzgerald, Curtis & Kenny, 2009). The risk that inclusion within university settings could become another form of exclusion or segregation is also addressed. Although positive steps have been taken to improve the situation for students with disabilities, it is argued that policies and procedures for these students should become core activities of all institutions in order to acknowledge differences among students, rather than regarding the needs of these students as aspects or issues outside the "norm" (Stuart, Carroll, Petroff, & Blumberg, 2009). The need to intervene ambitiously and with great force is salient if education in general and teacher education in particular are to overcome great challenges involved in the idea that SID should get access to the general curricula (Stuart, Carroll, Petroff, & Blumberg, 2009).

Moving into the specific context of this article, the attitude towards people with intellectual disabilities in Sweden is characterized by making difficulties an individual matter. Instead, a more reflexive attitude is argued for, where difficulties are considered a result of inadequate adjustments of the environment (Mineur, Berg & Tideman, 2009). The dominating discourse concerns the groups' stigmatization, expressed by experiences of a limited everyday life and inadequate social networking. Related to inclusive education in Swedish compulsory schools, learning goals are seen as problematic since pupils' difficulties in school are individualized and related to the individual's own weakness. (Göransson, Nilholm, & Karlsson, 2009).

In studies of music education, a therapeutic dimension of the music subject matter in compulsory school as well as in teacher education has been critically discussed

(Ericsson, 2002; 2006; Lindgren, 2006; Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010). In a study concerning music teachers' and music students' teaching ideologies and discourses (Ericsson, 2006), the results show that the character of the music subject matter in school should first and foremost be fun and give positive experiences, leading to personal development and increased self-esteem. Also, music teaching is described as a free zone or a refuge. In compulsory school, teachers and principals legitimize aesthetic subjects as an arena for personal growth, individual development and for the fostering of good citizens (Lindgren, 2006). Altogether, concepts like refuge, enjoyment, pleasure, self-esteem, self-expression etcetera describe the function of the subject, making students' emancipation more important than any musical aspects.

Theory, Methodology and Analytical Tools

The study's points of departure in the philosophy and theory of science are post-structuralism and social constructionism and the method is discourse analysis. We have combined three different types of discourse analysis: *Discursive psychology*, *Foucault inspired analysis* and *discourse theory* as it is formulated by Laclau & Mouffe (1985). *Discursive psychology*, has been useful in the micro analysis of the situations in the classroom, *Foucault inspired analysis*, has contributed with an overarching view on the concept of discourse and has also given us a point of departure to reveal *the silent discourse* and finally *Discourse theory* is well suited for discussing different available *subject positions* and a so called *overdetermined identity*. It has been necessary with different analytical tools, related to the above mentioned types of discourse analysis to thoroughly analyse our empirical material, something that also is considered as fully appropriate (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000) as long as the analytical tools harmonise with the overarching methodological perspective of discourse analysis.

The starting point for the analysis was the idea that the teaching context under consideration can be regarded as a discursive practice (Foucault, 1969/2002), the construction of which has been affected by various factors; structural, actor-related, and context-related. The discourse concept positions itself in between a micro-sociological perspective, where the rhetorical organization of language and action is studied and analysed in an action-related context, and a macro-perspective based on the notion of discourse in relation to power and ideology. Further, we view discourse as multimodal (Kress, 2005) and mediated (Scollon, 2001; Norris & Jones, 2005). Thus, it operates not only via the spoken and written word, but also has a visual and auditory dimension. In this study, the discourse shows itself in the behavior of the actors in the classroom, in their facial expressions and their actions, in their verbal and non-verbal interactions, and in the resounding results of music practice. However, it is also mediated by various artefacts in the classroom and their mutual relationships and via the purely spatial as well. The furniture in a classroom and the location of chairs and desks will for example mediate different discourses of teaching. The equipment of music instruments also gives a signal of what kind of teaching that goes on. The spatial character of the classroom will mediate different traditions of teaching. In a large classroom it can be presumed that the teaching is carried out in large groups and in a classroom with adjacent small group rooms it can be presumed that the teaching goes on in small groups.

The study can be described as classroom research, which can be regarded in one way as a kind of micro-perspective, since it focuses on actors in interaction. However, as a classroom research project it can also be regarded as including a macro-perspective with its interests in forms of subject positions produced by overarching social and institutional discourses. This means that we have been served by an actor-oriented perspective and hence

have drawn information from the discipline that is usually called *discursive psychology* (Antaki, 1994; Billig, 1982, 1991, 1996; Edwards, 1996; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1998, 2001; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1988, 1992; Wetherell, 1995, 1996a, 1966b; Widdicombe & Woffitt, 1995), which has its roots in conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). In this phase data was examined to tease out understandings that could guide us beyond commonly held assumptions: What function does a certain act have and what effect does it have in the discursive practice? What rhetorical strategies are used to achieve a certain purpose? What is at stake in various situations? What is actually going on? Questions like these have helped us discover problematic situations that are often not noticed because they are so ingrained in the practice that they are not conscious and thus pass without reflection. We will emphasize that the descriptions of the lesson sequences are not transcriptions in a Jeffersonian sense, which are common in some discourse psychological studies. Instead we are inspired mainly by Potter & Wetherell's earlier work (1987, 1992) and to some extent Billig's (1982, 1991, 1996), where a more critical approach can be distinguished and the transcriptions are not so thoroughly worked through. Those studies are also in line with ours because we try to balance between a micro and a macro perspective. Still, we claim that the tools for analysis are founded in discursive psychology, since we are interested in what functions and consequences certain behaviour and utterances have in a discursive practice, and what rhetorical strategies the actors use to handle different situations and to represent themselves.

In the second phase of the analysis we benefited from discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), which gave us a point of departure to discuss the different subject positions offered, taken and tried by the actors. With the discourse psychological analysis as a base it was possible to illuminate the different actors struggle to take on an offered subject position and paying attention to the failures in doing so. It was also possible to distinguish how the actors could be offered different subject positions during the time span of the studied lesson and could even change the subject position in a specific situation along with the way. We have also used the analytic concept *overdetermined identity* or *overdetermined subject* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) which means that the subject is colonised by different non compatible identities that is contextually shaped, for example the identity as a competent person teaching music versus a person without musical skills in need of help and support in teaching situations.

Finally we draw on Foucault's notion that the existence of a dominant discourse also presupposes other discourses that have been silenced along with the growth of the dominant discourse. In this case the analysis also benefits from Foucault's genealogical method which focuses on the conditions for the appearance of a specific discourse at the expense of other possible discourses.

Design

This article is based on a larger research project where the empirical material consists of 45 hours of video documented lessons of a music course at an AM for young adult SID. The music course consists of one semester and includes music history, rhythmic, music instruments and study skills.

Inspired by an ethnographic approach, video observations were made for an extended period of one semester in order to develop an understanding of the culture manifested in the practice. After the observation period, the video material was studied in detail. After several readings, different patterns gradually appeared, and we concluded that

there was something the teachers tried to hide. So, we began to realize that the silenced discourse was materialized at several places in the material. Many situations in the material gave expression for the silenced discourse, but for this article we have made a selection of a few distinct situations. The silenced discourse was especially explicit in situations related to an encounter between the group of six SID and a group of approximately forty student teachers from another university. Situations that clearly illustrated the silenced discourse related to this encounter were selected for further analysis. In selected video sequences, the verbal communication/interaction has been transcribed verbatim. Also, the visual communication, such as body language, facial expressions, movements etcetera has been interpreted by the researchers and transformed into written Swedish in the form of descriptions. As mentioned earlier, the transcription method is inspired mainly by Potter & Wetherell's earlier work (1987, 1992) where we balance between a micro and macro perspective. A translation of empirical sequences into English was made for this article. The situations were then treated as objects of analysis in accordance with the methodology and analytical procedures described above. Transcriptions and analyses have been made in accordance with Ericsson and Lindgren (2010) where the analytical tools used within discursive psychology have been adjusted to multi-modal interaction.

Ethical aspects have been considered and the project has been approved by the Regional Ethic Board in Lund, Sweden. The students with SID as well as their teachers from the AM have been given fictitious names. The students that appear in the results are called Lesley and Deborah, their teachers Cathy and Margret. In the transcriptions, bold letters indicate stressed words.

The Silenced Discourse

In the following sections, the preparations for the encounter as well as the actual encounter are presented and analyzed.

Preparations for the Encounter

In rhythmic, the teachers from the AM introduce an upcoming encounter between the SID and a group of student teachers. The former group is ambivalent and insecure about how they will manage to conduct the latter in different exercises concerning rhythm and movement. They question whether they possess enough skills or not. The teacher repeatedly assures them that they have nothing to worry about. On one occasion, the following dialogue occurs between teacher Cathy and student Lesley:

Lesley says " Well...If I'm supposed to lead a group, I'm afraid I might do things wrong...I have such difficulties with my coordination." Cathy replies "Okay, but the thing is, the group you are supposed to lead, they don't possess this kind of knowledge." She smiles in a friendly manner, tilts her head and accompanies her explanation with soft waving hand movements as she continues "We'll explore this together!" She steps forward to Lesley and gently takes her hand.

What is at stake here is the teacher's ambition to encourage Lesley to believe in herself by offering her a subject position as competent and more skilled than the visiting group of student teachers. With phrases like "they don't possess this kind of knowledge" accompanied by a comforting body language, Cathy positions herself as a wise teacher and empathic sister, using rhetorical strategies that decreases the visiting group's level of skills. The teacher's strategy functions so as to reassure both Lesley and the rest of the group that

any kind of worries concerning the upcoming encounter is unnecessary. However, this way to address the student is also somewhat condescending in tone as the teacher treats the students as you might a young child who is frightened of something unreasonable. She constructs herself and the student group as one big family that will conquer anything, when she says: "We'll explore this together!" The encouraging and caring discourse appears. Her actions are supposed to have the effect that Lesley and the student group will be convinced that they are more than capable to lead the other group. However, Cathy's strategy does not quite succeed in the sense that the students accept her way of positioning them as more skillful than the others. Instead, the students continue to question their own capability to lead the other group over and over again. In that respect, they question the subject position offered by their teacher as competent, self-confident and more skilled than the other group. Later on, Cathy makes it clear that the visiting students are supposed to teach children, not adults, in these matters. This rhetoric strategy has the function of magnifying the knowledge and skills among the SID even further, since they have the skills to teach adults. All of Cathy's strategies are expressions of a governance technique. By encouraging the students, she simply wants the encounter to take place by making sure that they will actually have enough courage and self-confidence to show up.

The Encounter

The room where the encounter takes place is spacious and designed for dance and rhythmic activities. The floor is a free space. On the opposite wall from the white board closeable mirrors are placed, and djembe drums are placed in one corner.

The atmosphere is tense and tentative, when approximately forty student teachers enter the classroom. The SID are waiting, sitting on chairs together with their teachers in front of the whiteboard. The teachers welcome the visitors and invite them to sit down on the floor in a big circle towards the whiteboard. Deborah, one of the SID, presents herself and her group as colleagues and professionals, as leaders in this situation. Teacher Cathy asks:

"Lesley, would you like to take over the relay baton?" Lesley rises from her chair and positions herself in front of the group. Meanwhile, the teacher continues in a soft, mothering voice accompanied by a smooth pedagogical manner as if she was referring to small children "In fact, we had an idea from the Faculty of Education to begin this encounter in a certain way, but with **these** students..." she raises her arms in a gesture to embrace the whole student group with intellectual disabilities, giggles, tilts her head and smiles caringly "...a lot always happens and we are always open for changes. I'm sure this is a fabulous beginning that Lesley has created for us."

Cathy's way of disowning responsibility for what is to come in the sequence is interesting. By describing the SID as she does, she offers them a subject position quite different from the one offered before the actual encounter. Their subject position from before as competent and more skilled than the visiting group has been replaced by a subject position as unpredictable, impulsive children, while the visiting group is positioned and addressed to as understanding adults. The group with disabilities is clearly distinguished by her as she stresses "but with **these** students..." With these rhetorical strategies and by ensuring that it probably will be "a fabulous beginning that Lesley has created for us", she shows an open-minded position as a teacher since everybody can join and feel free. At the same time the open-mindedness is clearly connected to the group of SID that cannot be properly controlled since you can never predict what is to come. Also, in this respect, the visiting students are

positioned as more trustworthy, more reliable as the teacher appeals to their understanding of the situation at hand. Her rhetorical strategies appeal to the students to overlook what might follow. After this, Lesley's presentation begins:

Lesley now stands in front of the visiting group at the white board with a bunch of papers in her hand, ready to start. "Hi everyone, I'm Lesley, and I'm from Practical forum as well." She speaks in a strong voice as if she thinks that they couldn't hear her, standing in a very formal and tight manner. No one answers. The visiting group is silent and abiding. "I will tell you a little about pulse and rhythm, what it means, ...uhm...uhm". She begins to look in her papers "You may put it this way, pulse means ground beat. That means the even steps...uhm... in a melody that you might dance to. And the pulse may be described as a line of dots as for example two-two time, $\frac{3}{4}$ time and common time signature. And the rhythm might be described as ...uhm...uhm...tempo, that is the duration of a tone and... uhm... may be described by note values and..uhm... I don't know if any of you read written scores, if you might have played an instrument or such..." The question-like phrase has a rhetorical character since she neither waits for someone to answer nor seems to be interested in receiving one. Instead she continues "... but you can describe it like this: whole note, half-note, and... uhm... quarter note and... uhm... eighth note and semiquaver."

The sequence reveals the discrepancy between Lesley's way of positioning herself as competent, and more skillful in pulse and rhythm than the visiting students, the same position she was offered by the teacher before the encounter, and the way she appears during the presentation. She acts like a competent, dominant leader who will teach her students a subject matter of significance, pulse and rhythm. In her lecture she uses several concepts like pulse, rhythm, melody, time signature, tempo, written score and note values but does not make the crucial connections between them clear in order to make sense. For example, rhythm is described as tempo, the duration of a tone. Therefore, her lack of ability to explain these abstract concepts appears. The presentation continues:

Deborah, suddenly says "May I show a pulse?" Lesley looks quite bothered, and answers in an uncertain lingering tone of voice as if she actually does not want Deborah's help at all "You might very well do so". Deborah strikes her thighs hard with her hands eight times in a pulse-like manner and proceeds to clap an equally forced slightly hectic rhythm followed by clapping the pulse on her thighs again. The visiting student teachers are still abiding but an increasing restlessness and a feeling of awkwardness is spreading among them, manifested by people coughing and twitching. Some of them smile in a friendly way while others look skeptical. Further on, Lesley tries to demonstrate pulse and rhythm by clapping but fails to demonstrate anything else but pulse. She ends her presentation by saying: "So when you come home and listen to a melody you may think of which pulse..... or which pulse is in the melody." She walks back to her chair and sits down.

In this sequence, Deborah asks if she can demonstrate pulse, but instead of doing so she demonstrates both pulse and rhythm and does not make the difference between her verbal presentation and her physical demonstration explicit in order to make sense. Although Lesley further on manages to clap a pulse she does not manage to clap a rhythm, but she acts as if she did. Thus, the discrepancy between the subject positions offered to them by the teacher before the encounter as competent and more skilled than the visiting students and the inadequate skills that they show are clear. Altogether, the knowledge formation becomes

vague, since the way the musical concepts are presented does not make any sense. The awkwardness among the visiting students gradually appears, still politely listening but starting to question the situation, since the silenced discourse is obvious; the SID do not possess adequate skills to lead student teachers in these exercises in pulse and rhythm.

The lesson continues:

Margret, the other teacher in rhythmic, plays a rhythm on a bongo drum and invites everyone to clap the pulse. The student teachers begin to clap a perfect pulse together with the rhythm that is played. Then, Margret invites Lesley to lead the group, asking her while the group is still clapping “Could we do this in another way?” She begins to reply: “You can...” but Margret interrupts hectically and loudly “You can do all sorts of things!”, after which she plays the rhythm on the drum again. Lesley stands up and says “You can do it with your head!” as she starts turning her head sideways in the pulse. Margret urges the visiting students “You have to be standing up!” Everybody stands up and imitates Lesley’s movements as she continues “You can do it with your hips.”

In this sequence, Margret’s and Lesley’s subject positions become evident.

Margret positions herself as a skillful and dominant leader, while Lesley is offered a position as insufficiently skilled and in need of support. This is shown by Margret’s verbal strategies, demanding Lesley to answer her question, but then interrupts and answers it by herself. She does not seem to trust Lesley’s capability of answering correctly, and covers up for her. Then, she disciplines the visiting group again by urging them to stand up during the exercise. Her verbal strategies function as of both governing Lesley and the visiting group. By doing so, she obstructs Lesley’s attempt to gain legitimacy as a leader of the exercise. The exercise continues:

Lesley then asks Margret “How do you do this in two-two time signature?”

Margret answers “I will count to two; **one**, two, **one**, two” she says and stresses the first beat in each bar. Lesley now addresses the group “You may follow me!” She is clapping her hands towards the outer sides of her thighs while she counts, unstressed, one, two, one, two repeatedly faster and faster. Lesley now asks Margret in a low voice, as if she does not want anyone else to hear “How do you do this in $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature?” Margret ignores the question. Instead, she firmly tries to resume control by positioning herself in front of Lesley, stamping her foot on the first beat in a two-two time signature and clapping her hand on the second beat, several times. Lesley convulsively transcends to merely stamping her feet and to count unstressed, one, two, one, two three... as before. The visiting group imitates Margret correctly while Lesley still just clamps her feet in the pulse. The other SID try to follow Margret but do not quite manage to perform the exercise correctly. Lesley painstakingly continues to almost recite “one, two, one, two” like a mantra now, in what seems to be a struggle to keep control and still act as the leader of the group. Margret tries to end the exercise by praising the visiting students, saying “Well done!”

Here, Lesley initiates a new aspect of time signature to the exercise. But instead of trying to instruct on her own, she asks Margret for help, which shows that she at this time is beginning to accept the subject position offered by Margret. Lesley does not seem to manage to imitate the way Margret stresses the first beat at each bar. She just keeps counting unstressed which implies that the aspect of time signature does not appear. When Margret,

instead of replying to Lesley's question concerning $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature, simply takes over the leadership, by positioning herself in front of Lesley to instruct the visiting group correctly, this can be seen as an expression of a governance technique to maintain legitimacy for the exercise and for the situation as a whole by covering up Lesley's shortcomings. Thus, Margret strives to maintain the deception, consisting of the fact that Lesley is supposed to be perceived as skilled enough as a leader by the visiting group, though the subject position that is offered to her by Margret shows otherwise. Instead of answering Lesley's question of $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature the teacher instructs two-two time signature which signals her crave of showing the visiting group the correct way before moving any further in the exercise. The difference between Lesley's subject position and the visiting group's position becomes even more evident further on since neither Lesley nor her fellow SID can quite manage to perform the exercise correctly while the visiting group succeeds, positioning the latter as more skillful than the former. The subject position of the visiting group offered by the teacher, as understanding adults, is enhanced by Margret praising them saying "Well done" in an attempt to end the exercise. Lesley's strategy of trying to maintain the position as a leader, although Margret takes over repeatedly, is shown in her mantra-like counting throughout the sequence. She clings on to the one aspect she has left, which is counting, and the exercise continues:

Lesley does not pay any attention to, or does not understand Margret's attempt to end the exercise. Instead, she continues, "So if we go on to $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature"... She starts stamping her feet again while she counts to three several times, unstressed. The visiting group does not follow Lesley at first. They stand abiding as if they are unwilling or uncertain of whom to follow. Lesley notices this and urges them to imitate her by raising her hands in an including gesture as she says in an authoritarian voice "Would you please?" They gradually start to imitate her again, but the hesitation is obvious, since they at this point do not seem to accept Lesley as their leader. Margret plays a pulse in $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature and stresses the first beat of each bar while Lesley still counts unstressed "one, two, three" repeatedly. She instructs "We may do it with our heads!" and turns her head to the left and then to the right repeatedly. She repeats her unstressed counting as if she is incapable of stopping, continues the exercise for quite a while and says "...or with your hips". Now, Margret abruptly breaks in once again and pops yet another leading question "Is it possible to **combine** as well?" Lesley immediately stops, as she freezes on the spot, looking completely transfixed, worried and very uneasy as she turns her head to look at Margret. The teacher continues enthusiastically "...feet and hands and **what not**..." Lesley looks at the group again, and says "Yes..." quite despondently while she stretches her hands in the air as if she yields to the control of another person. She continues to twist her hips and to repeat "one, two, three" unstressed. The feeling of awkwardness is distinct in the room. Now Margret declaims in a strong voice: "Well done Lesley!"

In this section of the sequence, the visiting group's reluctance to accept Lesley as their leader appears. This also implies that the different subject positions are becoming even more evident. The visiting group's position as more skilled than Lesley make them unwilling to accept her leadership since she is positioned as less skillful and in need of support by her teacher. Margret's strategies aim to compensate Lesley's inadequate instructions in different ways. This further enhances Margret's subject position as a skillful and dominant leader. When the exercise is beginning to get out of hand, since Lesley still doesn't make clear the aspect of time signature in her way of instructing, Margret once again abruptly interrupts maintaining her verbal strategies, trying to put everything right, by urging Lesley to combine

different body parts into the exercise. Lesley's complete transfixion, which is also shown in the way she continues to do the same bodily movements she did before, finally completely gives up her legitimacy as a leader of the other group. When Margret then stops her by praising, "Well done, Lesley" you might wonder what she praises, the fact that Lesley did not manage to gain legitimacy as a leader of the other group or the fact that she did her best under the circumstances? The latter would indicate that the saying "everyone is capable" is ruling on the surface.

Altogether, the sequences show the discourse that is constructed related to the encounter between SID and student teachers. The silenced discourse, the unspoken, is constructed from the fact that the SID are not only insufficiently skilled for the task as leaders in exercises of rhythm and pulse, but are also less skilled than the visiting student teachers. The very prerequisite for the encounter was quite the opposite, when the teacher described the student teacher group as less skilled.

Discussion

In this article, situations related to an encounter at the AM between SID and a group of teacher students has been analysed with analytical tools used within discursive psychology adjusted to multi-modal interaction, combined with Foucault inspired analysis and discourse theory. The analysis show how such an encounter can turn out, regarding rhetorical strategies, subject positions and discourses constructed in practice. Altogether the analysis gave rise to the main result, the silenced discourse, the unspoken, consciously silenced by the teachers' strategies in practice. Other issues such as teachers' intentions or whether or not the students face increased knowledge is not possible to study within the frame of the theoretical, methodological and analytical perspective of this article. Instead, our intention was to study which identity and subject positions that was available and constructed in this specific educational context.

The silenced discourse appears in verbal phrases and physical actions both during the preparations and during the actual encounter between the SID and the group of student teachers. Before the encounter, the teacher uses rhetorical strategies to encourage the students by offering them a subject position as competent and more skilled than the student teachers who are going to visit them. An interesting aspect is that the students with disabilities seem to question the subject position offered to them, since they question the idea of leading the other group repeatedly. Thus, the teacher's strategy to encourage them does not fully succeed. Even though the silenced discourse is discovered by the students with disabilities, it remains silenced by the teacher's strategies. During the encounter, a striking difference occurs in the way the same teacher changes the subject position she is offering the SID into unpredictable, impulsive children, while the visiting group is positioned and addressed to as understanding adults. Further on, during the practical exercises, the other teacher positions herself as a skillful and dominant leader, while the students with disabilities who are supposed to lead the exercise are offered a position as insufficiently skilled and in need of support.

During the encounter, the silenced discourse is shown when the students with disabilities do not manage to lead these exercises in pulse and rhythm which they are supposed to. The establishment of the silenced discourse is expressed by the teachers' strive to maintain legitimacy for the exercises at hand, protecting the students from their own shortcomings and/or protecting their own position by obstructing the possibilities for any other leader than themselves. When the teachers sense awkwardness among the visiting students, they use verbal and physical strategies to try to cover up the fact that the SID do not

have adequate skills. The central ideological, problematic dilemma in this article is whether the teachers should cover up or if they should be explicit about the conditions at hand.

What is at stake at the encounter on a general level is the teachers' rhetorical and physical strategies, aiming to create legitimacy for the encounter between the groups by balancing on a delicate line between the inadequate knowledge the SID have, and the fact that these students nevertheless are supposed to lead the group of student teachers. The teachers' strategies aim to prevent the situation from getting out of hand. Teacher Margret's verbal and physical strategies which enhance her subject position as a skillful and dominant leader, constitute prominent elements in the construction of the discursive practice at the encounter. This practice is further characterized by the position student Lesley is offered by her teacher, and her failing in legitimizing herself as a leader. The effects of Margret's strategies are twofold and contradictory. She wants to assist Lesley since she repeatedly takes over the leadership in the exercise, but at the same time, she also strengthens the visiting group's notion about herself as competent and Lesley as insufficiently skilled for the leading task. The teacher more or less forces herself into the leadership role of the exercise repeatedly, as a governance technique to exercise power. She chooses verbal strategies that differ in content but show similarities in form since she asks leading questions to the student and answers them herself in order to make the exercise move forward. Since her acting shows that she considers herself the only competent leader, the aspect of governance becomes evident.

Altogether, there is a lack of responsibility and ethical considerations shown by the Academy teachers when they set up a flawed situation. They offer the SID a position as insufficiently skilled and in need of support while positioning themselves as skillful and dominant leaders, although the SID are supposed to lead the teacher students. Also, the teachers failed to heed the students' self-awareness of lack of necessary rhythmic ability for the session. Instead, the teachers encouraged the SID to engage in an activity that would highlight their lack of skills, an activity where they failed to support them in a way that did not undermine their confidence. How can this be explained? Why were the teachers neither capable of creating a favorable environment nor offering appropriate assistance to the SID? Could it be that the teachers had had limited previous experiences of SID? The answer to this question goes beyond the focus of this article, but is worth considering.

The silenced discourse is, as mentioned earlier, constructed by the teachers, but questioned by the SID when the upcoming encounter is being prepared. Why are the differences in abilities and skills that the two student groups show so difficult to acknowledge for the teachers? Assumptions of normality (Tinklin & Hall, 1999) seem to have an impact here, since the group of students with disabilities and the group of student teachers are treated quite differently. The students with disabilities are referred to as more skilled than the student teachers before the encounter, in an effort to enhance this group's proficiency and self-confidence. The issue of being outside or inside the norm of the AM becomes a problematic aspect for the teachers to handle in the encounter between the two student groups. They "cover up" for the disabled student's shortcomings and strive to make the encounter legitimate. The issue of normality and the silenced discourse might also relate to the Swedish construction of intellectual disabilities as an individual matter (Mineur, Berg & Tideman, 2009). Thus, it becomes essential for the teachers to withhold the silenced discourse, to "protect" each individual with intellectual disabilities from any experience of personal failure. The way the course is structured, it constructs the encounter, not as a core activity to acknowledge any differences among students, but as an activity where the conditions concerning the SID are treated as being outside the norm (Stuart, Carroll, Petroff & Blumberg, 2009).

Given that the encounter between the two groups could have had an inclusive potential, the silenced discourse nevertheless becomes an obstacle for possible inclusion,

since it increases the distance between them. As O'Brien, et al (2009) argue, inclusion in university settings might become another form of exclusion. You may question whether access to higher education for the SID in this study implies an experience on equal terms with others in accordance with the UN resolution (Soc.dep., DS, 2008:23). Since the students with disabilities do not attend a course in an integrated group with "regular" university students, as argued for in former studies concerning inclusion for students with disabilities at university settings, the conditions for inclusion on a structural level are also insufficient (Grantley, 2000; Hart et al, 2006; Mac Donald et al, 1997; Stuart, Carroll, Petroff & Blunting, 2009).

The teacher's construction of the student teachers as less skilled than the students with disabilities during the preparations for the upcoming encounter might be an expression of a therapeutic dimension of the music subject matter similar to the conditions at hand in compulsory school and in teacher education (Ericsson, 2002; 2006; Lindgren, 2006; Ericsson & Lindgren, 2010). The teacher constructs herself and the group as one big family that will conquer anything together, an expression of the emphasis of personal development and increased self-esteem. On a general level, Ericsson's (2002; 2006) and Lindgren's (2006) findings show that some discourses in music education are marginalized since the music subject matter is constructed as a channel for the student's personal development and self-esteem, rather than as a subject for the development of musical aspects. However, since the discrepancy between the subject positions offered the SID by the teacher during the introduction of the encounter and the position offered during the actual encounter is substantial, you may question whether the encounter increases personal development and self-esteem for the students with disabilities.

The silenced discourse could also be considered in addition to a hegemonic discourse in the Swedish politics of education. During a long period of time since the 1950s, the Swedish system of education has been permeated of a discourse that individual abilities should not affect the prospects for an individual to be successful in the educational system. If an individual, for one reason or another, cannot reach the educational goals, a compensation for lack of individual abilities should be carried out (Boman, 2002). In music education, the result has been a reluctance to accept that musical talent should play a part in what people are able to achieve when it comes to obtaining musical knowledge and skills. In its strongest forms it has been a bit of a "taboo" subject to talk about musical talent. Since it rejects the determinism that has always been connected with artistic skills and expression, our standpoint is that a questioning of talent as a prerequisite for learning music is good. It opens up for new ways to comprehend musical learning where other parameters than talent comes to the fore. Still we consider it important to keep in mind that it might be problematic to silence a discourse that exists close to the surface and that it might be more constructive to demystify the discourse by allowing it to be discussed. It can be presumed that all the actors in this study were well aware of the silenced discourse but no one dared to bring it up. It was too awkward. Also, it was symptomatic that the SID were closest of the different actors to give expression for *the silenced discourse*. In conclusion, the results in this article highlight the need to consider silenced discourses around SID when working to create more inclusive environments.

Finally, a central issue from an overall perspective is whether the conditions studied in this paper would have differed or shown similarities with similar lessons with students without disabilities in the same context. Whether or not the results are dependent on the fact that the students have disabilities lies beyond this study to answer. However, what is crucial are the conditions at hand.

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