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Article title	Bilingualism and Multilingualism in Primary Education (Norway)
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Glossary terms

Official languages of Norway: Norwegian and Sámi.

Bokmål: Lit. ‘Book Language’, one of the two written standards of Norwegian.

Nynorsk: Lit. ‘New Norwegian’, one of the two written standards of Norwegian.

Sámi: Indigenous languages comprising North Sámi, Lule Sámi,

South Sámi, Pite Sámi and Ume Sámi, three of which (North, South and Lule) are written languages. Ume Sami seems to be extinct in Norway. All Sámi languages and the three national minority languages are listed on UNESCO's atlas of endangered languages.

Kven:

One of the three national minority languages of Norway comprising Kven, Romani and Romanés (Vlach Romani). In 1998, Norway ratified the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

1. Research on bilingualism and multilingualism

In the wake of late-modern globalization and fluctuation of the world's *ethnoscape* (Appadurai 1990), Norway has become a multicultural and multilingual society. In Norway, there are people from more than 220 of the world's regions and nations (Statistics Norway 2019). Nationally, there is no large-scale data on the language composition or linguistic characteristics of the pupils in the Norwegian school. However, in the Oslo school, the capital, there are registered more than 220 languages (Oslo municipality 2016). Nonetheless, cultural and linguistic diversity is not new to Norwegian schools.

The Norwegian education system promotes bilingual competence in primary school (Grade 1-7) in Norwegian and English where English is mandatory for all pupils from the first grade. Furthermore, the education system promotes multiple language competence in Sámi, Norwegian and English in a way that all pupils in compulsory school age who live in the Sámi districts have the right to education in and on Sámi. The same applies to pupils outside Sámi districts when they receive training in Sámi.

Research shows that it is arbitrary if, and to what extent the language minority pupils receive instruction in their L1 (Bezemer et al. 2004, Ryen et al. 2009). Two national studies on language use at school and in the home, shows that the use of other languages than Norwegian is rather limited (Ipsos 2015; Svendsen 2018; Svendsen et al. 2015). If the pupils' first or home language is included in a school context, it is most often in the first grade (Ipsos 2015). Case studies show that multilingual pupils are given fewer opportunities to participate actively in oral activities in the classroom such as group work (e.g. Myklebust, 2018; Palm, 2018). Palm (2018) concludes that it is up to teachers themselves to decide on if and how to use multilingualism as a resource in teaching. Flognfeldt et al. (2019) suggest that the teacher education may not have prepared the teachers well enough to benefit from the affordances of the multilingual classroom. The pupils' L1 is considered a resource in learning new languages, and the aims of the national curriculum explicitly call for an attention to similarities between the pupils' L1 and English. However, an investigation of how English is taught in Year 4 classrooms shows that L1 was

activated on the pupils' initiative, often outside the classroom. This is, in other words, a practice not in accordance with the aims of the national curriculum (Flognfeldt 2018, 246).

2. Curriculum

The main language of instruction in Norwegian primary education is Norwegian. There is, however, no *de jure* standard spoken language in Norway, and the teachers and the school management are by law obliged to respect the spoken varieties of the pupils. In primary education, the municipality regulates the schools' *written* standards, and in the school year 2018-19, 87.14% of the pupils had **bokmål** as their main written language compared to 11.96% for **nynorsk** (School Information System 2019). In the two northern counties, Troms and Finnmark, pupils in primary education with a **Kven** Finnish background have the right to education in Finnish as a second language. The Education Act secures primary education in and on Norwegian Sign Language too.

Pupils with an L1 other than Norwegian and Sámi are entitled to special training in Norwegian until they are proficient enough to follow regular teaching in Norwegian. If necessary, they have the right to L1 instruction, bilingual vocational training or both. There are separate curricula for basic Norwegian for linguistic minorities and for mother tongue teaching. The curriculum in L1 instruction is to be used for pupils who are entitled to special Norwegian education, and it is used to a much lesser extent than the curriculum for basic Norwegian. Both curricula are transitional. They are level-oriented and not related to age. The teaching based on the curriculum in basic Norwegian is meant to protect the pupils' need for special instruction in Norwegian, and the pupils follow that curriculum until their skills are judged good enough to continue learning according to the regular Norwegian curriculum. Hence, other languages than Norwegian, Sámi and English hold a weak position within Norwegian primary education. According to the Education Act, the municipality shall chart pupils' level of proficiency in Norwegian before measures for special language instruction are undertaken.

3. Teachers and other personnel

According to the Education Act, all pupils have a right to individually adapted education. This means that all Norwegian teachers have an obligation to tailor the education so that pupils who have another L1 than Norwegian receive linguistic support and become part of an inclusive learning environment. In the Norwegian schools, there are teachers with special qualifications as Sámi teachers, as teachers in Norwegian as a second language and as mother tongue teachers and bilingual teachers for pupils with migrant background. Sámi teachers play a crucial part for Sámi pupils to remain and develop a Sámi identity, language and culture. The national responsibility for the education of Sámi teachers lies with the Sámi University of Applied Sciences, which was established in 1989. Primary school teacher education is one of the educational programs offered at the university where Sámi is the language of instruction. There is, however, a lack of Sámi teachers, especially in the two Sámi minority languages, Lule Sámi and Southern Sámi. In order to remedy this, the Government has established a scholarship scheme for Sámi students who

want to take teacher education. Scholarships are also granted to recruit more students with migrant background to teacher education. Teachers from language minorities have an important role to play as language conveyors and models for identification, as well as mediators between the parents and the school. Studies show that there is a huge lack of L1 teachers and bilingual teachers, and the teachers hold an insecure position in the schools (e.g. De Wilde & Kulbrandstad, 2014). In 2005, to ensure a supply of qualified teachers, a common framework was developed for a three-year Bachelor's program for L1 teachers, bilingual teachers and bilingual assistants. Paradoxically, the program was launched at the same as mother tongue and bilingual teaching were politically scaled down (Ringen & Kjørven 2009). Today, the program is offered only at two universities, University of Agder and University of Oslo.

4. Identity

There are relatively few studies on bi/multilingualism and identity among primary school pupils in Norway. There is, however, studies demonstrating a collective sense of grief over the former loss of Sámi language in school (e.g. Solstad & Dankertsen 2015), and on bullying of Sámi pupils (Lile 2011). In a national survey in primary and secondary education, language related bullying was reported by 10% (either each day, every week or month) of the 1984 pupils who responded in 5th and 6th grade (Ipsos 2015: 38). Gladly, the majority of the pupils in both Lile's (2011) and Ipsos' (2015) study did not experience language related bullying. In general, the pupils in the Norwegian primary school express an eagerness to learn more languages, and consider multilingual competence as a resource for traveling, for fun, communication as well as for future work and education (Svendsen et al. 2015). There are a few case studies showing that bi/multilingual pupils in primary education express multifaceted sense of belonging, and that the children's multiple language learning is encouraged by their parents for the children's sense of belonging and well-being both in Norway and in their parents' country of origin, as well as on an international job market (e.g. Svendsen 2004).

5. Challenges

The outline above indicates that there are several challenges concerning bilingual or multilingual education in Norway. Politically, there is a need to actualize the fact that teacher education does not recruit enough bilingual teachers (e.g. De Wilde & Kulbrandstad, 2014), as well as the need for structural frames that allow pupils in primary education to learn and develop other languages than the traditional ones. Moreover, recently arrived pupils are also a challenge for the education system (cf. De Wilde & Kulbrandstad, 2016). Pedagogically, to fulfill the Education Act on the pupils' right for individually adapted education, there is a need for a strengthened focus on the pupils' linguistic, social and cultural background, *inter alia* to be able to include the pupils' L1 in different ways in training and education (e.g. Danbolt & Hugo, 2012). The research on bilingualism and multilingualism in primary education is rather scarce, meaning that there is in the years to come, in light of grand societal challenges of migration and integration, an urgent need for more research on these matters, such as further systematic mapping of bilingual subject training, e.g. the extent to which the pupils receive such training and how it is conducted.

Moreover, there is a need to analyze the organization of education involving bi- or multilingual pupils and of how, if any, the teaching of bi-/multilingual pupils actually take place, as well as how the pupils experience and navigate in a school where Norwegian is the dominant and often the only language of instruction.

Further reading and online resources

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Multilingual Internet resources:

Tema morsmål [theme mother tongue]: <http://www.morsmal.no/no/>

Skolekassa.no - digital resources for newly arrived students presented in seven languages
<https://skolekassa.no/>

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