

The Language of Inclusion

An analysis of adapted language education in the Norwegian “One School for All”.

Marit Helene Engstrøm Mathiesen



Master of
Philosophy in Comparative and International Education
Department of Education

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

November 2016

The Language of Inclusion.

An analysis of adapted language education in the
Norwegian “One School for All”.

© Marit Helene Engstrøm Mathiesen

2016

The Language of Inclusion

Marit Helene Engstrøm Mathiesen

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

Aim: The thesis takes base in the Norwegian Education Act (1998) stating “Pupils[...]who have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami have the right to adapted education in Norwegian until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction [...]”(the Education Act 1998, §2-8). But statistics show practice of adapted language education is only partly working as the intended temporary transition solution (Oslo municipality, 2015b). My aim is to explore the situations at Oslo schools, to understand reasons behind these statistics. I believe it is necessary to investigate several aspects in the education system to understand how we can provide fairness and equal opportunities in education. My aim is therefore to understand more about the daily life in Oslo schools. How management in schools act, and why they do as they do. I will also present today's and outdated political policies.

Study design: The thesis has a qualitative comparative approach.

Methods: The empirical data is collected through nine semi structured interviews. Some documents analysis are also conducted.

Findings: My findings show that there are many factors influencing the adapted language education children might receive, and influencing the length of the individual decisions for it. I found that in schools of high percentages of linguistic minority children, the adapted language education appears as a part of the general adapted education, aimed for all children. In other schools, adapted language education is conducted more similar to special education, taking children out of the classroom.

In present policies I discover a political focus on children to achieve sufficient proficient in Norwegian as soon as possible. In schools, I found a wish of making sure all children are capable of following the language development, not necessary as fast, but as good as possible.

Norwegian education policies are in line with several theories accounted for, placing Norway in a universal regime (Verdier, 2009) with policies of *redistribution*(Minow, 2008).

Keywords: Adapted language education (særskilt norskopplæring), adapted education, special education, Oslo, justice, integration, minorities.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, thank you to informants participating in this study. Thank you for your time and for sharing your stories with me. I hope you will find result of my research interesting and useful in some way. Thank you for the efforts you make assisting all children to learn.

I want to give thanks to Kine Revheim, giving me motivation, some insights and documents I wasn't able to find on my own.

To my CIE-friends, thank you Christin for all your patient assistance with my English struggles, Ragnhild for passionate compassion when I'm down and Karina for your strong faith in us, "we did it", Karina! I also want to thank Camilla at department's office for motivating us and for all facilitation. My proofreader Ally took on a huge job, thank you for your work and eye for details. Also, thank you Whitney! All language mistakes found in this thesis are my responsibility alone. I guess there still are several errors, as I ironically due to my topic, struggle to write in English.

Thank you to my sympathetic supervisor Ingrid Smette, always greeting me with coffee. For your enthusiasm, ideas and constructive criticism. Thanks for understanding my messy head and helping me to structure my thoughts.

To my dear mamma and pappa. You are always supporting me in my choices (and supporting by not telling when you do not). I am looking forward to the graduation celebration you have been motivating me with the last months. You are always there for me, being a solid fundament in my life. Thank you.

And of course my Håkon. You are great motivation to me with your stamina and work structure. You have been my patience cliff in this process. Thank you for countless dinners waiting for me when coming home late in the evenings from UiO. Thank you for listening, for convincing me not to give up and to have faith in myself. For drying my tears and laughing with me. Thank you for choosing me.

This master thesis was a lot more work than I was prepared for. I have learned a lot concerning the topic and the process, but also about myself. It might feel demotivating to know that very few people will ever read my work; therefore, each and every one who are reading this, thank you.

Acronyms

1-3 – Section 1-3, Adapted Education, of the Education Act of 1998.

2-8 –Section 2-8, Adapted Language Education for Pupils from Language Minorities, of the Education Act of 1998.

5-1 – Section 5-1, The Right to Special Education, of the Education Act of 1998.

NISK – Norwegian intensive language course (Norsk Intensivt Språkkurs).

NOK– Norwegian kroner.

NSL– Norwegian as Learning Language (Norsk Som Læringspråk).

PISA – The Programme for International Student Assessment.

PPT – Educational and Psychological Counselling Service.

Note on translation of quotes

I have translated texts cited and referenced in this thesis. I have tried to stay as close to the original wordings and formulations as possible. It has sometimes been necessary to customize the translated version to make the translation understandable. When I have translated titles, I have left the original Norwegian title in parenthesis where this is relevant.

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Purpose of study	3
1.2	Statement of the problem.....	4
1.2.1	Relevant empirical research	5
1.2.2	2015 official report from the Oslo municipality	6
1.2.3	Adapted language education in the media.....	8
1.3	Research questions	11
1.4	Adapted language education in the context of Oslo schools	12
1.4.1	The structure of the Oslo schools.....	12
1.4.2	Introduction of adapted education and special education	13
1.4.3	Possibilities of organizing adapted language education in Oslo Schools	14
1.4.4	Adapted Norwegian organized by the municipality.....	15
1.5	Significance of the study	16
1.6	Scope and limitation of the study	17
1.7	Structure of the thesis	18
2	Framework for discussion	19
2.1	Fairness in different educational regimes	19
2.2	Policies of integration.....	21
2.3	Special education and fairness.....	22
3	Review of selected literature	25
3.1	A history of major ideologies in Norwegian education.....	25
3.2	A history of minorities in Norwegian education	27
3.3	Relevant research.....	31
3.3.1	The over representation of minority children in special education	31
3.3.2	Sufficiently proficient in Norwegian?.....	32
3.3.3	Policies of integration in the Norwegian Unitary School System.....	33
4	Research Design and Methodology.....	36
4.1	Qualitative research	36
4.2	Comparative research design	37
4.3	Data collection methods	38
4.3.1	Document analysis	38

4.3.2	Selecting schools	39
4.3.3	Interviews	41
4.4	Ethics	43
5	Document analysis	44
5.1	The education act of 1998	44
5.2	Recent and present official ideology	49
6	Empirical findings	55
6.1	The process of making a 2-8 decision	55
6.1.1	Background information of children	56
6.1.2	Examination and mapping children.....	60
6.1.3	2-8 Paperwork	62
6.1.4	Ending a 2-8 decision	64
6.2	The organization of 2-8	68
6.2.1	Financing 2-8.....	68
6.2.2	Different models of conducting adapted Norwegian education in local schools	71
6.2.3	Mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching in local schools	76
6.2.4	Different approaches on combining 2-8 and 5-1	82
7	Discussions.....	84
7.1	Is 2-8 similar to adapted or to special education?	84
7.2	Different emotions connected to 2-8	88
7.3	The role of “other mother tongues” in the Norwegian “school for all”	93
7.4	Inclusion versus quality	96
7.5	The severity of a 2-8 decision.....	100
7.6	2-8 as a temporary solution	104
7.7	The fairness of 2-8.....	107
8	Conclusions	109
8.1	Summary of results	109
8.1.1	Research question one	109
8.1.2	Research question two.....	110
8.1.3	Research question three.....	112
8.2	Suggestions on further research.....	113
8.3	Final remarks	113
	References	114

Appendixes..... 121

List of figures

Figure 1: The structure of the Oslo education administration..... 13
Figure 2: Informant schools in the study (Oslo municipality,2015a) 41

1 Introduction

Integration and inclusion of new residents is a hot topic in Norway today. Language is indeed a key to communication. We have to communicate in order to cooperate and understand each other. In Norway, although English is widely used, Norwegian is the main language of communication.

In Norway, children are obliged to attend ten years of schooling where lectures and textbooks are in Norwegian language. All children are to attend the same unitary school, not divided after any other characterizations than age and address. Here, children have to learn cooperation and develop their language. In order to teach the children what they are supposed to, the teachers are dependent on being able to communicate with the children in Norwegian.

As demographic changes are happening in Norway, schools have to develop together with the rest of the society, in order to meet needs in the pupil mass. After findings of oil in the 1960's, Norway started to see immigration and new residents with foreign mother tongues, the schools must relate to changes in children's backgrounds as all are attending the same unitary school.

The concept of a unitary school has long been a core idea in Norwegian society (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvold, 2002:674). Norway, however, is experiencing new compositions of the population, reflected in the pupils in the schools. Linguistic diversity is not something new in Norway, but the diversity of backgrounds is shifting and evolving. Also, schools possess several responsibilities when educating children. Do the practices and intentions of adapted language education for pupils from language minorities match with the Norwegian ideologies of the unitary school system?

Adapted language education is the main tool in Norwegian school intended for teaching minority language children Norwegian language. It is manifested in the Norwegian Education Act of 1998. The first and most essential part of Section 2-8, reads:

Pupils attending the primary and lower secondary school who have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami have the right to adapted education in Norwegian until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the

school. If necessary, such pupils are also entitled to mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching, or both. (The Education Act, 1998, §2-8)

Out of the total 61,183 pupils in Oslo, 39.9% speak a different mother tongue than Norwegian (or Sami). 22.5%, or 13,745 pupils, have an individual 2-8¹ decision (Oslo municipality, 2015a).

The practice and system of adapted language education is frequently debated, also as a popular subject for research. A 2015 report published by the municipal audit of Oslo, states that the practice of adapted language education is only partly working as a temporary transition solution (Oslo municipality, 2015b). When beginning my research, I wanted to understand the reasons behind the audit's findings. As a result, I have chosen to analyze the system of adapted language education for minority children in Oslo in this thesis.

In order to gain more knowledge, I have read official documents to explore the intentions of the national government and local authorities. In an effort to understand the complexity of practices of adapted language education, I conducted interviews at nine schools in Oslo and spoke to management personnel. Furthermore, I explore the connections between government's intentions, schools' practices and schools' understandings of policies.

I have applied Eric Verdier's (2009) definition of the universal regime and associated customs of compensation to make competition in education fair. In addition, I include Martha Minow's "policies of inclusion," where she distinguishes between policies of *redistribution* and of *recognition*, in my findings. Are measures intended for minority children temporary or permanent? Do policies appreciate minority children's cultural background? Or, do policies aim to adjust the child into the majority's culture and language (Minow, 2008)? Jarle Bakke's (2011) article criticizes the use of special education in a school where all children are supposed to receive adapted education.

I have emphasized a focus on history in this thesis, and importance of not forgetting the past.

¹ When referring to "2-8," I refer to section 2-8 of the Education Act (1998) adapted language education. When referring to "2-8" or "adapted language education," I only refer to the part of the section that does *not* include the child's mother tongue. I will clearly mark those parts of the text including the child's mother tongue.

As I continue on this chapter, first, I will articulate this thesis's purpose and statement of problem with central background research including a summary of chosen stories from the Norwegian media.

Secondly, research questions will be presented.

Third, relevant background information of the context in which this research was conducted is given, including a brief introduction of the relevant parts of the Oslo school system.

On this basis, I will identify the significance of this study, as well as its limitations.

1.1 Purpose of study

The main purpose of this study is to understand how the management and staff of Oslo schools understand and experience their role in the implementation of part 2-8 of the Education Act (1998). My aim is therefore to understand more about the daily life in Oslo schools, how management acts, and why they do as they do.

The main focus in this study is understand schools and the school administrations' experiences dealing with and implementing the right of adapted language education for pupils from language minorities. I also want to explore the underlying ideologies of the Norwegian education system. Norway has a unitary school system, but what does that mean in relation to the modern multi linguistic context? To what extent is the execution of adapted language education in Oslo in line with the fundamental principles and ideology of the Norwegian schooling?

I want to explore how some Oslo schools manage the realities of 2-8 realities. I also want to investigate the documents and statements that governments and authorities have made concerning both 2-8 and multicultural environment in schools. Further on, I wish to explore the linkages between these two topics with philosophy behind the unitary school and justice in the Norwegian school.

I also hope that the study can contribute with some exchange of experiences that schools may benefit of from each other. It is fundamental to present a broad overview of the factors and stakeholders with which school staff deal.

At the same time, it is important to explore decisions, guidelines and signals of understanding of fairness given by the national and regional governments and authorities, as these being essential for the school and the society who are closely linked to the education system.

I did not choose this topic because I believe that Oslo schools are doing a poor job. Rather, as I read articles explaining the difficulties that schools and children might meet when dealing with adapted language education, I became fascinated in the topic. I did not go into the field knowing how this research would end. But I hoped that I would find something that might help schools, children, parents, the municipality as school owner, and the government as the highest decision maker.

I also want to give international readers a glimpse of the Norwegian system. How multilinguistic children has rights of adapted language education and how these rights are experienced by the schools who are the ones to put the laws and regulations into action for the children.

I have chosen to include three parts of Norway's adapted language education: adapted Norwegian education, mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching. Originally, I only addressed adapted Norwegian education. While conducting research, however, I decided to include all three because I saw the importance of showing how all three practices are handled and what this may tell us. I am exploring a complex field. I want to show how complexity is important to understanding the implementation of adapted language education.

1.2 Statement of the problem

During the 2015-2016 school year, 61,183 pupils attended primary and secondary school in Oslo. Of this total population, 24,407 pupils' mother tongue was neither Norwegian nor Sami, that equals 39,90 % of the pupil mass. Only 13,745, or 22.47 % of the total number of pupils received adapted Norwegian education(Oslo municipality, 2015a.) Children who need adapted language education are not evenly divided in the Oslo municipality. There are areas where a majority of children speak a mother tongue other than Norwegian. There are also areas where these children are the absolute minority. As a result, schools differ in how they have chosen to implement adapted language education: some schools educate many children with adapted language education while other schools educate few to no pupils with adapted

language education. The school staff have to relate and work with these decisions every day, how are the management at the Oslo schools working with this?

The National Centre for Multicultural Education (NAFO) states that schools' responsibilities in this manner:

The schools are responsible of providing the knowledge and skills all pupils need to become active participants in Norwegian society. This applies to immigrant pupils as well. Pupils must be given education that prepares them to leave school with the best possible competences and the best possible Norwegian skills so that they have the opportunity to succeed in further education. (NAFO, n.d.)

A recent study completed by an Oslo audit states that 50% of pupils who received adapted language education beginning in first grade, continue with adapted language education all through primary and secondary school (Oslo municipality, 2015b:5). This statement stands in contrast to the understanding that adapted language education is only temporarily. My purpose in this thesis is to and investigate why Oslo school management in Oslo allows children to maintain a temporary adapted language education arrangement for up to ten years.

Often, when reading work done in this field, children or parent's perspectives are presented and problems are discussed. It is also quite common for the media to accuse schools of not acting in the best interest of individual children. The pedagogics in the field are also well researched and continually debated. I think, however, that we do not fully understand schools; complex existences. Specifically, *why* do teachers and staff often act and do things differently?

1.2.1 Relevant empirical research

There are two theses, one from 2012 and the other from 2015, that inspire my own thesis' problem statement. I will now give a brief presentation of some of their arguments and findings I find relevant and interesting.

In 2012, Aisha Naz Chohan wrote, "Is the practice of the Education Act's section 2-8 in line with its intentions?" (Er praksisen av opplæringslovenens §2.8 i tråd med dens intensjon?) A master thesis in political science of (2012). This writer asked why the percentage

of children in adapted language education was increasing. Chohan (2012) conducted in-depth interviews with six teachers working with minority linguistic children and analyzed policy documents. She examined how the “floor bureaucrats” (bakkebyråkrater) adjusted their implementation of adapted language education to meet their local standards and habits. According to Chohan (2012:56), floor bureaucrats have this freedom to locally adjust the 2-8 education because teachers are believed to know what is best for individual pupils. This thesis supported critiques that formulations of section 2-8 of the Education Act (1998) were too vague; the practices of conducting adapted language education, including mother tongue instructions and bilingual subject teaching vary. Chohan (2012) claimed that 2-8 was intended for a heterogenic group with different preconditions for learning and qualification. In this way, it is necessary to formulate the law as “ [...] the right to adapted education in Norwegian *until* they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school”(the Education Act, 1998, §2-8).

The second thesis is inspiration, “If they benefit from it, is it a good thing” (“Hvis det kommer dem til gode er det en god ting”), was written in the Special Education Sciences Department by Kine Revheim. Revheim (2015) interviewed four headmasters in Oslo. She based her research on comparing worse performances in school among minority children with majority children. The thesis presented headmasters’ perspectives and explored their implementation of the law as non-jurist. Revheim explained that children’s rights in 2-8 were a right for training, not learning (Revheim, 2015:67). She also claimed that the individual’s right of bilingual subject teaching, if needed, would only be realized if schools employed teachers with skills in the right language. This regardless of how serious the children’s need of bilingual subject teaching may have been (Revheim, 2015:66-67). Revheim repeatedly found that school staff exercised their discretion when decided whether child were sufficiently proficient in Norwegian and thereby in need of adapted language education (2015). Her informants expressed that factors like finance would determine a school’s ability to implement the 2-8 section (Revheim, 2015:70).

1.2.2 2015 official report from the Oslo municipality

I have chosen to present the 2015 official report because of its recent publication. In 2015, the Oslo municipal audit published a report dealing with adapted language education in basic education. The purpose of the report was to figure out why statistics showed that adapted

language education did not work as a temporary transition, despite the government's intentions. The audit stated that among those who received adapted language education from first grade, 50% of children finished ten years of school with adapted language decisions throughout their basic education. The report also investigated why schools that had approximately the same number of children with adapted Norwegian education decisions did not have similar numbers of children learning through mother tongue instruction or bilingual subject learning. The report stated that the Education Act (§2-8) only limited pupil's right to adapted language education. It did not limit school's abilities to offer adapted language education. This statement showed that schools are not doing something illegal when offering adapted language education for longer than intended, as the school is determining if the need is there or not, and can determine what a need is (Oslo municipality, 2015b:8).

The report considered its findings in light of the concept of equal treatment. The practice of equal treatment is statutory and means that all similar cases must be treated alike. When two cases are treated differently, an administrator must be able to justify why s/he chose different treatments. In order for pupils to receive an adapted language education offer, children who qualify for adapted Norwegian education must be examined² to determine whether they need mother tongue instruction and bilingual education (Oslo municipality, 2015b:8).

The audit visited three case schools in Oslo to see how the schools handled the rights of the children and the bureaucracy surrounding its implementation. The report then presented recommendations for the specific schools. In the recommendations, all three schools were asked to secure the mapping of children's needs of bilingual subject and mother tongue education. They were also asked to develop routines to annually review decisions so that decisions were verifiable in retrospect. The schools was asked to develop clear guidelines and definitions of "sufficient enough" Norwegian language. As well as tasked with developing guidelines on when to stop mother tongue and bilingual subject instructions and only provide adapted Norwegian education (Oslo municipality, 2015b:48-49).

² The words "mapping," "assessment," "testing" and "examine" are all used in this thesis. They concern the same process of gaining knowledge about a child's skills. Often language skills.

Based on this report, why are schools choosing to keep children's adapted language education decisions if they know that these children do not need this specialized education – especially if these children are “sufficient enough” in Norwegian to follow ordinary lectures?

1.2.3 Adapted language education in the media

The media, researchers and politicians criticize the Norwegian education system. Some of the issues that have become “hot topics” include: Norwegian pupils' scores on the PISA (The Programme for International Student Assessment) exam, teacher qualifications, an increasing number of private schools across the country, and the growing multicultural composition of pupils. These topics are often discussed in conversation and often mixed together. Different types of Norwegian media also discuss the practices of adapted language education. These articles account for one of the reasons that I chose this topic for my thesis. I will now present a couple of news stories that attracted me to the field of adapted language education.

In 2013, the newspaper *Dagsavisen*³ published an article called “Must have help in Norwegian all through primary school.” The article contained an interview with the headmaster of Oslo's Gamlebyen school. The headmaster said, “Close to all these children have the 2-8 arrangement all through primary school” (*Dagsavisen*, 2013). The article then showed how the Oslo Education Agency, in the Oslo municipality, expressed that adapted language education would only be given until the child knew Norwegian well enough. Despite the limitations expressed by the Oslo Education Agency, the article establishes the fact that close to none of the children at Gamlebyen school who had a decision for adapted language education at the beginning of school, lose this decision before ending primary school.

The article in *Dagsavisen*(2013) went on to interview a mother in another Oslo school. The mother explained that at her first parent's meeting, the management encouraged her to accept the school's offer of adapted language education. The school reasoned that if more parents accepted adapted language education, the school would receive more financial funding. This would ultimately produce more quality education.

³ This article only states the photographer, not the writer; I only refer to the newspaper *Dagsavisen* 2013 as the source.

Back at Gamlebyen school, the headmaster made sure that her school was not keeping the children in adapted language education in order to receive more money. She explained, “This is about how enormously long it takes to get pupils who comes to school with weak language skills up to an acceptable level” (*Dagsavisen*, 2013). Gamlebyen school did, according to this article, receive approximately two million Norwegian kroner (NOK) in founding for their adapted language education; they applied for 123 children in 2013. Adapted language education at this school was organized as the children were taken out of classes in small groups for five to six hours a week. They worked specifically on Norwegian and mathematics. In addition, some pupils were taken out of class for fifteen minutes every day for intensive reading lessons. In some lectures would it also be two teachers attending in the class room (*Dagsavisen*, 2013).

Shazia Sarwar is a journalist in Norway who writes about adapted language education for minority children on several occasions in the media. Her child also attended a school that wanted to offer adapted Norwegian education. She was editor of the Blend Magazine, which was a multicultural and internet magazine. In 2011, Blend Magazine published a case on adapted language education for minority pupils in Oslo. The report is called “Minority children are used as a source of income”(Minoritetselever brukes som inntektskilde.), which is the main argument in the video.

In one segment, Shazia meets a nine year old boy named Adam. Although Adam was not ethnically Norwegian, he was born and raised in Norway. Adam’s father explained that during Adam’s school enrollment, he was told to tick the box that claimed that Adam’s mother tongue was not Norwegian. Adam’s father, however, told the headmaster that Adam’s first language was Norwegian. As a result, he did not need adapted Norwegian education. The headmaster then answered that there was not much difference, it was only in order for the school to receive more money. The video went on to illustrate how Adam’s family moved in order for Adam “to get the same opportunities as other children.” According to Adam’s father, children with adapted Norwegian education are not capable to catch up with the other children in Norwegian. Ironically, Adam’s new school decided that Adam did not need any 2-8 (adapted language education) decisions (Blend Magasin, 2011).

In another segment, Shazia visited a classroom with six graders. She asked whether they spoke Norwegian at home, and all of the children we can see in the picture raised their hands. So, when she asked if they would accept extra help if someone told them that they were good,

but not good enough in Norwegian, many of the children answered “Yes.” One, however, answered “No.” Shazia turned to this pupil and asked, “Why?” The child answered, “I know Norwegian.” Based on this one statement shown, Shazia concluded:

Children with Norwegian as their mother tongue do not want any extra help. Why are some headmasters then pushing them into a special arrangement? Oslo schools receive 213 million NOK each year for the arrangement, 20,000 NOK per pupil! (Blend Magasin, 2011)

Shazia questioned if minority children in adapted Norwegian education were automatically placed in 2-8. The video then transitioned to an interview of the Director of the Oslo Education Agency asking: who defines a pupil’s mother tongue? The director answers that parents determine their children’s mother tongue during enrollment. She explains that children are only internally exanimated when the parents have stated a mother tongue other than Norwegian during enrollment. However, when Shazia tells the Director about an anonymous survey that they conducted with twenty four Oslo headmasters, which showed that fifty percent of schools conducted examinations for 2-8 needs even when parents stated that a child’s mother tongue was Norwegian, the Director answered: “This shows that the schools are taking a very heavy responsibility.” Further on, Shazia claims that two of the headmasters answered that they made these choices for the sake of the money. The Director chose not to comment on this information.

Is it possible that possibility of extra founding influences schools in determining if a child has needs of adapted language education? If so, I wonder if these possibilities of founding result in a decision in conflict with the best interest of the child.

In a 2015 article from *Utdanning* magazine, journalist Kirsten Ropeid claimed that minority children are at risk for inconsistent monitoring. She questioned the wording of the Education Act (1998) 2-8: Adapted Language Education for Pupils from Language Minorities. The section began:

Pupils attending the primary and lower secondary school who have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami have the right to adapted education in Norwegian until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school. (The Education Act, 1998, § 2-8)

Ropeid first asked, what is “sufficiently proficient Norwegian”? She then interviewed Associate Professor in teaching at Hedmark University Collage, Gunnhild Tveit Randen. Randen explained that not even scientists agree on how language skills can be described. In Norway, even when children received a legal decision that was central to their education, assessment criteria were not defined. There were neither requirements for the examination tool that tests children’s Norwegian language skills, nor competency requirements for the school staff examining the children and making the 2-8 decisions. In short, guidelines were – and remain – either non-existent or unclear (Ropeid, 2015).

Randen presented another issue regarding the execution of the 2-8 arrangement. She said that if a child passed the examinations in first grade, and did not qualify for a 2-8 decision, the child was, in reality, declared sufficiently proficient in Norwegian for the rest of his/her education. Often, issues of language first reveals itself clearly in the middle grades as the language used in class becomes more abstract. In theory, there is nothing stopping schools from waiting to make a final decision about a pupil. But, according to Randel (2015), this does not often happen (Ropeid, 2015).

1.3 Research questions

My research questions for this thesis are:

1. What approaches to linguistic minority children in schools can we identify in educational policy documents, and how are different approaches justified?

I wonder how Norwegian government’s policies have over time and today, argued for fair treatment of children from minority children. How are their understandings of fairness for minority school children presented?

2. How do different schools implement 2-8 and how can we understand differences in schools’ approaches to adapted language education?

My aim is to explore how different schools in Oslo implement 2-8. Are there any differences? If so, how can we understand them?

3. Are there theoretical understandings of justice for minority children relevant for the Norwegian unitary “one school for all” system?

What theories of justice in education can help us understand the government's ideas of justice for minority children? Do these theories offer insight into how schools implement 2-8?

1.4 Adapted language education in the context of Oslo schools

In the following chapter, a presentation of central background knowledge is presented. This is relevant to understand before establishing the problem, purpose and central questions in this study.

1.4.1 The structure of the Oslo schools

In Norway, compulsory education stretches from 1st through 10th grade. It is divided into primary school, 1st through 7th grade, and secondary school 8th through 10th grade. One may find all ten grades in some schools. But in bigger cities like Oslo, it is more common that primary and secondary grades are separated. While it is most common for children to go to the school closest to their home in primary and secondary school, children are also beginning to apply for different schools at the secondary level, and some apply for change in schools at primary level. The reasons for this change may vary. It can be related to the school's reputation or where a child's friends will attend school.

Since both primary and secondary education are ruled by the Education Act (1998), both parts of compulsory schooling are relevant for my research questions. The main focus of this thesis is nevertheless primary schools because the majority of informants were primary schools.

In Norway, municipalities are responsible for primary and secondary schools. Oslo, which is the capital of Norway, is also a municipality and one of nineteen counties. Oslo is thereby an exception because it is a city, municipality and county (Thuesen, Thorsnæs & Røvik, 2016). There are several levels of administration in Norway and the Oslo school district. The following figure show relevant parts of the bureaucratic hierarchy:

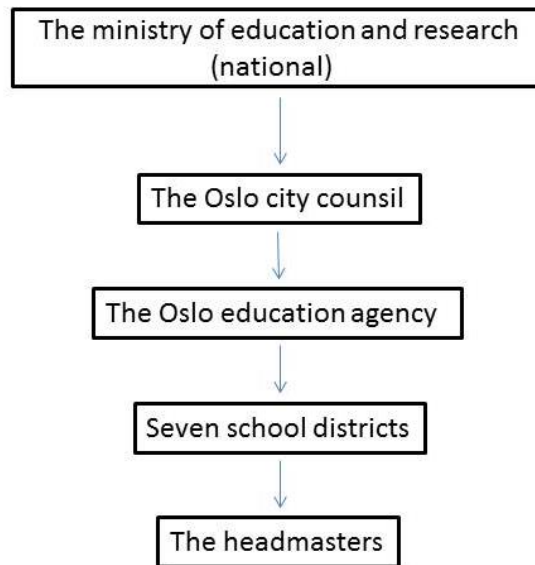


Figure 1: The structure of the Oslo education administration.

In the same way that a private school has an owner, the municipality is referred to as “the school owner.” All schools in Norway follow the national curricula. This curriculum contains a general part, principles for education, and curricula for subjects and rules regarding distribution of hours. All of the curricula simultaneously serve as regulations of the Education Act of 1998 (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, n.d.).

1.4.2 Introduction of adapted education and special education

In Norway, all children are entitled of adapted education, stated in the Education Act (1998) section 1-3. Adapted education is a central philosophy in our education system. Teacher awareness in adjustments for all children facilitating to make is possible to reach goals in learning outcomes, for all. Going forward, I will refer to adapted education as “1-3”.

Another central concept in Norwegian school is special education. Also stated in the Education Act (1998) in section 5-1. Special education is determined by testing children and making individual decisions. 5-1 is often resulting in these children taken out from class in some lectures, but often can 5-1 be conducted inside the frames of the ordinary class. Going forward, I will refer to special education as “5-1”.

1-3 and 5-1 are conducted in Oslo schools, together with 2-8, adapted language education. These three sections are central in my thesis and I make detailed account for them on a later stage in this paper.

1.4.3 Possibilities of organizing adapted language education in Oslo Schools

Pupils may be given adapted Norwegian education or bilingual language education (the Education Act, 1998, §2-8) at their local school. Education in one's mother tongue may be provided outside of a child's local school. "Adapted Language Education"- 2-8 can contain:

- Adapted Norwegian education is a strengthened, adjusted education in the Norwegian language.
- Bilingual subject teaching includes lectures given in subjects in both the Norwegian language and the child's mother tongue.
- A mother tongue instruction entails lectures in the child's mother tongue.

(Oslo municipality, n.d.)

Regarding children who have newly arrived to the country, Oslo municipality arranges a separate form of education, conducted in some chosen schools. This contains two different possibilities.

- Literacy classes at some chosen schools.
- Reception classes at some chosen schools.

(Oslo municipality, n.d.)

Literacy classes are adapted for children who have no or limited education from another country. Reception classes are adapted for children who have education background from another country.

Children at a 1st grade age group go directly to their local school, regardless of their language skills. Children in 2nd to 4th grade age groups may attend school in ordinary classes at their local school, or in literacy or reception classes. Children from 5th to 10th grade may attend

school in an ordinary class, literacy or reception classes, or at Språksenteret. I will present Språksenteret in the next section.

1.4.4 Adapted Norwegian organized by the municipality

Ordinary schools in Oslo are not the only ones conducting 2-8 efforts. Also the municipal run programs conducted for children from linguistic minorities. I will now make account for a couple of these projects in order to present a broader picture of the field of adapted language education in Oslo.

Språksenteret- Centre for Intensive Norwegian Language Learning

Oslo municipality started a pilot project in 2014, a center for examination of all newly arrived children in 5th to the 10th grade age groups, called Språksenteret. Here, professionals review children's skills and will thereby determine if a child will benefit most in an ordinary class at the local school, in a literacy or in a reception class. In this practice, some of the work the local school would have conducted in examining skills is moved to a center the municipality runs. When at capacity, the center can offer an intensive Norwegian language course for children with an age adequate education background. The child is not behind one's peers in subjects, but needs to develop linguistic skills. In order to as fast as possible help the child to be able to follow ordinary lectures at his/her local school, this "language boost" is provided.

The child can, at the most attend intensive Norwegian lectures at the center for five months. Språksenteret is also tasked with developing examination tools for children in younger age groups (Oslo Education Agency, n.d).

Summer school

The summer school is arranged by the Oslo municipality and Education Agency. It has been running for many years, is free of charge, and is very popular. Here, children in all grades can take courses in a variety of subjects like mathematics, natural science or Norwegian. Children can also attend less academic classes like photography or dance. Swimming lessons and physical exercise are also a big part of the program.

In recent years, this well-established summer school has begun offering Norwegian classes. In 2015, this course for beginning Norwegian was offered at eight schools. In 2016 it will be

offered at eleven schools. The program is expanding. It is called "Bli skoleklar – med godt norsk språk i sekken" (Get ready for school- with a good Norwegian language in your schoolbag). All applicants are admitted to these courses. It is also an opportunity for schools to get to know new pupils and their levels of Norwegian before the semester starts.

At two Oslo schools, is there also an opportunity for parents to learn Norwegian during summer. These courses are existing to help parents better cooperate with schools and understand their children's education. These summer courses can be understood as an attempt to help schools from the Oslo municipality better educate linguistic minority children.

The initiatives and investments can also mean that the municipality believes this issue is important and deserving of attention. As the Norwegian school system is trying to assist children to compete fairly with the other children, the concept of 2-8 in local schools is, in itself, a practice of compensation. It is up to the individual school, however, to determine how to perform adapted education and adapted language education. However, the examples accounted for organized by the municipality, must have emerged as an answer to a need. These different programs may be a result of authorities determining that local schools are not sufficiently capable of conducting of 2-8. Instead, the only way of dealing with these issues in a universal education regime is to develop new forms of the compensation, almost as a compensation for the original compensation. I will describe the universal regime more closely in chapter 2.

1.5 Significance of the study

I found countless reports online when I searched for adapted language education for Norwegian pupils from language minorities . Although the field has been heavily debated and researched, both in English and Norwegian, my approach is different. I want to understand reasons behind statistics and articles about schools' actions. I want to explore the complexity of the everyday life through the experience from management at schools in Oslo. My goal is also to investigate the connections between government intentions and perceptions and the Norwegian idea of a fair unitary school system. To what extent is adapted language education in line with the Norwegian principals of the unitary school system?

Finally, I will utilize theoretical understandings of justice in education to analyze my findings. I hope these findings will contribute to a broader discussion of adapted language education in Oslo.

1.6 Scope and limitation of the study

In Oslo, education in Sami language only one school, therefore is it not reasonable to include this to the study. Sami is more commonly spoken in northern Norway. In this thesis, I do not consider Sami part of 2-8. There are also other kinds of rights for a national minority languages in the north of Norway (the Education Act, 1998, §2-7), that are not Sami, these are not included in this thesis either.

But I will include a part dealing with the history of treatment of the Sami people in Norwegian schools, in order to understand how policies aimed for minorities in education has changed.

In addition, children whose mother tongues are Norwegian, Swedish or Danish are not normally included in the group of children who qualify for adapted language education. As a result, I will not include these pupils in this thesis.

As seen, there are options of 2-8 in Oslo conducted by the municipality. My main focus in this thesis is however the implementation of 2-8 in local schools, conducted by the school for local children.

In Norway, most children attend public school. In 2015, only 5,9% of all Norwegian children attended private primary or secondary schools (Statistics Norway, 2015). Additionally, private schools are controlled by the government and the Education Act (1998). Most private schools are partly financed by the state and are required to follow the national Education Act. But since much of their conditions and realities are different, is it natural to leave them out of the picture for this time. These private schools include some schools with a different language than Norwegian as the language of instruction. This thesis will not reflect on the part of the Norwegian school system that is in the private sector, even though it would be interesting to look at the differences, if any, in the handling of the children's rights of lingual facilitation. For a later occasion, it could be interesting to compare the private and the public's perception of the Education Act (1998).

There are incidences in this thesis where the “majority” culture or references to a homogeny Norwegian culture is made. I want to state that I am aware of this concept being complex and definitions are rightfully discussed. But it is not made room for this discussion in this thesis. Mainly, this concept contains references of language in this thesis.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. This first chapter has provided an introduction of the topic, and the research questions that I aim to explore.

In chapter two, I present the framework for discussion, stating the base for the final discussions of my research.

Chapter three presents an overview of the relevant history of Norwegian education policies. I also outline research that provides a broader understanding of the field of adapting education. I review some relevant policies as it has been presented from another writer.

The fourth chapter illustrates the research design and applied methodology.

In chapter five, I analyze the central documents. First, I go through the central and relevant parts of the Education Act (1998). I then analyze chosen documents from ministries given to the Norwegian parliament, called “white papers”. These white papers set the tone for policies on several topics in Norway.

Chapter six presents interview findings. The chapter is divided in two sections. The first part describes how schools make and change formal decisions of 2-8. The second part describes how adapted language education is organized in the informants’ schools.

I discuss my main findings, in chapter seven.

Finally, chapter eight concludes the thesis and identifies new questions and ideas.

2 Framework for discussion

In the following subchapter I will present a theory of different understandings of what justice or fairness in education systems mean. These theories will be the framework for discussion in this thesis.

2.1 Fairness in different educational regimes

The ideas and principles school systems are based on vary around the word. However, there is now a global agreement of the need for “inclusive education” at all levels. This was clearly stated at the International Conference of Education in Genève in 2008. Inclusive education is called “The way of the Future” and considered fundamental to achieving human, social and economic development. But despite the agreement of the importance of inclusive education, there are no further agreements on what “inclusive education” is, and how to achieve it (Kiuppis, 2011:91).

The French sociologist Eric Verdier divides Western European education systems into five main public policy categories of regimes. The regimes are based on social conventions that dominate particular societies. His division contains the universal regime (example Norway), the corporatist regime (Germany), the academic or meritocratic regime (France) and the market oriented regimes (the United Kingdom). Regime of market is often divided into two, the market competition regime and the organized market regime (Verdier, 2009).

According to Verdier, no systems are purely made up by one regime. Education systems have aspects of several regimes within the same system. Even though education systems have aspects form different regimes within one system, one of the regimes usually dominates. Although he focuses mainly on forward lifelong learning and vocational training, he also describes national education systems. The regimes contain their own rationales for justifications of fairness in their systems. Verdier (2009) combines ideals and governance ideas to find characteristic and differences between the regimes. The cultural norms of “wrong and right” determine an education system’s regime. The moral and values of the society affects overall goals for the public education, the expectations of quality and learning outcome. The regime can also determine how the system handles weaker pupils (Hegna, Dæhlen, Smette & Wollscheid, 2012:220; Verdier, 2009).

Verdier (2009) places countries like Sweden and Norway in the universal regime. This regime is based on solidarity, which wants to give all children the same opportunities, regardless of background. The practice of setting young children in a parallel, irreversible system, either because they qualify for academic or vocational training, is out of the question. This regime will try to compensate for differences caused by different backgrounds. Compensation often shows in the education system organizing some extra assistance for children, struggling in following the ordinary lectures for children at their age. Rationales of the regime are that this practice makes grades and results fairer. But ordinary lectures are adapted to be suitable for a wide range of children with different career plans and learning outcome expectations. Verdier also claims that this regime and its ways of adapting to a wide range of children “[...] avoids repeating school years but also and above all limits the weight of academic knowledge” (Verdier, 2009:7). The universal regime values competences in cooperation among pupils. The regime is also open to cooperation with stakeholders like interest organizations and industries (Hegna et al., 2012; Verdier, 2009).

The other regime relevant to this thesis is the academic, or meritocratic regime. According to Verider (2009), France is largely characterized by this regime. In this regime, education can be seen as a competition between individuals fighting to achieve the best academic results. These results are viewed as legitimate criteria to sort and categorize children. In this regime, it is important to keep all stakeholders outside of schools, so they do not influence education. The state will make sure the competition in education is fair in this manner. Children will either be channeled toward an academic or practical future (Hegna et al., 2012:221-22; Verdier, 2009:6). This regime is meant to give all children, regardless of social background, the same awards for intellect. Resulting in smart children having well paid careers and weaker children less paid careers. This may result in a working class that does not have the intellect to fight for their rights, and an upper class thinking they have earned their social status.

2.2 Policies of integration

The American jurist Martha Minow (2008) writes about “policies of integration.” She describes government strategies to achieve equalization between minorities and the majorities. She categorizes the strategies in policies for integration into two sub-categories, the policies of *redistribution* and the policies of *recognition* (Minow, 2008). Ingunn Seland (2013) applies Minow’s categorization to the Norwegian education context. The US has a dramatic history of injustice and integration, which is difficult to compare with Norwegian history. In Norway, issue of integration traditionally has been focused on increase the respect and solidarity between social classes (Seland, 2013:189). On the one hand, policies of *redistribution* emphasize various treatments for individual children. For example, in difficulties of learning due to lack of language skills, schools may apply additional training in language. This may be in the language used in ordinary lectures, bilingual subject teaching and/or mother tongue instructions to develop the child’s general language skills. These measures in the category of policies of redistribution, must be conducted for a limited period of time, in order to give the child time to adjust to the majority (Seland, 2013:190).

On the other hand, policies of *recognition* recognize that all languages and cultures are of equal worth. One wants a child to keep and develop their original cultural and linguistic skills. This results in permanent arrangements for groups of minority children to receive education in their mother tongue. Policies of recognition both to strengthen the children’s learning capabilities, and strengthen the children’s feelings of belonging in the minority group (Seland, 2013:190). By schools valuing different backgrounds, children develop a positive relation their identity as minority and higher self-esteem.

Which category of policy of integration the governments are arguing on base of, can tell us something about their opinion on the issue of having a multicultural and multilinguistic society and mass of pupils and which outcomes they prefer. It is also possible to tell something about the demands governments are making from minorities in order to integrate (Seland, 2013:191). Norwegian education system is based in the universal regime where compensation makes education fair (Verdier, 2009), corresponding with policies of redistribution (Minow, 2008). Verdier explains compensation on a general level, but Minow focuses her theory on minority children and integration.

2.3 Special education and fairness

Jarle Bakke (2011) discusses special education in a class society, he claims that changes over time in the Norwegian education system, including the ideology of inclusion, have not made schools accepting for differences among pupils. He writes that the history of special education in Norway is a history of a stigmatization, but also a history of protection of the weakest. On one side, the special education system been has an agent in the fight for belonging and participating in society. On the other hand, special education has buttressed segregation and disparagement (Bakke, 2011:141). He explains that the practice of special education is in the section where problems of Norwegian school are visible. As the conflict between demands of quality in qualification and the schools ideal of inclusion appears. Pupils fall short during these conflicts (Bakke, 2011:142).

According to Bakke (2011), Norwegian schools sort children. Historically, children are not only sorted in a system with schools for rich and poor or urban and rural children, but also for children who are “mentally retarded” in special schools. “Special schools” do still exist. Unitary schools were started as the Labor party’s tool to even out social classes and societal differences. But Bakke describes meritocratic tendencies are present in Norwegian education system. He reasons that today’s special education gives children individual goals and curricula. Norwegian school policies indirectly justify this practice when they let qualified staff deal with the selection (Bakke, 2011:143).

According to Bakke, equal access to compete in schools creates justice in chance, but the competition creates inequalities, hence injustice. As weaker children are sorted out from the ordinary education track into special education, and given lectures to compensate for their lacks of certain abilities, a conflict in values emerges. Values on inclusion and sorting. Bakke states this values are incompatible with each other(Bakke, 2011:144). He claims that the Norwegian education system only is developed few of the children, incapable of including everyone academically (Bakke, 2011).

Bakke also addresses the Norwegian term “adapted education,” which all children are entitled to (the Education Act of 1998, §1-3). This is an idea wherein a school adapts to an individual child, not the opposite. This approach has been the core of all education legislation since 1881, and has been used as a term since the 1970s. It is a political constructed concept, based on the education political ideologies of the schools working on the children’s learning and

socialization process. The concept is applied as a guiding principle and is not operationalized by the government. There are neither guidelines as to how schools should work with this concept, nor minimum standards for action (Bakke, 2011:144-45).

The practice of having two laws, one for special education (the Education Act of 1998, §5-1) and one for the adapted education for all (the Education Act of 1998, §1-3), has been proposedly removed. In two Norwegian Official Reports, a wish to develop an expanded version of 1-3 adapted education and removal of 5-1 special education after determination of qualified staff has been argued for. These proposals proposed the removal 5-1 and expansion of section 1-3 in parliament in 2003 and 2009 were rejected. The arguments against the proposal were among others of economical and juridical characters. According to Bakke, the rejections confirmed the schools manner of discriminating some groups of pupils. He also addresses the lack of qualified staff to map children's special education need, which forces schools to break the law while children wait to be tested (Bakke, 2011:145).

The term "adapted education" was introduced in the 1970s in Norway. The Norwegian Official Report "Living conditions for the mentally disabled" (Levevilkår for de psykisk utviklingshemmede) from 1985 states:

In the white paper 98 (1976-77) concerning special education, the term "adapted education" was introduced. This introduction demonstrated the wish to remove the earlier distinction between special education and "normal" education, to the benefit of one gathering, wide concept of education that gives room for varied and equal offer of education for all pupils. [...] The Department did at the same time point out that some of the pupils would still need measures of stimuli, care, and wellbeing with efforts from different staff groups, both in a home and in a school situation. One did think of needs from pupils that previously would be covered through boarding school, social and medical institutions. (NOU 1985:34, 1985,42)

This quote states that the term "adapted education" was introduced in the 1970s to account for the earlier practices of special education. Adapted education involved gathering all children in one school, and subsequently adapting education in this school (Bakke, 2011:146).

Exceptions can be made and individual curricula with goals fitted to the individual's premise, can be developed, if necessary (Engelsen, 2003:92). According to Bakke (2011:146), the practice of special education ultimately developed in the opposite direction of ideals stated in

the White Paper of 1976-77, as there are competence centers for children with special needs existing today. Bakke explains:

[...]special education” refers to measures both outside of and in ordinary lectures targeting changes within pupils after individualized diagnostic principles, while an extended education concept focuses on changes in the form and contents of the school, in relation to needs, school culture and context. (Bakke, 2011:146)

This is a history of intentions of one inclusive unitary school, politicians and educationists wanting to even out differences in the society and inequalities with the help from the school. But in reality, the school system is struggling to include everyone. A wish of a broad practice of “adapted education” is stated on paper. Contradictory, when trying to include the special education into a wider concept of adapted education, there is resistance in governments. This contrast may show us a picture of how the Norwegian education system is struggling to live up to their own intentions. One wants an inclusive school in a universal regime, but the reality is that the system has meritocratic aspects of categorizing children based on abilities.

The universal regime (Verdier, 2009), Bakke’s (2011) critique of special education in the Norwegian system and policies of integration (Minow, 2008), are all central theoretical framework essential for the later discussion to follow in this thesis.

3 Review of selected literature

To answer the research questions, is it necessary to review literatures of different characters. To know the ideas and policies that have been and are central to Norwegian education policies. Why was the concept of a unified school system introduced? How and why has it changed over time and what do these concepts mean in today's policies?

To understand where today's policies come from, I will provide a historical backdrop first in this chapter, presenting the establishment of the unitary school system in Norway. Then I will present a historical look into previous treatments of minorities in the Norwegian school system, first the national minority of Sami people followed by non-national minorities.

The last subchapter deals with additional relevant research in the field of adapting education to minority children.

3.1 A history of major ideologies in Norwegian education

Basic education in Norway has been through multiple stages: Church-run schools for boys, traveling teachers, divided systems for poor and rich, and systems for urban and rural areas (Telhaug & Mediås, 2003). As democratization developed in the 1800s, pupils went from the role of becoming servants of God and the King, to becoming members of national society. The school's task was to democratize children and teach them Norwegian culture (Telhaug & Mediås, 2003:62-64). The ideas of social cohesion developed for urban schools. In cities, there had been three schools divided after social status. Arguments claimed that in order to achieve social adjustments of classes, the education system needed to participate in this adjustment (Telhaug & Mediås, 2003:69). In 1869, The Norwegian parliament decided to establish three grades with one school for all, financed by the state, expanding the duration in 1896 and 1920.

There were several arguments for one common school system: influence from abroad, the financial argument of one school being cheaper than several are, the ideas of how children from different social classes could influence each other in good ways, and most of all, the ideals of equality and community (Telhaug & Mediås, 2003: 62-78, Engelsen, 2003). These fundamental values still dominate the Norwegian education system. Unfortunately, social

class still often seem to influence whether pupils continued education after seven years. After the Second World War, the state wanted to develop “the school of equal opportunities” (Engelsen, 2003:85).

Even though comprehensive schools were implemented, “abnormal children,” like blind or developmentally challenged children, still attended separate schools. But the introduction of these separate “special schools” was controversial, as it was seen as a statement of this children being capable of learning. The idea of establishing schools for “abnormal children”, was to even out differences, comparable to the idea of unitary school (Pihl, 2005:33-34).

The mottos for Norwegian education have developed over time, and the reforms have been used as a political tool to develop a more fair society. The slogans have been, for example, “One school for all” (En skole for alle) and also (2003) “An inclusive school” (en inkluderende skole). The change may reflect on the angulation that has been current, from the focus of organization of the education to the focus on content (Midthassel, 2003:13), but “One school for all” is still in frequent use.

After the Second World War, the concept of nine years unitary schools became the heart of Norwegian education policies, developing into ten years (Welle-Strand& Tjeldvold, 2002:674).

Policies from central governments have shifted between centralization and local decentralized management. This is important to remember when dealing with the possibilities that schools and teachers has in adapting education to each child to day (Engelsen, 2003:80). The 1997 curriculum was very detailed in its goals for how to reach children in each subject (Pihl, 2005:49) and differs from today’s curriculum from 2006. Teachers and staffs have to adapt to changing degrees of self-ruling.

3.2 A history of minorities in Norwegian education

In order to understand the present, it is wise to know about the past. I will now present how Norwegian education policies have treated minorities. First will I investigate the story of the Sami minority, then the story of non-Norwegian immigrants.

The Sami minority

Issues concerning language and cultures are not new in Norwegian schools. The Sami population has lived in Norway for longer than the school system has existed. Today they have the status as a national minority and indigenous group. Several languages are spoken among Sami people today, as well as common Norwegian. Now, most Sami people live urban lives. Traditionally, they were living as nomadic people and herded and ate reindeers and fishing. Their relationship with the majority population has a history of discrimination and assimilation. Living spread out in northern Norway, the government decided in the late 1800s to move Sami children away from their parents and attend boarding school from the age of seven. Most children did not speak Norwegian, the teachers did not know the Sami languages. This practice, which was an attempt to “Norwegianize” Sami children, taught almost exclusively in Norwegian and denied children their cultural identity (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation [NRK], 2013).

However, this practice received heavy criticism, apologized by the Norwegian king in 1997. The professor, public debater and doctor Per Fuggeli has characterized the state’s policies. He said, “boarding schools were in many ways child abuse directed by the public sector” (Brekke, 2013; NRK, 2013). In a series produced by the Norwegian Broadcasting, called “The Silent Fight” (Den stille kampen), we can see teachers and former Sami pupils explaining their experiences from these schools. The teacher says, in her class, she talked over the heads of pupils. Former pupils say today that they did not understand anything the teachers said. How the practice hurt children mentally and physically has been discussed in later years, but some also points out that these children, who often came from poor families, were given opportunities they would not have otherwise had (NRK, 2013).

After the Second World War, new ideas of human rights in Europe affected Norwegian policies concerning the Sami population. Little by little, measures were implemented to adapt the education to the Sami population, starting with bilingual textbooks and educating teachers

to teach in Sami. In 1967 the Sami language was recognized and applied as a language of instruction and as a subject. First children of Sami parents, later children just living in the official Sami areas if the parents wanted the child to be educated in Sami (Sami parliament of Norway, n.d.). Today, children in areas where Sami is an administrative language has the right to a Sami education where all classes are taught in Sami. Children outside these areas have the right to mother tongue instruction in Sami. Three distinct dialects of “Sami language” are official language in Norway now (Bull & Lindgren, 2009:12-13).

The practice of Norwegianizing the Sami minority and degrading their identities as Sami people is a part of our shared history. Our hope is to learn from these practices without repeating similar policies. Norwegian policies discriminated against a minority that the government wanted to Norwegianize. The “other” culture and language were neither recognized as valuable nor viewed as a resource.

Non-national minorities

Even though linguistic minorities are nothing new for Norway, the plurality of languages has increased. After the Second World War, the country saw immigrants coming as industry developed and Norway discovered oil. Between 1980 and 2006, Norway’s immigrant population tripled (Øzerk & Kerchner, 2014). Today, in 2016, people from 223 countries live in Norway. When considering immigrants and their children as one, Norway currently has 848,100 immigrants, 16,3% of Norway’s population. Out of this total of immigrants, 55% are originally from Europe. The biggest group are people from Poland and Lithuania, third biggest group are from Sweden and has a language similar enough to Norwegian for everyday use (Statistics Norway, 2016).

When children with mother tongues other than Norwegian, Sami or Swedish started to attend Norwegian schools, policymakers develop rules for minority children’s rights. A new curriculum was published in 1987, which also dealt with the rights of children from minority language backgrounds. This curriculum viewed languages as a resource and wanted to assist children to develop their mother language, as well as their Norwegian. The Norwegian government believed that a solid and well-developed mother tongue would help children learn more in Norwegian. Mother tongue is the language a child uses in his or her daily life, and is therefore essential in acquiring knowledge and in problem solving. Development of a child’s

first language was in 1987 described to play an important role in the child's personality development. A well-developed mother tongue would give children the chance to feel connected to their parent's cultural background (Ministry of Church Affairs and Education 1987).

The 1987 curriculum stated that it is important that schools give children the opportunity to develop and preserve their mother tongue (Ministry of Church Affairs and Education 1987:36). The 1987 curriculum emphasizes the children speaking their mother tongue at home. The curriculum do not claim that when a child learns Norwegian well in school, the child will be able to teach his or her parents in Norwegian, and apply it in their home. The curriculum appreciates parent's cultural backgrounds, and wants schools to help children develop their language so that they can appreciate their parent's cultural backgrounds.

In addition, when reading the 1987 policy, I notice appreciation and acknowledgement of language as an identity maker. The government is not pushing the Norwegian and nor wants the Norwegian language to be the mayor language and cultural identifier for the child. But the government also emphasizes the importance of children learning Norwegian in order to prepare them for society. In the same manner as all other Norwegian children, minority children have the right for adapted education. The intention is to create a feeling and identity in two cultures and for schools to help the children become fully bilingual (Ministry of Church Affairs and Education 1987:38).

The 1987 curriculum was the first one with separate measures for minority language children. There was a separate curriculum for the subject of "Norwegian as second language" and for the subject of mother tongue. "The education should be organized in the manner that best gives the child comprehensive development," but the curriculum also mentions that different schools may vary (Ministry of Church Affairs and Education 1987:38).

In the late 1990s, policies around adapted language education shifted. The 2003 – 2004 white paper, "Diversity through inclusion and participation" (Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse), stated the responsibilities of language teaching:

The government's primary responsibility is to ensure that pupils receive thorough training in Norwegian, in addition to other training, so they can become active participants in Norwegian society. Mother tongue instruction in school should be a

tool to learn Norwegian, and a tool to acquire technical knowledge until one knows Norwegian well enough. The individual, the home and different language groups and local immigrant organizations have a special responsibility to help maintain and develop their native language. The Government will positively encourage immigrant organizations engaged in mother tongue education for their members outside normal school hours.

(Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development 2004:91)

The government clearly states that if schools practice mother tongue instruction, it is only to be used as a tool towards learning Norwegian. The task to help children develop their mother tongue is no longer the school's nor the municipality's main focus; it is mainly a tool for developing the Norwegian skills. The ministry sees the value in having a multilinguistic population, but does not believe it's their responsibility to develop another mother tongue.

Further on, the white paper states that the goal of all children following the same curriculum. Therefore must the use of adapted Norwegian language education only be a temporary measure until the child is sufficient enough in Norwegian (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development 2004:91). The subject "Norwegian as a second language" has come under criticism from several stakeholders and the ministry wants to take this seriously. According to the white paper, critique attacks the length of time pupils spend with this subject. Hence children are not being approved for the ordinary Norwegian subject simultaneous. Another argument is that some minority children are given the subject just by the power of being from a minority, not because of their Norwegian skills, as demanded. The subject was criticized as problematic since subject is taught in separate groups. In addition, some pupils want to learn Norwegian as a second language in order to be exempted from examination in a second written standard of Norwegian, as Norwegian is the norm.

The subject "Norwegian as a second language" has not been used in Oslo since the 2005-2006 school year. All children are required to learn from the same Norwegian curriculum. The exception is alphabetization classes and reception classes (Oslo municipality, 2015b:13).

This history of policies aimed for non-national minorities will also be investigated later through the lenses of Minow's (2008) policies of integration, as presented by a different writer.

3.3 Relevant research

In this part of the thesis, I will relevant research conducted by others, in order to understand a broader picture of the ongoing debate of multicultural, multi linguistic and adapted education in the Norwegian schools. Including the presentation of how author Ingunn Seland (2013) applies Minow's (2008) "policies of integration" to investigate Norwegian schools' use of mother tongue instruction from the 1970s to today.

3.3.1 The over representation of minority children in special education

Norwegian professor Joron Pihl has conducted a study of records from 1990-2000, her findings are presented in the book "Ethnic diversity in the school. The expert eyes." (*Etnisk mangfold i skolen. Det sakkyndige blikket.*) (2005). Pihl (2005) examines the practices of special education in Oslo as they relate to the over representation of minority children. She looks through the Educational and Psychological Counselling Service's (PPT) records of how PPT categorizes minority children and how this can affect integration and lead to minority children's marginalization. She asks: are minority children in need of special education more than majority children, or are there other reasons why they are classified in special education (Pihl, 2005:17)?

Children receiving special education are often separated from their classes. These decisions are based on assessments made by PPT experts (Pihl, 2005:21). Pihl explains how assessment results have changed from subjective stories the PPT writes, to more scientific reports. She claims that the PPT are testing children's intelligence, and are hiding this practice from parents and local schools (Pihl 2005:100-128). Furthermore, Pihl explains how the PPT base their assessments on Norwegian and western standards. But their tests are not relevant for children from foreign cultures, and this means that the PPT stigmatizes minority children from different cultural backgrounds (Pihl 2005:100-128). In addition, Pihl shows how schools refer to a PPT assessment for special education, based on the argument that the child is multicultural (Pihl, 2005:87).

By excluding the knowledge and skills children possess in their non-Norwegian language, one examines a child as if s/he is mono-cultural and only speaks Norwegian. Pihl's argument is that, most often, children are only lectured in Norwegian, a language they only partly

understand (Pihl 2005:89). If the child had been tested in their mother tongue, another result would have drawn other conclusions concerning needs of special education.

In an interview regarding her research, Pihl explains, “The children are taking the burden, they adapt to the system and learn that the problem is themselves” (Fagerheim, 2005). She requests more knowledge of bilingual subject teaching in the Norwegian education system in order for schools to apply children’s own tools of gaining knowledge in their mother tongues. In addition, she requests more knowledge among the staff of PPT, as their education lacks focus on multiculturalism (Fagerheim, 2005).

It is necessary to comment on the age of Pihl’s findings and arguments as she was criticized when she published her work in 2005. It was argued that the system and practices had already changed and moved on. Her findings caused a discussion in the national media and her arguments were criticized for being too harsh (Wold, 2006). Pihl’s (2005) book is also illustrated with pictures and poems that represent the theme of “us and the others” and theories of race. For instance a picture from 1933 shows measures taken of a man’s nose, in order to determine his race (Pihl, 2005:62). I understand these illustrations as a provocation that makes the reader draw connections between practices of grading people on behalf of their ethnicity and assessments of children based on their non-Norwegian background. Illustrating that we are not valuing “their” culture and skills as high as “ours”. But I also understand these illustrations as a message of the importance of the present not forgetting the past. And in this sense, Pihl’s (2005) research is still relevant, regardless of how much Norwegian education has changed.

3.3.2 Sufficiently proficient in Norwegian?

In 2013, Gunnhild Tveit Randen, a professor in the teaching program at Hedmark University Collage, published her Ph.D. entitled, “Sufficiently proficient in Norwegian? Mapping minority linguistic school starters’ language skills.” (Tilstrekkelige ferdigheter i norsk? Kartlegging av minoritetsspråklige skolebegynneres språkferdigheter.) The title is inspired by the Education Act of 1998 section 2-8, where the goal of adapted language education is “Sufficiently proficient in Norwegian”. When reaching the point of “sufficiency proficient in Norwegian”, the children lose their right of adapted language education. Randen (2013) followed five Russian speaking first-graders as they learned Norwegian as their second language. Her research purpose was didactic. Her aim was to develop new knowledge about

the first graders' language skills (Randen, 2013:329). Ultimately, the practice of testing childrens' language skills developed in Oslo after Randen's (2013) research. In Oslo, recommendations of tools for examinations of mapping children's language skills has been introduced, but, as Randen states, are there no national guidelines on the area of testing tools, no recommended focus areas of these tests or for how to conduct them.

Essential for 2-8, someone has to determine when a child has reached the point of sufficiently proficient Norwegian. Randen (2013) asked for mapping tools that determined specific criteria on what the conductor of the test looked for. She argues that, in the case of 2-8 decisions, which is a legal individual decision based on skill levels, the degree of individual judgment from the school staff at the school should be as limited as possible. National, all decisions made must be based on the same criteria in all schools.

Randen (2013: 330) also claimed that the use of mother tongue must have a more central role in examinations of children's language skills. She argued that this was a part of giving all children adapted education in multicultural schools.

3.3.3 Policies of integration in the Norwegian Unitary School System

In *The Norwegian Journal of Social Research*, Ingunn Seland at The Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education, wrote an article in 2013 called "Community for equality. Education policies for multilingual and multi-religious populations in Norway since 1970". Seland analyzed governmental documents as white papers, law propositions and official reports. She examined whether minority children had been treated as individuals or groups from the 1970s until the 2010s. The writer set the starting point for her focus in the article at 1970, as this time marked an increase of immigration from counties far away to Norway. Among her topics, Seland focused on the use of teaching minority children in their mother tongues (Seland, 2013).

From the beginning of the unitary school system in Norway, the Norwegian government believed that, in order to fight social injustice in society, children benefited from learning on together. But general inclusion in school was not enough to create social equality. In order to prevent the reproduction of social classes, and to secure equality and equal opportunities, one needed special arrangements for weaker pupils to strengthen themselves and compensate for

their backgrounds. If one treated all children equally, the differences in the children's background would be reinforced. This thought made the Norwegian system correspond to the universal regime. But have the policies on education focused on preserving minority children's sense of cultural? Seland explores measures and arguments used to achieve equalization, justice and equality (Seland, 2013).

In Seland's 2013 article, she looked at selected documents through the lenses of Minow's (2008) policies of inclusion; which category can one place the Norwegian policies from 1970s until 2010s? According to Seland (2013), official documents first mentioned educating children with immigrant backgrounds in the early 1970s. Several possible of arrangements for these children were mentioned, for instance introduction classes and mother tongue instruction, but none became legal rights for the children at this time. According to Seland (2013), it was not clear how long immigrants would stay in Norway. Arguments in favor for mother tongue instructions, wanted to help the children to have an easier return back home to the mother countries (Seland, 2013:198).

As seen 1987, a new national curriculum with two new subjects implemented "mother tongue instruction for lingual minorities" and "Norwegian as second language" in the hope that this would result in "functional bilingualism." Building up to this new curriculum, the discussion was focused on the topic of the right for adapted education, especially for lingual minority children. The discussion concerning mother tongue instruction had arguments in favor for the value of mother tongue skills being about the child's intellectual, emotional and social development. In addition would it strengthen the relationship the child had to his or her parent's background. The debate was not only colored by arguments of redistribution when taking the individual into consideration, but also by arguments of recognizing and valuing cultures and languages equally (Seland, 2013:198-99). But the municipalities were still not obligated to offer mother tongue instructions for immigrant minorities. This in contrast to the mandatory offer of mother tongue instructions for Sami children, implemented in 1985. It was proposed making to offer mother tongue instructions for immigrants mandatory for municipalities on several occasions. Also in the 90s, with arguments of the importance for children to strengthen their rights as a group. But the Ministry of Local Government and Labor stated that the government did not believe mother tongue instructions was their responsibility, as " These languages and cultures has, unlike the Sami language and culture, their base in other countries"(Ministry of Local Government and Labor, 1997: 70). The

parent's and minority groups must have this responsibility. Norway's official task must first be to strengthen children's Norwegian skills. Measures, including mother tongue, must only be conducted for a limited time (Ministry of Local Government and Labor, 1997: 71).

According to Seland (2013), the statements from the Ministry of Local Government and Labor in 1997 contrast the official statements from the 70s. But Seland reminds us that since the 70s, while the discussion took place, individual children were given mother tongue instruction. The debate focused on mother tongue instruction being an automatic right for all groups of linguistic minority. In making it automatic, showing recognition of the minority language and cultural value. Contrasting is the option to only assist the individual children, if necessary, to develop their understanding of Norwegian and subject (Seland, 2013: 200). The Norwegian policies regarding use of mother tongue in the public education for lingual minorities has after the 1990s mainly been in the category of policies of *redistribution*. Mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching and adapted Norwegian are only meant as temporary measures until a child is capable of understanding ordinary Norwegian lectures, given in Norwegian, in order to reach the common goals in all subjects (Seland, 2013). The shift may be connected to the recognition of the fact that immigrants have come to stay (Seland, 2013: 207).

When reading Seland's article (2013) in *The Norwegian Journal of Social Research*, and also looking through official documents myself, the different arguments make me wonder about approaches to the field of adapted language education. Is the ultimate goal to make children lose their identities as minorities and become Norwegian, or to keep and develop their belonging to foreign cultures? I find these questions very interesting, and they will be returned to later in the discussion.

4 Research Design and Methodology

In this chapter, I will identify reasons for why I have chosen a qualitative approach. I will also account for the comparative nature of this research. I will explain my process of document analysis and the process of finding informants. I will present my methods of collecting data in interviews, and an overview of the informants who participated in this thesis.

4.1 Qualitative research

I have chosen a qualitative approach for this project because I wanted to understand informants' rationales. This strategy is appropriate when digging deep for insights and understanding the characteristics of a chosen topic (Johannessen, Tufte & Christoffersen, 2011). Deductive research is when a hypothesis is tested through research. My approach, however, is mainly inductive, so theory develops through research (Harding, 2013). After doing my interviews and analysis, I connected findings to existing theory and research. But this study is not purely inductive. Before I went into the field, I knew of some issues. But I wanted to understand why they occurred. I strived to enter interviews with an open mind and conducted interviews without prejudice. As informants explained and expressed their thoughts to me, I learned more about what to search for in existing materials (Bryman, 2012:24-26).

Interviews are often categorized as the “gold standard “ of doing qualitative research, and is particularly relevant by instance in exploring and determining how people make decisions, examining people's beliefs and perceptions and in identifying motivations for behavior (Harding, 2013). The voice of informants is therefore at the core of this research, how I understand them is crucial.

My aim was to understand more about the possible dilemmas informants had to deal with in their everyday lives. My main question in analyzing the material was “why”, and the depth I wanted to explore in this thesis was to be investigated with “why” and then “how”.

In addition, considering the time allotted for data collection, and because it can be challenging to find enough informants in Norwegian school to answer online surveys, interviews were most constructive.

Existing documents were also objects for analyses in this thesis and I found these by searching up relevant documents and looked after the themes I wanted to explore. I analyzed the intentions behind formulations in the documents in order to gain a deeper understanding of the policies.

4.2 Comparative research design

When starting this research, I did not have a clear idea of what I would be comparing. But as my research questions developed, comparisons became clearer.

Bryman (2012) discusses comparative research designs. He states that comparative research design “embodies the logic of comparison, in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations” (Bryman, 2012:72). I will also argue for the use of comparative research design without knowing if the cases or situations are contrasting. Similarities are also a part of comparison, resulting in questions of why cases or situations are similar. Bryman (2012) summarizes comparative research designs. He writes:

The key to the comparative design is its ability to allow the distinguishing characteristics of two or more cases to act as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings. It is something of a hybrid, in that in quantitative research it is frequently an extension of a cross-sectional design and in qualitative research it is frequently an extension of a case study design. It even exhibits certain features that are similar to experiments and quasi-experiments, which also rely on the capacity to forge a comparison. (Bryman, 2012:75)

This excerpt argues for contrasting findings. Even though contrasts are interesting, in my research I aim to understand similarities as well. My aim is to show variations, differences and similarities.

Since I searched for the Norwegian government’s intentions, it is relevant to compare documents with each other and investigate policy changes. In chapters 6 and 7, I identify differences and similarities in how informant schools organize their adapted language

education. I will attempt to point out how this education is conducted. In addition, I will compare informants' statements.

I will also compare the practice of 2-8 with the government's intentions and guidelines. I will look for conflicts and agreements concerning adapted language education.

Accordingly, intentions and practice are compared with the overhanging ideas of the "one school for all" unitary school system in Norway and the corresponding idea of justice. My findings from document analyses and interviews will be compared and discussed within the theoretical framework.

I compare aspects of a field of study by comparing informants' statements, policy documents and the overarching theoretical framework.

4.3 Data collection methods

This qualitative study is based on both semi-structured interviews and document analysis.

4.3.1 Document analysis

I have conducted document analysis in order to answer the research questions, as stated earlier. I have chosen to analyze parts of the Education Act, namely the part concerning adapted education for all, special education and adapted language education. In this analysis, it is important to identify how the Act describes and emphasizes children's rights.

The research questions necessitate that I analyze documents in order to detect instructions for school management and staff. The documents chosen are selected for several reasons. Some of the documents were central policies in Norway's education system. Some has been mentioned in literature I have read, or I have searched the internet and they came up.

Although the field of literature and available documents were overwhelming, I searched government white papers to determine the government's intentions and ideas of fairness for minority children. In the search for documents, criterion was that documents should not be more than five years old and address the treatment of minority children in schools. Some relevant sources were more than five years old, and included nevertheless.

4.3.2 Selecting schools

When searching for informants for interviews, I did not contact all of the schools in Oslo. Instead, I contacted a school that I had personal links to. This was the only school I contacted at first, and I hoped to interview an informant who would be able to put me in contact with my next informant. I wanted to do some snowball sampling in this manner.

This first school had a relatively low percentage of children with minority language backgrounds. I asked this first informant if he knew of anyone I might contact that worked at a school with a different demographic composition, preferably more children with minority linguistic backgrounds. The informant then connected me to a headmaster. Unfortunately, the response was negative and the snowball sampling stopped before it even started. Now I had to try another approach.

Due to numerous requests from researchers, I feared that I would have difficulties gaining access to schools with children of minority linguistic background. Indeed, my first experience made me curious about interviewing schools with a higher percentage. Therefore, I found statistics published by Oslo's Education Agency about the school language situation in 2014-2015. I tried to vary a bit in school's statistics in contacting, but most of the schools I wrote to had, according to these statistics, a high percentage of children with minority linguistic background.

It is important to remember that there is a difference between "children with another mother tongue than Norwegian" and children with a 2-8 decision; the number of children with a decision is normally lower than the school's total number of children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian. I might find it interesting to talk to schools with many children of minority linguistic backgrounds that do not have that many children with decisions, if they exist, and visa versa, if this exists. Therefore, as I searched for schools to contact, I looked at the percentage of children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian, rather than the percentage of pupils with 2-8 decisions.

I decided to categorize the schools in the contacting process. I defined some schools as "high percentage" of children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian. Schools with fifty percent of children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian were categorized as "high" and schools with less than fifty percent of children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian were "low." Defining the line between high and low percentages could also have

been done by letting the average be the mark between “high” and “low”, but I did not think of this option at the time. Although I also tried to vary locations in the city, it was clear that there were areas where few or no pupils of minority linguistic background lived. Likewise, there were areas where many or almost every pupil had minority linguistic background.

Altogether, I contacted twenty-seven schools. Seventeen of them had a high percentage and ten had a low percentage of children with minority linguistic backgrounds. First, I did not receive many answers to my emails. But when I asked for answers after a while, many finally replied. Most schools declined and explained that they could not participate in my research because of a lack of time or resources, sometimes because of sick leaves. Some schools were very happy to schedule an interview. Some said that this was such a relevant topic that they were happy to contribute. Schools’ response surprised me a bit. The “high percentage group” was more willing to participate in the study than the ones with low percentages. I ended up with only two schools in the “low category” and seven from the “high category”, nine all together. My goal was to reach a total of ten schools participating, so I was satisfied with nine.

The reason for why many schools with a lower percentage did not want to participate in the research, may have been that they did not find the topic relevant enough for them. But this is thought I have made up for myself and is not confirmed in any of my emails.

As mentioned earlier, it is important to remember the difference between “children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian,” also called children with a minority linguistic background, and children with a 2-8 decision. Even though many of the schools I contacted had a high percentage of children with linguistic minority backgrounds, only three of the schools participating had more than fifty percent of children with an individual 2-8 decision.

Of the schools I ended up with, three had between 0-25 percent, three had between 26-50 percent and three had between 51-75 percent of total of pupils with an individual 2-8 decision. The informant school with the highest percentage of children with 2-8 decisions was at approximately 75 percent, the lowest was at ten percent. All numbers were from the 2014-15 school year when selecting schools. But when I interviewed the schools, some numbers had changed a bit, but no drastic turns.

Figure 2 on the following page shows an overview of all informant schools. All the figures illustrate more recent statistics than the ones used for choosing schools.

The schools in the figure are categorized by size. The total number of pupils determines whether I categorized the schools as small (S), medium (M) or large (L). Category “L” is also the one with the biggest internal range. In this study, the difference between the largest and smallest school was 500 pupils.

Figure 2: Informant schools in the study (Oslo municipality,2015a)⁴

	Size of school	Pupils with another mother tongue	Pupils with 2-8 decision (of total)	Pupils with mother tongue instructions	Pupils with bilingual subject teaching of total	Type of school
School 1	L	0-25%	10 %	0	0	Primary
School 2	L	51-75%	50 %	0	0	Primary
School 3	S	51-75%	25 %	0	< 10 pupils	Primary
School 4	M	76-100%	70 %	0	10 %	Primary
School 5	M	76-100%	55 %	0	20 %	Primary
School 6	L	26-50%	20 %	0	0	Primary
School 7	M	76-100%	75 %	0	40 %	Primary
School 8	S	76-100%	45 %	0	0	Secondary
School 9	S	51-75%	35 %	0	0	Secondary

4.3.3 Interviews

For this study, I conducted nine interviews with eleven informants. All interviews totaled seven and a half hours of recordings and 69 pages of transcribed text, in the same settings for text as in this document. In the e-mail I sent to the schools, I asked to interview the person who organized implementation of the Education Act (1998). As a result , each school decided who they believed was most relevant for me to talk to. In the end, I spoke with several headmasters, one vice-principal (assisterende rektor), a deputy head teacher (undervisningsinspektør), one special education counselor (spesialpedagogisk rådgiver), two social counselors (sosiallærere) and one senior teacher (fagansvarlig).

I interviewed people who were both experienced with the education system and quite new to their jobs and the system. Although both men and women were informants, I do not use corresponding genders in this thesis. I have randomized gender in order to maintain anonymity. As far as I know, all of the informants were ethnic Norwegians. In some cases, the school provided two people for the interviews. In those interviews, both informants were interviewed together.

⁴ All figures are adjusted, in order to keep the informants anonymous. < means less than.

When meeting with people working in Oslo, I was always well welcomed, often offered a cup of coffee. I felt like the informants had a positive attitude about the project. Most of them gave me the impression that they could talk about my topic hours and were very enthusiastic. Most of them answered my questions and added a lot that I had not specifically asked about. This gave me the impression that they wanted to share their experiences of the school's relationship to 2-8. Often, I had to get conversation back on track since informants talked about other aspects in their schools' daily lives that we for now did not have time to discuss.

Informant's enthusiasm sometimes made interviews a bit difficult to control. On the other hand, I learned a lot about informants' interests, main concerns, how they understood 2-8, why they wanted to use me as a spokesman, and why they accepted the interview request in the first place.

In contrast, I did not feel completely comfortable during certain interviews. Coming from the outside, it is not always easy to know which questions might be perceived as ignorant, searching, or accusatory. This was of course never my intent. I sometimes felt a bit like informants thought I was asking too obvious questions. This may also have to do with the chemistry between us, or something else.

All interviews were conducted at schools where informants worked, either in their offices or meeting rooms. I used two recorders during interviews, and all of my informants agreed to their use. When interviews were disturbed by other people who needed to chat with informants, I paused the recorder.

When considering all of my interviews, schools appeared to have different methods and routines. The impression of differences I had, *may* at sometimes be caused by me. It might also be that I did not ask exactly the same questions, or that informants may not include the same as each other in their answers. This was difficult to ascertain, and may just be a natural part of semi-structured interviews. The interview questions developed after each interview, as I learned more about the topic, as I found new and interesting things to ask about, and as I started to see differences in informant's answers. These differences may have also been caused by the way I asked questions or the order the questions were asked. I believe that if I asked about the economy first, for example, and then something else, it became easier to link economics to the second topic. Informants' interests and, perhaps agendas, may have also

affected answers. I sometimes had the feeling that informants accepted the interview in order to present a message. This is not an issue, but it was sometimes frustrating during interviews.

After several interviews, I concluded that informants answered differently because of their personal experiences and their different understanding of authority's intentions. I sometimes had an impression that informants were unaware of the differences between guidelines and routines. Sometimes I got the impression that school was aware, but informants explained that guidelines were not realistic. When talking to my informants, some expressed frustration and some did not. As one informant told me how he understood his and the school's 2-8 tasks, I became confused because the next informant told me different versions of the same issue. I sometimes doubted if I had understood informants correctly. I feared maybe they all told me the same thing in different ways.

4.4 Ethics

All data was handled in line with NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data) guidelines.

This research project was approved by and reported to NSD, with the project number 44100.

All informants who participated in the study signed a declaration of participation. This declaration is appendix number 1 and 2.

None of the informants, nor their work place, were named in this study.

My aim was not to reveal anyone's identity. In order to make it difficult to track informants, I have anonymized their information. It is important to remember that there are elements in this thesis constructed to confuse informants' identities. The purpose of this study was to gain knowledge, not blame anyone for anything. There was therefore no risk in participating in this study. If school management recognized interviewees, I hope they remember the purpose of this study and that they may be mistaken in their recognition.

All raw data will be deleted when the project is published.

5 Document analysis

In this chapter, I will present an analysis of relevant documents. The number of official documents published in different fora in the field of “adapted language education” is huge and I did not have the opportunity to explore all of them. In this following chapter, I nevertheless discuss certain policies and documents published by the Norwegian government. Some are national documents, while others are only applicable to Oslo. The following documents are policies and white papers I prioritized.

5.1 The education act of 1998

First, it is necessary to look carefully through the relevant parts of the national Norwegian Education Act, which was published in 1998. The Act applies to primary (1st-7th grade), secondary (8th-10th grade) all ten grades together called “grunnskolen,” high school or “videregående”(11th-13th grade) and adult education. Since the Act has several amendments, parts of the it only apply to grunnskolen, videregående and adult education, while others regulate private schools. I focus on three relevant parts of the Education Act (1998): section 1-3, adapted education, chapter 5, special education, and section 2-8, adapted language education for pupils from language minorities.

Section 1-3 states that every child has the right to adapted education. “Education shall be adapted to the abilities and aptitudes of the individual pupil, apprentice and training candidate” (the Education Act, 1998). In the online Norwegian version, it also notes that one has to focus on “early efforts”. Early efforts is explained as the municipality’s responsibility for adapting education for children from 1st to 4th grade that are weak in reading and mathematics. Among other measures, early efforts must be carried out through higher density of teachers (the Education Act, 1998, §1-3).

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training describes adapted education as something all pupils shall have. Schools must also adapt their education to children’s abilities and aptitudes. Adapted education is not a goal in itself, but an instrument to assist children achieve better learning outcomes. It is crucial that teachers find a balance between attending individual children and to entire classes. School need to vary their teaching methods to find this balance. Schools must also evaluate, vary and change their practices. This idea of adapted

education for all children is central to the Norwegian educational system, specifically the unitary school systems and the principles of equality and of inclusion (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2014a). This validates Norway's position in the universal regime of schools. The idea is that we may do minor adjustments and compensations in order to make most children capable of gaining acceptable learning outcomes from education. 1-3 is a manner of providing justice in competition for most children.

Chapter 5 of the Education Act (1998) addresses **Special Education**. Special education is something you need to qualify for, unlike the right to adapted education (section 1-3). Section 5-1 is "the right to special education." The act says that "pupils who either do not or are unable to benefit satisfactorily from ordinary teaching have the right to special education." The goal is to give children special education to help them achieve better learning outcomes, when 1-3 is not enough. Special education is resulting in better total education results and justifiable learning outcome for the child, corresponding with individual capabilities and peers (the Education Act, 1998, §5-1). What kind of special education children receive depends on individual needs and the school's capabilities. A child's abilities do not solely determine her right to special education. Indeed, also the school's ability to adapt the education to the individual determines the kind of special offer given. Guidelines for managing cases of special education are detailed, and children must be expertly assessed to investigate if they qualify for special education (the Education Act, 1998, §5-3). Assessments can request by either the school or the parents. Regardless, parents must accept the assessment in writing before the tests are conducted (the Education Act, 1998, §5-4). After an expert makes her recommendations, schools must offer individualized, adapted curriculums. The head masters are responsible for developing individual curriculums in cooperation with parents (the Education Act, 1998, § 5-5). This individual curriculum must be accepted by the parents, and they are not obliged to accept special education. Individual curriculum is just a right they have for their child, parents are not obliged to accept (Driscoll, Eriksen, Jensen, & Kopp, 2012:100-103).

As seen, Bakke (2011) explains that 1-3 was supposed include 5-1 by the establishment of 1-3, this has however not formally happened. Special education can today be conducted within or outside of the classroom.

Now we have seen some of the core policy of adapting education, and of the general right for adapted education for all in the Norwegian school. But how about the adapted language policy, is it similar to what we have seen so far?

The next section of the Act is applicable for 1st through 10th. Section 2-8, “adapted language education for pupils from language minorities,” is the main policy under examination.

Therefore, I have included the whole section below:

Section 2-8. Adapted language education for pupils from language minorities

(Part 1)⁵ Pupils attending the primary and lower secondary school who have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami have the right to adapted education in Norwegian until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school.

(Part 2) If necessary, such pupils are also entitled to mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching, or both. Mother tongue instruction may be provided at a school other than that normally attended by the pupil.

When mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching cannot be provided by suitable teaching staff, the municipality shall as far as possible provide for other instruction adapted to the pupils’ abilities.

(Part 3) The municipality shall map what skills the pupils have in Norwegian before it is decided to provide adapted language education. Such mapping shall also be conducted during the education for pupils who receive adapted language education according to the regulations, in order to assess whether the pupils are sufficiently skilled in Norwegian to follow the normal school education.

(Part 4) For pupils who have recently arrived, the municipality may organize special educational facilities in separate groups, classes or schools. If some or all of the education is to take place in such a group, class or school, this must be stipulated in the decision to provide adapted language education. A decision for such education in specially organized facilities may only be made if it is considered in the pupil’s best interest. Education in a specially organized facility may last for up to two years. A decision may only be made for one year at a time. The decision may for this period

⁵ “Part 1, 2, 3, 4” added by the author.

make deviation from the curriculum for the pupil in question to the extent it is necessary in order to provide for the needs of the pupil. Decisions pursuant to this section require the consent of the pupil or his/her parents or guardians. (The Education Act, 1998, § 2-8)

As Part 1 outlines, Section 2-8 only affects children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian; this is the first requirement to qualify for the adapted language education. A child may receive adapted language education for as long as needed or until one's Norwegian skills are *good enough* to follow ordinary lectures. The offer of adapted language education is to be temporary, or until one's language is strong enough to follow the rest of the class in lectures. *If necessary*, children who do not have enough Norwegian skills to follow ordinary lectures have right to mother tongue instruction, bilingual subject teaching, or both.

I have many questions for this first part: *Who* are these children with mother tongues other than Norwegian? *How* does one determine what a mother tongue is? *Who* is responsible for making the decision regarding what mother tongue a child has? These questions are partly addressed in this thesis.

The term in the section "sufficiently proficient in Norwegian" is heavily debated in research. A lot of research debates the differences between "surface language" and skills required in a language you are meant to learn in. A surface language, also called an "everyday language," is one that a child uses to communicate. But, when you are supposed to gain new knowledge, in Norwegian for example, a child needs to possess a certain level of Norwegian language skills to understand concepts and words. Concepts and words become increasingly complex and difficult as time goes on. School staff determine if children with mother tongues other than Norwegian are capable of following ordinary classes.

My interest in this research is more focused on the people who determine when a child is ready to learn in Norwegian and how this responsibility works in daily life, than the actual measures used to find out if a child needs a 2-8 decision. But how school staff relate to these questions is important. It is necessary to understand some of the pedagogic dilemmas that management and staff deal with in order understand their daily lives.

According to section Part 2 of Section 2-8, mother tongue instructions are lectures where you learn your mother tongue. If your mother tongue is Spanish, for instance, lectures are in about the Spanish language. Bilingual subject teaching is when, for example, natural science is

taught in both Norwegian and one's mother tongue. Children may qualify for one *or* both of these options as long as they also qualify for adapted education in Norwegian. The logic is that if one qualifies for all parts of 2-8, and then stops qualifying for adapted Norwegian (one's language would have become "good enough,") one loses one's rights to all 2-8 opportunities.

If there a school cannot provide mother tongue instruction or bilingual subject education, the municipality is responsible for providing a suitable education option for the child. But all of these options of adapted language education depend on these offers to be necessary. An implemented bill of recommendation to the Education Act (1998) from 2003-2004, children who qualify for mother tongue instructions or bilingual subject teaching must have *very* limited Norwegian skills. Recommendation says that when children learn Norwegian well enough to follow ordinary lectures, the responsibility to teach children their mother tongue is the parent's to take (Innst. O. nr. 92, 2003-2004). This policy, places Norway in Monow's policies of redistribution (2008) as use of mother tongue in school only is to be applied as a tool in learning Norwegian.

In Part 3 of Section 2-8, the municipality as the school owner is also responsible for examinations of children's Norwegian skills. In Oslo, the municipality has generally delegated this responsibility to headmasters. The municipality has an opportunity to delegate, as long as the delegation is responsible. This means that headmasters must be able to conduct this mapping. The municipality is therefore responsible for head master's skills and ability to make these individual decisions. To make sure that headmaster's knowledge of laws and regulations are an example of the municipalities' responsibility. Testing of skills through examinations should not only be conducted when a child starts school. He or she must also be mapped for skills during education stages in order to make an accurate decision (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2014b), which is the goal.

Finally, Part 4 of Section 2-8 gives the municipality the opportunity to arrange separate solutions for newly arrived children. These separate solutions must always be in the best interest of the child. The separate solutions for newly arrived children cannot last for more than two years, one year decided at the time. This has happened in Oslo, as seen in subchapter 1.4.4 as in the establishment of Språksenteret (Centre for Intensive Norwegian Language Learning)

There are local interpretations of Section 2-8 of the 1998 Education Act. In Oslo, the City Council stated that:

The goal with adapted education for minority language pupils is that the pupils learn Norwegian as fast as possible, so they can attend the ordinary lectures in Oslo schools. The education of minority linguistic children shall be organized based on this main principle. (City Council, 2001)

As this quote shows, the goal is to achieve sufficient proficiency in Norwegian as fast as possible. The goal is not to achieve the best possible results, but rather, the fastest results.

Parents will always have to approve, in writing, individual decisions. This need for approval is in line with the Public Administration Act of 1967 (The Public Administration Act, 1967) and can be linked to the Human Rights Act, which states that “parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children” (United Nations, 1948, §26).

5.2 Recent and present official ideology

I will in the next section go through current Norwegian ideologies of unitary schools and the concept and practice of adapted language education. I find it necessary to look at some recent statements from the Norwegian governments, explaining their visions and definitions of unitary schools’ aims and mandates. How are staff supposed to behave? What values and principles shall they live after? To find these definitions, I analyzed white papers.

Government ministries, in orientation for parliament and society, write white papers.

First, the Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion published a white paper entitled *A holistic integration policy - diversity and community* (En helhetlig integreringspolitikk. – Mangfold og Fellesskap) between 2012 and 2013. At this time, the so-called «red-green» government, a collation between the Labor party, Centre party and Socialist Left party, ruled the ministry. The paper contains a chapter dedicated to the topic of “kindergartens and education.” The ministry states, “It is a goal for the government that as many [children] as possible can complete the education they wish and need, [and] become active and included informants in society and the labor market” (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). The government wants all children to *complete* basic education, and I read this as

wish grounded parallel in the best interest of the society and of the individual. An individual should be able to complete her education, and be included in working life and society. Society will gain active citizens who contribute to civil society and pay their taxes.

The white paper subsequently states: “Education is one of the most important instruments for reducing social and economic differences in the society” (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). Here, we see a typical Norwegian perspective about that education functions to reduce societal differences, and the wish to reduce differences in itself.

One theme colors the text in this chapter: the need for greater knowledge about diversity of children among staff working in the education system. Kindergarten staff need to be competent in teaching children Norwegian. There is also a need for competence in multicultural education, both among teachers and school administration (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:64). This confirms the view that schools are responsible for adapting to the pupils, not the other way around.

The government also wants to improve knowledge among school’s staff, parents and pupils about minority language children’s rights as well as possibilities in the education system. The ministry writes that it is necessary to view children’s language and cultural skills as resources. They want to focus on these resources, which, according to the white paper, are not properly explored. The ministry wants to facilitate pupils to receive documentation about their language skills, and encourages municipalities to offer more language courses in high school (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:50-51). This request of documentation is an example of how to respect minority language children, an attempt to realize a statement from section “Goals and principles for the education system”. In recognize the value in language skills in this manner; I get an impression of the policies being in the spirit of Minows (2008) category of policies of *recognition*.

The ministry states that in geographical areas with high percentages of immigrants, where families are often in low socio-economic classes and have limited Norwegian skills, it is important to recruit motivated and highly qualified teachers. “These kind of compensatory measures will be important to ensure that pupils at these schools get good, adapted education offers, so pupils are given the same opportunities to succeed” (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:54). This statement demonstrates how the Norwegian school system fits into the universal regime (Verdier, 2009). In order to make education fair, compensate for

social obstacles and help children, pupils are given the same opportunities to succeed. “To improve learning outcomes for children, youth and adults with an immigrant background, it is necessary to have measures to both improve Norwegian skills and measures to compensate for socio-economic backgrounds” (Ministry of Children -Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). Similarly, “the unitary school shall give pupils adapted education and give equal opportunities to succeed to all” (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). Finally, “the education system shall stimulate the individual to stretch as far as possible to realize his/her potential, regardless of social background.” (Ministry of Children -Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48).

The white paper states, “All parents and children in Norway shall feel included and respected, regardless of their beliefs and cultural background” (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). Including courses in pupils’ mother tongues, and recognizing the value of improving language skills, may contribute to feelings of acceptance and inclusion. Also, recruiting more multi-linguistic teachers (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:63-64) can both extend multicultural knowledge and exploit children’s language skills as a resource.

A second white paper was published between 2012 and 2013 by the same “red-green” government, but written by the Ministry of Education and Research. It is titled *On the right path –Quality and diversity in the unitary school* (På rett vei- kvalitet og mangfold i fellesskolen). The paper is “A status report, seven years after The Knowledge promotion.” The white paper states that “the foundation for just and good distribution is best created through a strong public unitary school” (Ministry of Education and Research 2013:9). This policy signals a lot about how schools are viewed and the power that governments invest in education. The paper contends that that an education system, specifically a public unitary school system, can create a foundation for a fair society. The ministry emphasizes the importance of “early efforts” and “adapted education.” These ideas are in line with the first white paper, which confirms the need for staff to be trained to work in multicultural environments. It also states the necessity of appreciating and valuing the skills children may have in other languages. The goal of education is to adapt learning to pupils, facilitate for children to fulfill their capabilities and become active participants in democracy and working life.

The second white paper also deals with how schools organize pupils: “The principle of a unitary school as the foundation for education affects how education can be organized” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:91). The white paper continues, “pupils shall not usually be divided into classes or base groups by academic level, gender or ethnic belonging. All shall acquire satisfactory outcome from a unitary school” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:91). It is important to note that the quote does say “usually” and this style of wording continues throughout the white paper. It is relevant to explore what is meant by “usually” and who mandates when this norm may be broken. This may be perceived as the policymakers give school staff some freedom to determine how to organize the children.

Later in the white paper, explanations of how children can be organized into different groups than their original class, is presented, as long as their need for social affiliation is fulfilled. The request is that this is not normal division of children (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:91). The amount of hours needed in order to be categorized as “normal” is not given in the white paper. It even stated that “special education shall basically be given inside the frames of the original organizing of pupils” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:91). Although the white paper states that Norwegian schools should not separate pupils based on their academic skills, 2009 PISA research findings show that use of this kind of division is common in Norwegian education. The ministry refers to studies that show that this kind of division does not promote better learning outcomes. Contradictory, the ministry approves the practice of taking weaker children out of class for a limited time to help them reach normal learning progressions (The Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:93). The white paper says, “More private schools and more academic level differentiation of pupils can dilute the unitary school” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:12). As discussed, Bakke (2011) argued that Norwegian school system is developed for most children, but not everyone. He claims that schools sort children out of when they do not fit the norm of academic development. This is in spirit of meritocratic regimes (Verdier, 2009). In this white paper from 2013, we see a policy of keeping all children gathered, striving to conduct special education within the normal class. But as seen above, the ministry opens up for possibilities to divide classes, as long as it is not “usually”.

Between 2015 and 2016, when there was a coalition between the Conservative and Progress party, the Ministry of Education and Research published the third white paper chosen for presentation called *Subjects- Specialization – Comprehension. A renewal of the Knowledge*

promotion (Fag-Fordypning-Forståelse. En fornyelse av Kunnskapsløftet). The ministry wanted to develop a new part of the national curriculum and introduced rationales in this white paper. They wrote, “values shall be expressed in a manner that as many as possible can endorse, take part of and feel genuinely included by in the society’s, schools’ and education institution’s fellowship” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016:20). These values were grounded in a Christian and humanistic heritage, rooted in human rights and expressed in different religions and beliefs (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016: 20). This white paper formulated the desire to distinguish children’s competences in subjects and in values of their personality. Schools were responsible for setting academic goals, not goals regarding pupils’ personalities, views or preferences (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016:24). Once again, the Norwegian education system respects the individual and does not want children to change. The education shall only to teach the skills needed to be part of the society. This wish of the child not change personality, is by me understood as a wish of cultural minority (and majority) to keep their identity in their culture, in the spirit of policies of recognition (Minow, 2008). Nevertheless, competences in subjects is emphasized as central, and lectures are given in Norwegian in Norway. Children are dependent on knowing Norwegian in order to learn in ordinal lectures. I wonder if it is possible to regard goals in language skills strictly as academic, not affecting and changing children’s personality.

This white paper does focus a bit on the type of workers needed in labor market. “To preserve and develop the Norwegian welfare model, Norwegian markets and public businesses need high competences and strong abilities to innovate in years to come” (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016: 13). The government publishing this white paper is capitalist, and I read the wish to “manufacture” citizens to meet needs in business in fitting spirit of this government. Simultaneously, as seen in Verdier’s(2009) regimens, the universal regime welcomes influence from the labor marked in education. I do not know if the policy values skills in foreign languages for the labor market.

My research question one asks about approaches to linguistic minority children in schools found in national policy documents. Analyzed documents indicate Norwegian school system’s ideology as based in the universal regime. The governments want to contribute in reducing social injustice; trusting fairness in education will contribute to justice. As the universal regime will conduct compensation for “lacks” in background, today white papers emphasis the need of knowledge among education staff for multicultural children.

Multicultural education on order to adjust education for multicultural children. The idea of helping children reach their potentials by giving them adapted education and some extra help when needed is present, and makes these recent governmental documents fit into the regime of universalism. A policy of keeping all children gathered is mentioned, in order to protect the strong unitary school. These white papers also show a wish from governments to include everyone in the education system, and make sure everyone feels included. Children's mother tongue other than Norwegian must according to policy be valued and regarded as a resource. White papers state a wish of high school pupils to receive formal documentation of their skills in mother tongues other than Norwegian. I understand this request of documentation in the spirit of policies of recognition (Minow, 2008). But as we have seen, mother tongue instructions and bilingual subject teaching in school are in several documents limited to serve as a tool towards sufficient proficient in Norwegian language, in line with policies of redistribution (Minow, 2008). I understand the present of both recognition and redistribution as a symptom of ministries recognizes skills in other mother tongues. But as schools will have to prioritize, skills in Norwegian is the most important for governments.

6 Empirical findings

In this chapter, I present finding from my interviews. First, I will go through the process of how schools make and end 2-8 (adapted language education) decisions, before I account for how informants explained their organization of adapted language education. At the same time as I present informants' voices, I also present relevant statements from authorities in order to contextualize informants' references.

6.1 The process of making a 2-8 decision

How do schools understand and respond to adapted language education? What do schools consider important when they are responding to adapted language education every day? Do school staff implement adapted language education as the government intended?

In this chapter, I analyze the chronological process of making a 2-8 decision. The decision of ending adapted language education will also be analyzed. The data that I will investigate includes interviews, relevant regulations and instructions from authorities. This analysis will ultimately lead to understanding what authorities expect from the administration of schools and will connect my findings.

In circular letters 6, from 2011, and 1, from 2014, the Oslo Education Agency states that “pupils who have Norwegian as one of several mother tongues, are normally not in the target group for adapted language education” (Oslo Education Agency 2011b & 2014). What does “normally” mean? And who determines these exceptions? As school staff do not examine children who have Norwegian as their stated mother tongue, when and how is it acceptable for schools to perform language examinations regardless of Norwegian being the mother tongue?

The topics and issues that informants emphasized during interviews influenced the foci of this thesis. When I developed an impression that something was important for an informant, I brought the issue to the fore and tried to discuss it in my thesis.

As previously stated, my purpose is not to point out those who do not follow standards. Rather, I want to show concrete differences between how schools handled government instructions.

6.1.1 Background information of children

Stage 1: Information from kindergartens

Communicating with local kindergartens and parents is the first step in making a 2-8 decision. When children reach school age, many primary schools become interested in finding out as much as possible about the children who will attend their school.

In Oslo, there is a “standard” regarding how schools and kindergartens shall transmit knowledge about school beginners. Oslo Education Agency published in 2011, updated in 2013. This standard contains an “annual wheel” of actions that schools and kindergartens are to follow, regarding cooperation between themselves and parents.

In my interviews, I found some variations in how schools acquired knowledge about their pupils. Some arranged meetings with kindergartens in the area, some visited kindergartens and observed children, and some only received written information about children. Some schools did not have pupil information before the school year began because children had never attended kindergarten, or because families had recently moved to the area.

The kind of information school were interested in also varied. School staff often try to find out whether it is likely that children will need some extra help of any kind, for instance special needs, language help of physical assistance.

Some informants explained how they closely followed the annual wheel. Other informants gave me an impression of conducting those pullet points suggested by the standard in cooperation with local kindergartens. Although the transmission of information always depended on parents’ approval of correspondence between kindergartens and primary schools, parents seldom resisted this, according to all of my informants, except for one informant. The informant at school four, however, explained that if they did receive any information from kindergartens regarding language development, there was:

Way too little, way too little about language. Kindergartens are clever on reporting if there’s something regarding behavior, serious learning disabilities, but way too little concerning language. We have been mapping the kindergartens this year, and we do see that there are great differences, many children haven’t attended kindergarten, and often children who haven’t attended kindergarten are weak in language. But we do see that many children who have attended kindergarten are weak in language. There are

different trends from the kindergartens. This is reported back to the kindergartens, and they are obliged to send us a form about the child. But we sometimes wonder “why on earth hasn’t the kindergarten reported this?” And the kindergarten then answers that they will only report what parents approve of, because parents need to approve of transmitted information. Simply, we receive little helpful information from kindergartens regarding language.

Informants who did not collect much information from kindergartens gave me the impression of perceiving the responsibility to get to know children as theirs. Therefore, they did not necessarily see the value in kindergartens’ evaluations. All said, that they would always conducting their own examinations of children’s skills rather than rely on kindergartens’ judgments.

I did not expect to find that not all schools followed the knowledge transmit standard published for this purpose. The different ways that primary schools follow the “annual wheel” of measures is clearly not in line with Oslo authorities’ intentions. Oslo officials wrote that that all schools and kindergartens must follow the standard wheel bullet point by bullet point. But the reality for some schools is different than the reality visualized by authorities.

When schools have to carefully examine all candidates for 2-8 decisions, they may think like “why do the extra work in collecting much information on children before they are in the hands of the school?” The way that school and kindergarten employees understand the knowledge transmit standard is crucial for how it is implemented. In addition, they depend on a similar perception of the importance of the standard and pedagogic considerations with individuals they are to cooperate with from kindergartens. Or vice versa, for a mutual understanding in cooperation between institutions.

When talking to informants about their cooperation with kindergartens, many were happy with the way this cooperation worked out. In contrast, several schools expressed worries about the lack of pedagogic skills or staff with relevant experience. Several of my informants also told me that they found important differences between kindergartens in the same area. Informant (no.5) expressed that in some kindergartens, personnel are more into their cups of coffee than the children. The informant had been to several kindergartens in her area and had various impressions on the insights kindergarten staff had on children’s development. This

lack of pedagogic insights results in the fact that schools can be given different levels of useful information from kindergartens.

As seen in earlier white papers, the Norwegian government wants staff in the education system, including kindergartens, to possess knowledge about multicultural diversity among children. But, according to some of my informants, this does not often occur, and it affects schools when working with personnel who lack multicultural qualifications. Children may be affected because schools do not get adequate information from kindergartens during this transmission stage. If schools do not know that a child needs certain language examinations, it may take more time before teachers discover the need. This informant also expressed her concerns over the fact that some kindergarten staff speak poor Norwegian. Moreover, these staff may be some children's only model for how to speak Norwegian.

It might be understandable that some informants struggle to cooperate with kindergartens where staff are neither pedagogically skilled, nor speak fluent Norwegian. How can someone who does not speak fluent Norwegian teach children in Norwegian, or identify challenges that children face in learning Norwegian? Do these same staff communicate with parents about children's linguistic challenges, and then inform schools about them, in a language in which they are not fluent? On the other hand, some informants stated that they worked well with kindergartens.

It seems that because Oslo authorities consider the cooperation between primary schools and kindergartens to be important, they publish a standard for schools and kindergartens to follow. I found, however, that there are variations in how closely schools follow this standard. In addition, the issue of language development is normally handled during this communication. As shown, school staff cannot rely solely on reports from kindergartens regarding language.

Stage 2: Information at enrollment and determine mother tongue:

The next step towards making 2-8 decisions is the process of enrollment. As the Education Act (1998) states, children with a mother tongue other than Norwegian may qualify for a 2-8 decision. The law determines that children's mother tongues are criterion for 2-8 decisions.

Informants explained that in December, approximately eight months before first grades begin, children are enrolled in primary schools. Schools invite children and their parents to register. During this time, children develop an impression of the school and an idea of what to expect in the coming year. Similarly, schools try to get a picture of the children. For example, schools want to know if a child is an asylum seeker, if a child has, or had, psychological issues, or if a child needed any kind of special attention before the age of school. Informants told me they notify parents at enrollment and on the first day of school about the 2-8 solutions and rights. At enrollment, parents are also asked to fill out what citizenship the child has and what mother tongue the child speaks.

Parents fill out a form during enrollment that identifies children's mother tongues. At some schools, school staff goes through the form with parents to make sure that everything is correctly understood and answered. This assistance may be necessary as parents may not be steady in Norwegian themselves.

Schools appear to handle the information received during enrollment in very different ways. They all insert information into the school's system and divide children into classes. But, schools do not prepare more during summer. Some teachers may prepare for how to teach certain pupils, but school administrations do not seem to prepare before the start of the school year. As far as I know, no test, mapping or examinations are conducted through the summer to investigate if some children need extra assistance.

The process of determining a child's mother tongue may not always be as easy as ticking of a box. For instance, some children have parents from different countries; one or neither of them may be native Norwegians. A child may speak two or more languages at home, and it can be difficult to point out which one is her mother tongue. And does considering you self as Norwegian automatically lead to you speaking Norwegian well enough to teach your child the language fluently? Some parents may be second generation immigrants and define their Norwegian language as their first language, but yet not be fluent speakers. Defining mother

tongue may even be a sensible topic for parents and not as straight forward as one may think. During interviews, I was also told about parents who talk to their children in a non-Norwegian language, and the child will response in Norwegian. So, what this child's mother tongue?

At secondary schools, I acquired the impression that schools had access to children's information through local intranets. Here, they could find information about whether their new pupils are had another mother tongue than Norwegian registered. Local intranets also show if pupils are having an individual decision for to adapted language education.

During enrollment, staff want to identify which children the school is going to examine for a 2-8 decision, by determining if Norwegian is the mother tongue or not. This is a fundamental criterion for determining which children the school needs to examine for 2-8 decisions. But, determining children's mother tongues may not always be a simple job, for parents or the school. As the Education Act (1998) demands, however, it is necessary to determine children's mother tongues in order to assess whether children are candidates for 2-8 decisions.

6.1.2 Examination and mapping children

The next step in making a 2-8 decision is to conduct a final examination of the individual child. The examination process is delegated to the schools in Oslo. Although schools make efforts to get to know children before they start first grade, examinations are held when children start primary school in August. My impression is that all schools participating in this study are eager to map children's skills in several areas all through children's education.

Regarding the adapted language education (2-8), children in Oslo are usually tested with a tool called "NSL" (Norwegian as Learning Language) designed for mapping children from first to fourth grade. The tool was introduced in Oslo schools in 2011. Informants told me that the schools only examine children when their parents have informed the schools that their child has a mother tongue other than Norwegian.

All informants who worked in primary schools said they used the NSL mapping tool. NSL does not require the ability to read or write. Many tasks are presented visually with pictures. NSL maps out children's abilities in three categories: first, the development and formation of concepts, second, vocabulary and comprehension of words, and third, grammar. The informants in this study all seemed pleased with the NSL-tool.

Different staff members conduct the test. Some schools have a “reading teacher” who conducts tests, the social teacher may have this responsibility and some schools had a team of teachers responsible to take the children through NSL. It seems that individual schools are able to decide who examines the children. In Oslo, the municipality delegated this job to headmasters, who then delegate the job to other staff members.

In one school, they told me that they sometimes applied NSL for mapping children who had passed fourth grade, especially when they expected a child to get a low score. If a fifth grader scored low at NSL, he or she needed extra help, it wouldn't matter that the test was not developed for his/her age group. This is an interpretation of the tool mentioned by Oslo Education Agency (Oslo Education Agency, 2011a:46) as an option to gain a picture of older children's Norwegian skills. Here, the municipality understood the different realities of some schools, and mentioned the possibility of using the tool differently than intended.

After the examination, the NSL score determines if the school shall offer the child adapted language education in Norwegian. Schools can follow NSL guidelines to determine if a score is “too low.” Informants described how those responsible for conducting NSL often come together with someone from management, or other experienced staff members, and analyze the results from the examinations together. This group determines what offer they want to give each child. As the headmaster at school number three described:

The social counselor sends out the decisions. She examines children and has the practical logistics around it. Then we have an ongoing dialogue concerning examinations, I discuss with some teachers, look at results of the tests and sort, so that we get an overview of it. So, in practice, it is the social counselor who handles a lot of practice.

When members of staff determine the offer they want to give a child, they have to send the offer to the child's parents for approval. Parents have to answer yes or no to the offer, and return the document signed. When the school receives the signed form, the 2-8 decision is either activated or canceled. Parents need to make a decision before counting the first of October. October 1st is the deadline for all figures reported to the municipality. The number of pupils with a 2-8 decision registered on this date is the total number of pupils who will receive financial support.

6.1.3 2-8 Paperwork

All through the 2-8 process, from before school knows if a child will need a 2-8 decision, in the process of examination, when reaching a decision, when renewal or ending a decision, paper work is to be done for the school. Some informants expressed that they believed that there is too much paperwork for them to do a good job with 2-8.

Annually, schools distribute information to parents of new pupils about the rights their children might have for adapted language education. When a school wants to examine a child, schools send a prior notice to the parents requesting that parents to accept an offer of adapted language education. All of these procedures must be completed before October 1st. Schools have to report all data via “SATS” to the municipality. Schools report, for example, the total number of pupils and how many of them received a 2-8 decision. This is important because school’s funding depends on whether or not these numbers are sent in by October 1st.

Furthermore, school’s recommendations for 2-8 provide more details about the offer and ask for parent’s responses. Summarized orders include: a general orientation about 2-8 opportunities and rights, prior notices and requests for parents to accept, and final decisions for parents to accept and sign. This practice and order is decided by the Oslo Education Agency, announced through the sixth circular letter form 2011. The Oslo Education Agency has also translated the general information letter into seven languages. These versions of the information letter are easy to find at the Oslo municipality’s online homepage for the Oslo Education Agency.

Sending out all documents regarding 2-8 is a lot of work for some schools. School administrators and teachers have a lot to do at the beginning of a school year with new and old pupils, regardless of 2-8. One informant explained, “the prior notice including what the offer contains, now we have started to send this out together with the final decision, because it can be difficult to get all this papers back via mail. For convenience.” Here, the school knows what they should do, but they find it too hard to implement in their everyday life. In order to save time, energy and money, they send both papers that parents need to signing at the same time. I did not ask what they did if the examination of the child ended in a cancelled decision, maybe this is so unusual that informants did not think of mentioning it.

Another informant mentioned that some parents in the area moved without giving notice to the school. It seems that schools try to avoid handing out these kinds of important letters to pupils, but it can be a “last option” when trying to reach parents.

I normally asked about what language 2-8 information was written in, and the answer was always Norwegian. Some mentioned that they received information in other languages before. Some informants said that they had multi-linguistic teachers who explained information to parents on enrollment day or at the beginning of the school year. An appendix from the circular letter 1/2014 contains general information in seven languages. Only one informant said that they would give written information to parents in other languages if parents did not understand Norwegian.

I wonder why schools do not send out information in languages other than Norwegian. My impression is that schools do not believe it is worth putting in a lot of effort into finding the right language for each family. As several informants expressed, they would explain information to those who did not understand written Norwegian. Informants described how families had friends or family members assist with translations, or parents contacted schools for assistance and explanations.

Customizing documents can be a huge job for some schools. Nevertheless, it can be a time-consuming job for some schools, but that does explain why informants with few minority children at their schools did not spend the time to find information in several languages. General information about 2-8 is sent to all parents, not only the ones who have stated that their children have a mother tongue other than Norwegian, the job to weed out the ones that may be 2-8 candidates may be a huge job. Perhaps schools are not aware that information is available in other languages. Perhaps schools do not see it as their responsibility to figure out what language individual families understand. Perhaps parents would find it insulting that information was sent to them in a language other than Norwegian.

When a school decides that a pupil does not need the 2-8 decision anymore, they need to send a new letter of approval to the parents. Schools send notices, as opposed to approval letters, when 2-8 decision automatically ends.

According to informants, a child who is assigned a 2-8 decision at the beginning of his or her education is very likely to continue with adapted language education through whole primary

school. If not, the child is likely to end 2-8 education in grade five. Since 2-8 is supposed to be a transition solution, however, I was surprised that only “a couple [of pupils] a year” end their 2-8 decisions. I was told that by fifth grade, when the school has to go through all the decisions over again, map children and get acceptance from the parents, more pupils was taken of the decision. Simply because they made a thorough check on all the children with decisions at this point.

6.1.4 Ending a 2-8 decision

Schools in Oslo have to commit maintenance, renewal of and endings of 2-8 decisions. Regarding frequency of renewal decisions for 2-8, there are directions to take from the Oslo Education Agency. Instructions came from a circular letter in 2011 and identical instructions were repeated in the following from letter no. 1 of 2014, both states that:

Decisions do **not** have to be renewed every year, unless there are needs for changes in the decisions. The Oslo Education administration (part of Oslo Education Agency) has set following limitations for decision’s duration:

- Decisions made at lower primary grades (1st-4th) can last even through fourth grade.
- Decisions made at intermediate stage (5th- 7th grade) can last even through seventh grade.
- Decisions made in secondary school (8th -10th grade) can last even through tenth grade.⁶

(Oslo Education Agency, 2011, 2014)

In school number three, the informant told me the following concerning the topic of ending a decision:

[...] we use the national mapping tests for first, second and third grade in reading, but we have talked about it earlier too. But then we get a “break point” that gives us an

⁶ • Vedtak fattet på småskoletrinnet kan vare til og med 4. trinn
• Vedtak fattet på mellomtrinnet kan vare til og med 7. trinn
• Vedtak fattet på ungdomstrinnet kan vare til og med 10. trinn
(Oslo Education Agency, 2011, 2014)

indicator on if the child should continue with 2-8. Because, here's the dilemma: "What is sufficiently proficient in Norwegian"? But we do see that many of our children has high scores on these national tests in reading comprehension, but the same pupils can score low on concepts. This is an important factor, texts and concepts will be more and more difficult and the subjects more difficult academically, the aspect of understanding concepts is essential!

This informant explains that schools use national mapping tests as a part of examination for maintenance of 2-8 decisions. These tests that children are taking anyway, are used by schools as an indicator on which children they want to examine further. According to this informant, it is not enough to map children from time to time and look at status at the moment. He explains the need to keep in mind that subjects taught will become more difficult, and ask if a child is ready to follow the increasing difficulty with "only" ordinary adapted education. This informant went on saying that the best solution for this challenge may be to keep children with a 2-8 decision on the adapted language program all through the education. In order to make sure that pupils are able to follow the increasing difficulties in all subjects taught in Norwegian. This practice is not in line with government's intention. As the idea of 2-8 is that it only shall be a temporary solution, until the child has learned the language well enough to learn in Norwegian. These intentions are in line with the idea of "policies of redistribution" (Minow, 2008). When a child is not getting concepts taught in Norwegian at any other places than school, will it not be certain that a school will manage to fill this role completely on its own. According to several informants, this is what schools do with their children anyways, because of adapted education for all (Section 1-3, the Education act 1998) and their interest in paying attention to every child's development of language, regardless of a 2-8 decision. Concepts are central for all pupils and a secondary school will wonder "what happened here" if a child lacks understanding of concepts.

It is important to keep in mind that all children in Norwegian school are facing the same goals to be tested in, as long as a pupil does not have a decision for 5-1, special education. In short, the children who have had decisions for adapted language education during their years in school, are meeting the same exam at the end of secondary and high school. There are no rules against re-doing a removed 2-8 decision, but schools often rather keep the decision. Schools are taking into consideration the speed they know difficulties of languages are

increasing in, and emphasizing this when deciding to remove a decision or not. This is what the informant at the beginning of this subchapter describes as “the dilemma.”

Even though schools are examining the children ongoing through the years, both formally with a mapping tool and informally, they do not have to do anything with the decisions already decided every year for every child. The informant at school number four told me that in lower primary grades, they would conduct NSL-mapping for all children staff where not confident in not needing 2-8. In school number one, I was given an impression of the school renewing or removing all decisions every year. In a secondary school, I was told that they did conduct a yearly mapping of all the pupils, to see how they did and if they could end decisions. At school number five and eight, a primary and a secondary school, I was given the template for the document they send to parents for accepting individual decisions. In the secondary school (no. eight) was it stated that decision lasts all through secondary school. In the primary school number five’s document was it stated that decisions lasts for three years, or until the child starts in fourth grade. This is not completely in line with guidelines from the circular letter stated in 2011 and 2014, but is not a violation. As far as I understand, this is not problematic considering regulations, since they do not keep decisions un-renewed for longer than instructions given from the Education Agency in their circular letters approves. But it gives the school some extra paperwork when renewing decisions.

After reading regulations and looking through interviews, I am puzzled by why informants and administrators at schools are acting as they do. Is it because they do not agree with the regulations, or is it possible that they have not read the messages in circular letters closely enough? My impression from interviews is that informants talked with confidence about themselves doing everything in this area correctly.

The fact that the Oslo Education Agency are guiding schools to let individual decisions last for three or four years, may be understood as an understanding of 2-8 decisions not being intended as *that* temporary. One can argue that this is in conflict with intentions previously seen from the City Council in Oslo, stating that children learning Norwegian as fast as possible is the goal (City Council, 2001). What is meant by “as fast as possible”, how fast did the City Council imagine a child could learn Norwegian well enough to learn in the language? The Council stated this in 2001, and in 2011 and 2014 the Oslo Education Agency gave instructions for the decisions to last for three or four years, with demands of follow up examinations of children every year. Decisions can last for several years, “unless there are

needs for changes in the decisions” detected by examination. It is required in circular letters that schools conduct examination of the child yearly, but the decision does not need to be renewed, unless there is a need for a change in decision(Oslo Education Agency 2011b & 2014).

An informant shared her frustration on this topic: “New decisions every year, that’s some of the latest, which the parents need to accept, and I don’t understand that it’s necessary. It does not lead to better teaching and we spend a lot of time on it!” I do not know where this informant had this idea of new decisions every year. As far as I understand, parents do not need to accept renewal of decision annually, but schools need to examine all 2-8 pupils yearly. I do not know if this means conducting a full NSL examination or not. Perhaps this informant has understood the requirement of yearly examinations of needs of 2-8 decisions as an instruction of yearly renewing of formal decisions as well.

In several of the schools, I got the impression of staff conducting informal ongoing mapping at all times. If a teacher knows that the child now is “sufficient enough” in Norwegian and is capable of following regular lectures, a new examination will be performed, sometimes finding out that the decision is superfluous, and sometimes still necessary.

On the other hand, if a 2-8 decision is removed too early, or never been made, it may cause more severe measures at a later stage. As informant at school number four, who had not worked there for many years, expressed:

It happens that some have gone through parts of school without any decisions and after a while is a teacher realizing how weak the pupil is, and it becomes a 5-1 decision. But it could have been a 2-8 decision if conducted earlier. We have many with 5-1 decisions, partly because a 2-8 decision has not been made on an earlier stage.

This shows the importance of monitoring children and their development closely. If a language issue is not detected, or a decision removed too early, it might result in the child falling far behind the rest of the class and ending up with needs of more assistance.

Complicating the picture is the fact that it can be difficult to see differences between needs of adapted language education (2-8) and special education (5-1).

As we have seen, several of my informants said that their school had children with both 2-8 decisions and 5-1 decisions. But one informant said that children cannot have both decisions,

and another one said that in theory they were not allowed to have both, but in practice, the children had both 2-8 and 5-1 decisions.

6.2 The organization of 2-8

In this chapter, I focus on how 2-8 is conducted. The amount of considerations schools have to take seems never ending. All this small dilemmas and issues concerning making and ending a decision so far presented are important to understand more about how and why schools do as they do. They have to relate to standards, instructions and laws, at the same time as they have to adapt this to their realities in cooperation with kindergartens, parents, pupils and coworkers. Now I will move on to and first take a look at some financial factors informants told me about in relation to conducting 2-8 at schools. I will give a presentation of how schools in this study conduct adapted Norwegian education, before looking at how parts of 2-8, including use of children's mother tongues, are taking part of everyday life at schools.

When informants talked about pupils at the school with 2-8 decisions, they referred to them as either "the children with 2-8" (barna med 2-8), "the 2-8 pupils" (2-8 elevene) or simply "those with 2-8" (de med 2-8). I will apply the same designations as my informants.

6.2.1 Financing 2-8

In order to conduct the extra support children with 2-8 decisions need, schools need money to perform measures. This money comes from the municipality. I will now go through several aspects of finance related to 2-8 which informants presented in interviews, but first I would like to take a brief look at some relevant sources.

According to Øzerk (2012) a financial issue concerning 2-8, is that it not completely is covered by the municipalities. Extra tutoring is covered by the municipality, but all the work of making individual decisions done by the school administration and teachers, takes a lot of time, both in paper work and the mapping process. Time spent on making decisions may cost a lot of money. This means that the whole process of mapping is not covered by the municipality's extra funding and has to be covered by the school. These processes are costly. In reality, this leads to schools having to find financial resources from somewhere else. Often resulting in schools taking money from the budget post for teaching. This again is forcing headmasters all over Norway to "steal" from one budget post to another. Thereby, according

to Øzerk (2012), headmasters are doing something illegal. According to Øzerk (2012), there is a paradox that in order to provide the children their rights determined by the state, the headmasters are forced to do something illegal (Øzerk, 2012).

In an article from the journal *Utdanning* from 2015, writer Kirsten Ropeid asked a headmaster at a primary school in Oslo about the amount granted for 2-8 decisions. The headmaster did calculate that in his kind of school with seventy children with a 2-8 decision, the school received approximately one million NOK. But it is difficult to find out how much schools are receiving extra, since the amount often is blended in the general subsidies schools are getting. When Ropeid asked the head of curricula implementation in the Directorate for Education, Sidsel Sparre, she was not able to calculate an amount for the journal (Ropeid, 2015).

Informants' descriptions of funding were somewhat unclear. Some explained that they received a given amount for each pupil with a 2-8 decision, others that there were "steps," so it could be, for example, a given amount for each 5th pupil.

Informants told me that after sending in figures before the 1st of October, they were granted an amount for the purpose of financing 2-8 arrangements. The 1st of October is "counting date," and there are no opportunities for adjustments after this. This means that schools do not have to pay back any money if some children move away. In the opposite, if children move to the school during the year, there is no extra funding to cover this new child's 2-8 needs.

None of my informants problematize the arrangement of not receiving money more than once a year. When getting the amount, schools must figure out how they are going to spend the money. They may calculate how many teacher's hours in pay the amount equals, and work out from that. Or if they want to make any other arrangements for 2-8 groups in their school, they may spend the funding otherwise. In some schools I was told they used some of the 2-8 grants to support the school library and having lectures there, benefitting all children in school.

One informant had a strong opinion of the financial part of 2-8. The informant wanted to reform the way support is calculated. Instead of basing the amount on the number of children mapped for 2-8 decisions before the deadline, this informant would prefer a system based on experience. As schools know approximately how many children need 2-8, the municipality could calculate an amount. It could be based on social demographic in the area.

Sometimes interview informants explained that schools had "agendas" for making parents say yes to arrangements of adapted language education. Some informants blamed other schools for having this kind of agendas, and some admitted that their own school benefitted from having a larger group of children with 2-8 decisions. As an informant at school number three put it:

However, on the other side, it is more about what we do in practice, because we cannot overlook a pupil and say "no, you don't have 2-8", that's not how it is. Therefore, I think the dilemma is that it lays such a big financial factor in 2-8. And that's the thing, you can never talk with a parent about "if you sign this, then it is worth this much money and we spend an awful amount of time at it!" It's absolutely not interesting, but it's a fact. The school with many children to test for 2-8 and so on, this constitutes such a big financial part that provides a huge flexibility and the possibility to take care of the children that you anyway shall take care of, right.

Sometimes informants hinted a bit when talking about finance, making me understand that they suspected other schools of giving children 2-8 in order to gain more founding. Several informants mentioned the possibilities, but stated that they did not do this themselves. At school number nine, a secondary school, two informants explained about a primary school nearby where many of their pupils attended.

We welcomed a group of twenty-seven pupils from school X where everyone had a 2-8 decision except for one, who had a Norwegian mother. So we think it is suspicious that somebody keeps on like that and does not remove decisions...

I asked the informants if they had any thought to why. "I don't want to speculate, but of course it is problematic that money comes with such a decision. I don't think that all those pupils need those decisions, so we will remove them."

This "agendas" was mainly reasoned with two factors, financial reasons and the fact schools practicing adapted education for all children anyways. The offer schools are able to give children is better when a larger group has rights to the adapted language teaching. It is crucial to remember that my impression from interviews was that schools had a perception of 2-8 solutions to be a benefit to the children. None would for example say that the way they

performed 2-8 split the class into social groups. Children only benefit from 2-8 decisions, schools receive more money from decisions, and all children benefit from this extra founding.

When having children with 2-8 decisions in school, the topic of financing is relevant. Some schools have many children who need adapted language education, some have few and this is reflected in the amount schools receive to cover 2-8 costs. But some informants made me aware of costs related to 2-8 arrangement, for instance the cost of conduction examination of children's skills. Time and effort schools use in corresponding with parents for acceptance of decision and also costs of translators for the multilinguistic neighborhood.

To sum up, the actual amount of money received from the municipality for the schools to spend on 2-8 education is not always clear, because money comes in a lager grant. Schools have to find out how to spend and prioritize the money them self. Some informants accuse the system to make it easy to make more 2-8 decisions than the children's needs are corresponding to, in order to have more money to spend on better solutions for the pupils and the school. Some think that it would be more efficient to calculate financial grants based on knowledge of the population in neighborhoods of schools. With this knowledge of how schools are financing 2-8 arrangements and how they are able to prioritize what the individual school think is important, we can now look at how the informants explained how they organized the adapted language education for the children in their schools.

6.2.2 Different models of conducting adapted Norwegian education in local schools

In interviews I asked informants to describe how decisions of adapted language education played its role for the children. In the following, I am taking a closer look at answers regarding their organization of 2-8.

I will now present different structures of organizing the adapted Norwegian education at the schools I visited. After interviews, I recognized a possibility to place the different models of organizing adapted Norwegian education in schools I visited into four categories. The names I have given the two first categories describe my impression of the thoughts organization reflected. Regarding if 2-8 is intended for the majority of children in school or intended for few pupils.

“Majority-model”

When categorizing organization of the 2-8 in a school as a majority model, have I gotten an impression from informants that they have the mindset of all pupils benefiting from adapted Norwegian education, organizing lectures after this perception. In school number four, with approximately 70 percent of the pupils having a 2-8 decision, the informant told me:

In our school with this many children with 2-8, we mainly organize it with an extra resource in the classroom, so that we have a higher density of adults (voksnetthet). It's so important to be in an environment with well-spoken Norwegian. Many years ago, we used to take children out of the classroom, first of all, this was stigmatizing and the children had few good linguistic models (only the teacher) with them. We may do that now as well, but only for shorter “courses” to practice something, but my experience tells me that it is best to mainly use the resource in the class. This results in, yes, let me call it a “strength” for let’s say children with Norwegian background, that there is a higher density of adults. So all gain from it, and it’s positive, not negative. Also, we have some courses occasionally, for example, we have courses with concepts (as in words/terms) for the little ones, and we have concept courses related to the outdoor education, where we can be very specific. [...] But mainly we strengthen the classroom, but sometimes take out a group to prepare for a theme. But it’s not like “there are the 2-8-kids,” nobody would gain from that and it would have been stigmatizing. We are able to do this in most subjects, almost, at least in the Norwegian lectures, because that’s the time when everybody works on concepts and grammar anyways. We do it more in “theme subjects.” We do have some teachers who are educated for “Norwegian as second language” and they are good at seeing what is needed.

This excerpt describes a way of organizing 2-8 that was fairly common in schools I visited and it tells us a bit about different factors. Many informants told me that their main way of using the extra resources that is meant to be for 2-8 education is used as an extra teacher in the classroom, assisting all pupils. Informants expressed this was a way to not make 2-8 stigmatizing, as to the opposite of often be taken out from the classroom in a smaller group. Also, to have proper linguistic role models around children is important; peers who speak Norwegian well contribute to this environment of good role models.

After interview number four, I started to develop a belief of the percentage of children in a school having decisions for 2-8 influencing the choice of model of organizing 2-8 in the individual school. If the majority is having 2-8 decisions, one would have to take several groups out for 2-8. Or actually just make a group for the children without 2-8, since the norm is to take the minority out for a small group lecture. Some informants also told me that the school did not have many spare or group rooms, resulting in being more convenient to keep the class gathered.

In schools where the majority or many children in a class had a decision for 2-8, 2-8 was mostly conducted as a part of 1-3, adapted education for all. To demonstrate how schools often are thinking regarding their responsibility and aim of adjusting to all children, I have chosen a quote from the interview at school number six. Here, the majority does not have a 2-8 decision, but the quote illustrates the “majority model” thinking at the school. Teachers want to adapt education to all children, always. Here I had asked what would happen if you as a teacher see a child is struggling linguistically, but the parents have not accepted a 2-8 decision. Will the teacher just overlook the child’s need of assistance in Norwegian? The answer was:

No, no, no! We do have adapted education for all anyways, right? So we are always doing our absolute best to reach to all pupil’s needs. It will never be like “you have not accepted the offer, so we will not assist you.” We do not have that mentality. That’s impossible to imagine.

This demonstrates the way school staff would think, and if they work at a school where many children are having decisions of adapted Norwegian, one treats the language question just as any other need the children are having of adapted education. A child will get adapted education including adapted language help, regardless of a 2-8 decision.

In school number three, my informant expressed “The goal is that it should be as integrated as possible. Teachers must know which children have 2-8 decisions and thereby who to be conscious about. Primarily, as much as possible, inside the classroom.” Teachers deliberately made groups inside the classroom and gave each group words and concepts to define. In these groups, children with 2-8 and children without 2-8 were mixed and learned from each other. After they had discussed in groups, the children explained their definitions to the rest of the class. According to the informant, all children benefit from learning to discuss and formulate

concepts. This makes them reflect on the words they are using and is benefiting everyone, regardless of the level of Norwegian skills.

“Minority model”

When categorizing organization of adapted Norwegian in the minority model, I have understood the thinking of the informant implying that adapted language education just being intended for a minority of the pupils.

The school I think stood out most from the others as a “pure” minority model school was school number one, the school in my study with the lowest percentage of children with 2-8 decisions. Here I was told that adapted language education was structured as one lecture a week where a teacher took out pupils with 2-8 decisions for a “small group.” After my calculations, these groups must consist of approximately three pupils at the time. Lectures with small groups were scheduled when it was most convenient. It could be in a Norwegian lecture or in an early Monday morning session when the class went through some information for the week. My informant explained that the 2-8 pupils could also be taken out in other small groups if needed, for example together with someone with 5-1 decisions or others. Children who have both 2-8 and 5-1 decisions will even be out more from class. But 2-8 was only scheduled for one lecture a week to start with. The informant said that he did not know of any children in his school who did not know any Norwegian *at all*. 2-8 pupils just needed some extra help. At this school, the possibility for having an extra teacher in the classroom as a resource for 2-8 pupils was not mentioned at all, but I cannot conclude that it never happens.

“The mix of majority and minority model”

There were several schools where I found the organization of adapted Norwegian education being conducted as a mixture of models. Organizing adapted language education from time to time for the minority, taking out smaller groups, and occasionally letting the adapted Norwegian measures include all children.

In school number two, they conducted a special arrangement for children from 4th to 7th grade. All four classes in each grade have parallel schedules in the subjects Norwegian, mathematics and English. In these lectures, there is one teacher in each class, one for all with 5-1 decisions from all four classes and one teacher delegated to the children with 2-8 decisions. The teacher

present for 2-8 does not take all the children with 2-8 decision out in a group together, but some of them at the time. The informant told me:

If this is satisfactory, we debate all the time, we are not sure. It is possible that we have to do this in another manner. That's how we do this in all grades, 2-8-teaching in all Norwegian-lectures. You also have a need for explanation of concepts in other lectures, like social science. The regular teachers do this. In a school like this, we need to be aware of the concepts we use at all times. If you went west in Oslo, this conversation would probably never take place.

The informant expressed that the issue of language is a constant part of the daily life of the staff at this school.

In the informant school that had the second fewest children with a 2-8 decision, I discovered another solution for the organization. At this school, school number six, children mainly did go out in smaller groups. But they also had an extra teacher in the classroom as an extra resource. Additionally, I was told that few parents refuse school staff taking their child out from the class at all. But when refusing is the case, the staff has to only help the child inside ordinary class.

“The model of courses”

Most informants told me about organizing adapted Norwegian education as courses to some extent. Some used this model more than others. In a secondary school I visited, school number nine, an informant explained that many of the pupils did not like the idea of being taken out of the classroom. Pupils did not like the feeling of being categorized as “stupid” and many had, according to the informant, bad experiences from primary school with the concept of “small groups.” Also, many pupils claim they do not struggle with anything. Here, teachers had taken out pupils known for being smart in the class in a small group first for some weeks, before taking out pupils that was weaker both academically and linguistic. The school has intentionally not called the organization “small group” but “course.” Providing pupils a time schedule that shows for how long this course will last, often eight weeks. These efforts have been experienced by teachers as successful.

Several of my informants also told me about NISK (Norwegian intensive language course). It is a course developed by the Educational and Psychological Counselling Service and is

strategically organized with the goal of helping children develop their daily surface language and after a while to reach the point where they can be taught new topics in Norwegian. This point of skills reached, marks a development from the concrete level to the abstract level (Osloskolen Språksenteret, 2015). Several informants had great faith in this program, some did already conduct it, and some wanted to start with it. Informants who applied this program, often conducted it before or after original lectures times.

At school number two, with approximately fifty percent of children with a 2-8 decision, the informant told me they had different strategies at different grades. For example, I was told that in the 1st and 2nd grade, they applied NISK for the first time. Here, some 2-8 pupils got NISK lectures before and after the original school hours, as well as some times taken out from the classroom during eight weeks. After these eight weeks, they are examined again; they could try eight new weeks of the course. If staff does not see needs for more NISK for a child, a new child will get a chance in the next round of the course.

The same informant explained that the school also conducts another type of course for the 2-8 children, including pupils from 1st to 4th grade:

[...] when they have had Norwegian lectures for some time, a reading teacher pulls out the weakest to something called “New Start.” Given in a tiny group for a short period of time, follows a special program where they frankly learn to read and write. This makes a new start, and we have great belief in this, it helps. We have even used this with fourth graders where we have seen the need, and it helps.

In this school, the staff has great faith in giving the children intensive courses in addition to the “ordinary” 2-8 measurements. As the informant says, “it helps”.

6.2.3 Mother tongue and bilingual subject teaching in local schools

As seen, according to the Education Act (1998), children who do have a 2-8 decision, may be given mother tongue instructions, bilingual subject lectures or both, if necessary. Schools will determine if needs are there. And, as seen, the official report from 2015 investigates why schools who have approximately the same numbers of children with decisions of adapted Norwegian education differences a lot in numbers of decisions of mother tongue instruction and or bilingual subject learning. No schools in my research conduct mother tongue

instructions, but four schools are conducting bilingual subject teaching. As I have shown earlier in section 5.1, the national government has stated that children who may qualify for mother tongue instructions or bilingual subject teaching are children with very limited Norwegian skills, for example children who newly moved to Norway. But when a child knows Norwegian well enough to follow ordinary lectures, needs of mother tongue instructions and bilingual language lectures disappear. Then the responsibility of teaching the children their mother tongue becomes the parent's (Innst. O. nr. 92, 2003-2004)

Rights are also arranged as if a school does not have sufficient opportunities to provide services of mother tongue instructions or/and bilingual subject teaching, the municipality is responsible for providing adjusted education. I sometimes wonder if this may work as a "resting pillow" for schools, as they know that the ultimate responsibility is not theirs and rests in this knowledge. If it somewhere in Norway was possible to offer these two mother tongue options to the children who need it, I would believe Oslo would be the place where this is possible, due to the multilinguistic population.

The Education Act (1998) states "When mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching cannot be provided by suitable teaching staff, the municipality shall as far as possible provide for other instruction adapted to the pupils' abilities." I wonder how far the municipality and administrators in Oslo schools think it is suitable to go to make this possible. And as we have seen in the section of relevant empirical research, an official report shows that schools do not examine children for needs of mother tongue and bilingual subject education sufficiently enough, and schools lacks routines for this.

The debate of positive outcomes of mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching is ongoing and has been for a while. Research is showing mixed results, not negative, but it seems like there are some natural and some positive results of research (Bakken, 2007). When looking at statistics in Oslo and answers from interviews, the two possible ways of including the child's mother tongue in their education is not a prioritized part of the 2-8 section. For example, as an informant said, "That needs to be a task for the municipality."

Regrettably, I now think that I did not ask enough about this topic in interviews. Mostly because it is getting less common to have these possibilities in schools and I had not reflected much on the topic. Nevertheless, I find answers from my interviews interesting. In interviews, one of the schools performing bilingual subject teaching, did state that the school did not

officially conduct this. Even though this school (number three) is registered with some few children having decisions of bilingual subject teaching.

I asked informants if they performed any of the two possibilities of including the child's mother tongue in the school. One informant (no. two) said:

Mother tongue instructions we do not have at all, we are not capable of that. That needs to be a task for the municipality, and it is discussed all the time to what extent it does any good or not. We have so many different nationalities, fifty, sixty or something. It is impossible for us to give mother tongue education to all, we can't organize that.

At this school, no children have decisions for mother tongue instruction or bilingual subject teaching. It seems like the informant is basing his statement on the school's possibility to give mother tongue instructions to all children with a 2-8 decision. I find this in conflict with the Education Act (1998) stating that children who needs mother tongue instructions, bilingual subject teaching or both should receive this. But who is then responsible for offering this program?

The Education act states that the final responsibility is the municipality's: "When mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching cannot be provided by suitable teaching staff, the municipality shall as far as possible provide for other instruction adapted to the pupils' abilities" (the Education Act, 1998, §2-8). Perhaps my informant at school number two simply thinks that all children could benefit from mother tongue instructions, even though he mentions the debate concerning questions of children benefitting from mother tongue instructions or not. But the informant is pointing at another factor of importance: how is a school supposed to conduct mother tongue instruction for children who speak many, many languages? This requires a lot of resources in multilinguistic teachers, reading books, and extra rooms in schools. Is this extra help in mother tongue only possible in schools with smaller numbers of children with linguistic minority backgrounds?

Four of the schools I visited conducted bilingual subject teaching, one of them, school number three, have registered bilingual subject teaching for some very few pupils. But this informant did state languages bilingual subject teaching as not formally conducted in his school. Other informants explained that their school performed bilingual subject teaching, having lectures in following languages, combined with Norwegian:

School number four: Urdu and Arabic/ Kurdish.

School number five: Urdu and Somali.

School number seven: Urdu, Somali, Arabic and Turkish.

The informant at school number four describes how they have cut down on teachers for mother tongue instruction as part of 2-8:

We see fewer and fewer pupils with a sufficient mother tongue, so we use this only for those it can be in any help for. When neither Norwegian nor the mother tongue is sufficient enough, is it more important for us to focus on Norwegian skills. So use of this has gone down the last five years. And it's also few trained bilingual subject teachers as well.

First, the informant reasons decrease of mother tongue instructions and bilingual subject teaching as a result of fewer children needing or being capable of receiving it. A child must be sufficient enough in its mother tongue in order for these measurements to be useful in developing better understanding of subjects and reach a better standard of Norwegian. Maybe reasons for the decrees are based on more children being second or even third generation of immigrants. But in end, the informant also reasons the trend on few skilled teachers being available.

I do not know which of the two factors are more important and I am regretting not digging more into this question. Perhaps the informant is of the opinion that more pupils could have benefited from bilingual subject teaching or mother tongue instructions, but it is problematic to find sufficiently skilled teachers in different subjects. None of my informants talked about it, but I'll imagine if a school employs a teacher because of his or her bilingualism, and the children who has decisions for assistance in mother tongue loses the decision; the main reason of why the teacher was hired has disappeared. It might be less likely that bilingual teachers will take these kinds of jobs, if there is such a risk of losing it again.

Informant at school number five explained:” [...] bilingual subject teaching one lecture a week, Urdu and Somali because we have teachers speaking those languages. This is for the children speaking their mother tongue a lot (at home and so on), parallel word and concept training.”

As this informant claims, they only offer bilingual subject teaching for children who uses their mother tongue a lot. Additionally, only for those children having two specific languages as their mother tongue, as these are languages schools have teachers for. This information made me wonder if a child who could need bilingual subject teaching, will not receive this because the school do not have the teachers for the language. Or does school staff even think of the possibility for a child receiving bilingual subject teaching when the school do not have teachers mastering languages needed? It seemed to me that the schools focused on the training in Norwegian and did not have a habit of thinking of assisting the child in the mother tongue, unless the school already had a system for the specific language.

Further, do schools even examine children for bilingual language education when they know that they cannot easily provide it? As the 2015 official report states, implications show that there are lacks of examinations for needs in mother tongue assistance in Oslo (Oslo municipality, 2015b). And my informants never mentioned this as a part of their routines. Do schools report to the municipality that they have children who could have use for bilingual subject education which they cannot provide, so the municipality may try to provide this? This is also a question that first emerged in my mind after the interview, but I was never told about cases of the school actually reporting to the municipality about this kind of needs. All these are questions I regret not asking directly in interviews.

The last informant talking about bilingual subject teaching at their school is at school number seven where approximately 40 percent of the pupils receive bilingual subject teaching. The informant explained:

We offer bilingual language education in four languages, Urdu, Somali, Arabic and Turkish. Basically, we have one teacher for each language. But the case is that this pupils are not gathered, we do not combine groups based on ethnicity. Also, resources have to add up correctly. So children with bilingual education are divided in several groups, so it is its own logistics out of quantity and need. And these children have 2-8 as a foundation, bilingual subject teaching and several of the children also have decisions of 5-1 (special needs), so they have many dictions and we have to make this add up.

I understand that children having bilingual subject teaching as often being the weaker children as well - not only linguistically, but also academically. And maybe these children are

benefitting a lot from having their mother tongue involved in their every day school. But as several children in school has multiple decisions, can it be challenging for administrators to organize resources and schedules for both children and staff. Some children may have decisions for adapted Norwegian education, special education with individual curricula in some subjects (5-1) and maybe bilingual subject teaching in addition. The school may have limited classrooms and not enough staff members. None of my informant schools conducted mother tongue education, but this is an option. Logistics at schools are challenged by many children with several decisions, also if a school shall offer mother tongue as a part of education. Or is it possible to confuse children when mixing languages at school? As informant at school number five said:

Many parents are telling me that they speak to the children in the mother tongue, but the child responds in Norwegian. So there are some we have offered bilingual subject teaching to, where the parents answer “but my kid does not speak the language at home, he/she understands, but doesn’t speak her/himself!” And of course, in this case, it would be confusing to a child to learn mother tongue at school when they don’t speak the language at home.

This informant presents a new situation, the school is able to offer bilingual subject teaching, but the parent believes it will be too confusing for the child. The school can follow the definition of who it is “necessary” to offer bilingual subject teaching and mother tongue, namely those with very limited skills in Norwegian(Education Act,1998; Innst. O. nr. 92, 2003-2004). It is concerning that the child then when scoring low in Norwegian, is not given any support in the mother tongue academically. Which language is this child “skilled enough” to learn in if not the mother tongue or Norwegian? How are schools supposed to approach these children, lacking general language skills and there is no obvious language to choose to assist the child to gain new knowledge?

At school number three, the informant explained:

We have no one with mother tongue education or bilingual subject education. We had bilingual subject education previously. But it’s a bit overlapping in practice, since we have teachers who are multi-linguistic; we have covered most languages among the teachers, so we can work more broadly. So we have insight into the pupil’s competences in their mother tongue, which is an important factor.

In practice, this school is performing some bilingual subject teaching, but just for fewer than ten pupils officially. Several teachers speak with children in their mother tongue at school, but the practice is not organized. I find this interesting; the informant explains that it is important to know children's competences in their mother tongue. Is it to compare the development of languages, making sure the child is not "falling behind" in one of them? Or is it to make sure the child understands subjects taught, making sure they understand the content? If so, shouldn't the child be capable of explaining subjects in Norwegian as well, and otherwise not being sufficient in Norwegian? When it is an important factor to know the competences of a child and it is necessary to talk to the child in its mother tongue to find out, my understanding is that the child needs adapted Norwegian education, but maybe also formal bilingual subject teaching.

6.2.4 Different approaches on combining 2-8 and 5-1

Before starting this master thesis, I had read about children in Norway simultaneously qualifying for adapted language education and special education, as section 5-1 of the Education Act (1998) discussed earlier. A child may be granted both decisions of adapted languages education and special education at the same time, or just one of them. But according to Kamil Øzerk, in many cases, headmasters are not aware of the possibility of children who qualifying, having the right for both 2-8 and 5-1. This is clearly a communication error that the Ministry of Education could express better (Øzerk, 2012). In my own interview experiences, this variation of comprehension Øzerk pointed out in 2012, was still common.

One informant I interviewed said: «[...] but for example, the children with a 5-1 decision can't have a decision on 2-8, that is based on other factors, you know. You are not allowed to have decisions on both 2-8 and 5-1». I was absolutely surprised by this statement, because I did not expect to meet this answer and asked to get it confirmed: "You are not allowed to have them both?" The informant went on explaining:

No. It has been a cleanup in the schools on this the later years, to understand the law in this. Because you already have the adjustment with 5-1, have you already adjustments in Norwegian. Unless your 5-1 is based on a physical handicap, but most have the 5-1 because of concepts or something, then you cannot have the additional 2-8.

The answer the informant gave me did confuse me. I began to doubt my own understanding of the regulations. It seems that the informant points out of saying that this only counts in Norwegian lectures and I understood this as when you have your individual curriculum in Norwegian with the 5-1 decision, you are not able to follow the ordinary curriculum that all 2-8 pupils are supposed to follow. Therefore, the same child cannot have a 5-1 decision in Norwegian and a 2-8 decision. This interview was one of the first ones, but I had already gotten very different answers to this question. I started to carefully ask this particular question in the interviews that followed, to see if it was possible to find variations. The original question touching the subject in my interview guide was formulated “Do you have pupils with both decisions.” It soon changed to, “Is it possible to have both 2-8 and 5-1?” Sometimes the question was simply answered by “Yes, we have several.” And another informant answered:

No...yes in a manner can they have 2-8 and 5-1 at the same time. Because we use 2-8 as a strengthening in the classroom, in practice all children benefit from someone having decisions. So in principle shall a child really not have both decisions, because they [2-8 and 5-1] are so different. But if you have 5-1, maybe only for a few hours a week, it's very few with big decisions in all subjects. So it is important that they get both, get 2-8 when they are in the classroom, while the 5-1 are dealing with the specific and is in smaller groups with a special education teacher.

This informant says here that no, children are not supposed to have both a 2-8 and a 5-1 decision, but in real life, they do get 2-8 as “everybody does” since 2-8 takes place in the classroom.

A third informant told me that the school has many children with 2-8 decisions on both adapted education in Norwegian and in bilingual subject teaching, and several of these pupils has 5-1 decisions as well. The informant told me that it was a struggle to manage and organize all of this, timewise and with resources.

The question regarding having 2-8 and 5-1 for the same children was often asked after talking about difficulties of distinguishes if a child needs 2-8 or 5-1. All schools I asked said that it was difficult to see difference in need for the two kinds of decisions. It was said that as time passes, will it be easier to understand if it is more than “just” language that makes it difficult for a child to learn.

7 Discussions

In this chapter, I will discuss several topics from my findings. I will look back at documents, theories from Verdier (2009) of education regimes, Bakke (2011), who discusses contradictions in the unitary inclusive school's practice of special education, and theories from Minow (2008). I will connect these theories to interviews, stories from the media and other relevant research.

7.1 Is 2-8 similar to adapted or to special education?

Informants discussed different ways of understanding adapted language education and solutions for organizing 2-8. As Bakke (2011) writes, arrangements for adapted education were meant to include special education. The idea of adapted education may show us how schools need to adjust to individual children. This approach is repeated in white papers, for instance in 2012, as the government wants staff in education to have qualifications for the multicultural education (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:64). The change of adjustment is supposed to happen around the child, not within the child. But, as we know, special education is still used in Norwegian schools. Attempts of removing law for special education in order to establish a wider understanding of adapted education was turned down in parliament on two occasions.

On the other hand, the 2013 whitepaper states, "special education shall basically be given inside the frames of the original organization of pupils" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:91). In this manner, the government wants special education conducted in class, resulting in a broader understanding of adapted education for all. When their request is to include special education, often involving individual curriculums, basically be given inside the frames of the original organization of pupils. I do not know, but I would think this wish of keeping the class gathered is also the case concerning adapted Norwegian education, where all children follow the same curriculum. Schools should follow the general instructions of not dividing the class. As teachers understand multicultural education, it is easier to adapt lectures, and embrace pupils with decisions in special education and adapted language education.

Several of the schools I visited with a higher percentage of children with language minority background, communicated that adapted Norwegian was an integrated part of staff's daily routines always in all subject, functioning as a part of adapted education (1-3) for all.

Teachers always thought of new concepts and words, and spent a lot of time introducing new words and presenting synonyms. This is an example of utilizing the "majority model" when organizing adapted Norwegian in classes. Children in these schools received their lectures in a 2-8 friendly environment. This approach embraced 2-8 (adapted language) in a wider understanding of 1-3 (adapted education), and in a manner that Bakke (2011) argued 5-1 (special education) was supposed to be. But in the case of a 2-8 "majority model," pupils are often lectured in the same way, for instance working together on defining concepts. As in the case of a 5-1 classroom, children often are lectured in the same way from the blackboard. Homework and tasks are special for children with 5-1 decisions, and often involve individual knowledge goals in subjects. The class is not divided more than it would be if no one had decisions for 2-8. If, for instance, some children lost the formal 2-8 decision, they would still receive same lectures with children with 2-8 decisions. As school staff does not know if a child will be able to follow increasingly difficult lectures, why not keep a child's 2-8 decision. Additionally, more decisions results in the school having more money to spend on extra teachers and material to adapt education for all.

The individual curricula being a possibility of 5-1 is an important contrast between 2-8 and 5-1 in Oslo. Children who have 2-8 decisions follow the same curriculum as everybody else, children with 5-1 decisions often have individual curricula and knowledge goals. As a result, it is possible to claim that it is more convenient to adjust all lectures for 2-8 pupils than 5-1 children. Obviously, it is natural to adapt lectures to be "2-8 friendly" if the majority of a class has 2-8 decisions.

In contrast, the "minority model" characterizes schools that take children with 2-8 decisions out of the classroom and conduct adapted Norwegian in small groups. The organization of 2-8 becomes more similar to special education, in the sense of understanding needs of adapted Norwegian education so special that it often cannot be conducted in the classroom together with the rest of the class. In these schools, children also have rights of adapted education. But, because only few lectures a week focus on adapted Norwegian, it is likely that the rest of the lectures are not adapted to pupils with 2-8 decisions to the same degree as in schools of the "majority model", where the focus always is on language.

The white papers analyzed in chapter 5 repeatedly stressed that all pupils must have the same opportunities to succeed (Ministry of Children -Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). Taking the “minority model” and “majority model” into consideration, 2-8 children who attend a “majority model” school will have more of their lectures adapted to their needs. Following this logic, I argue that some schools are more adapted to 2-8 pupils. As more education is adapted, some schools give minority children better opportunities to succeed. According to logic of the universal school regime, compensation makes competition fair (Verdier, 2009). Consequently, the more compensation, the more fair a school system. Schools where more of the lectures are “2-8 friendly,” give children in need of 2-8 education a better chance of succeeding, compared with other schools where focus on language struggles are less. At the same time, all lectures should be conducted with 1-3, adapted education for all children, and it might not be any difference?

White papers discussed in the document analysis are stating needs for knowledge of the multicultural classroom. But in schools where few children has a linguistic and cultural minority background, government’s wish of having multicultural education qualified staff may feel less relevant. Perhaps lack of multicultural knowledge make adapted language education at “minority model” schools even less adapted for those with 2-8 decisions, in contrast if staff had specific qualifications of multiculturalism. Qualified staff can more effectively teach in multicultural classrooms if they understand how adapt to children with minority backgrounds.

Schools organizing adapted Norwegian education as courses, previously categorized as “the model of courses,” believe in intensive efforts to help children develop their Norwegian skills. The practice of 2-8 courses fit in the category of universal regime (Verdier 2009) and “policies of redistribution” (Minow, 2008). Since these arrangements are supposed to last for a limited time, courses are formed as intensive redistribution compensation measures. This approach is in line with the 2013 white paper, which states that children usually should not be divided based on academic level or ethnic belonging (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:9).

Even though informants expressed that they saw positive results from these courses, 2-8 decision were normally cancelled upon their completion. Clearly, courses were only conducted for a short time period, which is in line with the Education Act (1998, §2-8). A hallmark of the universal regime is compensation (Verdier, 2009) and characteristics of

policies of redistribution, contributing with temporarily measures to help individuals to adjust to the majority (Minow, 2008). Even though courses helped, informants stated that there was no “quick fix” for 2-8 pupils. Perhaps caused by considerations schools have to remember regarding difficulties increasing, and children not capable of following lectures over time. This sentiment suggests that informants thought the 2-8 measures were too quick; pupils needed to attend have 2-8 decisions for longer periods of time. Even though courses helped children improve their Norwegian skills, staff had to make to certain compromise. Difficulties in subjects and the language applied in lectures will increase as time passes. The question is whether a child is capable of following this development.

The “mixed model” can be understood as a perception of 2-8 as a fusion of adapted education for all and special education. Often, more financial resources mean an extra teacher in the classroom, which makes it easier to adapt education for everyone. However, at the same time, schools perceive 2-8 children in need of extra help and follow up outside of class. It is normal in Norwegian schools to pull pupils out of the classroom in small groups. Nevertheless, children notice if some pupils are out more than others. How being taken out of the classroom affects social relationships. This is not discussed in this thesis, but informants explained that parents and pupils did fear the image of “the odd one”, being taken out of class often.

Whether schools understand 2-8 as 5-1 (special education) or as 3-1 (adapted education), is crucial to how pupils are taught. Where a child lives and attends school affects the lectures children receive. Facilities and teachers not only determine the 2-8 offer, but also how it is understood and approached. I hypothesize that schools with “minority model” often treat 2-8 as a “mild 5-1,” and take children out of the classroom on a more or less regular basis, as seen in school number one. This approach mean that organizing 2-8 is temporary, as one should not permanently divide children into separate groups (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:9). Schools that organize adapted language education as the “minority model” directly interpret section 2-8 (the Education Act, 1998) as it is natural to read it, as to organize something extra for the few in need for it. This might be possible for some schools, where a smaller group of the minority of children have these needs.

2-8 states, “[...] the right to adapted education in Norwegian until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian[...]” (the Education Act 1998, §2-8). And, as stated by the Oslo City Council, “The goal with adapted education for minority language pupils is that the pupils learn Norwegian as fast as possible, so they can attend the ordinary lectures in the Oslo

school” (City Council, 2001). The question is how to make this happened “as fast as possible” and why is the goal to take children off the decision?

There are no laws, guidelines or qualification requirements for how personnel should map 2-8 decisions. This stands in sharp contrast to mapping children for 5-1 (special education), where only the Educational and Psychological Counselling Service conduct mapping. This indicates that there are important differences between 2-8 and 5-1.

To sum up, the organization of 2-8 education, which may integrate as a part of 1-3, or as special arrangements for some pupils, may influence whether a child is offered 2-8. “Majority model” is conducted because arrangements are already in school and it will not make much difference to the organization of lectures if one more pupil has a formal decision, or if the same child do not receive a formal decision. Other schools that are not used to many 2-8 decisions, however, must organize themselves after decisions are made. The “majority model,” which understands 2-8 as part of 1-3 (adapted education), is not necessarily in conflict with current laws. It might be easier to keep decisions “just in case” in these schools. Keeping decisions “just in case” is in conflict with the *intentions* of the Education Act (1998). Nevertheless, not in conflict with the law, as schools are free to offer 2-8 if they find a need, a need defined by the school. This is a costume of a broader perception of 1-3 which is in the spirit of Bakke (2011), arguing that more of special education (5-1) was intended as an included part of 1-3, as something normal. The manner of organizing 2-8 in schools with a “minority model”, leaning towards a perception of 2-8 having similarities with 5-1 (special education) is confirms Verdier’s idea of comparison in the unitary system (Verdier, 2009), policies of *redistribution* (Minow, 2008) and statements the Norwegian governments has made.

7.2 Different emotions connected to 2-8

Early during interviews, issues of emotions concerning adapted language education gained my attention. Repeatedly negative feelings from parents, explained to me by informants. They told me that most of the time, was it enough for staff to talk to parents about the issue, in order to eliminate any bad feelings or concerns. But from other sources, I have noticed other tendencies. In the following, I make an attempt of understanding different emotions.

Soon in interview my process, I found it interesting that some parents did not want their child to get extra assistance in developing their Norwegian language. When asking informants if it occurs that parents turn down an offer of 2-8 for their children, the answer was similar. It is not often, but a couple of times each year.

Even though if a child had sufficient language skills, why is the concept of getting something extra experienced as negative? Even after a school has explained parents that not only their child will be taken out of the classroom alone, some few do not want 2-8. If education costed money for parents, would it be different? Then you would get an extra service for the “same prize”. Where does this “culture” of adapted language education being negative come from? Maybe the title “adapted language education” is more problematic than I had realized. Maybe the history of how it has been organized plays its part in frightening parents from accepting the offer. As many of today’s pupils are second or third generation immigrant, their parents may have experiences from Norwegian school themselves. Perhaps not only positive ones. As there were fewer immigrants some years ago, the parents of today’s children may remember themselves as the “odd ones” taken out of the classroom.

On the other hand, when asking headmasters and staff about reason for parents not wanting 2-8 for their child, answers varied more. Some said that parents were afraid of social stigma, and did not want their children to be taken out of the classroom and be the “odd one.” Others said that parents had understandings of their children to be sufficient in Norwegian and did not need adapted Norwegian education. This could often be the case where children had one Norwegian and one non-Norwegian parent or parents have grown up in Norway and considered themselves as Norwegians.

Some parents may also find the word for “adapted” problematic. In Norwegian the word “særskilt” sounds even more special, almost like “distinctive.” For a non-fluent Norwegian speaker, the word may seem even more “scary” since it is not one of the most basic Norwegian words. One informant expressed that parents could become scared of official letters as well, and the letters sent to the parents regarding 2-8 is in an official format. This may give associations to something being *particularly* special, perhaps as special as special education may seem. And as seen, perhaps phrasing of the Education Act (1998) gives impressions of a “minority model” more than a “majority model”, this being a model of organizing children which parents fear? As one of the white papers states: “All children in Norway and their parents shall feel included and respected, regardless of beliefs and cultural

background” (Ministry of Children -Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). But parents do sometimes not feel this included, partly caused by formal vocabulary in policies, therefore school staff need to explain to make 2-8 sound less harmful.

As earlier seen in this thesis, journalists in magazine *Blend* talked to a nine years old boy called Adam and his father about difficulties they experienced when trying to explain Adam’s school that he’s mother tongue was Norwegian. The first school Adam attended wanted to give him adapted Norwegian education, but not the second school. Adam’s father did not want 2-8 for his son. He claimed that children receiving adapted language education are not capable of catching up with the rest of the class in Norwegian. Why did Adam’s father feel pushed at enrollment at the first school to state that Adam had a mother tongue other than Norwegian? The story ends up with Adam’s family moving to another school. The journalist points out financial agendas as the reason for the first school wanting to keep Adam on a 2-8 decision (*Blend magasin*, 2011). Different conclusions on a child’s need of 2-8 may not prove one conclusion as wrong.

When watching the reporting of magazine *Blend* (2011) with interviews, as a native Norwegian speaker, I hear that Adam’s father’s Norwegian is good, but not perfect. Adam’s Norwegian is better, and I start to wonder if it is necessary for Adam to have a 2-8 decision. I believe his Norwegian is good enough to follow ordinary lectures. But when difficulties of subjects increase, will Adam be capable of following lectures together with the rest of his class? A natural answer for this dilemma is to leave it to the pedagogic school staff to determine. Nevertheless, why was conclusion different at two schools? The overwhelming factor in this case of opposite conclusions is that Adam’s father felt pushed by one school. Thereby, he stated Adam’s mother tongue differently at the two schools.

As previously seen, common guidelines and tools for examination of children’s language skills have been requested in Oslo. The “NSL” (Norwegian as Learning Language) tool was implemented in 2011 as a recommendation. But there is still a chance of the identical children being offered different measures at different schools. As the official report from 2015 stated, there are no rules denying schools offering children 2-8 if they want to (Oslo municipality, 2015b). It may also be that schools with many children having 2-8 decisions, easier will offer 2-8 to more children, as they have an understanding of 2-8 being undramatic and operating as a part of 1-3, adapted education.

The reportage in Blend (2011) does not tell how many years (if any) Adam attended his first school. He might have stayed there for some years and developed his Norwegian as much as the 2-8 decision became unnecessary, as the second school concluded. But it might also be that Adam's Norwegian skills not had developed, and the two schools did conclude differently in the same case. The second school did not push Adam's parents to state anything else than Norwegian as Adam's mother tongue. It is therefore likely to believe that school number two did not examine him for 2-8 measures at all, as intentions of the government are, when Norwegian is the mother tongue, as stated in the Education Act (1998, §2-8).

I wonder if Adam's father would perceive the issue this seriously, if he was introduced to adapted language education in another way. Why did he not want his child to get this extra assistance in Norwegian? Was he scared of Adam being taken out of class, and this resulting in him being the "odd one"? Maybe history of adapted language education not only being positive, affect the picture we have of 2-8 today? In addition, may other factors play their role, perhaps Adam's father have felt discriminated in other parts of society and is carefully monitoring Adam to prevent him being discriminated.

Language can feel like an important identifying part of a person, and if someone tells you that this part of you is not "good enough," one may feel like it is the person herself who are characterized as not "good enough." Topics of language skills and questions of mother tongue may feel intimate and perhaps hurtful for someone who is trying to integrate in a society, or who feels they have integrated but still receives these questions. As seen, white papers states that the government wants everyone to feel genuinely included in the educated system. Also, stated in the white paper of 2016 that schools are not to set individual goals for pupil's personality, views or preferences, but only academic goals (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016:24). According to my written and interview references, is the main issue that parents of minority backgrounds do not want to be treated as "a minority," saying that "my child's mother tongue is Norwegian." The issue is not that their "other" mother tongue is neglected in Norwegian schools; the issue is to be categorized as not fully Norwegian.

I have been in communication with Kine Revheim, writer of previously briefly presented research "If they benefit from it, is it a good thing" (Hvis det kommer dem til gode, så er det en god ting) (Revheim, 2015). She told me something validating accusations made in context of mapping only children with another mother tongue than Norwegian. Revheim explained that some of her informants at schools with more children with linguistic minority

background, they would map *all* children, regardless of the parent's notification of the child's mother tongue. This practice is not in line with the government's intentions and the requirements of the Education Act (1998). But as seen, when magazine Blend (2011) confronts director of the Education Agency about this practice, she answer as show in first chapter: "This shows that the schools are taking a very heavy responsibility". The answer surprises me. The government's intention is that schools only examine children with another mother tongue defined by parents. But when the director of the Education Agency answers as she does, one may wonder if she has faith in guidelines from authorities at all. Is it acceptable to examine children for 2-8 decisions regardless of Norwegian being appointed as mother tongue, and regardless of parent's wishes? From a school's perspective, having an instrumental need of knowing what is the mother tongue of a child, in order to know the child's tool of learning, it may appear uninteresting what the parents think is the mother tongue. Schools need to know what level the child is at in Norwegian, in order to teach new knowledge in the best way possible. The schools may not have any interest in knowing the mother tongue of the child, as the only interest is to know the level of Norwegian skills.

Perhaps the best tool for learning is the mother tongue for a while, if the Norwegian is not an applicable tool. In this case, knowledge of the mother tongue is crucial, but only after the level of Norwegian is detected. As previously argued, government's official approach towards 2-8 is formulated as if the minority of children will qualify for 2-8. In this kind of minority context, may it be more interesting for schools to know which few children to examine for needs of adapted language education. But in a context where school is examining as good as all pupils based on mother tongue statements, why not examine them all?

Why is the law stating that only children of linguistic minorities are to be examined for 2-8? Why it is not called "adapted language for those finding Norwegian language challenging"?

A teacher's job is to communicate new knowledge, values and social norms to children, in Norwegian. The goal is to assist pupils to be able to keep up with his or her class, talking Norwegian in the context of Norway. In an instrumental approach to language, children must be able to use the "tool" to learn. This is a way schools have to understand language.

Informants I talked with did always express their genuine wish to reach every child, and adapt education for all children. Help pupils to develop in right speed, give them extra challenges when needed or help children to understand language in order to learn and be able to express

them self. Cultural differences were sometimes mentioned as positive, but mostly as challenges, wanting children and parents to “fit” in the Norwegian education system. This wish is in contrast with white paper’s approach, wanting pupil’s cultures to be appreciated, mentioned in 2012 and 2013. This is why it is so important for schools to reach a technical understanding of children’s mother tongue, and most of all, skills children have in Norwegian to be able to adjust education.

To sum up, language may be a sensible topic, as language has an identifying quality for people. Parents may feel discriminated as school staffs are categorizing children’s Norwegian as not good enough. Language is the main tool to teach, learn and discuss. As long as Norwegian language skills is not where it should be, teaching personnel will have to adjust to the child in a more consuming manner, than if the language is at a level where one can communicate new knowledge. It is therefore important for school staff to get a technical understanding of the child’s language skills, sometimes in conflict with the parents understanding and emotions.

7.3 The role of “other mother tongues” in the Norwegian “school for all”

As discussed, being told your Norwegian mother tongue is not good enough can be hurtful, but now use of other mother tongues than Norwegian must be discussed. There are possible ways of formally including other mother tongues then Norwegian in 2-8: mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching. No informant schools conduct mother tongue instructions. This did surprise me, as I believed this was more conducted, being a part of 2-8 possibilities. But the formulation is “if necessary” and schools must only offer mother tongue instructions if they have possibilities; the final responsibility is the municipalities’. Questions regarding mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching have been brought up on several occasions in my research, and I will now include this in my discussion.

As shown in subchapter 3.2 and 3.3.3, the Norwegian governments have since the 1990/2000s established a policy of mother tongue training not being a prioritized official Norway’s task. But mother tongue may be used as a tool towards better Norwegian, if needed. This may also be why no schools visited conducted mother tongue instructions, and only a few conducted bilingual subject teaching.

The 2015 official report from the Oslo municipality audit addresses the concept of equal treatment. Equal treatment is essential in the Norwegian school system. All schools must treat all comparable cases alike and be able to prove this practice (Oslo municipality, 2015b:8). The concept of equal treatment is partly why it is important for school administrators to receive signed approvals or denials for 2-8 decisions. These papers are to be kept in the pupil's file, in case of complaints or central supervision. If a school has two children who could benefit from mother tongue instructions, but only have a teacher for one of the languages, is it then equal treatment when offering a program to only one of those children? As my informants expressed, they do not have possibilities to offer mother tongue instructions to all children, which informants think must be a responsibility of the municipality. As schools cannot offer bilingual subject teaching to all who may benefit from it, one may argue that a school cannot offer this option to anyone.

Minow (2008) describes two types of policies of inclusion; these are policies of *recognition* and policies of *redistribution*. Policies of recognition will value minority's language and cultures equally and facilitate the children's development of their minority culture and language in permanent arrangements. As in the late 1980s and early 90s, Norway's policy was to strengthen the child's bilingualism, to achieve "bilingual functionality" (Ministry of Church Affairs and Education 1987:38). Policies of redistribution will, in contrast, focus on assisting the minority to master culture and language of the majority, only applying education, including mother tongue, as a temporary solution.

As seen in subchapter 3.3.3, Seland (2013) presents an overview of the government's policies on mother tongue instructions applying Minow's (2008) categories of policies of integration. In the 1970s, Norwegian policies were fronting a wish of helping minority children to develop their minority language and culture in line with the logic of policies of recognition. A shift came in late 1990s when use of mother tongue in school's was only meant as a tool towards Norwegian skills. As a white paper from 2004 states, "Mother tongue instruction in school should be a tool to learn Norwegian, and a tool to acquire technical knowledge until one knows Norwegian well enough" (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development 2004:91). This quote is in line with logics of policies of redistribution. The ministry also provides a reason why: "The government's primary responsibility is to ensure that pupils receive thorough training in Norwegian, in addition to other training, so they can become active participants in Norwegian society" (Ministry of Local Government and Regional

Development 2004:91). Policy is here stating that individuals need Norwegian to become active participants in the Norwegian society, placing Norwegian policies again clearly in Minow's policies of redistribution (2008).

Simultaneously, in recent white papers we can read statements where The Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion (2012) points out a need of recognizing children's language skills and cultures as resources. Also, everyone shall feel included, as stated regarding values wanted forming curriculum in 2016 "The values shall be expressed in a manner which as many as possible can endorse, take part of and feel genuinely included in the society's schools' and education institutions fellowship" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016:20). How it is possible to make everyone feel genuinely included when school is valuing the majority language as the most preferable? This may cause feelings of inferiority. On the other hand, Norwegian is the language everything happens in Norway, two written standards are in use, you can get far with English, but Norwegian is the standard. I believe that in order to be fully integrated, children are dependent on Norwegian language, but must this be in conflict of developing another mother tongue simultaneously? It seems that present government think Norwegian education system must prioritize children's skills in Norwegian language.

As seen, the Norwegian government will now only prioritize measures taken to assist children develop their Norwegian language skills. This policy makes me think of values communicated through this policy, as Norwegian being the goal. Thereby also valuing Norwegian as the most valued language and indeed also identity. Policies are of course not stating this directly, but the risk of policies being experienced and perceived like this, is present. This happens in a country feeling ashamed of a history of "Norwegianizing" Sami people. I do not mention this for comparison, but to be kept in mind. I would believe that decision makers in Norway work hard to not give some of the same signals as our King has apologized for to our Sami people.

Pihl's book from 2005 is localizing reasons for why minority children are overrepresented in special education. She claims that the testing of children is cultural based, making children from other cultural backgrounds scoring lower than cultural Norwegian children. Pihl (2005) also showed from her research teachers referring to children being multicultural as a reason for having the child tested for needs in special education (Pihl, 2005:87). Does this show an existing lower expectation for children of minority background, or Norwegian culture being

more preferred? Is this a result of policies of redistribution (Minow, 2008), regardless of whether or not this is intended?

As a summary of use of other mother tongues used in Oslo schools, must several aspects be mentioned. The shift from recognizing a child's mother tongue as a resource in itself, to only serving as a tool on the way of learning Norwegian in school, has been mood-setting. Schools are responsible for figuring out if mother tongue assistance is needed, and schools must offer this if they can. If the school cannot, the municipality is responsible for offering mother tongue assistance. If it is not possible, schools must adjust as best as they can, without use of mother tongue. Or, the municipality must figure some form of adapted education.

Several of my informants said that use of mother tongue for children was such a big task that they did not conduct it. Some conducted bilingual teaching, in some few major languages.

The goal from governments and my informants is to make children learn Norwegian in order to communicate in Norwegian with all children. Consequences of a redistribution policy (Minow, 2008) for the identity felling for children should be discussed, but is not included to a large extend in this thesis.

7.4 Inclusion versus quality

Bakke (2011) presents a conflict in the Norwegian school: the conflict between inclusion and academic quality. As the norm is to have all children gathered in one class, who will teachers adjust the most for? Is it possible to adjust for all, without losing quality of academic qualifications among strong pupils? When a class has all lectures in a "2-8 friendly" manner, are we wasting any time for those pupils who are strong in language? Are these sometimes few children not struggling with language supposed to receive a special arrangement? Are the strong pupils at risk of being the "odd one" because they are on time of their age group's normal progression in language? Is it natural to expect less academically of children receiving 2-8 because they have a decision?

Children are to receive 2-8 as long as they are not capable of following ordinary lectures (the Education Act, 1998). Herby, law is stating children not being capable of getting satisfactory benefits from lectures given in the classroom as long as they qualify for 2-8. Is this fair competition, when knowing that fifty percentages of children starting with a 2-8 decision

never reaches a level of Norwegian to follow ordinary lectures (Oslo municipality, 2015b)? Is this a reason why decisions must be temporary, to not conclude with these children never reaching a point of fair competition? Because Norwegian education is in the category of ideals of a unitary school, is it unusual to make children repeat a grade. Also, the Norwegian system is based on compensation of temporary character (Verdier, 2009; Minow, 2008). As children are qualifying for several years of 2-8 decisions, they are not expected to be able to benefit from lectures they attend. As pupils are not to repeat any grades, as they would if the Norwegian system was based in a meritocratic regime (Verdier, 2009; Bakke, 2011). Universalism may result in children receiving 2-8 for all their education, never being able to follow ordinary lectures, being a result of inclusion being more important than quality for individuals.

Analysis of interview materials revealed a connection between the percentage of pupils in a school with 2-8 decisions and how schools organized the arrangements of extra help. Is it possible that having a 2-8 decision in some schools is more stigmatizing than in other schools, given that going out in a small group is stigmatizing? I think this potential stigmatization will work against inclusion.

When an ethnic Norwegian pupil is struggling with language, teachers will try to help the child by adjusting to the child. This is the core of 1-3, adapted education. Ethnic Norwegian children are not able to have decisions of 2-8 because of the formulation “have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami” (the Education Act, 1998, §2-8). The option would be a special education 5-1 decision, but this option can be experienced as very serious, and may not be necessary as the child is not having other difficulties than lacking language skills. For instance, ethnic Norwegian children from certain social backgrounds may be unfamiliar with abstract concepts, then school will assist the child in developing his/her language through 1-3, adapted education. Doing monitoring by perhaps taking the child out in smaller groups from time to time, in order to keep a closer eye on the child and monitoring development.

Recent Norwegian governments have stated their thoughts and opinions regarding multicultural Norway in the white papers discussed in subchapter 5.2. Today, the government wants to compensate for starting points children have that make competition in education unfair. As one of the white papers in 2012 expressed, “Education is one of the most important instruments for reducing social and economic differences in society” (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012:48). The goal is to even out differences to make it more fair. To

make this happen, we need education to help children reach their goals as well as society's goals for the children. But all children has an individual starting point, as the other white paper from 2012 states: "To improve the learning outcome for children, youth and adults with an immigrant background, it is necessary to have measures for both to improve the Norwegian skills and measures to compensate for socio-economic background" (Ministry of Children, Equality and Inclusion, 2012). The idea is to compensate for lack of skills in language or lacks of cultural capital. Schools will attempt to compensate for lack of skills, and in doing so, make chances in education fair.

This logic of compensation is in line with Verdier's (2009) universal regime. Norwegians compensate in order to make competition fair. Then we can claim that the education system tries to help everyone reach the common goals. If someone is "disqualified" from competing, we must have a fair justification. We may understand 5-1 (special education) as justification for disqualification, in the act of giving children individual curricula. And, as Bakke (2011) claims, justifying 5-1 decisions when qualified personnel are responsible for testing. But as 2-8 some places are regarded as leaning towards classical assumptions for organization of special education, taking children out of class from time to time, how do we justify this? Perhaps justification lays in the fact that the children receiving 2-8 in Oslo are following the same curricula as the rest of the class. And therefore does 2-8 not show on their diplomas when ending school, and thereby not formally degrade them in the manner a 5-1 diploma would.

It is possible to question intentions of the government regarding potential stigmatization in 2-8 practice. I started to develop a theory after some interviews concerning official intentions of 2-8, caused by the formulations of the Education Act (1998, §2-8). Is the Act developed to fit in a school with a minority of children having a language minority background? Is it not more problematic to have a "special solution" for some children in a class, rather than extra attention for the majority of children? Is there a bigger risk of 2-8 stigmatizing schools where fewer pupils need adapted language education? As long as decisions are compiled as intended, adapted language education should only be temporary. Therefore, does not stigmatizing matter, since it is just for a limited time? On the other hand, according to circular letters, decisions are easy to keep for three or four years (Oslo Education Agency, 2011, 2014).

Are authorities in Oslo thereby accepting stigmatizing children for this period of time? Going back to white papers analyzed, pupils shall not usually be divided in groups by academic level or of ethnic belonging (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013:91). I will argue that this includes dividing by *not* ethnic belonging as well and that academic level includes language skills. The criterion is that children's need for social affiliation is fulfilled; I read this as a wish of preventing stigmatization.

Minow (2008) states to following logic of policies of redistribution; understanding of fairness is to spend extra resources to even out differences that can make competition in education fair. This procedure in order to include minority children in the majorities' culture, having less focuses on individual's identity (Minow, 2008:28). Measures of 2-8 should be temporary. Is this in order to prevent stigmatization as policy makers picture 2-8 resulting in children being taken out of the classroom?

At the same time, the white paper from 2016 accounted for earlier states that schools are not to set goals for change in the pupil's personality, only academic goals (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016:24). This communicates the goal of children develop sufficiently proficient in Norwegian as only academically, not linking language to personality or identity of a child.

The government's intention of 2-8 is twofold. First, the children are reaching a point where they are mastering Norwegian. Second, decisions should be time limited. Creating a conflict in interests, but which should be the most important aspect? As seen, many schools are keeping children on 2-8 decisions to make sure that pupils are not falling behind. But, for the government, knowing that 2-8 may cause stigma, is it important to limit the time frame for decisions. My informants claims that 2-8 is not stigmatizing in their schools.

As findings show, in schools of "majority model," often organizing 2-8 as an extended 1-3, there might be fewer stigmas connected to 2-8. But this is not the reality the government pictured in developing central policies. If policy makers saw the everyday life at most schools I visited, would they still be eager to limit the time frame for 2-8 decisions? Minow (2008) describes the policies of integration as *recognition* and *redistribution*. Perhaps today's Norwegian policy influenced by redistribution, only value children's skills in the majority culture and aims for inclusions in one culture. But policies of recognition are more focused on

value in skills in several equally valued cultures and in multiculturalism. Today, mostly policies of redistribution is reflected in Norwegian policies and Oslo schools.

7.5 The severity of a 2-8 decision

In the following subchapter, different understandings of severity of a 2-8 decision will be discussed.

Several of my informants explained to me in different ways that they did not see adapted Norwegian education as a “big issue” for children. Regardless of how many children at the school had 2-8 decisions, informants gave me the impression of a decision not being perceived by them as “something dramatic”. This impression was based on different arguments and understandings.

In school number one, the school with lowest percentage of children with 2-8 decisions, I asked if they had any cooperation with other schools concerning the adapted Norwegian lectures. The informant explained, “We are talking about one lecture a week, so there is no room for that.” The informant gave me an impression of a decision *only* affecting children one lecture in a week, so 2-8 is not such a big deal. As discussed, in schools interviewed with a higher percentage of children with adapted Norwegian education, I was explained that staff always had language challenges in the back of their mind when working with the children, in all subjects. Here the issues of language is crucial, but 2-8 works as a natural part of adapted education for all (the Education Act, 1998, §1-3). In everyday life in Norwegian schools, all children are taken out for smaller groups from time to time. Regardless of any decisions, often to have a closer look at progression of every child, just as a normal part of how education is organized. This is a characteristic of compensation, to make sure all children are keeping up with goals of curricula, just as the universal regime is expected to compensate (Verdier, 2009). In schools where children having 2-8 decisions not regularly are taken out in smaller groups, at least not more than the rest of the class, a child having a decision will not feel different from the rest of the pupils. Some of the participants expressed that children are learning better if they can stay in the classroom with the whole class. And not make a “big issue” out of 2-8 decisions for pupils by not taking children with decisions of adapted Norwegian education out from the class more than other children.

In schools where parts of 2-8 decision included intensive courses in Norwegian or bilingual subject teaching, children will understand that they have a 2-8 decision. But informants never problematized this, as taking children out in groups and dividing a class from time to time is very normal for them. The only issue debated in interviews was when pupils in secondary school was taken out for smaller groups, staff had decided that it was better to name the arrangement “course” instead of “little group.” Pupils problematized arrangement of small groups as stigmatizing, but were fine with “courses “where both strong and weaker children participating together. This gives us an insight of how these pupils understand and experience of 2-8, as potentially working as something stigmatizing.

I have been wondering about a question of “the chicken and the egg”. Is the number of 2-8 decisions resulting in a specific way of organizing instruction, or is organization of 2-8 instructions in a school influence the decision-making process? I would think that schools have first to see how many decisions they are having at the school, before deciding an organization for lectures. But in schools with many children of minority backgrounds, adapted Norwegian education is conducted for all children, as a natural part of the adapted education (the Education Act, 1998, §1-3). In these schools will it not matter for the way of organizing lectures if some more or some less children are having decisions, they all get the same lectures, always including a focus on language. Children might not even know or understand it they have a decision. But the number of decisions matter for schools in financial matters. If a decision does not affect the child’s possibilities in education, what does it matter if they all have formal decisions as they all receive adapted education including focus on language? But when following this logic, schools are not emphasizes the individual and individual’s rights to the extent for example parents will expect.

Children in Oslo with only 2-8 decisions are following the same curriculum as children without decisions in all subjects, including the subject of Norwegian. When a pupil leaves secondary school, the diploma will not show if adapted Norwegian decisions have been received or not. This invisibility of decision is in contrast to decisions for special education, working on individual curriculums in different subjects. People making 2-8 decisions does not need any special qualifications to make decisions and the tools used to examine the children for needs, do not need to be approved by anyone (Randen, 2013). But in Oslo, the NSL-tool is recommended for lower grades, and other tools are published as recommendations for higher

grades. These factors indicate that national government's not thinking of 2-8 as a "big issue" for children, compared with a special education decision.

2-8 is a tool for schools to help children reach a point in Norwegian skills where they can follow lectures given in Norwegian without adaption of language. Use of mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching is only to be conducted in order to reach the same goal of Norwegian skills. This policy is in line with "policies of redistribution" (Minow, 2008). But now Språksenteret is established, conducting external assessment of children's needs of 2-8. This is a formalization of the process and is conducted by experts at the center. Can this establishment be understood as an intention from government to make a decision for 2-8 more serious, similar to decision for special education? Or is this the Oslo government's attempt to decrease the number of children in later parts of primary and secondary schools having 2-8 decisions?

Bakke (2011) claims, the Norwegian unitary school does only provide fairness in access of education, but competition makes it unfair as everyone starts at different levels, but are judged by the same measurements. Everyone, unless decisions for special education with individual goals, are facing the same exams and grading system. The fact that many schools are keeping many children at 2-8 decisions all through education, may be understood as an attempt of making competition more fair, as the difficulty in language applied in ordinary lectures is increasing. Also, these long decisions may indicate an understanding at schools of 2-8 being something positive rather than negative for the child, at least not a "big issue".

During interviews, I heard about difficulties in cooperation with parents of other cultures and in lack of Norwegian skills and not being literate. As we have seen, informants expressed their worries for the children not receiving training in concepts at home. And informants also expressed that children with 2-8 decisions in addition often was the weaker children academically, not seldom also having decisions in special education. If many children coming from linguistic minorities are also not familiar with abstract concepts, perhaps 2-8 can fill a role as more than just language compensation. This may be what several of my informants say indirectly when saying that difficulties in subjects are increasing and they are keeping children on 2-8 decisions to make sure that pupils follow the development as required by curricula. In this manner, 2-8 may work as general compensation as well. If a child lacks understanding of central concepts in the Norwegian society and life that homes cannot provide understanding for, school will have to compensate for these lacks in cultural capital.

Maybe this cultural aspect is a reason why in the eyes of schools, 2-8 decisions are important to keep.

This also confirms categorization of Norwegian education system placed in the universal regime, in compensation for lacks in cultural background (Verdier, 2009). Supporting Bakke's (2011) argument of the Norwegian school being better suitable for children with a certain background. In addition, as parents may be unfamiliar with abstract concepts because of a lack of education or of cultural differences, school must make sure that children can follow lectures involving these kinds of concepts and references. School staff has some options, one is to get the child examined for needs in special education (5-1), but this may not get through, and it may feel unnecessary. Another option is to work with the child and apply adapted education (1-3), but to be able to keep a closer look, also having some founding for the purpose, having a 2-8 decision for the child will contribute positively. Decision makers at schools can ask parents to accept decision, and keep a decision for several years without new approvals from parents. Schools may think of 2-8 as not a big issue, and is capable of making sure that the child keeps up linguistically and culturally.

As a summary, it is important to understand that there are different understandings of the severity of a 2-8 decisions. Parents may have an understanding of the formal 2-8 decision as something of heavy weight. Findings show how governments and Oslo authorities indicates several different understandings of severity, by having individual formal decisions, showing a seriousness. But at the same time, government show that the decisions are not as serious as a 5-1 decision as there are no criterial of qualifications of staff conducting examinations, nor tools in use. The establishment of Språksenteret may be perceived as the Oslo municipality's wish of treating 2-8 as something important. There are different understandings at different schools as well, parallel with the model applied for organization, linked to the number of children in the school having decisions for 2-8. But no schools seemed to think of 2-8 as something severe.

7.6 2-8 as a temporary solution

As we have seen, the Education Act (1998) determines children's right for adapted language education for as long as needed in order to be able follow ordinary lectures in Norwegian. The perception of arrangements as a temporary solution is repeated in several contexts and by several authorities, for example from the City Council in 2001. But the official report from the municipal audit in Oslo, shows that 50 % of the children starting a 2-8 decision do not lose it during their ten years of basic education (Oslo municipality, 2015b). This duration of decisions is a clear difference between intentions from governments and reality that schools executes. I have not succeeded to find an official definition of "temporary", other than the circular letters, stating three or four years before the need of a renewal of decisions (Oslo Education Agency 2011, 2014). The government does not mean that children shall have decision all through their education. But the question is why. Why does adapted language education not work as a temporary solution for all children who receive it?

So far in this thesis, I have discussed several factors that may answer the above question. First, arguments of children not being able to learn Norwegian language fast enough, meaning during the first years of school. Children having 2-8 decisions may learn Norwegian very fast, but not fast enough to catch up with and follow the language development of native Norwegian speaking peers. Another argument presented by several in this thesis is of financial character. The argument is telling us that schools wants to receive more funding from the municipality, and therefore are keeping children on a 2-8 decision. When receiving more money, schools can afford to spend more money on measures made for the 2-8 execution. But the financial argument has several dimensions. In schools where many children are having 2-8 decisions and the extra resources are used to have a higher adult density inside the classroom, all children will benefit from the extra resources. The more time school can afford to have an extra teacher in the classroom, more children will benefit from this arrangement. Schools can also spend additional funding on strengthening the school library, and all children will benefit from this. But does the end justify the means? When asking how schools would react if parents of a child has not accepted the offer of 2-8, the answer was always that school staff would assist every child as best as they could, regardless of 2-8 decisions.

Because of adapted education (section 1-3 of the Education act of 1998) for all, a school will always help children struggling with language for as long as needed. We could argue that parents only are accepting that their child will be reported to the municipality as in need of adapted language education, and that parents in this way only are accepting that their child will be a factor in the school of receiving extra money. When keeping this in mind, why would a school be eager to take children off adapted language education?

The report from the municipal audit in Oslo states that the Education Act (1998) only limits children's right for adapted language education, it does not limit school's possibility to offer adapted language education to children. But it is crucial to remember that schools are depending on acceptance from parents to conduct adapted language education with the pupil. School staff always assist children and adjust to them, due to 1-3, adapted education (the Education Act, 1998,§1-3). As long as both school and parents want, schools can conduct 2-8 legally for a long time, since the school is the one determining if the need is there.

Analysis has also shown authorities giving the impression of a mindset of 2-8 not being temporary, for example in circular letters giving schools opportunities to not do anything with 2-8 decisions for up to four years (Oslo Education Agency 2011, 2014). Or maybe the authority's percept four years is still a "temporary" solution, even though the aim is for pupils to learn "as soon as possible."

Analysis of interviews and documents showed that governments and authorities officially are saying that the 2-8 solutions must be temporary, but indirectly admitting that this is not realistic for all. School staff does not necessarily think that children who need adapted language education benefit from a short 2-8 decision, but rather benefits from assistance in long term.

So why is it important to keep a mindset of 2-8 as a temporary solution? Why is it not desirable by the government to determine all children with another mother tongue than Norwegian, or simply children struggling with language, will receive adapted language education throughout their education? It is necessary to dig in fundamental ideologies in the Norwegian philosophy of education to understand this. The unitary school in Norway shall not categorize and not sort children. If we made decisions permanent, this would be to label these children in an unacceptable manner. But as seen, children are sorted as 5-1 (Bakke, 2011) and can be sorted after capabilities from time to time. What is acceptable on the other

hand, is to give the children compensations. Compensation is in line with Eric Verdier's (2009) thoughts of the universal education regime, compensating for differences caused by different backgrounds, in order to make competition in education fair.

In making 2-8 decisions permanent, the government would admit that today's compensation was not enough to make children capable of reaching the same level as other children, thereby admitting that competition in education not is fair. If this was the case, the system of 2-8 would be similar to special education (the Education Act 1998, §5-1). Thereby, resulting in degrading children, saying that they are not having the same capabilities to compete as other children. If all children of minority linguistic backgrounds officially were degraded permanently, the system would be openly discriminating. This is why Norway, with a universal unitary school system, cannot make permanent 2-8 decisions officially. Permanent decisions may also result in a more expensive arrangement than governments want.

As a summary, the Education Act (1998) is determining that 2-8 decisions should work as a temporary compensation for missing Norwegian skills. 2-8 should be a transition solution until the child is capable of following the ordinary lectures given in Norwegian. But research shows us 2-8 is only partly working as a temporary transition solution, as many never are taken off the decision. Schools are focusing on the part of the 2-8 section sympathizing children's skills as a reason for taking a child's decision away. School staff explain during interviews that they had to think of possibilities for a child to develop Norwegian parallel with their peers, and therefor keeping decisions, in order to monitor children's development and to assist them for a longer time. Also, as several schools are working with 2-8 as an extended part of 1-3, the child will not notice any difference in lectures, regardless of formal decisions. With several decisions, schools are able to spend more money on adapted language education.

Why is it important for governments to stick to the principle of decision of 2-8 being temporarily? As compensation does not bring children to the level where they are expected to achieve, will competition in education not appear as fair. If the government changed their policy wanting 2-8 decisions to be permanent, they would say that they understood that compensation not was enough to make education fair.

7.7 The fairness of 2-8

Taking interviews, relevant documents and my theoretical framework into account, what can I say about the fairness of 2-8?

A clear difference between the government's intentions of 2-8 and the practice at schools is the idea of decisions of adapted Norwegian education being a temporary solution.

Government states that these decisions must be temporary, but the reality in schools is that fifty percentages of children having a 2-8 decision, never loses it. The present Norwegian policies are mostly in line with Minow's (2008) policies of redistribution, as the policy is to place extra resources to make measures aimed at the minority children's development of the majority language. The Norwegian policies are also in line with Verdier's (2009) characteristics of the universal regime. Compensation conducted for a while, in order to make competition fair and to give all the same opportunities to succeed.

Bakke (2011) on the other hand, claims that the Norwegian universal regime has meritocratic tendencies. He writes that there is fairness in access of education, but not in competition. This is because the education system is not developed for all children. He claims that the system is basically developed for the fortunate ones in our class society, possessing the cultural capital required to follow lectures, and understand concepts and references. Ethnic Norwegian children from families where parents can help with homework because they can read and write the language and can help the children with cultural references will have a starting point in education far in front of children not having this support system. A typical example of homework would sound like "write a story about Christmas, apply characteristics from our folktales." Children needs knowledge of Christmas, folktales and are supposed to express this in Norwegian: One would think this gives many ethnic Norwegian children a starting point ahead of others. But we must not fall in the trap of prejudiced, many children with minority backgrounds may know of Christmas and having parents reading those traditional Norwegian folktales at bedtime. And many ethnic Norwegian children may not celebrate Christmas and are watching Disney before going to bed. These ethnic Norwegian children do not have possibilities of 2-8 decisions, maybe making competition in education even less fair.

Present policies fall in the category of redistribution (Minow, 2008). The focus is on the importance of developing minority children's mother tongues, and moved towards a focus on teaching children applicable Norwegian. Today, children's other mother tongue is emphasized

as a tool towards learning Norwegian. Schools and governments are having a technical relationship with language. Children and their parents can have a more emotional relationship to their language. Raising emotional questions of what is my mother tongue and is my culture not “good enough,” thereby, am I not “good enough” or is my Norwegian identity not “good enough?”

8 Conclusions

When starting this research process, I had read several articles and relevant literature, making me curious on the topic. I wanted to understand the reasons behind statistics showing many children never losing their decisions. I wanted to explore understandings and the daily life for management at different schools in Oslo. The more I have looked into the field of 2-8, the more complex it appears. It has been important in my thesis to present many relevant factors in the field. Consequently, depth and broadness of presentation expanded as I learned about adapted language education and the topics' complexity.

I will now summarize the main findings from my research, I will briefly go through the main arguments and findings of each research question.

8.1 Summary of results

8.1.1 Research question one

What approaches to linguistic minority children in schools can we identify in educational policy documents, and how are different approaches justified?

The analysis of educational policy documents from 1997 and 2004 shows that a change in approach happened in the late 1990s concerning immigrant children. Before this, governments had wanted to help children develop their minority language and culture, in order to prepare them for returning to their home countries. The shift came as the government realized immigrants had come to stay, and the priority changed to learning Norwegian.

Current policy is that children must learn Norwegian in order to become active participants in the Norwegian society. As the system of education are compensating for minority children's lacks of Norwegian skills through 2-8, the system is, according to the government, fair. Justifications of this policy are given as the schools have to prioritize the Norwegian language. If all children learn Norwegian, competition in education is fair.

Minow's (2008) categorization of policies of integration is by Seland (2013) applied in the context of mother tongue instructions in Norwegian school. From policies *recognition*, valuing minority culture, until the shift of the 1990s, only applying mother tongue instructions

as a temporarily tool in the process of learning Norwegian, in line with the policies of *redistribution* (Seland, 2013). Practice of mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject teaching is limited in Norwegian school, and rather applied when school has the possibility, then if a child is in need.

My understanding of the importance of keeping 2-8 decisions temporary, is that if governments policy stated 2-8 was permanent, it would send a message of low expectations of minority linguistic children and a signal of saying that the unitary school is unfair as temporarily compensation does not work. If children were categorized as permanently unable to follow the same lectures as the rest of their class, the education would be unfair, as these children did not have the same opportunities to succeed.

8.1.2 Research question two

How do different schools implement 2-8 and how can we understand differences in schools' approaches to adapted language education?

Many informants explained that school staff did spent a lot of time on mapping skills and needs of children, also when renewing decisions. In comparing interviews, I saw different understandings of details concerning this process, causing some schools doing extra work authorities do not request. These different understandings gave me the impression of this field being so complex, that even those conducting 2-8 are confused about guidelines. Relevant laws, circular letters, policies, standards and guidelines for schools are overwhelmingly complex and constantly developing.

Turning to the schools' organization of adapted Norwegian education, my study showed important differences between schools. Some expressed that adapted language education was just an incorporated part of their "adapted education for all" practice. Others explained that children with 2-8 decisions were out of the classroom one 2-8 lecture a week. Alternatively, several described a mix of these models, for instance having an extra teacher in the classroom in order to adapt ordinary lectures to all pupils. Staff sometimes divided the class and took "2-8 children" out.

I understand these differences in implementation as results of different understandings of the significance of 2-8. In schools where many children in each class have 2-8 decisions, adapted

Norwegian is an incorporated part of every lecture. In the school with fewest 2-8 decisions, implementation and organization was structured more divided.

The question of 2-8 serving as a temporary transition solution has been a recurrent topic through my research. Statistics show that 2-8 only partly functions as transition and the informants expressed that keeping decisions for short time frames was difficult matter, as they always had to keep the progression of subjects in mind; will the child be able to follow the increasing difficulties in Norwegian language applied in lectures? When perceiving 2-8 as a minor issue, why not keep the child's 2-8 decision just to make sure that the school has resources to monitor the child's development? A school's main concern is to make sure children of minority backgrounds learn sufficient Norwegian.

Staffs in schools are dependent on knowledge of children's Norwegian skills, in order to apply the language as the tool of communication of new knowledge. When knowing the level of skills, schools should adjust to the child's abilities, sometimes resulting in a 2-8 decision. I found that different schools are organizing adapted language education in different manners. As an attempt to organize these differences in conducting 2-8, I developed categories of models. These models reflect how I understand the way staff thinks of adapted Norwegian education, perceiving it as something for the majority or minority of the class. I named these categories "the majority model" and "the minority model". These models tell us something about understandings of 2-8 being similar to adapted education or special education as well. Adapted education being for everyone at all times, special education aimed for few pupils in chosen lectures. In a school of the majority model, some decisions will not make any difference on lectures. As in majority model schools, the extra financial resources are often spent for an extra teacher in the classroom. In minority model schools, children with 2-8 decisions are taken out of the classroom for a few hours a week.

I also formulated two additional models, the mixed model and the model of courses. The mixed model includes characteristics of both the majority and the minority model. Here, 2-8 decisions sometimes result in taking children out for small groups, sometimes resulting in an extra teacher in the classroom helping all children with individual struggles. The schools conducting model of courses had great faith in structured intensive courses of adapted Norwegian for those who need it, thus giving children a "boost." It seems that these schools are keeping most decisions after a course, either conducting 2-8 as majority or mixed model.

8.1.3 Research question three

Are there theoretical understandings of justice for minority children relevant for the Norwegian unitary “one school for all” system?

During my research for this study, several theories of justice in education were investigated. Norwegian education policies have always possessed a great faith in a unitary school system being able to provide justice in chance of succeeding and fighting social injustice. The Norwegian system is based in the universal regime, compensating for differences in background in order to “even out” unfair competition (Verdier, 2009; Bakke, 2011). Correspondently, 2-8 is developed as a compensation for the lack of Norwegian language skills, the tool of communication of new knowledge. Bakke’s (2011) article concerning the relationship between adapted education (1-3) and special education (5-1) inspired me to discuss the practice of adapted language education.

Section 2-8 of the Education Act (1998) is in line with ideas of compensation, but only as a temporary measure. Statistics and interviews conducted shows that 2-8 is not always temporary, and that informants often argued that arrangements could not be conducted temporarily. Informants did not agree on this wish of temporality as 2-8 was not such a “big issue.” The intentions from the government and authorities are that children should learn Norwegian “as soon as possible,” striving towards fairness in competition in education as all children master the language. Realities in many schools are that staffs see the children benefitting in a longer assistance and monitoring, not striving for “as soon as possible”, rather striving “as good as possible”.

8.2 Suggestions on further research

My study raises a number of new questions. As this study lacks an even representation of the informant schools, regarding “many” and “few” children having 2-8 decisions, I would like to do more research at schools with few children having decisions of 2-8. Looking deeper into the “minority model” and the “majority model,” does management perceive adapted language education as an incorporated part of adapted education for all, or as a mild version of special education? I have contributed to a discussion of adapted language education being similar to special education or serving as an expanded version of adapted education. I would find it extending of someone else would develop and explore this comparison of 2-8, 1-3 and 5-1 more.

Likewise, I find the topic of ethnic Norwegian children struggling with the language caused by social economic background interesting. Is it fair and reasonable that ethnic Norwegians cannot qualify for a 2-8 decision, adapted Norwegian education?

As discussed, the Norwegian state has a history of “Norwegianizing” Sami people, publicly apologized by the Norwegian king and broadly condemned today. People in northern Norway are familiar with this history and are used to living with different cultures together. How are immigrants of other mother tongues greeted in northern Norway? I would find research comparing 2-8 in northern and southern Norway very interesting.

8.3 Final remarks

During my research I have learned much more about adapted education in Oslo. To my surprise the thesis has taken me to unexpected themes and questions. In addition, it became important for me to present the voices of my informants and present the topics they wanted to talk with me about. Some of their concerns are not followed up through the thesis as they perhaps should have been, but time and space were limited.

References

- Bakke, J. (2011). Spesialpedagogikk i klassesamfunnet. *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift*, 95(2), pp. 141-154.
- Bakken, J. (2007). *Virkninger av tilpasset språkopplæring for minoritetsspråklige elever. En kunnskapsoversikt* (NOVA report 10/2007). Retrieved from <http://www.hioa.no/Om-HiOA/Senter-for-velferds-og-arbeidslivsforskning/NOVA/Publikasjoner/Rapporter/2007/Virkninger-av-tilpasset-spraakopplaering-for-minoritetsspraaklige-elever>
- Blend magasin, [Blend magasin]. (2011, 23.03). *BLENDmag.no - Minoritets elever brukes som inntektskilde* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jZo_sRGXOq4
- Brekke, B. (2013, 31.10). – Internatskolene var barnemishandling i offentlig regi. *NRK*. Retrieved from <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/-statlig-barnemishandling-1.11298675>
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Bull, T., & Lindgren, A.-R.(2009). Einspråklegheit kan bõtast. Inleiiing. In Bull, T., & Lindgren, A.-R.(Eds.), *De mange språk i Norge: flerspråklighet på norsk*. (pp. 7-29). Oslo: Novus forlag.
- Chohan, A. N.(2012), *Er praksisen av opplæringslovenens §2.8 i tråd med dens intensjon?: En kvalitativ studie av særskilt språkopplæring ved grunnskoler i Oslo, fra et implementeringsperspektiv*.(Master thesis).Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- City Council (2001). Bystyret har behandlet saken i møte 20/06/2001 sak 321. Retrieved 14.04.2016 from <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/dok/Bys/2001/B/0000056992-3-WBE-3-321-0.htm>
- Dagsavisen*, (2013,28.11). Må ha norskhjelp hele barneskolen. *Dagsavisen*. Retrieved from <http://www.dagsavisen.no/innenriks/m%C3%A5-ha-norskhjelp-hele-barneskolen-1.298311>

- Driscoll, H, Eriksen, G.H., Jensen, I., & Kopp, A.(2012). Rektor/skoleeier som ansvarlig for elevenes læring. In Eriksen, G. H. (Ed.), *Juss for skoleledere* (pp.77-141). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Engelsen, B.U.(2003). *Ideer som formet vår skole? Lærerplanen som idébærer-et historisk perspektiv*. Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.
- Fagerheim, H. (2005, 22.04). Stigmatiserer minoritetsbarn. Retrieved from <http://forskning.no/barn-og-ungdom-pedagogiske-fag-skole-og-utdanning/2008/02/stigmatiserer-minoritetsbar>
- Harding, J. (2013) *Qualitative Data Analysis from Start to Finish*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hegna K., Dæhlen M., Smette I., & Wollscheid S. (2012) «For mye teori» i fag- og yrkesopplæringen – et spørsmål om målsettinger i konflikt? Europeiske utdanningsregimer og den norske modellen. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*,53(2) pp.217-232.
- Innst. O. nr. 92 (2003-2004) Innstilling fra kirke-, utdannings- og forskningskomiteen om lov om endringer i opplæringsloven og friskoleloven.
- Johannessen, A., Tufte, P.A. & Christoffersen,L.(2011). *Introduksjon til samfunnsvitenskapelig metode* (4th ed.). Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.
- Kiuppis,F. (2011). Mer enn én vei til framtiden: Om ulike tolkninger av inkluderende opplæring. *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift*, 95(2), pp.91-102.
- Midthassel,U.V. (2003) Skoleutvikling i Norge de siste 30 år. Fokus på sentrale og lokale utfordringer forbundet med intensjonen om å utvikle en inkluderende skole. *Nordisk tidsskrift for spesialpedagogikk*, 81(1), pp. 13-22. Retrieved from https://www.idunn.no/file/pdf/33193087/skoleutvikling_i_norge_de_siste_3_ar_fokus_pa_sentrale_og_lokale_utfordring.pdf

- Ministry of Children-, Equality and Inclusion. (2012). *En helhetlig integreringspolitikk. – Mangfold og Fellesskap.*(Meld. St. nr 6 2012-2013) Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/ae2661f20cfe4899b303a5951334a9c1/no/pdfs/stm201220130006000dddpdfs.pdf>
- Ministry of Church Affairs and Education (1987) *Mønsterplan for grunnskolen* (M87), Retrieved from <http://www.nb.no/nbsok/nb/2aef891325a059851965d5b8ac193de5?lang=no#2>
- Ministry of Education and Research (2013). *På rett vei- Kvalitet og mangfold i fellesskolen.* (Meld. St. nr. 20 2012-2013) Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/53bb6e5685704455b06fdd289212d108/no/pdfs/stm201220130020000dddpdfs.pdf>
- Ministry of Education and Research (2016). *Fag-Fordypning-Forståelse. En fornyelse av Kunnskapsløftet.* (Meld. St. nr. 28 2015–2016) Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/e8e1f41732ca4a64b003fca213ae663b/no/pdfs/stm201520160028000dddpdfs.pdf>
- Ministry of Local Government and Labor (1997). *Om innvandring og det flerkulturelle Norge.*(Meld. St. nr. 17 1996-1997) Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/0fb06b0020f14a3ba94f39ff52ca4e6d/no/pdfs/stm199619970017000dddpdfs.pdf>
- Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (2004). *Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse.* (Meld. St. nr. 49 2003–2004) Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/4cd5860b96454b55b3d79eb8a472e768/no/pdfs/stm200320040049000dddpdfs.pdf>
- Minow, M. (2008). We're all for equality in U.S. school reforms: but what does it mean? In Minow M., Shweder R., & Markus H. (Eds.). *Just Schools: Pursuing Equality in Societies of Difference* (pp. 21-62). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- NAFO. (n.d.) Særskilt språkopplæring – innhold. Retrieved 15.10.16 from <http://nafo.hioa.no/grunnskole/undervisningsopplegg/saerskilt-sprakopplaering/>

Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (n.d.). *Læreplanverket*. Retrieved 15.10.16 from <http://www.udir.no/laring-og-trivsel/lareplanverket/>

Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, (2014a, u.d.) Tilpasset opplæring. Retrieved 19.04.16 from <http://www.udir.no/Regelverk/tidlig-innsats/Skole/Begreper-og-prinsipper/Tilpasset-opplaring/>

Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, (2014b, u.d.). Skoleeier har ansvar for at regelverket blir oppfylt. Retrieved 15.04.16 from <http://www.udir.no/Spesielt-for/Minoritetsspraklige-elever/regelverk/skole-faser/Skoleier-har-ansvar-for-at-regelverket-blir-oppfylt/>

NRK, [NRK].(2013,03.11). *Jaskes dåistaleapmi- Den stille kampen*. [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/jaskes-daistaleapmi-den-stille-kampen/SAPR67006113/03-11-2013>

NOU 1985: 34.(1985) *Levekår for psykisk utviklingshemmede*. Oslo: Sosialdepartementet.

Oslo Education Agency (n.d.) *Welcome to newcomers and their families*. Retrieved from https://spraksenteret.oslo.kolen.no/siteassets/dokumenter/brosjyre/spraksentert_brosjyre_engelsk_web.pdf

Oslo Education Agency.(2011a). Språkløftet. Sluttrapport fra Utdanningseteten i Oslo kommune. Oslo: Utdanningsetaten. Retrieved from <http://nafo.hioa.no/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Oslo-Utdanningsetaten.pdf>

Oslo Education Agency (2011b) SÆRSKILT SPRÅKOPPLÆRING FOR ELEVER FRA SPRÅKLIGE MINORITETER.(Rundskriv nr.6/2011).Oslo: Oslo Kommune Utdanningsetaten

Oslo Education Agency (2014) SÆRSKILT SPRÅKOPPLÆRING FOR ELEVER FRA SPRÅKLIGE MINORITETER. (Rundskriv nr. 1/2014). Oslo: Oslo Kommune Utdanningsetaten

Oslo municipality (n.d.) *Tilbud til minoritetsspråklige elever*. Retrieved 15.10.16 from <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/skole-og-utdanning/sprakopplaring/tilbud-til-minoritetsspraklige-elever/>

- Oslo municipality. (2015a). Elever med et annet morsmål enn norsk og samisk i grunnskolen i Oslo skoleåret 2015-2016. Retrieved from <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/getfile.php/Innhold/Skole%20og%20utdanning/Rapporter%20og%20dokumenter/Andel%20minoritetsspr%C3%A5klige%20015%20-%202016.pdf>
- Oslo municipality. (2015b). *Særskilt språkopplæring i grunnskolen* (Rapport 03/2015). Retrieved from <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/getfile.php/Innhold/Politikk%20og%20administrasjon/Budsjett%20og%20regnskap%20og%20rapportering/Rapporter%20fra%20Kommunerevisjonen/Rapporter%20fra%20Kommunerevisjonen%202015/03-2015%20S%C3%A6rskilt%20spr%C3%A5koppl%C3%A6ring%20i%20grunnskolen.pdf>
- Oslo skolen Språksenteret (2015) *NISK*. Retrieved 22.04.16 from <https://spraksenteret.oslo.skolen.no/satsingsomrader/laringsstrategier2/nisk/>
- Pihl, J. (2005). *Etnisk mangfold i skolen. Det sakkyndige blikket*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Randen, G. T. (2013). *Tilstrekkelige ferdigheter i Norsk? Kartlegging av minoritetsspråkelige skolebegynneres språkferdigheter*. (Ph.D. thesis). University of Bergen. Bergen.
- Revheim, K. (2015) *Hvis det kommer dem til gode er det en god ting*. (Master thesis). University of Oslo. Oslo.
- Ropeid K., (2015). Minoritets elever risikerer tilfeldig oppfølging. *Utdanning*, (8), pp.14-17.
- Sami parliament of Norway. (n.d). Historikk. Retrieved 03.11.16 from <https://www.sametinget.no/Om-Sametinget/Bakgrunn/Historikk>
- Seland, I. (2013). Fellesskap for utjevning – Norsk skolepolitikk for en flerreligiøs og flerspråklig elevmasse etter 1970. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 54 (2), pp.188-214.
- Statistics Norway. (2015, 11.12) Elevar i grunnskolen, 1. oktober 2015. Retrieved from 21.04.16 <http://www.ssb.no/utgrs>

- Statistics Norway. (2016, 20.10). Key figures for immigration and immigrants. Retrieved 02.11.16 from <https://www.ssb.no/en/innvandring-og-innvandrere/nokkeltall/immigration-and-immigrants>
- Telhaug, A.O., & Mediås, O.A. (2003). *Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger-Fra statspietisme til nyliberalisme*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.
- Thuesen, N. P., Thorsnæs, G., & Røvik, S. (2016). Norge. Store norske leksikon. Retrieved 26.09.16 from <https://snl.no/Norge>.
- The Education Act (1998). Act of 17 July 1998 no.61 relating to Primary and Secondary Education and Training (the Education Act)
- The Public Administration Act (1967). Act of 10 February 1967 no.00 Lov om behandlingsmåten i forvaltningssaker (forvaltningsloven).
- United Nations. (1948, December 10th) Universal Declaration of Human Rights Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>
- Verdier, E. (2009). *European lifelong learning strategy and diversity of national devices : an interpretation in terms of public policy regimes*. The European Consortium for Political Research, General Conference in Potsdam, Germany Session "Policy Arenas and Dynamics of Welfare State Rescaling" Panel "Rescaling Educational Policy in Europe: Discourse, Strategies, Re-forms, and Outcomes", Sep 2009, Vienne, Austria. [Conference papers]. Retrieved from <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00436545/document>
- Welle-Strand, A. & Tjeldvold, A. (2002) The Norwegian unified school - a paradise lost?. *Journal of Education Policy*, 17 (6) pp.673-686. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0268093022000032319>
- Wold, A. H. (2006). «Kan for lite norsk, stemples som dum»1 –Pedagogisk-psykologisk tjeneste og sakkyndige vurderinger av barn fra språklige minoriteter. *Tidsskrift for Norsk psykologforening*, 43(12), pp. 1320-1329.

- Øzerk, K. (2012) Minoritetsspråklige elever og opplæringslovens paragraf 2–8. *Bedre skole*, 2012(1), pp. 90-92. Retrieved from https://www.utdanningsforbundet.no/upload/Tidsskrifter/Bedre%20Skole/BS_nr_1_11/BS_1-12/UTD-BedreSkole-0112-WEB_Ozerk.pdf
- Øzerk, K., Kerchner, C.T. (2014). Diversity and Educational challenges in Oslo and Los Angeles- A metropolitan perspective nr 2. *International journal of elementary education*, 2014, 6 (3), pp. 441-462.

Appendixes

1. Translated participant agreement.....	122
2. Original participant agreement.....	123
3. Translated interview guide.....	124
4. Original interview guide.....	126

1. Participation in research projects

Background and purpose

The purpose of the study is to gain insight on how the Oslo school handles and fulfill children's rights of the Education Act section 2-8, *Adapted language education for pupils from language minorities*. The project will look at how different actors in the Oslo school handles legislation. The aim of the master thesis is to provide a clear overview of the current situation for schools and their organization. The project is a master's thesis of the University of Oslo under the master program "Comparative and International Education".

Participants in the project will be employees in the primary and secondary schools in Oslo.

What contains participation in the study?

Participants in the project will be interviewed in an informal manner, in a conversation structure with some predetermined questions. Length of conversations will vary.

The interviews will deal with issues related to the fulfillment of the Education Act section 2-8 in different parts of the school system.

It will be applied audio recorder and notes during the interviews.

What happens to your information you have provided?

All personal information will be handled confidentially. The student will be the only one with access to raw materials in the project. Audio files will be stored on a password-protected computer.

All interviewed participants will be anonymous in the thesis, but professional title will at some occasions be visible.

The project is scheduled finished in June 2016. When the project is published, all recordings be deleted and anonymization done in written materials.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the study, and you can at any time withdraw your consent without stating any reason. Then all data from you will be deleted.

If you want to participate or have any questions about the study, please contact Marit Mathiesen by phone 988 755 18 or by email marit.mathiesen@gmail.com.

The supervisor of the project is Ingrid Smette who can be reached at telephone 922 11 671 or by email ingrid.smette@nova.hioa.no.

The study is reported to the Data Protection Official for Research, the Norwegian Center for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the study, and I am willing to participate

(Signed by the project participant, date)

2. Deltagelse i forskningsprosjekt

Bakgrunn og formål

Formålet ved studien er å få innblikk i hvordan Osloskolen håndterer og oppfyller barns rettigheter i opplæringsloven paragraf 2-8, *Særskild språkopplæring for elever fra språklege minoriteter*. Prosjektet vil se på hvordan ulike aktører i Osloskolen håndterer lovgivningen. Masteroppgaven har som formål å gi en klar oversikt over dagens situasjon for skoler og deres organisering. Prosjektet er en masteroppgave ved Universitetet i Oslo under masterprogrammet «Comparative and international education».

Deltakere i prosjektet vil være ansatte ved grunnskoler i Oslo.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Deltakere i prosjektet vil bli intervjuet på en uformell måte, i en samtalestruktur med noen forhåndsbestemte spørsmål. Lengde på samtaler vil variere.

Intervjuene vil omhandle tema knyttet til oppfylning av opplæringsloven paragraf 2-8 ved ulike deler av skolesystemet.

Det vil bli brukt lydopptaker og notatark under intervjuene.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Masterstudenten vil være den eneste med tilgang til råmaterialet i prosjektet. Lydfiler vil bli lagret på en passordbeskyttet datamaskin. Alle som blir intervjuet vil bli anonymisert i masteroppgaven, men yrkestittel vil ved noen tilfeller være synlig.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes juni 2016. Når prosjektet er publisert vil alle lydopptak slettes og anonymisering gjennomføres av skriftlig materiell.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Da vil all data fra deg slettes.

Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Marit Mathiesen på telefon 988 755 18 eller på mail marit.mathiesen@gmail.com.

Veileder for prosjektet er Ingrid Smette som kan nås på telefon 922 11 671 eller på mail ingrid.smette@nova.hioa.no.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

3. Interview guide

-How does the school's role in fulfilling 2.8

Background Chat

-Number of pupils at school, in total, with 2.8 (Norwegian, mother tongue, multilingual subjects).

-Can you describe the population belonging to the school? (Many children / elderly / first-generation immigrant / are parents active in their children's education?).

-Are there many seeking to school from other school districts? (visa versa?)

-What happens when the child is enrolled? Information from kindergarten? What do you do with the info? Have you the scheme for the enrollment?

Procedures / general organization

1-What do you practically do when it comes children to the school who do not have a Norwegian or Sami as their mother tongue? (Mapping, timeframe, who is responsible) Preparations before starting school?

2- What information is given to the children's parents?

a- From whom?

b- In what language?

c- Do they a reply anyway, or just at "no"?

3- Do you have experience with Språksentert (the Language center)? Where is the distinction between newcomers and "old"?

a- What is center's mission, who is their target group?

b- What are the children gaining in been there?

4- What do you do when the children get back from Språksenteret? After intensive Norwegian instructions? (Still 2.8?)

5- What happens here with the children not having age adequate educational background?

a- Who is responsible for implementing Språksenteret's recommendations of needs?

b- Do you collaborate with other schools?

c- Financing of reception groups and literacy groups? (Split between schools?)

6- Who decides when the child has "sufficient skills" in Norwegian, when are new assessments conducted?

7- What is your role in the organization?

8- What do you do when children with 2-8 decisions are moving from your school? And visa versa?

9. How is the funding, must you apply for each decision? What do you feel that you are able to do with the subsidies? (Or feel that you not are able to do.)

Centralization / communication system

10-Do you know how they organize 2-8 in other schools? Examples?

11-How do you get information about changes?

a- Latest information?

b- What information have you received about Språksentert from the municipality / or the center?

12 - How do you see the municipality's role?

a- Is any of your work related to 2-8 reported to the municipallity? (Why, how?)

b- Do you feel that they understand your everyday life?

Practical

13- Does it happen that parents do not want decisions for their children?

14-Where do you think that the distinction between 2.8 and 5.1 (spes.ped.)? Do you have pupils with both decisions (the quantity)?

15- Do you see the need for language center?

Proposals and ideas

16- Do you think that 2-8 working as intended?

17- What is the best with the current organization of 2.8?

18- Is Oslo prepared to enlarge the system?

19- Do you feel that the responsibility you have with 2-8 is realistic for you to meet?

20- Do you see that more than three years for language center?

21- Do you think that financial responsibility is correctly distributed?

22- Do you think the areas of responsibilities are correctly distributed?

23- When it is difficult to fulfill the 2-8 and when do you think you are succeeding.

4. Intervjuguide- Hvordan ser skolen sin rolle i å oppfylle 2.8

Bakgrunnsprat

- Antall elever på skolen, totalt, med 2.8 (norsk, morsmål, flerspråklig fag).
- Kan du beskrive befolkningen som sogner til skolen? (Mye barn/eldre/førstegenerasjonsinnvandrere/aktive foreldre i barnas utdanning?).
- Er det mange som søker seg til skolen fra andre skolekretser? (omvendt?)
- Hva skjer når barnet skrives inn? Info fra barnehage? Hva gjør dere med infoen? Har du innskrivningsskjemaet?

Prosedyrer/ generell organisering

- 1- Hva gjør dere rent praktisk når det kommer inn barn på deres skole som ikke har norsk eller samisk som morsmål? (Kartlegging, tidsramme, hvem har ansvar) *Forberedelser før skolestart?*
- 2- Hva slags informasjon får barnas foreldre?
 - a- Fra hvem?
 - b- På hvilket språk?
 - c- Må en svare uansett, eller kun ved «nei»?
- 3- Har du erfaring med Språksentret? Hvor går skillet mellom nyankomne og «gamle»?
 - a- Hva er Språksenterets oppgave, hva er deres målgruppe?
 - b- Hva oppnår elevene ved å ha vært der?
- 4- Hva gjør dere når barna kommer tilbake fra Språksentret etter intensivt norskopplæring? (fremdeles 2.8?)
- 5- Hva skjer hos dere med barna som *ikke* har aldersadekvat skolebakgrunn?
 - a- Hvem har ansvar for gjennomføring av Språksenterets kartlegging av behov?
 - b- Samarbeider dere med andre skoler?
 - c- Finansiering av mottaksgrupper og alfabetiseringsgrupper?(deling mellom skoler?)
- 6- *Hvem* er det som avgjør *når* barnet har «tilstrekkelig dugleik» i norsk, når gjøres nye vurderinger?
- 7- Hvilken rolle har du i organiseringen?
- 8- Hva gjør dere om barn med 2.8-vedtak *flytter fra* deres skole? *Og flytter til?*
9. Hvordan foregår *finansieringen*, må dere søke for hvert vedtak? Hva føler dere at dere får til med tilskuddene? (evt. ikke får til)

Sentralisering/kommunikasjon i systemet

10- Vet du hvordan de organiserer på andre skoler? Eksempler?

11- Hvordan får dere informasjon om endringer?

a- Siste informasjon?

b- Hvilken informasjon har dere fått om Språksenteret fra kommunen/senteret?

12 - Hvordan ser du kommunens rolle?

a- Innrapporteres noe av deres arbeid med 2.8 til kommunen? (Hvorfor, hvordan?)

b- Føler du at de forstår deres hverdag?

Praktisk

13- Hender det at foreldre ikke vil ha enkeltvedtak for sine barn?

14- Hvor tenker du at skillet mellom 2.8 og 5.1 (spes.ped.)? Har dere elever med begge vedtak (antall)?

15- Ser du behovet for Språksenteret?

Forslag- ideer

16- Mener du at 2.8 fungerer slik intensjonen var?

17- Hva er det beste med dagens organisering av 2.8?

18- Er Oslo forberedt på å forstørre systemet?

19- Føler du at ansvaret dere har i forbindelse med 2.8 er realistisk for dere å oppfylle?

20- *Ser du for deg at det blir mer enn tre år for Språksenteret?*

21- Mener du at finansieringsansvaret er riktig fordelt?

22- Mener du at ansvarsområdene er riktig fordelt?

23- Når er det vanskelig å oppfylle 2.8 og når føler dere at dere lykkes?