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# How does the Norwegian education system integrate children of labour migrants?

A qualitative analysis of upper secondary schooling

Master's thesis in European Studies  
Supervisor: Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia  
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## **Acknowledgements**

The idea behind the chosen topic for my MA thesis was given to me during my teacher's education. During this period, I was given the opportunity to teach a class of minority pupils. Here, I gained insight into the experiences and challenges that young minorities face in the Norwegian school system. Having a background in both European Studies and teaching, I became interested in combining the two areas for my paper.

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# Table of content

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	I
TABLE OF FIGURES .....	IV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	IV
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION.....	3
1.2 STRUCTURE.....	4
<b>CHAPTER 2: KEY CONCEPTS .....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 INTEGRATION .....	5
2.2 IMMIGRANT .....	6
<b>CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>7</b>
3.1. LEADERSHIP IN A MULTICULTURAL SCHOOL .....	7
3.2 COORDINATION OF TEACHERS IN A MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT.....	8
3.3 PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGIES - CLASS ORGANIZATION AND TEACHING STRATEGIES.....	8
<b>CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH .....</b>	<b>11</b>
4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN .....	11
4.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	12
4.2.1 Interviews.....	12
4.2.2 Analysis of interviews.....	14
4.2.3 Content analysis.....	15
4.2.4 Reliability and validity of data .....	15
<b>CHAPTER 5: NORWAY, THE EEA AGREEMENT AND FREE MOVEMENT OF LABOUR.....</b>	<b>19</b>
5.1 NORWAY, THE EU AND THE EEA AGREEMENT .....	19
5.2 FREE MOVEMENT OF LABOUR UNDER THE EEA AGREEMENT .....	20
5.3 CROSS-BORDER LABOUR FLOW AND FAMILY SETTLEMENT .....	21
<b>CHAPTER 6: EDUCATION; THE KEY TO INTEGRATION.....</b>	<b>23</b>
6.1 NORWAY, THE EU AND EDUCATION: THE CONCEPT OF LIFELONG LEARNING .....	23
6.2 THE KNOWLEDGE PROMOTION REFORM AND THE EDUCATION ACT .....	24
§ 3-1. Right to continuing education for youth.....	26
§ 3-12. Special language training for pupils from linguistic minorities .....	26
§ 9 A-2. The right to a safe and good school environment.....	26
9 A-3. Zero tolerance and systematic work.....	26
§ 9 A-4. Activity duty to ensure that pupils have a safe and good psychosocial school environment.....	26

6.3 CHILDREN OF LABOUR MIGRANTS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM.....	27
<b>CHAPTER 7: CASE STUDY .....</b>	<b>29</b>
7.1 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF LABOUR MIGRANTS IN TRØNDELAG.....	29
7.2 CASE STUDY: CHILDREN OF LABOUR MIGRANTS IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION: TRØNDELAG IN PERSPECTIVE. ....	30
7.2.1 <i>School management</i> .....	31
7.2.2 <i>Teachers in a multicultural environment: Coordination and cooperation</i> .....	35
7.2.3 <i>Pedagogical strategies</i> .....	39
<b>CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>49</b>
8.1 IN WHAT WAY DOES THE NORWEGIAN UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL FACILITATE INTEGRATION FOR LABOUR MIGRANTS’ CHILDREN? .....	49
8.2 CONCLUSION.....	52
<b>SOURCES .....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INFORMANTS.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW GUIDES .....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>APPENDIX 3: INFORMATION LETTER .....</b>	<b>73</b>

## Table of figures

Figure 1 Organization of class models within upper secondary education. ....	9
Figure 2 Components for successful integration of labour migrants in the education system. 10	
Figure 3 Number of persons with migrant background categorized by nationality in 2018, in Trøndelag (Integrerings-og mangfoldsdirektoratet, 2018). ....	30

## List of abbreviations

EU	European Union
EEA	European Economic Area



Why do people move? What makes them tear up their roots and leave all they know in pursuit of the unknown beyond the horizon? Why climb this Mount Everest of formalities that make you feel like a beggar? Why walk into this strange new jungle where everything is new, unknown and difficult? The answer is the same across the world: People move in the hope of a better life (Martel, 2005, pp. 85, My translation).



## Chapter 1: Introduction

Immigration has been in the past and will be in the future a main feature of European societies and social structures. The social integration of migrants has become a key element in the system integration of European societies” (Heckmann, 2008, p. 9).

In 2004 the European Union embarked on a process of enlargement. The wave of enlargement became the largest expansion of the Union’s territory and population to date (Emerson, Vahl, Woolcock, Apap, & Centre for European Policy, 2002). Following the expansion, ten new member states, mainly from Central- and Eastern Europe, joined the European Union. In 2007 two more countries were granted accession, forming the current 28 EU members. With the EU enlargements, the issue of cross-border flow of labour migrants has received special attention among the public and political elite. As a result of free labour movement, mass migration and cross-border flow of labourers has greatly impacted and altered geographical and cultural borders between European states (Emerson et al., 2002). Under the European Economic agreement, Norway’s labour market has become heavily integrated with EU standards and regulations. Under the agreement, EU and EFTA citizens are allowed free access to the country, in order to settle down and look for work. Cross-border flow of migrant workers has increased drastically, leaving Norway as one of the largest recipients of an Eastern European labour force.

With cross-border labour flow, family-related migration has become the dominant mode of legal entry to European states (Kofman, 2004, p. 243). Alongside the primary labour migrant’s entrance to the country, many families and children accompany the worker in order to settle down. With labour migration and family-related migration becoming prevalent features in Norwegian society, the topic of integration has become increasingly highlighted in the context of economic development, social cohesion and the stabilization of democratic cultures (Heckmann, 2008). In addition to securing integration on the labour market, access to education has become essential for the long-term integration process of child migrants. In decades, policy makers have made large efforts to “speed up the integration process” (Bratsberg, Raaum, & Røed, 2012, p. 219) by focusing on the education system’s effect on long-term integration. Education can be perceived as a key tool in the process of enabling migrant children to fulfil their potential in a society. Through education, migrant youth are equipped with a platform and the necessary skills that pave a pathway for success in their new country of residence.

The topic related to the process of integration of labour migrants' children has been subject to little research. The majority of previous research concerning immigration has been directed towards adult workers in the labour market (Båtevik, 2017). Although the topic of integration in the work place is an important focus area, participation and inclusion in society does not solely include the labour market. Attention must also be directed towards labour migrants and their families' meeting with society as a whole and to what extent they engage with public services and their local communities (Nødland, Vedøy, & Gjerstad, 2016). Few studies have decided to pay special attention to labour migrants' children who have entered the country as a result of cross-border labour flow. The main goal of this study is therefore to contribute to fill an important gap in the current research field.

The purpose of the present paper is to shed light on mechanisms in the education system that determine successful integration for children of labour migrants in Norway (Strzemecka, 2015). In what way are children of labour migrants integrated into Norwegian society through education? How can social institutions, such as the education system, play in terms of facilitating a successful integration for this target group?

## **1.1 Research question**

The study aims to shed light on how upper secondary schools facilitate an integration process for children of labour migrants, mainly from Eastern Europe, by asking the following question:

**In what way does the Norwegian upper secondary school facilitate integration for labour migrants' children?**

The research question is operationalized by asking the following questions throughout the chapters:

- What is the position of labour migrant's children in the education system?
- Which components contribute to facilitate integration for children of labour migrants?
- How do school leaders and teachers perceive the integration process?
- What kind of pedagogical strategies are employed?
- How can schools be improved to better meet the needs of this target group?

## **1.2 Structure**

Apart from the introductory section, this thesis consists of seven main chapters. Chapter two gives an explanation to the concepts which is implemented for this study. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework that helps guide the selection of relevant data and interpret the information. Chapter four provides an overview of the research design and methodological approach at hand. The fifth chapter gives a general introduction to Norway's cooperation with the EU under the EEA agreement, in addition to the general trends of family-related migration. Chapter six gives an overview of Norway's cooperation with the EU concerning matters of education and integration. In addition, it gives an in-depth explanation of how the school can operate as an integration arena for children of labour migrants. The seventh chapter presents a specific comparative case study. Here, the paper will study two specific upper secondary school units to answer the research question at hand. The final chapter summarizes the study's findings and conclusion.

## Chapter 2: Key concepts

### 2.1 Integration

The topic of integration has been on the political agenda and a part of social debates for decades (Ihle, 2017). But how can we define the term and what does it actually mean? The term has often been described as a contested concept, due to the many ways in which it can be defined and operationalized (Ihle, 2017). For this study, the term is based on the European Union's definition of the word. The EU's description is heavily related to immigrants' participation in their new society. According to the Union, integration can be described as a "dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States" (European Commission, 2005). Based on this definition, migrants must be allowed to contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of European societies in order to maximize their opportunities and become a resource for their host country. In accordance with EU policies on integration, national policies contribute to realize this goal (NOU 2017:2).

As part of an increasingly globalized world, the Norwegian Government's integration policy has become central to ensure the rights and obligations of labour migrants with legal entrance under the EEA agreement (NOU 2010:7). In the past, Norway lacked a specific integration policy. The focus lay solely on how labour migrants should be assimilated into society (Hauge, 2007, pp. 265-266). Since the 1980's, more policies have emerged with regards to the integration process for migrants. As part of the Norwegian welfare system, the state and local authorities are to ensure that all citizens have access to certain fundamental rights and goods (NOU 2010:7). The national policy discourse on integration can be described as multi-faceted. However, the main policy builds on some core principles for integration. According to Norway's comprehensive integration policy, launched in 2012, the most important goal is to ensure that all people who live in the country are able to utilize their resources and participate in the community (Det kongelige barn-, 2012-2013, p. 7). The discourse on integration shall not promote a policy of assimilation. Rather, it shall promote tolerance through the inclusion of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. All inhabitants in Norway have rights and obligations and should have the opportunity to participate in and contribute to working and social life (Det kongelige barn-, 2012-2013, p. 7). In order to realize such goals, education has become a vital tool to ensure better prospects for minorities within the Norwegian community.

## 2.2 Immigrant

When addressing issues related to immigration, it is possible to distinguish between two types; labour immigration and refugee immigration (Norwegian Ministries, 2017-2018). The former represents a group that is granted the freedom to travel across borders under the EEA agreement, to access a labour market in another country (Emerson et al., 2002, pp. 5-12). The latter refers to a displaced group of people who have been forced to cross national borders. Refugees are therefore not granted residence in order to contribute to the Norwegian economy in the same way as labour migrants (Norwegian Ministries, 2017-2018).

For this study, the focus will be directed towards labour migrants when applying the term. More specifically, family-related migration will be the main theme within this focus. With cross-border flow of labour migrants to the country, family-related migration has become more prevalent within the last few decades. The concept is not homogenous, but encompasses several forms (Kofman, 2004). It is possible to distinguish between three main categories. The first refers to family reunification, where the immediate family of the primary migrant are brought into the country of residence. This mainly includes children, spouses and parents of the primary migrant. The second category is classified as family formation or marriage migration. The third category relates to instances where the entire family migrates together. This group is likely to become more prevalent with time, as the increase of demand for skilled labour continues to escalate (Kofman, 2004).

This study will specifically focus on the first and third category of family-related migration. With an increase in labour demand across European borders, many families and children of cross the border alongside the primary worker or enter the country at a later stage as a result of family reunification. In addition to the migrant laborer, family members will also have to become integrated into Norwegian society. Therefore, the main focus will be to address the issue of child migrants and more specifically, children of labour migrants, who come to Norway. The study argues that the education system operates as a key element in the process of integrating migrant youth that follow the workers to a new country of residence (Heckmann, 2008).



## **Chapter 3: Theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework derives from the literature on management and development in a multicultural school (Bakken, 2010; Hauge, 2007; Pihl, 2005; Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016). Existing literature points to some central components that should be in place in order to facilitate successful integration for minority groups in school. The following chapter presents some of the core components that are highlighted in previous research. The theoretical framework is illustrated in figure 3.4 and figure 3.5.

### **3.1. Leadership in a multicultural school**

In the context of economic development, social cohesion and the stabilization of democratic values it is widely recognized that the school can operate as a key actor in the integration process for minority pupils. However, in order to facilitate a multicultural school, a school's management team and staff largely determines in what way minority pupils adapt to a new educational environment (Hauge, 2007, pp. 289-291). School leaders have a central role to play because they are given the overall responsibility for how a school should operate and which guidelines should be implemented. For the school to be a successful integration arena, the school leadership must change its strategies and goals in accordance with the dynamic process that the institution undergoes. This requires strong leaders that are able to adapt to a changing environment and accept that the system cannot maintain its original structures and habits (Hauge, 2007, pp. 289-291). One must obtain a critical eye with regards to one's competence, understanding and practice in relation to the multicultural situation (Pihl, 2005, p. 122). This can be perceived as a difficult task, due to the fact that such changes challenge the deeply established traditions and perceptions of how a school should look (Hauge, 2007, pp. 289-291). One of the main challenges for school leaders, is the ability to balance the administrative and pedagogical workload in a hectic environment. This often results in leaders choosing simple solutions to save time. Based on the theory regarding school leadership, leaders must strive to become more innovative and gain a better and a broader understanding of what adaptive teaching for minority groups entails.

### **3.2 Coordination of teachers in a multicultural environment**

In addition to school leadership, coordination of teachers in a multicultural school has been highlighted as one of the most central components to ensure successful integration for minority groups (Hauge, 2007, p. 296). In order to facilitate cooperation and coordination, teachers must create a transparent system which allows employees to discuss and share experiences and strategies targeted towards migrant youth. There are multiple ways in which this can be pursued. Firstly, organized meetings between teachers is highlighted as essential.

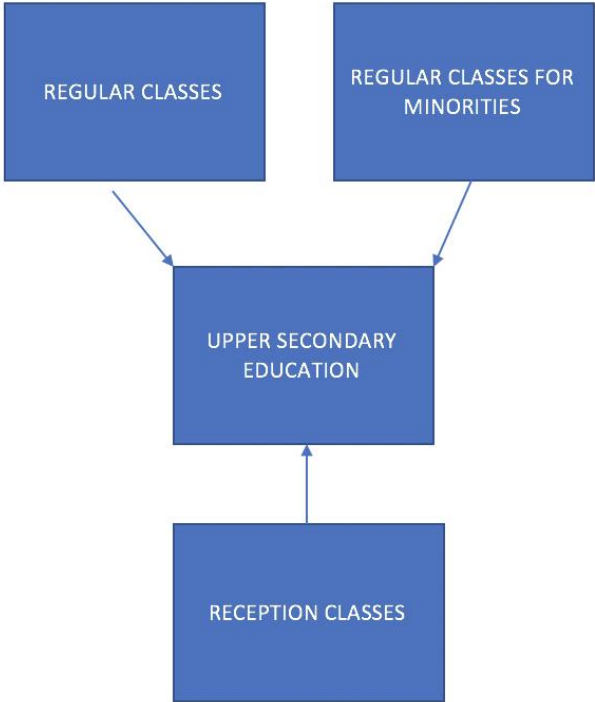
(Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016). Organized meetings means that teachers are obliged to come together and work collectively towards goals and strategies that must be implemented in their pedagogical work. Teachers must organize meetings and other types of arenas in order to build a community of trust. In addition to structured meetings, teachers must prioritize working collectively within the academic field, and not alone (Hauge, 2007, p. 296). In other words, teachers must collaborate with regards to individual pupils' needs, both within and outside of the lectures.

### **3.3 Pedagogical strategies - class organization and teaching strategies**

Another component which is highlighted is the ability to provide minorities with an adaptive learning environment (Bakken, 2010, p. 135). An adaptive learning environment means providing minority pupils with a pedagogical framework that facilitates their level of skills and abilities. First and foremost, an adaptive learning environment is developed and decided by the choices and strategies made by a school's management team and its' teaching staff. The ability to identify strategies that best suit the conditions in the given local context is of great importance. Organization of classes and strategies for teaching are two of many factors that fall under this wide-ranging component.

One of the main ways in which a school can choose to facilitate minorities is through the organization of classes. As part of the Education Act §3-12, upper secondary schools can choose how they wish to organize the startup programs for newly arrived pupils (Education Act, 2018b, pp. §3-12). The adaptive choices with regards to class models can largely be understood by looking through two different lenses: the individual perspective and the system perspective. The former relates to the different needs and abilities of the pupils themselves. Here, the school must organize its strategies and structures with regards to the individuals that attend the specific school. The latter refers to the schools capacity and which tools it can or

wishes to operate with. There are many different alternatives that can be offered to minority pupils when entering upper secondary education (Lane, 2017). For this study it is possible to distinguish between three different models of how schooling can look like at arrival: regular classes – children of migrants are placed in the local schools and in regular classes with other native Norwegians. Pupils are also granted separate language classes to learn Norwegian. Regular classes exclusively for minority pupils - minority pupils can apply for a transfer to regular classes that provide them with the same teaching as regular classes (City school, 2019). Reception classes – migrant children are placed in separate classes with more focus on adaptive teaching. The reception class is recognized as level 0. In this class, the pupils learn the Norwegian and other subjects at a slower pace. When the pupils complete this year, they will be able to apply for upper secondary education (Lane, 2017).



*Figure 1 Organization of class models within upper secondary education.*

In addition to the organization of classes for minority pupils, teaching strategies that promote an understanding and ability to learn, is highlighted as a crucial factor. In order to integrate the minority groups through teaching, one must apply strategies that suit the different target group's needs and wishes (Bakken, 2010, pp. 135-138). One of the main existing problems within the Norwegian education system, has been the large focus on a monocultural perspective (Hauge, 2007, pp. 292-295). A central vision within this perspective is that minority children should learn the Norwegian language and culture at a fast pace. This leaves little room for celebrating cultural traditions, differences and the ability to provide children with bilingual and bicultural competence. In order to move away from this perspective, teachers must apply strategies that celebrate cultural differences. Teachers need to understand minority children's abilities and needs, by involving them in the teaching process. Moreover, teachers must provide activities and learning materials that are more suited to their academic levels.

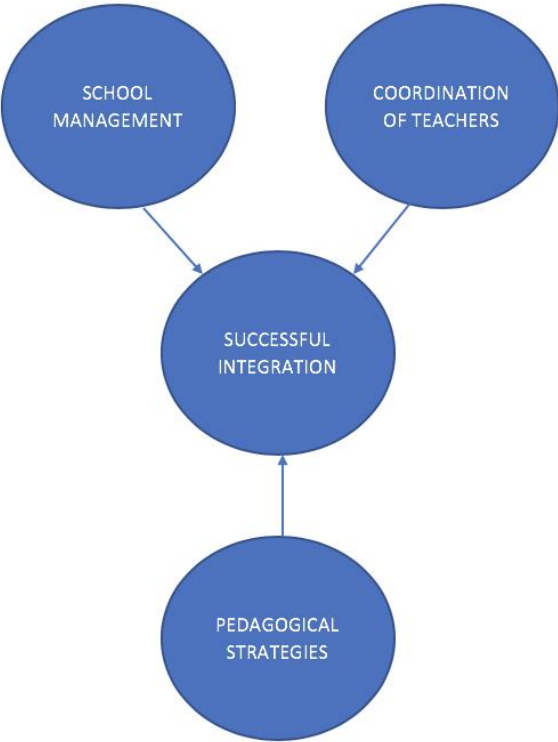


Figure 2 Components for successful integration of labour migrants in the education system.

## **Chapter 4: Research design and methodological approach**

### **4.1 Research design**

A research design refers to the overall strategy of how a study is organized and conducted (Johannessen, 2016, p. 69). The research design determines how different components of a study are integrated in a logical and coherent manner. For this study, a qualitative case study has been chosen as the research design. A case study can be defined as “an essential form of social science inquiry” (Yin, 2003, p. xi). The method is appropriate when investigators seek to define a topic, either broadly or narrowly, in order to cover contextual and complex conditions (Yin, 2003, p. xi). The main aim is to explore one or more contemporary bounded systems through in-depth data collection based on individual interviews and guided by the theoretical framework in the previous chapter. Main goal is to present an overview of how the school can operate as an integration arena for child migrants of cross-border labourers.

More specifically, a comparative case study is implemented to gather useful data (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999). A comparative case study can be defined as “the systematic comparison of two or more data points (..) obtained through use of the case study method” (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999, p. 372). Based on this definition, the main goal of this research is to compare and understand the differences and similarities between two upper secondary schools in terms of how they operate and facilitate integration. Studying the two specific units, I was able to analyze the data within each institution, but also across situations. Furthermore, it made it possible to augur contrasting and similar results within the study (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999).

The study involves two similar units of analysis, covering two upper secondary schools in Trøndelag. The main reason behind choosing the particular schools, is that they are both known for their work as reception schools for minorities in Trøndelag (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). The reasons for selecting only two schools for my research are twofold (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999). Firstly, conducting interviews is a time-consuming process. I needed to limit the number of school units in order to have enough time to carry out my interviews. Choosing to study the school as a social institution is also a complex process. The education system involves many different actors with different responsibilities and viewpoints. To have time to gain information from a wide selection of school employees, I needed to limit the number of schools. Lastly, I chose only two upper secondary schools for my study, because I wished to

compare a school in the city with a school in the district. Both schools have a large percentage of minority pupils and are known for their work with minority groups. Choosing two schools that are placed in very different areas, I was able to gain insight into larger contrasts between similar units, instead of choosing two similar schools placed in the same area.

Although a comparative case study has the advantage of narrowing down the research area of interest, there are some existing challenges regarding this method (Idowu, 2016). Despite being an increasingly popular research strategy, case studies have mainly been criticized for not being generalizable and non-replicable (Idowu, 2016). Despite these shortcomings, the main aim of this study is not to provide research material that is generalizable. The aim is to highlight trends within the system that can trigger further research on the neglected topic.

## **4.2 Methodological approach**

The main aim of this paper is to study how the Norwegian education system can facilitate integration for children of labour migrants. In order to answer the research question, I have chosen to perform a qualitative study to gather useful and relevant data for my research (Tjora, 2012, p. 8). I have chosen to collect data using two types of qualitative method; Interviews and content analysis.

### **4.2.1 Interviews**

The main data generating method for this study is semi-structured in-depth interviews (Tjora, 2012, p. 104). With an existing gap in research concerning this particular field, interviews were regarded as a necessary choice of method to collect data. The purpose of choosing semi-structured interviews is to understand a specific phenomenon from the perspective of the participants viewpoint (Tjora, 2012, p. 105). In this case, the chosen interview style was regarded as useful in order to understand situations from the individuals working within the school system.

In connection with the interview process, I made a conscious choice to perform interviews in person, rather than interviewing the informants over the phone or through video conversation. (Tjora, 2012, pp. 104-106). First and foremost, a face-to-face interview method has the advantage of building better trust between the informant and the interviewer. Furthermore, an

in-person interview provides an arena where the interviewer may observe the working environment of the informants (Tjora, 2012, p. 46). In a face-to-face interview setting, it is possible to observe reactions and gestures that may add valuable information to the conversation (Johannessen, 2016, p. 127).

In total, 6 interviews were conducted for this study. All 6 interviews were anonymous in-depth interviews carried out in Trøndelag. With regards to the informants themselves, I chose to interview the leaders and employees within the social institutions. There are several reasons for singling out these informants and not involving the children themselves and their families. Firstly, my main focus for this particular study has been to look at the framework of the two schools and those responsible for implementing strategies for integration within this system (Tjora, 2012, pp. 105-106). In order to do so, I needed to direct my focus towards leaders and employees. Moreover, I chose not to involve the children of labour migrants and their families due to several reasons. Firstly, having too many groups of informants could result in making the study too complex. Although these groups of informants would have supplemented the study with valuable information, the time constraint and chosen focus area prevented me from including them. Secondly, ethical guidelines and obtaining parental consent prevented me from including these groups of informants. In terms of the children themselves, I needed to take into consideration the challenges that could arise with language barriers. Children within this target group have different backgrounds and do not share the same language. In addition, their English skills vary. Had I conducted interviews with the children themselves, language barriers would have made it difficult to secure valid information from younger informants. In addition, there was the question of obtaining parental consent. This would have been a time-consuming process, of which I could not afford (Tjora, 2012, p. 39).

All informants were selected strategically, based on their involvement with the school system and their extensive experience within the field. Two interviews were carried out with the headmasters within the two schools. 4 interviews were carried out with employees such as teachers and environmental therapists working with migrant children in the chosen schools.

The informants are divided into two main levels. These include representatives from a macro and a micro level. On a macro level, the headmasters responsible for the schools and their environment, give useful insight to the structures, limits and opportunities within the field. On a micro level, teachers and environmental workers were interviewed about their experiences. The chosen levels and width of informants contribute to strengthen the study (Yin, 2003, p. xi).

Choosing to include informants that represent two different, but specific levels within the education system provides deep and fruitful insights into the inner workings related to the issue of integration. Interviewing both people from high positions, as well as the teachers themselves, the study was able to highlight different aspects, opinions and goals regarding the topic at hand.

The interviews were carried out using semi-structured interview guides (Tjora, 2012, p. 132). Firstly, the interview guides were created to provide structure for the interviews. Using an interview guide helps both the interviewer and the informants to stay on track and be guided through specific steps of a conversation (Tjora, 2012, p. 129). Different interview guides were made and used for the different types of informants. In total, two interview guides were written for this study. Both interview guides were written and conducted in Norwegian and translated to English at a later stage. Samples of the interview guides have been added in appendix 2. Transcriptions of the interviews are available upon request.

A tape recorder was used to record the interviews. Before the interviews were conducted, the informants had to sign an information form in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (Norwegian Centre for Research Design, n.d). The information letter gave the informants a brief introduction to the topic and informed them that the interviews would be taped. The information letter is added in appendix 3.

#### **4.2.2 Analysis of interviews**

Shortly after the interview process had ended, I transcribed the interviews with the help of the qualitative data analysis program, NVivo (NTNU, 2018). The specific program can be applied to help organize and analyze qualitative data, such as interviews, articles and web content. Using this program, I was able to structure and code all of my interviews, in order to analyze the content in a coherent manner. Firstly, I categorized the information I had sampled from my interviews into different themes, such as school leadership, coordination and pedagogical strategies. Secondly, I created codes in NVivo that matched the different categories. This way, I was able to place all of the information into the different codes, depending on the content (NTNU, 2018). Using NVivo, I was able to gain a better overview of the most central elements within the interviews.



### **4.2.3 Content analysis**

In addition to the interviews, the study has made use of content analysis of various documents. In order to provide my study with a comprehensive view of the topic at hand, I found it necessary to complement my interviews by performing a content analysis of previous research documents (Grønmo, 1996, pp. 187-188). Content analysis adds valuable information that can not solely be provided through the interviews themselves. According to Grønmo (1996, p. 187), content analysis is used to gather data which is analyzed to gain insight into relevant information and contexts about a study. Content analysis can be described as a nonintrusive method, where data can be accessed without requiring special cooperation with the participants (Grønmo, 1996, p. 187). The documents used for content analysis were mainly Journal Articles, Government documents and statistical information from Statistics Norway. Analyzing these documents, I was able to gain valuable information about the European Economic Agreement, migration patterns to Norway, the Norwegian education system and children of labour migrants in an educational environment. Due to the lack of research concerning the specific topic, I was forced to mainly analyze documents that provided general information and trends concerning minorities and minority children. In addition to these documents, I studied and implemented some of the central laws from the Education Act. Studying these laws added an important element to my research. The laws became a useful guideline when developing questions, conducting the interviews and analyzing my work. In addition to these sources, the interviews have served as the main source of information.

### **4.2.4 Reliability and validity of data**

Reliability relates to the consistency of a measurement within a study. Furthermore, it relates to a research process where the analysis and results are not influenced by personal or political viewpoints (Tjora, 2012, pp. 203-206). Although interviews and content analysis give useful insight to the chosen research field, there are some existing pitfalls to qualitative method. In relation to the implementation and use of interviews, the study offers a limited sample size in contrast to quantitative research. Choosing to perform a qualitative approach, mainly through interviews, may therefore not provide a representative overview of the topic due to the limited selection of data (Tjora, 2012, pp. 203-206). One of the main challenges related to the reliability in this case, was the ability to perform a consistent measurement of a system that involves many different actors and different schools. All schools vary, in terms of methods and strategies. Although I was consistent with the question I asked, the informants' opinions and reactions

largely varied. As a result, the research can only give an indication of the trends that exist. Furthermore, choosing to perform interviews means that the researcher must analyze and interpret the data that is being sampled (Tjora, 2012, p. 203). The main challenge here was to stay neutral and reflect upon the samples, without my own thoughts and feelings coming through. Another challenge was the transcription process after the information had been sampled. In this case, I had to perform the interviews in Norwegian and transcribe the information to English. The main challenge was to translate the information in a consistent, logical and truthful manner. However, when analyzing and transcribing the interviews, I was well aware of the existing pitfalls. I have therefore made sure that my analysis of the content and the presentation of quotes are as truthful and directly translated as possible.

In addition to the reliability within a study, validity refers to the extent to which the measurement scores represent the variable that is studied. In what way, has the study been able to answer the research question at hand? (Tjora, 2012, p. 206). In order to provide my study with valid answers, my choices regarding the theoretical and methodological approach became of vital importance. Firstly, my theoretical framework helped narrow down the area of research. Using specific components to measure the degree of facilitation and integration helped me stay on track and maintain a red thread within my study.

In terms of my methodological choices, I chose to look at previous works related to my topic, in addition to performing my own research. Studying previous works and data, I was able to find specific gaps within the field that could be further researched. This prevented me from searching for answers that have already been presented in the research field (Grønmo, 1996, p. 187). Performing interviews, I was able to formulate specific questions that would help me find relevant answers. One of the main challenges with regards to interviews, is the ability to avoid asking leading question. Had I chosen to do so, the validity of the answers would have decreased. I chose to use open question, in order to avoid leading the informants in a specific direction. Another challenge related to interviews is that using the method as a main source has its limitations, making it difficult to fully address the research questions. More specifically, the interviews only showcase the school staff. The study does not, however, engage with the families, the migrant children themselves or other potential actors. This results in providing a limited perspective when answering the research questions at hand.

Despite the existing pitfalls related to the reliability and validity of the study, the qualitative research paper does not aim to provide sufficient data for statistical generalization. However, by assessing the school as a social institution and its effect on an integration process, the research can provide useful information that might be highlighted and used for further work with regards to the subject at hand.



## **Chapter 5: Norway, the EEA agreement and free movement of labour**

The following chapter focuses on the necessary background information regarding Norway's relations with the European Union through the European Economic Agreement. More specifically, it explores the free movement of labour as a central principle within the internal market and its ties with Norway. Furthermore, it explores family-related migration as a result of cross-border flow of labour migrants to the EEA member state.

### **5.1 Norway, the EU and the EEA agreement**

Norway is not an official member state of the European Union. The country is, however, strongly affiliated with the Union under the European Economic Area (Emerson et al., 2002, pp. 1-8). Entering into force in 1994, the agreement has become a cornerstone of relations between Norway and the EU (Emerson et al., 2002, pp. 1-8). Under the agreement, the Nordic state has sought to keep up with the European integration process through alternative arrangements. In this process, the EU remains the policy-maker, whereas Norway has received the role as policy taker (Claes, Tranøy, & Arena, 1999, p. 282). The EEA agreement ensures that non-member states, such as Norway, are able to receive the same opportunities, rights and obligations as official member states. At the same time, a non-membership status grants a state the opportunity and right to opt-out of policy areas where it is considered necessary.

Norway is associated selectively with the EU, joining in its activities where it suits, and keeping at a greater distance where it is less convenient. In this way, it secures its priority objectives, while retaining considerable autonomy and independence”(Emerson et al., 2002, p. iv).

Under the agreement, the country has received a semi-membership status through differentiated integration. Differentiated integration refers to selected policy areas where non-member states are able to participate and cooperate with the EU (Schimmelfennig, Leuffen, & Rittberger, 2015). Through the process of differentiated integration, Norway is able to partake in the Single Market. Through the Single Market, the non-member state has been given access to the Four Freedoms; the free movements of persons, goods, services and capital. Among the four freedoms, free movement of persons has become a fundamental principle within the EU (Narud,

2000). The legislation on free movement of persons has resulted in EEA countries receiving the opportunity to work and live in another European country (Narud, 2000).

## **5.2 Free movement of labour under the EEA agreement**

Migration patterns to Norway can be categorized into three specific phases. The first phase, starting in the 1960's, consisted of labour migrants emigrating from Southern Europe (Gjerstad, Johannessen, Nødland, Skeie, & Vedøy, 2015). Due to market pressures, as a result of the cross-border flow of labour, the first wave of immigrants was grounded to a halt. Starting in the mid 1970's, the second phase of immigration was dominated by refugees and asylum seekers, coming from Asia, the Balkans, Africa and South Africa. The third phase was initiated by the European Union's decision to embark on enlargement (Gjerstad et al., 2015). With its dynamic and ever-changing character, the Union made the decision to expand its borders and its number of member states. Following the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, labour migration returned as one of the dominating migration patterns in Norway.

The free movement of labour remains one of the four central principles within the internal market and has become an integral part of Norwegian society and its economy. Today, it has become one of the most visible signs of the ties that Norway has established with the EU through differentiated integration (Eliassen & Sitter, 2003). Following the Eastern Enlargements of 2004 and 2007, high income countries, such as Norway, have experienced dramatic changes in relation to the movement of workers entering the countries on work related grounds (Bratsberg, Raaum, & Røed, 2014). Between 2004 and 2015 there were three times as many immigrant workers coming from Eastern European countries to find work in Norway than any other European state (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2017). In total, 213 000 labour migrants have entered the country since 1990. 81 percent of this number entered in the period between 2006 and 2015, most of them coming from European countries such as Poland and Lithuania (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2017). Norway soon became the largest recipient among the Nordic states to receive an Eastern European labour force (Ulserød, 2017). 90 percent of the employed cross-border labourers work in the secondary industry. This includes the service industry, in addition to manufacturing and construction work (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2017).

Labour migration to the country has been described as being both beneficial and challenging for the non-member state. Among the many benefits, it has been argued that free labour

movement to the country has been a valuable asset, as cross border labour contributes to boost the Norwegian economy, open bottlenecks on the market and provide work in sectors where there is shortage in labour force (Bratsberg et al., 2014). Among the existing pitfalls of free labour flow lies the problem of democratic deficit and existing challenges concerning social dumping. Free movement of labour under the EEA agreement could therefore be described as a double – edged sword (Egeberg & Trondal, 1999).

### **5.3 Cross-border labour flow and family settlement**

The EU enlargements have triggered one of the largest migration flows to Norway. Between 2004 and 2014, 138 000 immigrants from Eastern European countries arrived in Norway as labourers. As a result, workers have been given the freedom to travel across borders, settle down and take up employment in the country. However, cross-border flow of labour migrants to Norway does not always solely include the workers themselves (Båtevik, 2017). In some cases, labour migration and family-related migration go hand in hand (Nødland et al., 2016). Since 1990 family-related migration has been recognized as the dominant mode of entry to the country.

Following the EU enlargements, family-related migration has continued to be a prevalent feature of immigration to Norway. Between 2004 and 2014, 40 000 of the 138 000 immigrants, immigrated to Norway from EU-8, EU-2 and Croatia to become reunited with family members (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2016). The number includes both families that have chosen to accompany the workers in the process of travelling or those who have followed the worker at a later stage. With the intra-European movement of labour, migrant laborers and their families are free to move between borders, in accordance with a market driven system. However, cross-border flow of workers and family settlement does not include special assistance for inclusion (Nødland et al., 2016). Despite being the largest group of immigrants to enter the country, there exists no specific laws or regulations for workers who enter the country, with the exception of labour regulations (Nødland et al., 2016). Despite being unfamiliar with the local language and community of their new residence, migrant workers and their families are in principle treated as full citizens. This sets labour workers and their families apart from asylum seekers who are able to receive an extensive apparatus for integration, through orientation courses and language classes.

As a result of cross border labour flow, migrant children who have arrived with their parents, now account for a significant part of the youth population in the country (Liebig & Widmaier, 2010, p. 9). 3 out of 5 family immigrants are children. 58 percent of all family migrants are children between the age of 0 and 17 (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2016). The second largest group of family immigrants are aged 18 to 59. Today, 23 000 of immigrants' children have been reunited with migrant workers that have settled in the country. These are children that have been born in another country than Norway, most likely in either their father's or mother's homeland. The numbers demonstrate how children make up a large percentage of family related migration and the number of child migrants is estimated to grow even further. As some families of labour migrants choose to settle down in Norway, their children will at some point enter the labour market and become important contributors to the Norwegian economy. Attention to the successful integration of this audience has therefore been highlighted by scholars in recent times (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 2016).



## **Chapter 6: Education; the key to integration**

This chapter focuses on the necessary background information regarding Norway's integration and education policies. The first section explores the European Union's vision concerning the link between integration and education and how Norway moves in accordance with the Union's goals and strategies. Secondly, the chapter explores how education can operate as a key element in the process of integration for minority children. The second section studies the Knowledge Promotion Reform and The Education Act, providing the education system with some general guidelines for integration of migrant youth. The third section explores the general patterns of how well children of labour migrants fare in the upper secondary level of education.

### **6.1 Norway, the EU and education: the concept of lifelong learning**

Using or not using the potentials that immigration entails will also have a strong influence on the competitiveness of Europe in the world. The topic of education and migration will thus be relevant in the context of economic development, social cohesion and the stabilization of democratic values (Heckmann, 2008, p. 9).

In addition to work and employment, education can be recognized as one of the most important measures for social cohesion. Through education, the foundation for participating actively in society can be secured. Today, Norway participates in several international education cooperation. Among these, cooperation with the EU has become central to the visions concerning the link between education and integration for citizens (Dehmel, 2006).

Education is a central part of the EU's strategy for growth and employment in Europe (Dehmel, 2006). Introduced as a central topic in the international debate in the mid-1970's, the concept of lifelong learning has become an increasingly popular slogan in the EU's education policy (Dehmel, 2006). Although the concept cannot be recognized as a new phenomenon, the ideas and practices associated with it have gained an increasingly broad international focus within recent decades. In order to survive in changing times, the ability to learn throughout life has been a necessity for many generations. With the introduction and progress of the Single European Market, in addition to globalization as a whole, growing interest towards the concept of lifelong learning within the EU has emerged (Dehmel, 2006). Immigration has been and will

continue to be a prevailing feature of European societies and social structures. The social integration of migrants has therefore become a key priority in the process of system integration in European communities.

As part of the Norwegian Government's comprehensive integration policy, education has been identified as one of the key factors for successful social integration of citizens (Dehmel, 2006). Although the EU has no common education policy, Norway is heavily influenced by the EU's goals concerning the benefits of education for citizens. Through the EEA agreement, Norway partakes in almost all areas concerning European programs and collaborative processes on matters of education (Regjeringen, 2015). Through the EEA agreement, Norway actively follows legislations and proposals made by the EU concerning education. Inspired by the EU, the concept of lifelong learning has become an important principle in Norwegian education policy reform (Dehmel, 2006). In the eyes of the Norwegian Government, the phenomena has been perceived as important for the personal development of individuals, development of democracy and to ensure economic growth in the working sector (Det kongelige kunnskapdepartementet, 2006-2007). The concept of lifelong learning through education is highlighted as important, not just for individuals, but also in terms of enhancing democratic values, community development, economic growth, welfare and employment in Europe.

## **6.2 The Knowledge Promotion Reform and The Education Act**

An important 'early indicator' of final educational attainment is completion of upper secondary education. Completion of the secondary level is viewed as a key to success in the Norwegian labour market (Bratsberg et al., 2012, p. 216).

Based on this statement, upper secondary education is viewed as a central stepping stone in the education system and in terms of becoming successfully integrated in society (Bratsberg et al., 2012). Firstly, completion of upper secondary education is considered a requirement for enrollment in higher education. Secondly, studies find high labor market returns to upper secondary diploma (Bratsberg et al., 2012). All depending on vocational or academic training, the duration of upper secondary education is between three to four years. Within this period, the educational attainment should give pupils the resources to become better integrated.

When entering the country, labour migrants are not provided with special assistance by the Norwegian government. Equal to their parents, there are few existing guidelines when introducing children of labour migrants to the Norwegian education system (Gjerstad et al., 2015). However, in 2006 a reform was introduced with regards to education in primary, lower primary and upper secondary school, known as the Knowledge Promotion Reform (Norwegian ministry of education and research, 2006). The overall goal of the reform has been to increase the level of knowledge and basic skills among pupils. In addition, the school shall provide equal education for all citizens. Colour of skin, religious background, language or country of origin shall not determine what type of education children are to receive, and the system shall not promote segregation. As a social institution, the education system is obliged to construct itself in such a way that it meets the needs of migrants youth

In accordance with the new reform and the EU's strategy for growth and employment, the school largely determines how these children are being included and prepared for a future life in Norway. In accordance with the Knowledge Promotion Reform and the specific levels of education, the Education Act provides the education system with laws that need to be followed and implemented to secure that all pupils receive the same rights and obligations (Regjeringen, 2016). Although the Education Act does not specifically mention the integration of migrant children, it is implicitly stated through the advocated inclusion and equality (Regjeringen, 2016).

Below, some of the statutory paragraphs within the Education Act are presented. The statutory paragraphs are singled out in order to illustrate how the upper secondary level of education in Norway represents an integration arena for migrant youth. The statutory paragraphs shall operate as specific guidelines that promote integration within the social institution. In accordance with these laws, the upper secondary school shall include and secure ethnic, cultural and religious diversity through tolerance and inclusion (Gjerstad et al., 2015). Through education, migrants at the age of 16 - 19 shall be given the opportunity to participate and become included in all levels of society, on equal terms with the ethnic Norwegian population:

### **§ 3-1. Right to continuing education for youth**

- Young people who have completed primary or equivalent education have the right to apply for three years of full-time continuing education. This also applies to those who have completed continuing education in another country, but who do not receive approved training as a study qualification or vocational qualification in Norway (Education Act, 2018a, §3-1).

### **§ 3-12. Special language training for pupils from linguistic minorities**

- Pupils in continuing education with another mother tongue than Norwegian or Sami have the right to special Norwegian education until they have sufficient proficiency in Norwegian to follow the usual education in school. If necessary, such pupils also have the right to mother tongue education, bilingual vocational training or both (Education Act, 2018b, §3-12).

### **§ 9 A-2. The right to a safe and good school environment**

- All pupils are entitled to a safe and good school environment that promotes health, well-being and learning (Education Act, 2018c, §9A-2).

### **9 A-3. Zero tolerance and systematic work**

- The school will have zero tolerance to violations such as bullying, election, discrimination and harassment (Education Act, 2018d, §9A-3).

### **§ 9 A-4. Activity duty to ensure that pupils have a safe and good psychosocial school environment**

- Everyone who works at the school should keep track of whether the pupils have a safe and good school environment, and intervene against violations such as bullying, election, discrimination and harassment if possible (Education Act, 2018e, §9A-4).

### **6.3 Children of labour migrants in the education system**

Among the many minority pupils that enter into upper secondary education, children of labour migrants has become one of the dominant groups (Liebig & Widmaier, 2010, p. 9). As illustrated in chapter five, many of these children have arrived with their parents from Eastern-European countries as a result of the EU enlargements. As a social institution, the school can provide labour migrant children with a safe and stable environment in a critical transition phase, as they meet with a new culture, a new language, in addition to different norms and traditions. Through education, these children are able to gain insight into the central attitudes and values that define their new country of residence (NOU 2010:7). Moreover, education plays a central role in terms of equipping young adults for further settlement and working life. However, although the process of integrating labour migrants' children through education is of great value for society, it is also challenging (NOU 2010:7). Integration of this target group is not a process which is easily solved in an effective manner.

In the post-migration phase, many of the migrant children will at some stage go through a process of detachment from their previous life. Many usually start to feel a sense of loss with regards to their status and the position they held in their previous homeland (Strzemecka, 2015). Arriving as part of the intra-European movement of labour, these children receive the same introduction to school as any other immigrant, with no consideration of the specific characteristics of their homeland. In the process of entering upper secondary school, previous research has pointed to the fact that many of these children can be described as being relatively invisible in their new academic environment (Strzemecka, 2015). The main argument here is that most children of the cross-border labourers have visible similarities to Norwegian pupils. Many have the same clothing, in addition to the same racial features. As a result, the target group can sometimes be indistinguishable from their Norwegian peers (Strzemecka, 2015).

Furthermore, labour migrants and their families are not entitled to help by the government when arriving and settling in their new home (Gjerstad et al., 2015). As a result, workers can choose not to prioritize language learning for themselves and their children (NOU 2017:2). This can be a great disadvantage for these children, in terms of language barriers in upper secondary education. Moreover, children of labour migrants enter their new country of residence at different stages. Some arrive at a very young age and are able to complete primary and lower secondary school before they enter into higher levels of education. Others arrive just in time to

start upper secondary school with no previous schooling in their new homeland (Bratsberg et al., 2012). The existing differences result in children of labour migrants having very different experiences concerning their time spent in upper secondary school. Some may already have learned Norwegian sufficiently, whereas other may not have acquired any Norwegian at all (Strzemecka, 2015).

In addition to these factors, some labour migrants choose to stay in the country only for a short period of time (Friberg, 2012). As a result, children who immigrate to a new country with their families may try to retain characteristics belonging to their former homeland. Many children of migrant laborers have already acquired human capital in a different environment. Furthermore, they have acquired it with another language. The possibility of leaving again may therefore play an important role in how successful and focused they are in terms of becoming integrated at their new school (Friberg, 2012). Lastly, previous studies show how immigrants from the age of seven and above, represent a sensitive period in relation to performance (Böhlmark, 2009; Bratsberg et al., 2014, p. 211). Studies show how many of these migrants have passed their prime age for language learning. All of these factors could play a part in threatening to hamper the integration process in an educational environment.

## **Chapter 7: Case study**

This chapter explores two municipalities and one upper secondary school within each of them that have received children of labour migrants. The first section gives a brief overview of the settlement patterns of labour migrants in Trøndelag. The second section analyses how the two upper secondary schools are structured and how they have chosen to facilitate the target group from an integration prospective. Based on the theoretical framework and the qualitative interviews, the section applies three central components to measure the degree to which the schools are successful in their dealings with this target group. The second section is divided into three main parts. The first part of the case study compares and discusses the differences and similarities concerning school leadership. Secondly, the schools are compared with regards to the coordination of teachers within the schools. Lastly, the schools are analyzed and discussed with regards to pedagogical strategies.

### **7.1 Settlement patterns of labour migrants in Trøndelag**

Although Trøndelag has had a significantly lower share of immigrants than the national average, the country has seen a large increase in immigration within the last few years (Trøndelag fylkeskommune, 2018). Today, 11,8 percent of Trøndelag's population consists of first generation and second-generation immigrants (refugees, short-term immigrants and illegal-immigrants are not accounted for in this percentage). Of the 54 076 immigrants who came to the country in 2018, 25 320 have come from European countries (Trøndelag fylkeskommune, 2018). Of all the urban municipalities in Trøndelag, Trondheim is the only city where more than 10 percent of the population consists of immigrants. Most of the immigrants have either come from Poland or Lithuania (See figure 3). In addition to the city, Trøndelag's district areas have witnessed a large increase in labour migrant flow. It is especially within the pisciculture sector that an increase in labour force has been significant (Trøndelag fylkeskommune, 2018). With the increase in immigrants settling in Trøndelag, family-related migration has also become a prevalent feature within this county. As a result, many children of labour migrants attend upper secondary education alongside native pupils (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

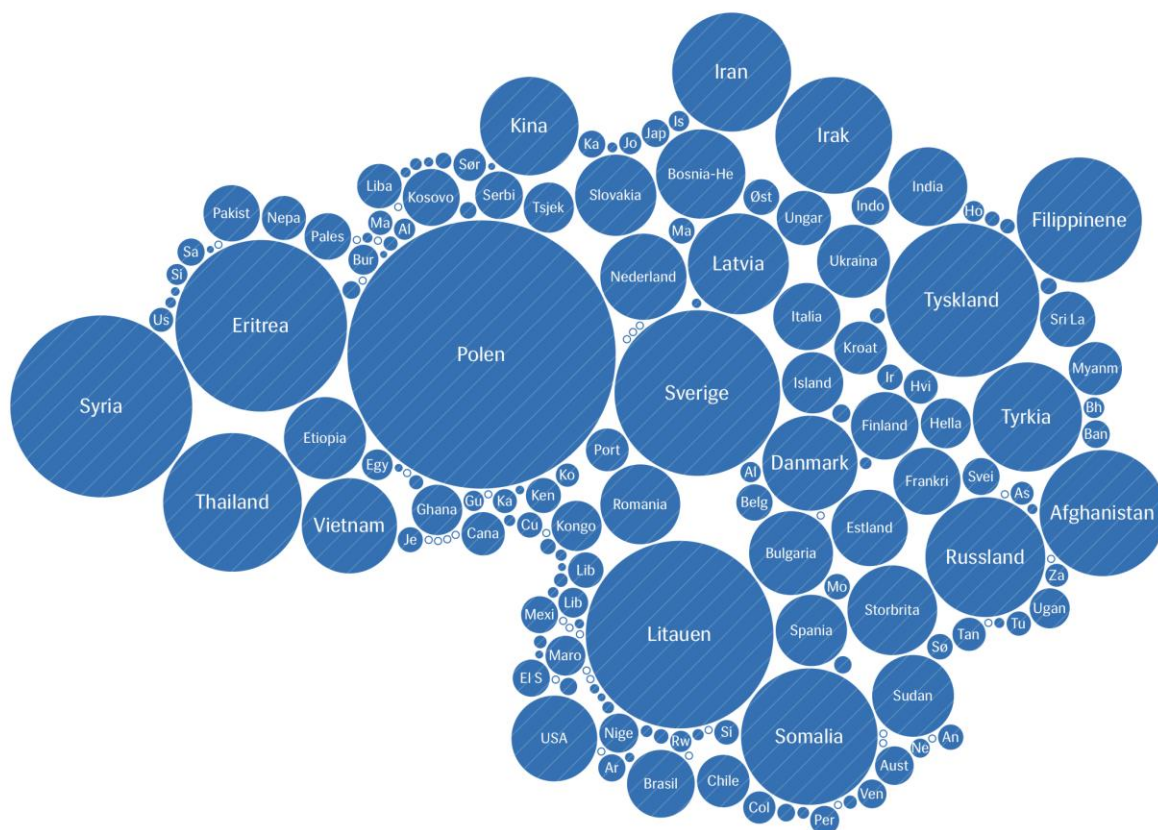


Figure 3 Number of persons with migrant background categorized by nationality in 2018, in Trøndelag (Integrerings-og mangfoldsdirektoratet, 2018).

## 7.2 Case study: Children of labour migrants in upper secondary education: Trøndelag in perspective.

Based on the theoretical framework, the study will apply central components in order to analyze how the schools can or should facilitate an integration process for the target group at hand. This study has selected three main components which will be applied to analyze the specific target group: School management, coordination of staff and pedagogical strategies, such as class organization and strategies for teaching. In what ways have the different schools approached and implemented the different components and what are the effects of this on the integration process for children of labour migrants?



## 7.2.1 School management

### City school

The headmaster at the urban school describes their core values as being “engaging, inclusive and proper” (City school, 2019a). Based on these values, the school wishes to promote a multicultural environment (City school, 2019a). The school is described as a place where different cultures meet and are intertwined and where there should be no room for assimilation strategies. The main goal should be to promote a two-way learning process that encourages tolerance, openness and cooperation (City school, 2019a). In order to facilitate such goals, the school has made it its mission to create a solid management team that is able to lead the school in the right direction. In this case, the headmaster’s main goal has been to lead, what is defined as being a “well-oiled machine” of school leaders (City school, 2019a). In other words, the headmaster believes that if one is able to hire competent employees and delegate responsibilities appropriately, one has succeeded as headmaster.

It is absolutely crucial for the leadership team to be in agreement, in order for everything to spread out to the rest of the organization. (...). It will never be possible for a headmaster or other leaders to be around all of the other employees at all times. We have to trust everyone to play their part. But it all begins by signaling to everyone where we are going, what we wish to focus on and plan things in a coherent manner (City school, 2019a).

Furthermore, the headmaster explains the importance of having a relational approach to other leaders, teachers and the pupils themselves (City school, 2019a). For leaders and teachers to meet the needs of minority pupils, such as children of labour migrants, a relational approach needs first to be promoted at the top of the management latter. Having a relational approach as a leadership style is described as demanding. Leaders need to work transparently and be receptive of criticism or certain objections. However, the process is also described as being rewarding. With transparency and openness it is possible to constantly look for improvement (City school, 2019a).

Despite a well-structured leadership team, the headmaster admits to the fact that there is still work to be done regarding the specific target group. The headmaster explains how they may talk of change and the importance of continuing to develop as a school, but how the focus has not been clear enough with regards to these children (City school, 2019a). Very often, the leadership has relied on other teachers at the department level to carry out the work. Furthermore, the informant explains how leaders may not have good enough insight as to how things really are for this target group (City school, 2019a). In order to improve on this matter, the headmaster admits to the fact that raising the level of collective competence must be prioritized. In order to do so, the school pinpoints the value of raising the quality of staff meetings, but also larger meetings where everyone gathers during the school year. In smaller gatherings, such as staff meetings, the headmaster states how the target group should be highlighted more often to increase employees' awareness of how to work with these children (City school, 2019a). This could be a way of preventing general assumptions about how well migrant labourer's children fare in the education system and relating to them only as "minorities". In larger settings, the leadership has been criticized for arranging events where topics are more often discussed on a general level, rather than addressing specific cases. In order to rectify this problem, the school must improve in terms of inviting lecturers to come and share experiences and knowledge about labourers and their children (City school, 2019a). In addition, the management team should be able to invite the pupils themselves to come and share their experiences (City school, 2019a).

### District school

The district school describes itself as being a "MOT-school" (MOT, n.d). MOT is a life skills concept with the sole intention of improving peoples social environment and quality of life (MOT, n.d). Based on this concept, the school strives towards the vision of creating a warmer and safer community for its pupils through four core principles: working proactively, seeing the whole person, reinforcing the positive and giving culture-builders responsibility (MOT, n.d). In order to facilitate such goals, the school's leadership has chosen to give the teachers and other employees much of the responsibility with regards to meetings and dealings with minority groups, such as children of labour migrants. Although the school's leadership has regular meetings, much of the planning and in-depth meetings concerning the target group is delegated to teachers that are specialized in the field (District school, 2019a). Furthermore, it is expressed how time is a great hindrance when it comes to having more in-depth discussions

about the group. Despite regular meetings, topics related to children of labour migrants are more often discussed in general terms (District school, 2019a).

The school works very systematically, throughout the whole school year, with a clear plan. But we do not work specifically with children of labour migrants. We look at the student mass as a whole and how we can facilitate in the best possible way (District school, 2019a).

In other words, much of the responsibility is delegated to employees with specialized competence. When asked about how the leadership provides guidance for the work that is being done with the target group, the headmaster replies:

As headmaster I do not participate in these discussion. You would have to ask someone who works with this more specifically. Unfortunately, I do not have the time. It is not possible for me to partake in many of the very specific cases. This must be handled by others in the staff (District school, 2019a).

If the specific target group is to be discussed, a special education teacher is invited to share experiences, goals and strategies regarding their specific needs.

We have meetings where the special education teacher presents us with how many there are in that category and how we should facilitate them. Then we have a discussion on the subject. So in that sense, we discuss the target group in the leadership team as well (District school, 2019a).

Despite the leadership's focus on giving the special education teacher and other staff members much of the freedom to decide how the lectures and integration process should be handled, some have explained that the coordination between the leadership team and the teachers could be improved (District school, 2019a). Some have expressed a wish to prioritize more meetings to discuss the specific target group on a more in-depth level. Furthermore, the district school went through a transition phase a few years back, where two upper secondary schools became intertwined and went from having two separate headmasters to having only one (District school, 2019). In an evaluation process of this transition phase, an employee survey was carried out. The results found that many of the employees have been dissatisfied with the leadership at the

school in the new phase. One informant has stated that as a result of the merge, the work related to children of labour migrants and other minorities has been neglected on one level or another (District school, 2019c). In relation to the work that is being done by the leadership, the headmaster states that there is always room for improvement. The management team must continue to learn how to organize and distribute their resources in relation to the specific target group.

I believe we can always learn how to be more clever at organizing the resources we have when it comes to this and other target groups. There is always a need to learn from others and listen to how others have organized things. One cannot possibly come to the right conclusions on one's own all the time (District school, 2019a).

### Discussion

A school's leadership team can play a crucial role in the sense that they are the ones who determine in what way the school should facilitate an inclusive and productive learning - and social environment for children of labour migrants (Hauge, 2007, pp. 289-291). They are the ones who determine how much time and resources should be spent on the target group, in addition to having the responsibility of hiring and involving competent employees such as teachers, counselors and therapists in the process.

In terms of leadership strategies, the two schools have both similar and different strategies when facilitating the target group. The schools are similar in the sense that both leaderships admit to the fact that they have an important role to play in the integration process for the migrant children (City school, 2019; District school). Both schools highlight the importance of promoting an education system that values a multicultural environment and a place where children of labour migrants are welcome. Sharing this focus shows how both leadership teams wish to be committed to the work that is being done. On another level, the two leaderships differ to some extent. Although they agree to the fact that a management team is an important component, results show how the district school's leadership style relies more heavily on a bottom-up approach with regards to issues concerning the target group (City school, 2019a). Here, specialized teachers and other staff members are given somewhat more responsibility. On one level, this strategy gives the employees within the field the freedom and opportunity to work more independently with the target group. The experiences and strategies are then presented at the top, giving the leadership insight into the inner workings with the target group.

On another level, a bottom-up approach could result in teachers experiencing a lack of support and coordination between themselves and with their leaders.

Although the city school's leadership style has given its staff much of the same freedom, they still indicate a wish to strive towards a top-down approach in relation to the work that is being done (City school, 2019a). The leadership clearly expresses the importance of becoming more clever at discussing and defining the target group on a higher and more formal level, before staff members implement strategies in their day to day activities. Based on these findings, it is possible to argue that a top-down leadership approach could secure these children with a better and more stable educational framework. In order to give teachers the freedom they need to work with children of labour migrants, the leadership must first provide the staff with the definitions and goals they need to facilitate the group in school (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

### **7.2.2 Teachers in a multicultural environment: Coordination and cooperation**

#### City school

Both teachers and environmental therapists are involved in the work related to the specific target group at this school (City school, 2019b; City school 2019c). In relation to the coordination between teachers, it has been highlighted that cooperation through communication is vital to achieve success. More specifically, the teachers try to communicate through meetings and share experiences across the different subjects that are taught. Although the teachers may follow different strategies for teaching, everyone agrees that sharing experiences creates a transparent system between colleagues, which is of vital importance for this target group City school 2019b; City school, 2019c). In order to facilitate children of labour migrants, teachers need to be in agreement on how they view these children and how they should facilitate them in the best possible way.

In relation to the teachers, we are very caught up with cooperation and sharing the different programs that we make. (...) This is something we do all the time and we also help each other with adaptive assignments for our pupils (City school, 2019b).

In addition to the coordination between teachers, the urban school has chosen to create a separate team of workers, consisting of environmental therapists. The sole purpose of this team is to create an additional support for teachers who work with specific target groups, such as

children of labour migrants (City school, 2019c). The main function of environmental therapists has been to relieve teachers and other staff members from some of the responsibilities concerning these children (City school, 2019c). In the classrooms, environmental therapists are able to help child migrants with specific tasks, making it easier for the teacher to focus on the academic aspects of the lectures. Outside of the lectures, therapists also interact with pupils during recess and other activities. When asked why it is important to have environmental workers at the school, one informant replies how:

It is very important. it is all about the distribution of roles. The teachers should be able to facilitate good teaching and we should facilitate a healthy working environment. We are responsible for the psychosocial environment, everything that is not purely about teaching. We have a good relationship with the teachers. We complement each other. It is important that the teachers have time to educate. Then we can take care of the rest (City school, 2019c).

#### District school

At the district school, coordination between teachers is also regarded as vitally important. If coordination between teachers is not in place, the focus and work related to this target group could crumble (District school, 2019b). One informant describes how different teachers enter the school at different stages and should there be a lack in coordination and communication between staff members, facilitation of child migrants may suffer. One informant describes how:

Coordination is vital. It must be a priority, or else the system crumbles and the work becomes a bit random, all depending on who does it and what kind of teachers these pupils get (District school 2019b).

Although the informants agree to the fact that coordination between teachers is of importance, there are some existing differences in opinion as to how the staff chooses to define the integration process for these pupils. One informant states how children of labourers wish to become as Norwegian as possible. They have shown tendencies of not wishing to speak their native language or travel back to their native country to work (District school, 2019c). It has therefore been easy to assume that the children experience the transition phase as positive and that they function as normal pupils. However, another informant comments on the fact that it is important to remember that many of these children have been taken out of their homes and

away from everything they know to be safe. It must therefore be a teacher's responsibility to ensure that they are understood in their new environment (District school, 2019b). One informant reflects upon this by stating that:

I believe we have to show them understanding and give them the possibility to travel home and stay for a while from time to time. There has been some discussion regarding this particular topic. There may have been some differences in opinion in the teaching staff, but, yes, show consideration regarding their situation and their language deficiencies (District school, 2019b).

Furthermore, some of the teachers express a wish to enhance the level of coordination and cooperation related to the target group at hand. Here, some of the informants express a wish to receive more resources in connection with the work that is being done in the classrooms (District school, 2019b). Interviews with the teachers reveal that teaching a mixed class of natives and children of labour migrants can sometimes be experienced as a burden to some extent. Some feel that there should be more teachers in the classroom and that more time should be given to the specific lectures. When asked about whether the school has implemented additional working groups, such as environmental therapists, the informants clarify that this is not provided and that teachers need to multitask different roles. When confronted with the possibility of implementing such a team, some of the informants admit to the fact that they have not considered such an option. Others explain that the decision has been based on the size of the school and how they have chosen to distribute the resources they have been given (District school, 2019a). In order to enhance coordination between staff, one informant describes how it would be useful to implement a log system that could enhance the level of transparency and brainstorming between employees. With such a system, teachers could log in their experiences and ideas for lectures, in a shared system. One informant describes how:

I wish we had a log system, so when I work with a pupil, I can write my experiences in a system and other teachers can see what I have done. This way, it would be easier to follow up pupils. Right now, no such system exists (District school, 2019c).

## Discussion

The two schools share many of the same viewpoints regarding the target group. Both argue that meetings and coordination between staff members creates a safer and more stable environment for these children (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). However, the study is able to provide insight into the importance of supplementing a schools' workforce with environmental workers. Based on the analysis of the two schools, the study shows how teachers more often experience the work with this target group as less overwhelming if they have the support of therapists within and outside of the lectures (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). It is possible to argue that implementing and prioritizing such a team may be crucial in order to integrate children of labour migrants. To facilitate these children with a stable and healthy integration process, teachers should not have the sole responsibility for these children. It is possible to argue that teachers do not have the capacity to be the sole caretakers. The main question with regards to this topic, is whether a school's size or the freedom to distribute resources, should determine how well the teachers and the specific target group is provided for.

Furthermore, the study is able to reveal that communication and coordination must become more heavily prioritized (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). The study reveals tendencies of disagreement regarding how one should view the integration process for these children. Some assume that the children are well integrated, whereas others display a concern with regards to this assumption (District school, 2019b). In order to prevent such tendencies it is crucial that the coordination and communication between teachers and staff members is enhanced. One way of doing this, is to create a better communication system between staff members, in addition to regular staff meetings. The main benefit with such a system is the possibility of creating an arena of awareness. Within such a system, teachers become more aware of the challenges that the specific target group faces and how other teachers deal with them.



## 7.2.3 Pedagogical strategies

### 7.2.3.1 Class organization

#### City school

The urban school has chosen to operate with three class models for minorities: regular classes, regular classes exclusively for minority students and reception classes (City school, 2019b). Many of the labour migrant children and other minorities who have been in Norway on a long-term basis and that have reached a satisfactory level of Norwegian are able to join other natives in this class model. Minorities, such as children of cross border labourers, who have been in the country on a short - term basis and know little Norwegian are placed in reception classes. Those who are able to complete this class, will have the opportunity to apply for admission to higher levels of education at the particular school. Lastly, minority pupils at the school have in recent years been able to apply for a transfer to a regular class that only facilitates minorities. In this class, minority students are able to attend a regular class structure exclusively for minorities. (City school, 2019a). However, this option has been phased out and will no longer be an alternative in the future.

“We have all types of pupils, placed in different class models. If pupils have just arrived to the country, the county can choose to place them in reception classes. We also have students who are labeled as high-functioning, and that have learned the Norwegian language in three months and have the need to move on to more advanced classes. Then we have the possibility of offering them a place in regular classes (City school, 2019a).

When the school is asked about how they would define the educational experience for children of labour migrants, some informants admit to the fact that it is easy to assume that the children are well adjusted and well-integrated (City school, 2019a). Many of the children have already been in the country on a long-term basis, many of them have completed lower secondary education and acquired solid language skills. Many within this target group have also arrived to the country with parents that have entered into highly qualified professions in the city (City school, 2019a). In addition, many have transferred from school systems similar to the Norwegian model. The existing factors make it easy to assume that the children are capable of becoming successfully integrated in regular classes.

“In this category, we are very often talking about resourceful pupils from resourceful families. Very often they are well integrated before they come to us, because they have lived in the country for a few years. Completed lower secondary school for instance. Of the ones I know of here, you would not know if they were foreigners until they start speaking their native language” (City school, 2019a).

However, regular classes are also filled with children of labour migrants who have only been in the country on a short-term basis. In the eyes of the government, some of the labour migrant children are perceived as resourceful and well-equipped pupils and do not need to attend reception classes beforehand. As a result, many of the teachers experience that these pupils enter a regular educational pathway of which they are not prepared for.

Having the county label these children as well-equipped pupils, can be experienced as a great crisis and a shock for these children. The pupils may not be ready to complete social science or natural science courses in Norwegian, if they have only lived in the country for a year or two (City school, 2019b).

When referring to children of labour migrants in reception classes or regular classes exclusive for minorities, the informants have admitted to the fact that the target group very easily blends in, in other ways. Although a minority class consists of different target groups, it has been easy to look at the group as one whole unit and not separate the different minorities. One informant even admits to the fact that it is easy to categorize children of labour migrants in the same category as refugee children (City school, 2019a). In a minority class, many of the pupils face similar challenges. A large percentage have only been in the country on a short-term basis and many of them face the same language barriers, knowing either little or no Norwegian. One informant explains that:

When I think of children of labour migrants, I very easily compare them with refugees and children that have been on the run from war. Whom are in a very different situation really (City school, 2019a).

### District school

In the district, the upper secondary school has chosen to operate with another system in relation to class models. Here, all students are to attend regular classes. In large contrast to the city school, the district school does not provide pupils with reception classes or regular classes that are exclusive for minority pupils. All students, no matter the duration in the country, are to be placed in the same classes and at the same levels of education.

They are placed in ordinary classes. And then we provide them with special education classes, where they learn Norwegian (District school, 2019a).

When the school is asked about how they would define these children's educational experience when placed in regular classes, many of the informants claim that most of the children of labour migrants have been successfully integrated. If pupils within this target group have been living in the country on a long-term basis and completed both primary and lower secondary school, they are almost recognized as Norwegian pupils by the staff.

Mainly, we think of them as ordinary pupils. They are scattered in all groups in a way. But the vast majority of them have a reasonably good language and largely know the other students from before and are mostly integrated (District school, 2019a).

The district school has chosen to only work with regular classes, explaining how they believe this system results in a better and more effective integration process for pupils. More specifically, the school believes that minority pupils learn the Norwegian language at a faster pace and that they become more used to socializing with others their age if they are all placed in the same classes (District school, 2019a). Should there be pupils who have not been in the country long and that clearly struggle with the language and with following the itinerary, the school believes it is better to support these individuals by placing more teachers in the classrooms from time to time and supplementing with additional Norwegian courses during the week.

In the big cities there are many that have the same needs and that are weak in Norwegian and so forth. Then you would have separate groups for a while. Here, we have never had separate groups. We have always thought of integration and that they should join regular classes as soon as possible. If pupils are low-functioning, we have to place staff in the classrooms. And I believe that they are more effectively integrated there, if we can provide additional support where they are (District school, 2019a).

Despite this fact, some of the teachers have expressed a concern regarding the ability to facilitate all of the different pupils within one classroom. One informant even admits to the fact that having many different pupils in one environment makes the process of being a teacher overwhelming at times (District school, 2019b).

We are not at the top of our game. We should have had more resources, due to the fact that it can be a great strain to teach such a large class with so many different pupils. We have all kinds of pupils. Some have even been here for six years and still don't know the Norwegian language that well. (...) And the teacher is responsible for all of it. So, I wish we had more teachers working in the classrooms. The lectures could be described as strenuous at times and we should have had more resources, either time or people (District school, 2019b).

### Discussion

In relation to class organization, the two upper secondary schools largely differ (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). On one level the existing differences is a result of the two schools being placed in very different regions of Trøndelag. A city school will naturally receive a larger group of pupils. In the district areas, the schools are smaller and have fewer pupils attending upper secondary education (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). It is therefore natural that the schools choose to prioritize and facilitate the target group in different ways.

On another level, the schools have chosen different paths due to different viewpoints concerning integration (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). The different strategies applied by the two schools clearly lead the units in different direction when it comes to an integration process for migrant children. Both directions offer opportunities and pitfalls.

In this case, the city school prefers to offer labour migrant's children and other minorities different options. Choosing to operate with multiple models could be viewed as beneficial in the sense that children of labour migrants are able to choose a class model that is best suited to their potential and skills (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). In doing so, the school believes minority children are given suitable alternatives that match their level of education, language proficiency and the time spent in their new homeland. Placing all students in a regular class could threaten to hamper the learning process for pupils. Some may not be able to keep up with the pace of regular classes, whereas high-functioning pupils may experience that low-functioning pupils slow down their own ability to learn at a faster pace (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

Whereas the city school prefers to operate with multiple class models for children of labour migrants, the district school has only chosen to operate with one. In contrast to the city school, choosing to include all pupils no matter their origin or time spent in the country in one class model, could also be said to be beneficial. Here, it is possible to argue that attending the same courses at the same level as natives could help them feel more normal and integrated (District school, 2019). However, the danger with this particular model is placing all children of labour migrants in the same classes as natives and taking for granted that they are well-integrated. Although some of them have lived in the country on a long-term basis and are perceived as well-functioning teenagers, many within the same target group have only been in the country on a short-term basis (District school, 2019).

Based on the different options it is possible to argue that placing children of labour migrants in regular classes, can be a success, but only if the pupils have been in the country on a long-term basis and are at a stage where they have reached a certain level of language proficiency (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). For pupils who have just arrived in the country or that have only had a short-term stay in the country, a reception class or a regular class for minorities may be a better choice in order to secure successful inclusion and integration for these pupils. Here, it is possible to argue that regular classes exclusively for minorities should not be phased out, but remain an option in upper secondary schooling.

### **7.2.3.2 Teaching strategies**

The ability to differentiate the teaching in a good way is one of the areas where we struggle the most. Placing these pupils in a reception class, for instance, alongside other minority groups without any consideration, would be like placing a German, a Spaniard and a Turk in the same classroom, believing that they all need the same approach. They are all 'Europeans'. That is often how we relate to this group and that is where we are failing (City school, 2019a).

#### City school

Teaching strategies largely depend on the class models that are used. At this particular school, regular classes mean that the pupils follow regular lectures, with the possibility of supplementing their education with additional Norwegian courses (City school, 2019b). In the reception class and the exclusive class for minorities there is a larger focus on adaptive teaching strategies for children of labour migrants.

I believe it is important to lift these pupils to a level that can help them perform well and reach a level that is identical to natives. This is a way of preventing these pupils from leaving school and not partaking in working life ((City school, 2019b).

One of the main advantages that has been highlighted with regards to teaching this group is that children of labour migrants from Eastern European countries often share the same frame of reference as natives when it comes to society in general. Many largely understand abstract concepts and themes, such as democracy (City school, 2019a; City school, 2019b). This sets the target group apart from refugee children, who do not share the same reference frames as most Europeans do.

What is very positive is that that this group has the same frame of reference as Norwegian students. It is very easy to talk about abstract things and talk about advanced topics such as democracy or society. Students from other parts of the world have some problems with these reference frames (City school, 2019b).

In order to provide children of labour migrants with assistance in the lectures, several factors are mentioned. On a more general level, the ability to show that you understand these pupils' current situation and understand that they cannot be looked upon only as "minorities" is expressed as an important teaching strategy (City school, 2019b). In order for the pupils to achieve good results and participate in the lectures, they need to feel accepted, understood and visible.

I think the most important thing is simply, communication. To show that you care. That you follow up after a session and that after teaching you go to the pupil and ask questions. Try to understand if the person has understood or needs some extra help. It can be perceived as very personal, but one has to go the extra mile and take the initiative, because the pupils do not always come to us. (...) We must be connected and look for signals along the way (City school, 2019b).

However, despite this argument, there are some existing challenges when it comes to teaching strategies for this target group. Firstly, language learning in Norwegian has been described as one of the main challenges for the target group at this school, especially for short-term pupils. In order to facilitate the existing challenges with regards to language learning, the teachers highlight the importance of being coherent when using Norwegian as the main language in all of the lectures (City school, 2019b). Being taught all subjects in Norwegian will provide these pupils with a more stable and coherent environment within the lectures.

Another challenge that is mentioned with regards to language learning is that children of labour migrants, have to learn a second language, in addition to English and Norwegian in school. One informant explains how this can be a great challenge for children of labour migrants. The informant explains how many within this target group experience the move to a different country and starting their education in a foreign land as overwhelming (City school, 2019b). In order to facilitate them, the school must learn to adjust the curriculum and expectations to individual target groups, such as this one. In order to facilitate better teaching when it comes to language learning, some feel that the system must improve in terms of studying the individual minority groups' needs and not categorize them into one whole unit, with the same abilities and weaknesses. One informant describes how it would be useful to grant these children the use of their native language, rather than having to teach them a foreign language, in addition to Norwegian and English.

It can be a challenge, because they enter the country at a stage when many of them, in their teenage years, are skeptical and have a hard time adjusting to Norwegian life. (...). The system is set up in such a way that the curriculum and the school in general, does not facilitate students who are bilingual. They are not able to use their own language as a substitute for foreign language learning (City school, 2019b).

### District school

At the district school, all pupils are placed in regular classes. In addition to these classes, the school offers additional language courses for those who wish to partake. At this school, many of the goals related to teaching strategies, mirror the city schools' visions. One informant described how the target group must be looked upon as a resource and a group that enriches Norwegian culture and society (District school, 2019b). They need to feel that they are welcome and have something to contribute with.

We should talk about them as a resource and something that enriches our society. We need to expand our expectations in terms of what these pupils should be. Or what they should do. (...) Remember them in all contexts, in all meetings. Be the ones who remember them (District school, 2019b).

In terms of challenges related to teaching strategies for this group, one informant describes how, despite sharing many of the same references as natives, there is one major cultural difference that sets this group apart from the rest. Many Eastern European children are accustomed to stricter and more regulated school systems (District school, 2019b). In addition, their relationship to teachers and other staff members is described as more formal than in Norway (District school, 2019b). As a result, some of the informants describe how children within this target group's work ethic changes within the new system. With a more laid back and less formal approach to teachers it is argued that some of the children tend to become less effective and motivated in the lectures (District school, 2019b). In order to deal with this challenge, one informant explains the importance of learning more about where these children come from and what can be done to better facilitate them. The informant explains how teachers have a lot to learn about what these children are accustomed to and how their background can be used as a resource in Norwegian schools. They also need to find better strategies that help these children



adapt to a different system (District school, 2019b). A system that has expectations and rules, but within a different package.

In addition to this description, the informants explain that it is difficult to find teaching strategies that facilitate a class made up of so many different pupils (District school, 2019b). In the regular classes, the teachers try to give the pupils different curriculums that best suit their levels. Despite this, some of the informants explain that there is a lot to consider when teaching a joint group and that it can be a challenge. Within such a class model, the teachers are given the main responsibility when it comes to facilitating the many different pupils within the same class.

It demands a lot of the teachers, much more so today, now that a class is less homogenous. It was much more homogenous before, and now you have pupils who know very little Norwegian within the class groups, with different curriculums, the same teachers and the same number of pupils. So we have to try our best (District school, 2019b).

### Discussion

When discussing teaching strategies in relation to this target group, it becomes clear that the different class models play an important role (Lane, 2017). The different models will largely determine the focus within a lecture and the chosen strategies that a teacher decides to implement (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). Based on the analysis of the two schools' class models, it is possible to argue that having different lecture-alternatives can give teachers a better platform when it comes to teaching strategies. Within the framework of the different minority classes, the teachers are able to work more thoroughly with adaptive teaching. They have the possibility to work at a slower pace with the target group and apply tools that are more tailored to the individuals' needs and abilities. This prevents the lectures from becoming too monocultural and results in providing an education that celebrates the target groups background, abilities and ideas (City school, 2019).

In relation to schools who only facilitate regular classes for all types of pupils, it is possible to argue that the integration process for children of labour migrants is speeded up and that the children have better possibilities of learning at a faster pace, being surrounded by many different pupils. Despite this fact, the analysis points to a recurring theme, which challenges this perspective. Many of the informants claim that choosing to operate with only one class model hampers the process of teaching in an adaptive and productive manner (District school, 2019). If teachers are to understand children of labour migrants' position and experiences in their new environment, one class alternative may not be sufficient. Therefore, it is possible to raise the question of whether this choice poses more challenges and hurdles than benefits for the target group at hand.

In addition to class organization, the informants at the two schools highlight several challenges related to teaching strategies for this group within a classroom context. Firstly, children of labour migrants, who have only been in the country on a short-term basis, have already grown accustomed to a different school environment (City school, 2019b). Within this transition phase, teachers must be more aware of the specific challenges that this group faces, in their meetings with new rules and authorities. Moreover, many schools are not able to offer more appropriate learning materials that suit children of labour migrants' levels. In order to provide these children with adapted teaching, teachers need larger access to learning materials that range from lower levels to high level teaching. Furthermore, there is the question teaching foreign languages to this target group (City school, 2019b). Here, it is highlighted that children of migrants should be granted the use of their native language as a third language in school, rather than having to learn another language in addition to Norwegian and English.

## **Chapter 8: Findings and conclusion**

The following chapter gives an overview of the main findings and conclusion of the research paper. The first section provides information about the main findings within the comparative case study. The second section provides some concluding remarks on the research process and further developments within the particular field.

### **8.1 In what way does the Norwegian upper secondary school facilitate integration for labour migrants' children?**

Based on the principle of lifelong learning, the study has shown how both schools wish to provide all pupils, including children of labour migrants, with equal rights to education (Dehmel, 2006). Both schools have displayed a willingness and a desire to provide the target group with the skills they need to become integrated into Norwegian society. They have both stressed how education can be a vital resource to carry out the goal of lifelong learning and in order for a multicultural society to prosper both socially and economically (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). To achieve such goals, the schools have shown both similar and different trends in relation to how they view the target group. Through an in-depth comparative analysis of the two schools, the study is able to present the findings as presented below:

In terms of management and leadership strategies, it is possible to support the theoretical assumption that a school's management team greatly determines how an upper secondary school looks upon the specific target group and the work related to them (Hauge, 2007, pp. 289-291). They have the power and influence to determine how children of labour migrants should be viewed and how much time should be devoted to facilitating this group. Based on the comparative analysis, it is possible to state that in order to be successful, a school's leadership must enhance the level and depth of discussions concerning children of labour migrants (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). The study reveals how leaders and other staff members within the field support the argument that children of labour migrants can easily become the invisible children in school. Children who are placed in regular classes are often characterized as well-functioning and successfully integrated pupils. Children who are placed in reception classes or other class models exclusively for minorities, are more often recognized as being minority students, rather than children of labour migrants more specifically (City school, 2019;

District school, 2019). In order to prevent such misconceptions from taking place, the study is able to reveal how a management team must become more aware of its shortcomings and faults regarding the work that is being done with the target group. Only through this realization, leaders are able to redefine the minority group and implement clear and structured goals as to how teachers and other staff members should work (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). The analysis clearly shows how employees and teachers are more likely to be more productive and more satisfied if a top-down approach is implemented. Prioritizing such an approach means that leaders are forced to work more structured in relation to the target group and define which goals and tools should be prioritized and implemented further by employees. If leaders do not prioritize such an approach, they are more likely to become less innovative with regards to the target group at hand (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). Without more in depth discussions on a macro level, they may not be able to obtain a critical eye as to how these pupils should be defined and facilitated in a multicultural environment.

In terms of the second component, the analysis demonstrates how cooperation between employees must be in place, in order to secure an improved academic experience for the target group (Hauge, 2007, p. 296). The study has discovered two central elements within this category of which need to be improved in upper secondary education. Firstly, the analysis proves the benefits of implementing a team of environmental workers in schools (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). The main benefit here is the ability to strengthen the coordination between teachers by adding an element of pedagogical support. The district school, which has not provided a team of environmental workers, has displayed stronger tendencies of dissatisfaction and stress within the collegiate. In contrast, the urban school has been able to provide the target group with more support, both academically and psychosocially, due to the extra support. This has also resulted in reducing levels of stress and struggles for teachers (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

In addition to this aspect, the study is able to prove how communication and cooperation between staff members must be enhanced. The analysis demonstrates how employees easily define and work with the target group differently, due to lack of communication (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). Meetings between staff members must become more heavily prioritized. In addition, creating better and more creative communication arenas should become a greater focus. In prioritizing meetings and other communication arenas, teachers and other

employees are able to work in a more transparent environment (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). It also prevents miscommunication with regards to strategies and tools when working with the target group. One specific tool of which schools should consider implementing, is a log system. Implementing such a system means that teachers are able to share their experiences, challenges and success stories on a daily or weekly basis (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

In terms of pedagogical strategies, the study has highlighted how different schools can be, in relation to adaptive teaching strategies and goals. One important finding, in terms pedagogical strategies, has been the dramatic difference in class organization for minority pupils. The study proves how the different choices concerning class models can have a significant impact on the integration process for the particular target group. The comparative study reveals how the two schools have applied very different system when receiving children of labour migrants to the schools (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). Based on the analysis, it is possible to prove that introducing different class models for this target group could increase the chances of giving children of labour migrants a more appropriate and tailored level of education that suits their needs and abilities. Choosing to operate with only one class model could pose a greater challenge for this target group (District school, 2019). Children of labour migrants who enter upper secondary levels of education, are a mixture of long-term and short-term citizens of Norway. Their background, language proficiency and ability to adapt to a new society varies. It could therefore be argued that by presenting the target group with only one option, the school as a social institution and integration area, goes against the principle of adaptive teaching and facilitation in a multicultural environment.

In addition to the link between teaching strategies and class organization, the study has been able to highlight general structures within a upper secondary school system which need to be revised. In this case, the study is able to discover that, although schools wish to facilitate a multicultural environment through adaptive strategies, the curriculums, lecture materials and programs are not always ideal for this target group (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). One specific example has been the demand for children of labour migrants to learn a foreign language, in addition to English and Norwegian. By presenting these children with such a demand, schools are not facilitating a learning environment that considers their previous background and their cultural heritage. In addition, more adapted learning materials and tools

must be implemented in order to secure learning at different academic levels (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

## **8.2 Conclusion**

The purpose of this study has been to answer the research question as follows: *In what way does the Norwegian upper secondary school facilitate the integration of labour migrants' children?* It has done so by studying previous trends within the education system, in addition to applying a specific case study to gain more detailed information about current trends. Upon examination of the research question, it is possible to conclude that there are many ways in which upper secondary schools can choose to facilitate the integration process for children of labour migrants. However, the degree to which schools are successful or not vary. The study is able to prove that the choices and strategies made with regards to school leadership, coordination of staff and pedagogical strategies can have a significant impact on the facilitation and integration of the migrant group.

The theoretical framework for this study has been implemented to gain insight into the management and development within a multicultural upper secondary school. The research at hand can be described as a complex and wide-ranging field. In order to narrow down the field of research, the theoretical framework has guided the study by selecting three main components that have helped measure the facilitation of integration. Based on previous research, the success of a schools' leadership, the coordination of staff and pedagogical strategies have been highlighted as central elements that need to be in place in order to succeed with an integration process (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016). Based on these components, the study has been able to compare two upper secondary schools and their dealings with children of labour migrants.

The main aim of this study has not been to provide data for statistical generalization (Tjora, 2012, p. 207). The main goal has been to give an indication of current trends that define upper secondary education for the selected target group. A second goal has been to provide useful information that might be further highlighted and dealt with in future work. The work builds on a comprehensive qualitative data collection. Through content analysis of previous texts, in addition to interviews, the research question has been explored. In terms of the methodological approach, I have conducted a comparative case study (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999). Based on this choice, the study has been able to contribute to the field of research in terms of highlighting the

current work that a few upper secondary schools have carried out. Due to time constraints, the study has focused on the work that is being done by the employees within the school system. In this case, the study has focused on school management and teachers.

There are many areas and components that can be explored in order to explain how Norwegian upper secondary schools facilitate the integration of labour migrants children.

(Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2016). Based on the comparative study, the research has been able to show how upper secondary schools largely differ with regards to the work that is being done in a multicultural education system (City school, 2019; District school, 2019). More specifically, they largely differ in terms of the work that is being carried out in relation to labour migrants' children. Based on the analysis and main findings, the case study at hand is able to reveal that the two schools differ within all three components that have been measured. Based on these findings, the study has been able to localize challenges and goals that should be revised. In addition, it has been able to highlight the main success areas that need to be further encouraged.

Firstly, strong leadership within upper secondary education can provide a successful integration process for the target group at hand (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

If children of labour migrants are to be well received and successfully integrated, school management must first be able to define the target group, become familiar with their background and the challenges they face. This could avoid general assumptions about how this minority group experiences the school system and the chance for these children to become less invisible in their educational environment.

Secondly, the system of coordination between employees must be enhanced, through the establishment of more tools that promote dialogue. In addition, children of labour migrants have a better chance of being seen and receiving adapted teaching, if teachers are given additional support, through the implementation of support teams, such as environmental therapists (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

Thirdly, multiple class models have proven beneficial in order to facilitate a more tailored education system for children of labour migrants. In addition, upper secondary schools must continue to strive in terms of learning more about these children's situation and backgrounds in order to facilitate adaptive teaching strategies and tools. Moreover, schools must continue to

look for materials and tools that are tailored to the different academic levels within this target group (City school, 2019; District school, 2019).

From a long-term perspective, the consequences of cross-border labour flow will largely depend on the performance of the next generation (Bratsberg et al., 2012, p. 212). The Norwegian education system has come a long way in terms of facilitating a multicultural school that seeks to integrate all groups successfully (Hauge, 2007, pp. 265-266). However, in order to enhance the level of facilitation for children of labour migrants, schools need to strive for better, more creative and practical solutions. The study does not seek to promote the assumption that all upper secondary schools must operate identically. Schools offer multiple tools, strategies and solutions that seek to promote a well-functioning integration process for the target group at hand. The main aim of this paper is, however, to promote an awareness of how a schools' leadership, the coordination and cooperation of teachers and the pedagogical choices may continue to develop in order to facilitate a better and more successful education system for the migrant group. Based on the analysis and main findings, the study is able to prove that the work related to children of labour migrants in the education system must be further enhanced. This can only be done by seeking to improve leadership strategies, the coordination of staff and the pedagogical choices within the system.

Before concluding, it should be stressed that this thesis has mostly been based on information obtained from the school staff. Other potential actors within the school system or in the wider community are missing from this picture. More importantly, the children and families have not expressed their opinions. Further research should therefore include these perspectives in an analysis of the school as an integration arena for children of labour migrants.







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## Appendix 1: List of informants

*List of informants: In-text citation*

<b>Date and place</b>	<b>Position and affiliation</b>	<b>Recording/language</b>
City school (a). 26.02.2019	Headmaster. Upper secondary school, Trøndelag.	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
City school (b). 27.02.2019	Teacher. Upper secondary school, Trøndelag.	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
City school (c). 28.02,2019	Environmental therapist. Upper secondary school, Trøndelag.	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
District school (a). 05.03.2019	Headmaster. Upper secondary school, Trøndelag.	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
District school (b). 05.03.2019.	Teacher. Upper secondary school. Trøndelag.	Recorded. Language: Norwegian
District (c). 05.03.2019	Teacher. Upper secondary school. Trøndelag.	Recorded. Language: Norwegian



## **Appendix 2: Examples of interview guides**

*Sample of interview guide for headmasters at upper secondary level of education*

### **A. Informasjon om intervjuet**

- Tema for samtalen
- Hva det skal brukes til?
- Taushetsplikt og anonymisering
- Informasjon om opptak

### **B. Oppvarmingsspørsmål**

- Hva innebærer stillingen din?
- Hvor lenge har du jobbet som rektor ved skolen?
- Hva er de mest sentrale gjøremålene dine i en vanlig arbeidsdag?
- Hva anser du som din viktigste funksjon som rektor?

### **C. Overgangsspørsmål**

- Hva kjennetegner en flerkulturell skole?
- Hvordan vil du definere begrepet «integreringsarena»?
- Hva tenker du om skolen som integreringsarena?
- På hvilken måte kan skolen operere som en integreringsarena for minoriteter i det norske samfunnet?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive «barn av arbeidsinnvandrere»?

### **D. Mottak, organisering og plassering av elevene**

- Inntak – hvordan man får en oversikt over elever med minoritetsspråklig bakgrunn som ankommer skolen?
- Hvilke land kommer de fleste barna av arbeidsinnvandrere fra?
- Når i skoleåret kommer elevene til den bestemte skolen?
- Dersom de kommer spredt gjennom hele skoleåret – hvilke rutiner har skolen for å ta imot disse elevene?

- Hvordan legger skolen tilrette for at elevene føler seg velkommen når de ankommer skolen?
- Hvordan oppleves behovet til barn av arbeidsinnvandrere ved ankomst, sammenlignet med andre elever eller innvandrerbarn?
- Organisering av denne målgruppen – Hvilke klasser blir de plassert i?

## **E. Komponenter for vellykket integrering**

### **■ MILJØFAKTORER**

- Hva mener du kjennetegner et velfungerende skole – og læringsmiljø?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive et velfungerende skole – og læringsmiljø i en flerkulturell skole?
- På hvilken måte legger skolen til rette for et støttende skolemiljø for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere?
- På hvilken måte samsvarer skolens holdninger, verdier og praksis med Kunnskapsløftets fokus på lik behandling og utdanning for alle elever?

### **■ INSTITUSJONELLE FAKTORER**

#### **Skolens lederskap**

- Hva kjennetegner gode skoleledere?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive samarbeidet i skoleledelsen?
- På hvilken måte er lederteamet ved skolen involvert i arbeid som har med undervisning og tilrettelegging for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere? Beskriv.
- Hvordan arbeider skolens ledelse for å skape bevissthet til arbeidet med integrering av denne målgruppen? (Holdningsskapende arbeid).
- Hvordan arbeider skolens ledelse for å gi gode føringer til arbeidet med integrering for denne målgruppen?
- Hva anser du som din viktigste funksjon som rektor i forbindelse med integreringsarbeidet for minoriteter?
- I hvilken grad mener du arbeidet (Mål/tiltak/føringer) som skolens ledelse gjør for integrering av denne målgruppen fungerer?

## ■ ORGANISERING AV FRITIDSAKTIVITETER

- Arrangeres det aktiviteter utenfor klasserommet?
- På hvilken måte fremmer dette integrering av minoritets elever ved skolen?

### F. Avslutningsspørsmål

#### Basert på spørsmålene som har blitt stilt:

- Hvor godt integrert mener du elevene fra denne målgruppen er i denne skolen?
- Vet du om andre skolars erfaringer med integrering av denne målgruppen?
- Hvordan vil du sammenligne denne skolens arbeid med den spesifikke målgruppen, kontra de andre skolene?
- Hva kan denne skolen lære vekk til andre skoler?
- Hva kan denne skolen lære av andre skoler?
- Hvordan mener du skolen kan fortsette å utvikle seg i arbeidet med ivaretagelse og integrering av denne målgruppen?
- Hva tror du vil kjennetegne en god videregående skole i fremtiden for denne målgruppen?
- Oppsummering av funn
  - Har jeg forstått deg riktig?
  - Er det noe du vil legge til?

**A. Informasjon om intervjuet**

- Tema for samtalen
- Hva det skal brukes til?
- Taushetsplikt og anonymisering
- Informasjon om opptak

**B. Oppvarmingsspørsmål**

- Hva innebærer stillingen din?
- Hvor lenge har du jobbet som lærer ved skolen?
- Hva er de mest sentrale gjøremålene dine i en vanlig arbeidsdag?
- Hva anser du som din viktigste funksjon som lærer?

**C. Overgangsspørsmål**

- Hva kjennetegner en flerkulturell skole?
- Hvordan vil du definere begrepet «integreringsarena»?
- Hva tenker du om skolen som integreringsarena?
- På hvilken måte kan skolen operere som en integreringsarena for minoriteter i det norske samfunnet?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive «barn av arbeidsinnvandrere»?

**D. Mottak, organisering og plassering av elevene**

- Inntak – hvordan man får en oversikt over elever med minoritetsspråklig bakgrunn som ankommer skolen?
- Hvilke land kommer de fleste barna av arbeidsinnvandrere fra?
- Når i skoleåret kommer elevene til den bestemte skolen?
- Dersom de kommer spredt gjennom hele skoleåret – hvilke rutiner har skolen for å ta imot disse elevene?
- Hvordan legger skolen tilrette for at elevene føler seg velkommen når de ankommer skolen?

- Hvordan oppleves behovet til barn av arbeidsinnvandrere ved ankomst, sammenlignet med andre elever eller innvandrerbarn?
- Organisering av denne målgruppen – Hvilke klasser blir de plassert i?

## **E. Komponenter for vellykket integrering**

### **■ Miljøfaktorer**

- Hva mener du kjennetegner et velfungerende skole – og læringsmiljø?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive et velfungerende skole – og læringsmiljø i en flerkulturell skole?
- På hvilken måte legger skolen til rette for et støttende skolemiljø for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere?
- På hvilken måte samsvarer skolens holdninger, verdier og praksis med Kunnskapsløftets fokus på lik behandling og utdanning for alle elever?

### **■ Skolens lederskap**

- Hva kjennetegner gode skoleledere?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive samarbeidet i skoleledelsen?
- På hvilken måte er lederteamet ved skolen involvert i arbeid som har med undervisning og tilrettelegging for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere? Beskriv.
- Hvordan arbeider skolens ledelse for å skape bevissthet til arbeidet med integrering av denne målgruppen? (Holdningsskapende arbeid).
- Hvordan arbeider skolens ledelse for å gi gode føringer til arbeidet med integrering for denne målgruppen?
- Hva anser du som din viktigste funksjon som rektor i forbindelse med integreringsarbeidet for minoriteter?
- I hvilken grad mener du arbeidet (Mål/tiltak/føringer) som skolens ledelse gjør for integrering av denne målgruppen fungerer?

### ■ **Koordinering av innsats og samarbeid mellom lærere**

- Hva mener du kjennetegner gode lærere i en flerkulturell skole?
- På hvilken måte mener du lærere spiller en nøkkelrolle i integreringsprosessen for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere? Beskriv.
- På hvilken måte er lærere ved skolen involvert i arbeid som har med undervisning og tilrettelegging for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere? Beskriv.
- Hvordan arbeider skolens lærere for å skape bevissthet og gi god nok prioritering til arbeidet med integrering av denne målgruppen?
- Hvor viktig er koordinering av lærernes kompetanse og innsats for arbeidet med denne målgruppen?

### ■ **Organisering av undervisning**

- Hvilket behov har denne målgruppen i undervisningen, sammenlignet med andre barn/innvandrerbarn?
- Hvordan legges undervisning tilrette for integrering av den bestemte målgruppen (faglig sett)?
- Hva er ditt syn på begrepet «tilpasset opplæring»?
- Hvordan driver du med tilpasset opplæring?
- Hvordan driver du med tilpasset opplæring ovenfor den bestemte målgruppen?
- På hvilken måte driver skolen med tilpasset opplæring for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere i undervisningen/faglig sett?
- På hvilken måte organiserer dere språkopplæringen for barn av arbeidsinnvandring ved denne skolen?
- Hvorfor denne organiseringen?
- Forskjell på barn av arbeidsinnvandrere og andre flerspråklige barn?
- Møter dere utfordringer i den særskilte tilretteleggingen av målgruppen?
- Hvilke resultat har dere fått fra de ulike undervisnings oppleggene?

### ■ **Organisering av fritidsaktiviteter**

- Arrangeres det aktiviteter utenfor klasserommet?
- På hvilken måte fremmer dette integrering av minoritetselever ved skolen?



## **F. Avslutningsspørsmål**

### **Basert på spørsmålene som har blitt stilt:**

- Hvor godt integrert mener du elevene fra denne målgruppen er i denne skolen?
- Vet du om andre skolars erfaringer med integrering av denne målgruppen?
- Hvordan vil du sammenligne denne skolens arbeid med den spesifikke målgruppen, kontra de andre skolene?
- Hva kan denne skolen lære vekk til andre skoler?
- Hva kan denne skolen lære av andre skoler?
- Hvordan mener du skolen kan fortsette å utvikle seg i arbeidet med ivaretagelse og integrering av denne målgruppen?
- Hva tror du vil kjennetegne en god videregående skole i fremtiden for denne målgruppen?
- Oppsummering av funn



## **Appendix 3: Information letter**

*Information letter to anonymous informants:*

**Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet**

### **“A qualitative analysis of upper secondary schooling for labour migrant’s children”**

#### **Formål**

Hovedfokuset for masteren skal være på barn av arbeidsinnvandrere i Norge og utdanning av denne målgruppen. Her ønsker jeg hovedsakelig å studere skolen som samfunnsinstitusjon og dens rolle når det gjelder integrering av ungdommer fra denne målgruppen i det norske samfunnet. Oppgaven skal baseres på et kvalitativt studie, hvor jeg sammenligner en byskole med en skole i distriktet. Her ønsker jeg blant annet å kunne intervju rektor og lærere i skolen, og skoleansvarlig eventuelt kommunen om tiltak/tilbud/opplegg/regelverk og effekten av disse for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere.

Problemstilling: Hvordan opererer skolen som integreringsarena for barn av arbeidsinnvandrere?

Masteravhandling.

Opplysninger kan benyttes til videre forskning innenfor feltet.

#### **Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?**

NTNU

#### **Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?**

Jeg ønsker å intervju rektor, ansvarlige på kommunenivå, lærere/miljøarbeidere og elever for å samle inn relevant data til oppgaven min.

## Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det at du deltar i et personintervju. Intervjuet inneholder spørsmål om din rolle i forhold til skolen og spørsmål om tiltak/opplegg/regelverk i forbindelse med arbeid med minoritets elever. Opplysningene blir samlet inn ved bruk av lydopptak og notater.

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

### **Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger**

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrevet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Veileder

- Veileder vil ha innsyn i prosjektet.
- Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data.

### **Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?**

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 15.05.2019. Ved endt prosjekt slettes alt og informasjonsskriv blir makulert. Jeg vil også bekrefte elektronisk at alt er slettet ved endt prosjekt.

### **Dine rettigheter**

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

### **Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?**

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra NTNU har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

**Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?**

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- NTNU ved Malin Reynolds Aronsen, [malinrnlds@gmail.com](mailto:malinrnlds@gmail.com) / Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia, [francisco.beltran.tapia@ntnu.no](mailto:francisco.beltran.tapia@ntnu.no)
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost ([personvernombudet@nsd.no](mailto:personvernombudet@nsd.no)) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

**Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. (oppgi tidspunkt)**

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(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

