## Tara Solum Aksnes

# "It is the adults that must do something"

A Qualitative Case Study of Section Heads' Understanding of the Education Offer to Newly Arrived Migrant and Refugee Children in Trondheim Municipality

Master's thesis in applied pedagogy (profesjonsrettet pedagogikk) Supervisor: Armend Tahirsylaj May 2023



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Norwegian University of Science and Technology Faculty of Social and Educational Sciences Department of Teacher Education



### **Abstract**

Newly arrived migrant and refugee children (NAMR children) receive a separate offer of education in Trondheim municipality prior to joining mainstream education. The primary objective of the introductory offer (IO) is to learn Norwegian language sufficiently for school attendance and participation. The rationale of this master's thesis is to investigate the perspectives of, and challenges faced by, school section heads concerning the offer for NAMR pupils through a qualitative approach. The research question is the following: How do section heads understand the education offer for newly arrived migrant and refugee children in Trondheim municipality?

To undertake the study, the theoretical framework borrows from a number of theoretical strands, namely recognition theory, Bildung, research on traumas and self-worth, inclusion and exclusion, multilingualism and second language acquisition, as well as transformative leadership. How to properly include and integrate NAMR children into the Norwegian school context is a complex task, which is also the reason for the theoretical framework being broad. The data material is based on semi-structured interviews of five section heads (SH) with work responsibility of NAMR children. By using a thematic analysis, the findings on how section heads understand the introductory offer for NAMR children are presented through two main umbrella thematic categories, including 1) opportunities, and 2) challenges. The findings suggest that the SH found the IO to be highly important for a variety of reasons, although there are unresolved challenges. The aim of the study is to accentuate the normative aspects, as well as to identify opportunities and challenges with the IO as understood by section heads. This resonates with the social constructivist perspective that the paper relies on, where there is an acknowledgement of humans and culture being mutually constitutive. Thus, exploring perceptions, understandings, experiences, attitudes and perspectives of school professionals in the school context is important for unpacking ways in which school professionals such as section heads deal with the complexities of integrating and including NAMR children into a new education system.

## Sammendrag

Nylig ankomne migrant- og flyktningbarn (NAMR-barn) mottar et separat utdanningsløp i Trondheim kommune før de overføres til ordinær undervisning. Hovedhensikten til innføringstilbudet er å lære norsk språk tilstrekkelig til å kunne delta i skolen. Målet med denne masteroppgaven er å undersøke perspektivene og utfordringene til avdelingsledere vedrørende innføringstilbudet til NAMR-barn gjennom en kvalitativ tilnærming. Problemstillingen er følgende: Hvordan forstår avdelingsledere utdanningstilbudet til nylig ankomne migrant- og flyktningbarn i Trondheim kommune?

For å gjennomføre studien låner det teoretiske rammeverket elementer fra en rekke teorier og forskning, nemlig anerkjennelsesteori, danning (Bildung), forskning knyttet til traumer og selvverd, inkludering og ekskludering, flerspråklighet og andrespråkslæring, i tillegg til transformativt lederskap. Hvordan NAMR-barn skal inkluderes og integreres på en tilstrekkelig måte i det norske skolesystemet er en kompleks oppgave, noe som også er årsaken til at det teoretiske rammeverket er tematisk bredt. Datamaterialet er basert på semistrukturerte intervjuer med fem avdelingsledere med arbeidsansvar for NAMR-barn. Ved å benytte en tematisk analyse er funnene om hvordan avdelingsledere forstår innføringstilbudet til NAMR-barn presentert i to tematiske paraplykategorier, inkludert 1) muligheter, og 2) utfordringer. Funnene antyder at avdelingslederne oppfatter innføringstilbudet som høyst viktig, av en rekke årsaker, men at det likevel er uløste utfordringer. Målet for denne studien er å fremheve normative aspekter, samt hvilke utfordringer og muligheter avdelingsledere opplever. Dette samsvarer med det sosialkonstruktivistiske perspektivet som ligger til grunn for oppgaven, hvor det er en anerkjennelse av at mennesker og kulturen er gjensidig konstituerende. Dermed er det viktig med utforsking av oppfatninger, forståelser, erfaringer, holdninger og perspektiver hos ansatte i skoleverket, for å få frem måter som ansatte, slik som avdelingsledere, håndterer kompleksiteten i å integrere og inkludere NAMR-barn inn i et nytt skolesystem.

#### Forord

Etter fem lærerike, spennende og utfordrende år ved grunnskolelærerutdanningen er det nå vemodig at det snart er over. Samtidig har både studiet og masteren vært inspirerende, og jeg ser frem til å ta fatt på rollen som lærer.

Arbeidet med denne masteroppgaven har vært et resultat av støtte, hjelp og inspirasjon fra en rekke mennesker, både i direkte forbindelse med selve oppgaven, men også mer indirekte. Først og fremst har min veileder, Armend Tahirsylaj, vært helt avgjørende gjennom hele prosessen, med sin kunnskap og profesjonelle integritet. Tusen takk for veiledning, konstruktive tilbakemeldinger, refleksjoner, utfordringer og støtte! Jeg er svært takknemlig for samarbeidet. I tillegg er jeg takknemlig for støtten fra min far, som både har kommet med konstruktive tilbakemeldinger på denne masteroppgaven, men også har inspirert mitt generelle samfunnsengasjement. Videre ønsker jeg å takke både de gode foreleserne jeg har hatt i sosialpedagogikk, men også foreleserne fra engelskseksjonen ved Institutt for lærerutdanning. Sistnevnte er en viktig årsak til at jeg valgte å skrive denne oppgaven på engelsk. Da jeg skulle ta valget om masterretning var jeg svært interessert i mulighetene ved begge fagseksjonene. Jeg opplever at denne masteroppgaven muliggjorde en kombinasjon, der sosialpedagogiske og språklige tematikker blir utforsket i sammenheng. Jeg er takknemlig for at de to fagseksjonene har fremhevet tverrfagligheten ved de ulike emnene gjennom studieårene.

En forutsetning for at denne masteroppgaven ble en realitet er informantenes vilje til å la seg intervjue. Tusen takk for at dere delte av deres tid, og takk for at dere delte erfaringer, tanker, meninger og utfordringer. Det har vært både faglig og personlig givende. I tillegg er jeg takknemlig for hjelpen fra Fagenhet for oppvekst og utdanning i Trondheim kommune. Dere ga meg god informasjon i begynnelsen av prosjektet, og bidro også til å komme i kontakt med aktuelle personer.

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Trondheim, mai 2023 Tara S. Aksnes

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## Abbreviations:

IO – Introductory offer

NAMR children – Newly arrived minority and refugee children

SH – Section head(s)

SLA – Second language acquisition

#### 1. Introduction

Norway, like the rest of Europe, has become increasingly diverse, and this diversity is also present in the school community. According to Ministry of Education and Research (2020) "School must consider the diversity of pupils and facilitate for each pupil to experience belonging in school and society. (...) Therefore, we need acknowledgement and appreciation of differences" (p. 5). Children arriving in Norway as refugees or migrants represent one such diverse group that the school is obliged to educate, include, and appreciate. However, previous research indicated that professionals experience great challenges in their work with newly arrived migrant and refugee (NAMR) children (Norozi, 2019). To get a better understanding of these challenges, the research question of the study is as follows: How do section heads understand the education offer for newly arrived migrant and refugee children in Trondheim municipality? Most NAMR children are enrolled in an introductory offer (IO) for a period before they are transferred to mainstream education. This research question will be explored by investigating what opportunities and what challenges the section heads with responsibility for IOs identify regarding the educational situation of NAMR children.

How the target group is addressed varies in different papers and contexts. For example, Norozi (2019) has referred to the group as newly arrived minority language pupils (NAMLPs). Others again have simply used the term minority language students, such as (Hilt, 2016). Indeed, language is a central aspect when educating and integrating the target group. However, as will be accentuated in this study, language is only one aspect among many others in which the professionals working with this group must consider. Therefore, the term newly arrived minority and refugee (NAMR) children encompass this complexity better for the purpose of this study. This is a term that has been used in previous research (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al., 2020). They will be referred to as children and pupils interchangeably, as both these terms applies.

NAMR children pose an interesting and important case for several reasons, which is also an important motivation behind this study. Firstly, multilingualism in the school context should be an asset according to the core curriculum, yet much instruction and schoolwork is still in the majority language, i.e. Norwegian. Therefore, how to enable NAMR children to participate in a satisfactory way in the school requires special measures. Secondly, many NAMR children have traumatic experiences in the past, as a result of migration and other experiences that prompted the need for migration. The study builds on an acknowledgement that all experiences and aspects of a person's life will indeed have an impact on their current role as a pupil and as a democratic citizen. However, this acknowledgement also entails that the education system cannot be understood in a vacuum. Rather it should be perceived as a significant institution in the society that is mutually dependent on other institutions and aspects of the society. This is an important premise in the text. Thirdly, these are children with completely different backgrounds, and some even with little or no school background. In the Norwegian context, where education is compulsory and the grades are sorted according to age, being newly arrived, with no knowledge of the majority language or with the same academic references or knowledge as their peers, NAMR children stand out academically and socially. Thus, including them in the same system, where the goal is that they should join their age group in school, is a complex task. Recent research investigating other Nordic countries has found that NAMR pupils are "(...) subject to underachievement, bullying, discrimination, and at risk of not continuing their education" (Helakorpi et al., 2023, p. 111). Even though Norway was not the focus in that study, the Nordic countries and their education systems share many characteristics, which means it is reasonable to believe that these findings potentially capture the experiences of NAMR pupils in the Norwegian context as well.

One way to think about NAMR pupils' experiences in their new school environment is to differentiate between equality and equity, in relation to education. While the two terms certainly are related, there are fundamental differences. The former implies a system which treats every pupil the same, regardless of traits of the pupil. Such an approach is not sufficient, as the different individuals are all unique, and require different approaches. The Norwegian education system does indeed acknowledge this difference to some extent. For example, it is stated in the core curriculum that the school must differentiate according to what is best for each pupil: "Differentiated instruction means that the school adapts the teaching so that all pupils have the best possible learning outcome from the ordinary teaching" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020, p. 18). The bilingual instruction that has been a prioritization in Trondheim could be one such example of differentiated instruction. However, this differentiation is only related to the teaching and instruction, not the assessments and the expected progression of the pupils. In other words, all pupils are expected to reach the same academic goals at the same time. In this context, pupils that differ from the norm in any way, like NAMR children do, pose an interesting challenge for those responsible for the schooling, as these should also be included into the same system. How to do so is not evident. The school institution is indeed inherently normative, which amplifies the need to ask normative questions about the current system and practice. The methodology of the study reads well with the aim of investigating normative questions, as it is based on interpretivism and phenomenology. Furthermore, the chosen method of qualitative, semi-structured interviews is a way of obtaining the understandings of the respondents.

The normative nature of the education system can be understood through the laws and curriculum, as well as the historical background. In Norway, children and youth have compulsory education for grades 1-10, meaning that the school institution affects every child. There are few institutions, if any, that have such direct and extensive influence. Furthermore, the curriculum, which every child must follow and be assessed on, is politically decided. In other words, the institution that every young person must be part of, is a result of different political interests and convictions. That is not to say that such political interests are either positive or negative, but rather to acknowledge that the school is an instrument for the society to reach certain goals. It is likely that there will be an even larger number of NAMR children in the Norwegian education system in the future, as more migration is expected (Thomas, 2022). This means that having a school system that manages to include and educate these people is of great importance, both for the pupils themselves, and for the society that they are becoming a part of. The rationale of this study is to further investigate the opportunities and challenges faced by school professionals concerning the offer for NAMR pupils through a qualitative approach in a Norwegian context.

In the following section, I present some theories and concepts that are central for the understanding of the complexity of educating and including NAMR children in the Norwegian education system. There is not an already existing theoretical framework that sufficiently frames this study. Rather, theories and research used here is chosen with regards to the complex task of including and educating NAMR children, which has resulted

in a framework that includes a wide range of themes. These are recognition theory and Bildung, psychosocial challenges of NAMR children, inclusion and exclusion, multilingualism and second language acquisition (SLA), and lastly, transformative leadership. This is followed by a methods section that describes the ontological and epistemological position and study approach, as well as an explanation of the analysis process. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the findings. The subsequent section presents the findings in combination with connecting it to the theoretical framework. The findings suggests that the section heads who have been interviewed are highly engaged in the quality of NAMR children's education offer, and that they were able to identify several opportunities and benefits of having a separate IO for a period, before transferring the pupils to the mainstream education. However, there seemed to be several challenges and dilemmas present, and while the respondents were willing to be self-reflective and open, there are unresolved issues concerning the education of NAMR children. The discussion summarizes main points from the findings section and suggests possible future research areas. The paper concludes that including and educating NAMR children in the Norwegian school system is a complex and continuous task, and investigating normative aspects of this can contribute to further improving their education.

## 2. Background

This section provides relevant background information on the education offer to NAMR children in Trondheim, as well as more general information regarding their schooling situation in Norway. This is followed by an explanation of the role of section heads, and why they are relevant informants in the current study.

#### 2.1. The Education Offer to NAMR Children in Trondheim

Trondheim municipality offers NAMR children an introductory offer (IO) where intensive Norwegian learning is the focus. There is currently a total of nine schools with an IO in Trondheim, where six are primary schools, and three are secondary schools. High schools, meaning grades 11-13, are omitted in this count. The instruction follows a special curriculum for basic Norwegian for minority language speakers (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020a). The instruction includes different subjects, but with an emphasis on Norwegian language. It is common that the children in primary schools, and sometimes secondary schools, join the ordinary classes for practical-esthetic subjects. The pupils in grades 8-10 are usually exempt from assessment in all subjects. The IO class size is significantly smaller than mainstream classes, with usually 10 to 15 pupils in each class. The offer has been from grades 1-10 until the school year 22/23, but from the subsequent school year, grades 1-2 are joining ordinary classes immediately. Most pupils are enrolled in the IO for one year, but pupils with little previous school background or pupils with a slow progression can be enrolled for up to two years. After this period, the children are transferred to the school that is in closest proximity of their home, which means that some children are changing school, while others are just transferred to an ordinary class within the same school.

Offering separate introductory classes is not mandatory by law, but rather how Trondheim has chosen to organize the education for NAMR children. In an official report from the government, it is recommended that there is an IO in order to give a customized offer, as this is perceived as beneficial for the pupil's chances of inclusion later (NOU2010: 7, 2010). The families of the children can choose to not accept this offer, and instead send their children directly to ordinary classes. In some other municipalities in Norway, NAMR children begin in mainstream classes immediately, and others again have separate introductory schools (Rambøll, 2016). What is required by law, is special language training, until the pupil has adequate levels to follow ordinary instruction (Opplæringslova, 1998). This can include instruction in mother-tongue, as a means to learn Norwegian, or simply intensive Norwegian instruction. Apart from that, all teachers and schools are required by law to adapt the teaching and instruction in a way that promotes learning and well-being of each individual (Opplæringslova, 1998). To summarize, NAMR children in Trondheim are offered a separate educational course for a limited time, where the aim is to integrate them into mainstream education.

Previous research has suggested that there are many challenges connected to educating NAMR children. A report from 2014 investigated the educational situation of NAMR children in Norway, where also findings from Trondheim are included. The report found that in spite of professional's support of special language training and bilingual instruction, lack of bilingual teachers was an obstacle, in addition to lack of economic resources and little prioritization in regulatory provisions (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). In addition, lack of expertise on basic language training, special education and migration thematic was

identified as another challenge among ordinary teachers (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). More recent research has suggested that the professionals responsible for educating NAMR children in Norwegian schools face complex challenges (Norozi, 2019). Another study from Scandinavia has documented a higher prevalence of mental health problems among NAMR children compared to non-migrant children, and also suggested that the school is an important factor for the health and well-being of these children (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al., 2020). Some respondents of the study reported that many NAMR pupils had specific migration-related needs, and also agreed that the school played an important role in this, but that they were "(...) lacking resources and expertise to systematically do so [address the needs], especially in the case of complex needs, e.g, trauma or migration related issues" (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al., 2020, p. 9). In addition to a lack of competence being an obstacle, there are indications of negative attitudes among some professionals working with the target group. In a study where Norwegian in-service teachers in ordinary classes were interviewed, the deficit discourse appeared to be central when discussing NAMR children (Martinsen, 2021). The deficit discourse suggests that the specific individuals lack abilities or competences, as opposed to a discourse challenging the system or societal factors. In other words, the findings of that study suggests that the transition to mainstream education might be challenging. With regards to how the pupils experience taking part in mainstream education, one study from Norway found NAMR pupils in high school found the transitions from the IO to the mainstream classes to be challenging, with a too high pace in the instruction. They attributed this challenge to limited Norwegian competence and limited prior competence in relevant subjects (Jama, 2018). While the age group in high school differs from the target group of this study, such findings still have relevance, as it is possible to assume that also younger pupils might face similar challenges. The same study found that NAMR children experienced a sense of safety in the IO, as they were together with other pupils at the same level as themselves (Jama, 2018). However, for those who had a solid school background prior to arriving in Norway, some found the academic level to be too low in the IO, which accentuate the individual differences among NAMR children. Another recent study from the Norwegian context argued that having separate introductory classes could lead to more segregation, rather than promoting inclusion (Fandrem et al., 2021). The academic performance and dropout rate has been far higher than for ethnic Norwegian pupils (Rambøll, 2016). Additionally, ethnic minority pupils have traditionally been disproportionately represented in special needs education in Norway (Pihl, 2010), indicating that the system has failed to accommodate a diverse and multicultural society. Therefore, it has been suggested that in order to handle these complex challenges, it is necessary to examine the normative aspects: "There is a need for more research to better understand the normative context and organization of reception classes that may improve the progressive adaption of ... [newly arrived minority language pupils] in reception [IO] as well as mainstream classes" (Norozi, 2019, p. 248). Therefore, this project applies a qualitative approach in order to answer the research question previously mentioned.

#### 2.2. Section Heads

Section heads (SH) [in Norwegian: avdelingsledere] are professionals at schools, whose role usually is a combination of different responsibilities. They both often have an administrative role, in addition to functioning as pedagogical leaders for the teachers in their respective school. They support and guide the teachers and are therefore in a powerful position with regards to how school matters are conducted. The section heads are often former teachers themselves, and some still do teaching in addition to the

responsibilities as administrative and pedagogical leaders. Regarding the NAMR children, the section heads are in contact with both the teachers in the introductory classes and teachers in ordinary classes, whether this is in the same school or at another school. Therefore, they have insights in the transitions from introductory classes to mainstream education. Also, the section heads are often responsible for the contact with other professional institutions, such as child services, PPT (pedagogical-psychological service), BUP (child and youth psychiatric polyclinic), Flyktninghelseteamaet (Refugee Healthcare Center) and the municipality of Trondheim. Importantly, this is a shared responsibility of different school professionals. While the teachers often are the ones who work directly with the specific cases or specific children, the section heads and principals are usually quiding and supporting these teachers. Additionally, the section heads are also often involved in the parent contact together with the teachers. Prior to enrolling a pupil in the IO, there is a meeting facilitated by the section head, with the child, parents and oftentimes an interpreter. The goal of this meeting is to exchange information, discuss the school background of the child and to uncover if there are any other aspects that are relevant for the school to be aware of. Some NAMR children have gone to school in another country for as many years as their peers. Furthermore, some of them speak English well, either as a second language or as their mother-tongue, which is useful knowledge in the Norwegian school context. Others have never gone to school in any country, and are illiterate. Others again are someplace in the middle. In other words, the background knowledge of each pupil starting in the IO varies greatly, and it is the section head that is usually uncovering this, as well as forwarding this information to relevant staff. Importantly, there are normally several section heads in a school, and the focus of this study is on those with a specific responsibility for IOs. In sum, the section heads do a variety of tasks, are in contact with a wide range of different actors, and also have a great responsibility of being a leader. As a result of this, section heads are of interest when investigating the educational offer for NAMR children. Previous research regarding the educational situation of NAMR children has included mostly the voices of either the pupils themselves, their teachers, their parents, or the principal in the school. The voices of section heads are not as prominent in research, although their work and influence are of high importance, and their understandings of the school system can provide valuable insights. Therefore, this study sought to investigate the understandings and experiences of section heads with responsibility of NAMR children through IO.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

This section is concerned with research and theories that are of relevance for the current study. It begins with an account of Honneth's theory of recognition, and its relevance for the well-being of particularly vulnerable children. This is followed by the psychosocial challenges of NAMR children, including how traumas affect their schooling. Thirdly, dilemmas of inclusion and exclusion are presented, with references to challenges of integrating a heterogeneous student population. Subsequently, research regarding multilingualism and second language acquisition (SLA) is accounted for, with an emphasis on ways SLA is a complex process. Lastly, transformative leadership is presented, as well as an explanation of its relevance for a diverse school context.

#### 3.1. Recognition and Bildung

Recognition is of high relevance in a diverse school context. Axel Honneth's theory on recognition is a theory in which recognition is understood as fundamental for humans to reach their inherent potential (Honneth, 1995). Central to this theory is that in order to live a good life, the individual is dependent on the relation to other humans and to the society in general, and that every human lives their life in a social and cultural context. The main point is that humans are dependent on recognition from their social context in order to develop a solid self. Recognition can be understood as care, warmth, and empathy, which are fundamental for humans' development of self-worth and psychological health (Jordet, 2020). Self-worth is clearly connected to mental health and quality of life (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). However, Honneth's theory of recognition is more extensive than that, and he differentiate between three forms of recognition. These include recognition as love in the private sphere, as rights in the public sphere and as social recognition in the social sphere. In other words, this theory also emphasizes that systemic conditions in the society and culture are of importance for the individual's experience of being recognized as a worthy being.

This theory has been translated to the school context, where recognition can be understood as crucial for all practices within that context (Jordet, 2020). Especially with regards to vulnerable pupils or minorities, who have a greater risk of marginalization, recognition can be of significance. Honneth's recognition term has an active component, in which Jordet (2020) has summarized as follows: Firstly, it is insufficient to simply express tolerance for an individual's or group's positive attributes. Real recognition means to actively request these attributes or characteristics, and to facilitate for them in a social community. Secondly, it is insufficient to only express recognition through language or symbolic utterances. Recognition is only credible if it is reflected in action. Lastly, only actions with a primary aim of recognizing can be categorized as real recognition. In other words, recognition cannot simply be a byproduct or instrumental, in the sense that it is done in order to gain something in return. In order to achieve this, the practices of social and cultural practices, including the school, must be under constant critical inquiry in order to uncover potential biases or discrimination (Jordet, 2020). Recognition theory works well with research on self-worth. It is possible to differentiate between an individual oriented and a social oriented perspective on how self-worth is formed and changed (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). The former relates to whether the ambitions of an individual is achieved, which means that failure in achieving one's ambitions can harm the self-worth. The latter refers to those expectations that surround an individual, including social and academic expectations in a school, and how the individual is able to meet those standards. Selfworth is a result of to what extent a person manages to meet one's own ambitions, and the ambitions of the surroundings, and to what extent there is recognition and social support to achieve this (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). In a diverse school context, Lund (2017) has argued that recognizing pedagogical practices means promoting diversity as a resource and to constantly work for an educational offer where all pupils have opportunities to learn and thrive, regardless of background. In addition, variations and differences should be recognized, communicated, and discussed. In sum, recognition as theory and practice is of relevance in all school contexts, but especially in contexts of vulnerable children.

The importance of recognition theory is further accentuated when understanding it in combination with the school's dual mission, which is the education and the all-round development, i.e. Bildung. The core curriculum asserts the following: "The school's mission is the education and all-round development (Bildung) of all pupils. Education and all-round development are interlinked and mutually dependent, and their underlying principles should help schools accomplish this dual mission" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020b, p. 2). The school's mission in educating the pupils refers to the role in teaching subjects, as well as promoting the five defined basic skills: reading, writing, numeracy, oral skills and digital skills (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020a). The concept of all-round development, or Bildung, is complex, yet highly relevant in the school context. According to Klafki, there are three core components of Bildung. Firstly, it is Bildung as capacity for reasonable self-determination. This component refers to the a "qualification for autonomy, for freedom for individual thought, and for individual moral decision" (Klafki, 2000, p. 87). The second component of Bildung emphasizes subject-development in the medium of objective-general content. This clarifies that the self-determination of Bildung is anything but subjective. Rather, the individual is part of and dependent on a larger entity. Klafki has explained it as the following:

This means that reasonableness, capacity for self-determination, and freedom of thought and action are attained *only* in the process of acquiring and examining the content of something that does not at first come from the person himself or herself, but is the objectification of activities in the culture- (...) (Klafki, 2000, p. 88).

In other words, autonomy, individuality, and self-determination is only acquired in combination with, and as a result of, the culture, society and world around. In turn, each individual also affects the world around them. Both self-determination and codetermination are important components of Bildung. The part of the core curriculum where the education and the all-round development is presented as interlinked and mutually dependent is especially interesting. Such a statement appears to acknowledge the core concept of Bildung, in that the individual's possibilities of education is highly dependent on the school community and the society at large, and how these factors can support the development of individuals in a larger community. This perspective reads well with recognition theory, in that Honneth has contended the necessity of recognition from the surroundings in order to develop a solid self (Honneth, 1995). A third component of Bildung can be referred to as solidarity, and should be understood as an act to actively promote other's capacity of self-determination and co-determination (Klafki, 1998). The concepts of recognition and Bildung can be relevant for any group of pupils. However, these concepts are especially interesting in the case of NAMR children. The school system is designed for supposed concurrent progression of the pupils, in the sense that they are assessed due to the same standards at the same age, regardless of prerequisites and level. NAMR children are thus in a situation where they are supposed to fit in academically with their age group, even though some NAMR children have less school background and another mothertongue than their peers. In other words, this group differs from the rest of the student population in significant ways, and it is therefore of interest to investigate how section heads and schools handles this difference, in a recognition and Bildung perspective.

#### 3.2. Psychosocial Challenges of NAMR Children

The children in the IO can be considered especially vulnerable for several reasons. Firstly, differences between the social, cultural, and linguistic aspects of their former home country compared to current home country is for many a major change, and the process of sociocultural adaptation and integration is complex (Fazel et al., 2012; Fazel & Betancourt, 2018). In addition to integration being demanding for the individual, many have also experienced trauma. As put by Norozi (2019), "Because of limited language ability, new culture, new school system, intensive coping process, and adaption difficulties, the time when newly arrived migrant pupils enter the new school system becomes a period of highest vulnerability" (p. 231). The combination of past traumas and struggles of adaptation can affect the child greatly: "Children and adolescents who flee persecution and resettle in high-income countries often endure great physical and mental challenges during displacement, and suffer continuing hardships after arrival" (Fazel et al., 2012, p. 266). Many different factors affect the mental and physical health, and one should be cautious to claim causality. However, there is an increased prevalence of mental health disorders among forcibly displaced children, including depression, anxiety and sleep disturbance, as well as complex comorbidities of post-traumatic stress disorder (Fazel et al., 2012; Fazel & Betancourt, 2018). Such challenges can have a direct impact on the child's ability to create a social network in the new country, learn a new language and adjust in the classroom (Fazel, 2018). It is important to note that each individual is unique, and even though there is an increased risk of health issues, this is not applicable to every NAMR child.

As it is established that psychosocial challenges might affect the learning process of the children, the very struggle of meeting academic expectations can further harm the children. As accounted for previously, not being able to meet the ambitions of the surroundings can negatively affect the individual's self-worth, which again is associated with a health risk (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). In a performance-oriented society, struggling to meet academic expectations in the school can be damaging for the individual. In order to protect the self, some children develop defense mechanisms, which can be of a wide range. Examples include low effort, procrastination, or self-inflicted handicaps. Also, some hide their results or problems, or generally devalue the school. Others might act out, have anti-social behavior, or even do violent actions (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). Importantly, all behavior should be perceived as meaningful utterances from the child (Jordet, 2020). When a child has challenges in the school context, it is the responsibility of the adults in the school to interpret all the ways in which the child is communicating, either through explicit language or through more complex feelings or behavior. Behavior can therefore be understood as an unconscious interplay between mind and body, based on previous experiences. A way to help a child out of such destructive patterns is to facilitate for persistent positive experiences that can gradually open up new reactive patterns (Jordet, 2020). Recognition is therefore of high relevance working with vulnerable children, as this is the very core of the theory.

#### 3.3. Inclusion and Exclusion

Inclusion of NAMR children is one important aspect of their integration into the Norwegian school system and society. The case of NAMR children is especially interesting from an

inclusion perspective, as they are in physically separate classes, but with an aim of joining mainstream education in the future. It is indeed a central goal in the curriculum (MER, 2020), yet defining what inclusive education really entails is not obvious. A child is neither completely included nor excluded. Rather, it is better to understand to what degree, and in what ways, a child is either included or excluded. According to Göransson & Nilholm (2014), inclusivity as a concept in research has been treated with great variation, and also actions presented to promote inclusion in education have been questioned, as the quality of the research has varied. What appears to be important, is that "(...) different understandings of inclusion should be seen to a large extent, as expressions of different views of what schools should accomplish" (Göransson & Nilholm, 2014, p. 265). In other words, normativity appears to drive how to understand inclusion as a concept, as well as how to understand the school's role in promoting this inclusivity.

While the definition of inclusion can be challenging to grasp, its opposite is clearer. Marginalization is the process where a pupil or a group of pupils gradually lose their grip of what is happening in a specific context, and where they involuntarily move towards the fringes of the social community (Jordet, 2020). In worst case, persistent marginalization can lead to permanent exclusion, which can be a result of either a lack of abilities or a lack of opportunities to participate in a satisfactory way. Jordet (2020) has referred to practices within the school institution that creates pain or suffering for the pupils as pathologies, and has argued that infringements are a result of a lack of recognition of the pupils. Such infringements can be difficult to identify, as they are often an integral part of ways of thinking and traditions in the school, but they are nevertheless crucial to problematize. Before, inclusion in the school context was limited to a small narrow group, but has evolved to encompass everyone: "(...) inclusive education has evolved from a story about children with special needs to a story about inclusive schools and inclusive learning environments for children with all kinds of physical, cognitive and social backgrounds" (Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2018). Inclusion of NAMR children is thus one important aspect, but how this inclusion can be promoted is not apparent. Hilt (2016) has argued that when encountering a more heterogeneous student population, particularly language minority speaking pupils, "homogenous educational structures lead to more educational exclusions" (p. VII). It was further argued that "While inclusion certainly has been achieved in terms of educational access for all, internal forms of exclusion may contribute to inequalities concerning educational opportunities within the educational system" (Hilt, 2016, p. V). The main argument appears to be that with a diverse school community, it is necessary to accommodate in different ways, as each individual may require a diverse set of accommodations, and simple physical inclusion is not sufficient. In conclusion, to what extent inclusion is accomplished may depend on how inclusion is defined, but is nevertheless highly important.

#### 3.4. Multilingualism and SLA

Linguistic diversity is central in a multicultural classroom, and second language acquisition (SLA) is the main objective in the IO. According to Imsen (2020) it is necessary to become proficient in the majority language to be able to function well in a society. The Nordic countries, in which Norway is a part, has a joint language policy that "highlight the equal value of all languages, yet stress that mastery of the countries' national languages is crucial for access to important parts of society, such as education and the labor market" (Peskova et al., 2023). In other words, learning Norwegian for NAMR children is central. There is extensive research describing details on how to execute systematic language

instruction to learners, and sufficient competence in a language should relate to vocabulary, grammar, reading, listening, speaking and writing (Hedge, 2000). While all these competences and skills should be at focus during instruction, there is also evidence that learning arenas outside of the classroom are of great importance. For example, creating real incentives or using authentic situations outside of the classroom for listening to the foreign language has an important value (Hedge, 2000). Achieving linguistic competence is necessary for both communication and socialization, but also in order to participate in the Norwegian school context, and the workforce in the future, as Norwegian competence is a prerequisite in a wide range of arenas. Traditionally, minority languages were perceived as a threat to learning the target language (Krulatz & Torgersen, 2018). However, it is now well documented that being bilingual or multilingual is an asset, in the sense that the mother-tongue or competence in other languages can form a supportive fundament for learning a new language (Cummins, 1981; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2018). Furthermore, it is an explicit objective in the core curriculum that multilingualism should be perceived as an asset, and that the school is obliged to facilitate in ways where the pupils experience this: "All pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020, p. 6). Yet, SLA is a process that requires patience. Historically, this is a significant shift in how to treat people with other backgrounds, as Norway has previously had a deliberate assimilation policy for groups that are not speaking Norwegian (Moen & Lund, 2017). While the values and aims have changed, achieving a school system that manages to treat minority languages as an asset is more complicated. According to Peskova et al. (2023) how second languages and mother-tongues are treated in education can be understood as a test of how well the values of social justice, equity and inclusion are implemented.

It is possible to distinguish between two forms of language proficiency: Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS), or conversational proficiency, and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), or academic proficiency (Cummins, 1981). While the former often is easier to accomplish, it usually takes several years to reach academic proficiency. Research has found that reaching a sufficient level to follow instruction fully in a foreign language usually requires five to seven years (NOU2010: 7, 2010). A pupil who has had fewer years than the rest to learn a language, can still appear to be fluent in some circumstances, even though the academic language is not yet developed. For the teacher, it can be easy to forget that even though the pupil manages to participate in everyday conversations, the learner might still struggle to understand classroom instruction or discussions. BICS competence can easily be wrongly understood as academic fluency in the foreign language. Consequently, there is a risk of pupils appearing to have lower cognitive abilities, while the struggle simply is not fully developed CALP. Pihl (2010) has found that minority language pupils in Norway have in some instances been wrongly diagnosed with learning disabilities and cognitive deficiencies, which has led to this group being disproportionally represented in special education. As previously stated, each municipality has freedom to organize the educational offer to the target group as they see fit. As a result of this, it has been suggested that this freedom also entails great power and responsibility to both the municipality and to each school (Nygård, 2018). At the same time, it has been reported that a majority of teachers want increased competence on educating linguistic minorities, and also that there are many teachers that lack formal competence on second language pedagogy (Nygård, 2018). A situation that requires assessment based on good professional judgement, but with limited competence on the target group is a challenge (Nygård, 2018). In sum, multilingualism is an asset both

according to the curriculum and according to research on foreign language acquisition, but facilitating education for multilingual pupils requires specific competence.

#### 3.5. Transformative Leadership

In an ever more diverse and complex society, the demands of school leaders are changing. It has been suggested that the demands and responsibilities of school leaders have increased as a result of expectations regarding schools from the wider society (Andersen, 2022). As a response to this, transformative leadership has been suggested as both constructive and necessary in order to meet an uncertain and complex future (Andersen, 2022). A central point is that being a school leader entails a societal responsibility. Shields (2010) has argued that transformative leadership "inextricably links education and educational leadership with the wider social context within which it is embedded" (p. 559). Transformative leadership is a theory that can be applied to different contexts, the school context included, and "(...) begins with questions of justice and democracy, critiques inequitable practices, and addresses both individual and public good" (Shields, 2010, p. 558). It is a critical theory, as opposed to similar theories such as transactional or transformational leadership, which means that it is a theory that aims at critiquing its own historical and societal conditions, and to actively take part in the struggle for a more just society (Andersen, 2022). Transformative leadership is inspired by Paulo Freire's (Freire, 1999, as cited in Shields, 2010) work on emancipatory education, and on the notion that "(...) education is not the ultimate lever for social transformation, but without it transformation cannot occur" (p. 37). Shields (2010) has argued that "Transformative concepts and social justice are closely connected through the shared goal of identifying and restructuring frameworks that generate inequality and disadvantage" (p. 566). There are eight principles that have been suggested to be central for transformative leadership; including 1) change for equity; 2) deconstruction and reconstruction of conditions for knowledge that reinforce inequality and unjust practice; 3) just power distribution; 4) emphasis on both the individual's and society's best interests; 5) highlight on liberation, democracy, equity and justice; 6) mutual dependency and global awareness; 7) balance between critique and to see solutions; and lastly, 8) moral courage (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). What follows is a brief explanation of the eight principles.

To begin with the first principle, Andersen (2022) has explained that change for equity means that the leader identifies injustices and educational structures that maintain biases in the society, and thereby acknowledges the need for change in order to create a more just educational offer. Specifically, this means rejecting an attitude of deficiency among the pupils, and engaging in dialogue and to conduct difficult conversations. As explained by Shields (2010), it is "essential to differentiate between what children have or have not been taught to do and what they are able to do" (p. 582). It is thereby closely connected to the second principle of transformational leadership. Deconstruction and reconstruction refer to a practice where mental models are challenged, and where initiating difficult conversations is central. As a means, it is important that the school leaders encourage self-reflection that can eventually lead to action and change of practice (Andersen, 2022). This can include both self-reflection in a way where the leader is actively reflecting and assessing their own role and behavior. Additionally, it can mean how the leader facilitates self-reflection among the other professionals they have responsibility for. Such selfreflection entails asking uncomfortable questions about one's own school's practice, analyzing how such practices can lead to advantages or disadvantages for certain groups of pupils, and how such practices and privileges are connected to the society in general.

The fourth principle concerns an emphasis on both the individual's and society's best interests. Even though such a balance can be challenging, transformative leadership contends that both interests are mutually dependent and equally important. The fifth dimension highlights liberation, democracy, equity and justice. This means erasing barriers that are created through prejudice and discrimination. An example can be to systemically work for improving the employees' competence on relevant issues. The sixth principle acknowledges mutual dependency and global awareness. The seventh principle of transformative leadership concerns balance between critique and to see solutions. This means that as a leader, it is important to have an optimistic perspective on the future, and to find solutions that can improve circumstances, rather than just critiquing (Andersen, 2022). The last dimension emphasizes that moral courage is necessary for leaders in order to actually be a transformative force in society. This last principle relates to a willingness to take risks in order to create a more just school. All eight principles are to a great extent closely related and mutually dependent. As stated earlier, the challenges connected to educating NAMR children are complex, and how to respond to these challenges can sometimes be uncertain. Therefore, there is a particular need for leaders that are able to navigate in such complexity. The principles of transformative leadership are general. However, in a pedagogical context, each pupil and each challenge is unique, which means that it is impossible to specific principles or procedures for every situation. In the findings section, some of these principles are highlighted, as the section heads expressed values or described actions that reflects transformative leadership. This does not mean that the section heads necessarily have a conscious relationship to this theory specifically. Rather, the theory is used to analyze the statements of the respondents.

All the different theories and research presented thus far have relevance in itself, though become increasingly relevant for this paper by perceiving it combined. In the same way as Klafki's (1998) thoughts on Bildung emphasize the interconnectedness of all aspects of a person's life, every part of the theoretical framework is relevant to understand the tasks faced by the section heads in educating and including NAMR children. For example, while the principles of multilingualism and SLA are relevant to understand this group of minority language speaking children, their past experiences of migration, and trauma for some, might have a significant effect on their schooling. This connection is highlighted in Honneth's (1995) theory of recognition, which emphasizes the importance of meeting humans according to all of what they are, and not just the expectations of the surroundings. Still, even with recognition, the dilemmas of inclusion remain, and how to promote an inclusive education system depends on both perspective and situation. Lastly, the concept of transformative leadership contributes to frame a way to understand the role of the section heads, while they are navigating all the dilemmas and complex tasks. As the rationale of the study is relatively open, and framework is thematically wide, this has implications for methodology and analysis, which is the focus of the following section.

#### 4. Methods

This section is concerned with the methods of the study. That includes an account of the ontological and epistemological position that the study builds on. Furthermore, the study approach is described, which is case study with interviews as data material. This is followed by an assessment of the validity and reliability of the study, as well as ethical considerations. Lastly, the analytical approach and thematic analysis are described, along with an account of the steps that are followed in order to reach the findings that are presented in the next section.

#### 4.1. Ontology and Epistemology

Ontological and epistemological considerations need to be addressed, as these form the base of fundamental assumptions in the research, such as what is reality and what is knowledge. This is because they do indeed determine both what to study, how to study it and how to evaluate the quality of the study. The current study is part of the epistemological tradition called interpretivism:

*Interpretivism* is a term that usually denotes an alternative to the positivist orthodoxy that has dominated the social sciences for decades. It is founded upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2016, p. 26).

In other words, interpretivism is concerned with the fact that humans, with their social interactions and structures, fundamentally differ from objects of natural sciences. Because of this difference, the way we do research in social sciences must take this into account. Therefore, interpretivism is closely related to phenomenology, which is a perspective that is concerned with people's understanding of the world around, and is thus examining the subjective experience (Bryman, 2016). Phenomenology has a philosophical component, and is heavily influenced by the work of Edmund Husserl (Creswell, 2013). Such a perspective reads well with the research question, as I am interested in the understandings of the section heads of the IO. As Bryman (2016) explains, phenomenological perspectives are interested in how people "(...) make sense of the world around them" (26). With regards to ontology, the present study is part of the tradition called constructionism, which is a position "(...) that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being constructed by social actors. Further, it implies that social phenomena are not only produced and constructed through social interaction but are in a constant state of revision" (Bryman, 2016, p. 29). This means a position that perceives humans on the one side, and social constructions on the other, to be mutually dependent and non-static.

#### 4.2. Study Approach

#### 4.2.1. Case Study

The research approach of this paper is theoretical interpretive case study with phenomenological elements. What qualifies as a case can vary widely, as described by Stake: "A case may be simple or complex. It may be a child or a classroom of children or an event, a happening, such as a mobilization of professionals to study childhood conditions. It is one among others" (Stake, 2005, p. 444). However, the conceptualization of case study should not be reduced to only delimiting a case (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Rather, it is necessary to understand it in combination with it being a specific method, as well as providing a case narrative: "With a case study, there is a case, a case study approach (drawing upon other research approaches) and a case presentation" (Savin-

Baden & Major, 2013, p. 154). There are several alternatives of data collection to study a case, but all of them must be time- and space-dependent (Christoffersen & Johannessen, 2012). Interviews is one such alternative, where a case is investigated by interviewing "Those informants through whom the case can be known" (Mertens, 2020, p. 253). For this study, the case refers to the introductory offer within Trondheim municipality. By excluding other municipalities, the study is space-dependent. The five interviews were conducted over two weeks in the beginning of 2023, which means that the findings are time-dependent. Using interviews to collect data fits well with the phenomenological perspective of the study, where the perceptions, experiences and understandings of the participants are in focus. The reason the paper can be considered a theoretical interpretive study is because this case is unique, but is interpreted through already existing theories (Andersen, 2013). While the case, the introductory offer in Trondheim municipality, is unique, the theoretical framework that has been outlined previously is used to guide analysis and structure the empirical data material. This study does not provide any new theories or terms, but rather relies on existing theories.

#### 4.2.2. Data Collection and Sample

The data of the study was collected through qualitative interviews. The sample was five section heads with responsibility for NAMR children in Trondheim. They will be referred to as Linda, Ellen, Silje, Marianne and Ingvild in this paper. However, these are not their real names, as their anonymity is kept. All the section heads were teachers prior to their current role, and the years of experience as a section head ranged from 1,5 years to 23 years. They are all part of a network of section heads with responsibility for introductory offers, and three of them are also supervisors for other section heads in this network. One of the participants is on leave from their role as section head to work in the municipality. Three of the participants are section heads in primary schools, while two are responsible for the IO in secondary schools. As previously described, these professionals have both administrative and pedagogical leadership responsibilities. Therefore, the section heads often have an overview over many cases and situations, and can potentially provide reflections and descriptions from wide perspectives. Prior to the interviews, the participants signed an information form, in order to ensure informed consent. The project, with the mentioned data sampling, has been approved by NSD. The interview guide can be found in appendix 1, and the interviews can be categorized as semi-structured, as they were a combination of pre-determined open questions, with possibility for the respondents to elaborate on themes or topics. All the interviews were audio-tape recorded on an external recorder and stored in accordance with NTNU's guidelines for safe storage of sensitive data. The interviews were held in Norwegian, but relevant parts were translated into English for the purpose of this paper. This contributed to normalize, or anonymize, the interviews, as the translation removed Norwegian dialects, or distinct words or phrases, thus ensuring the anonymity of the informants (Tjora, 2021). The process of recruiting participants can be categorized as strategic (Tjora, 2021), as my two requirements were specific: 1) must be a section head with responsibility for NAMR children, and 2) must be an employee in Trondheim. These two requirements limited the number of possible participants substantially. However, the recruitment was also a product of the snowball method (Tjora, 2021), where one key actor led me to the rest of the participants. This key actor was a representative in Fagenheten in the municipality. Therefore, the sampling could be understood as a combination of snowball sampling and strategic sampling. As each respondent is connected to different schools, it is possible to perceive them as cases within the case (Stake, 2005). While the overall case to be studied in this paper is the introductory offer in Trondheim municipality, each school can serve as an own case, with its own intrinsic value.

#### 4.2.3. Validity

Validity refers to the quality of the study, and more specifically it is concerned with the integrity of "(...) the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research" (Bryman, 2016, p. 41). Importantly, the data material will only give insights to the informant's personal experiences, beliefs, and perspectives. Still, these subjective experiences and beliefs are important when adopting a social constructivist perspective, as part of the tradition of constructionism. According to social constructivism, humans and culture are mutually constitutive (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This means a belief that recognizes that the society is a result of human actions and efforts, but that these same humans are in turn a result of the society they are part of. The social constructivist perspective is an important premise in my project, in the sense that I recognize that the education system is a result of human priorities and beliefs, but that this institution in turn has great power in constituting the lives of humans. As argued by (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) "Institutions, also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible" (p. 72). To gain knowledge of a system, it is necessary to examine the humans that are part of that system. This also applies in reverse. To gain knowledge of how a system affects humans, it is necessary to examine the details of that system. One important aspect to ensure validity in this project is to be cautious that the informants might possibly understand central terms differently than I do (Kleven & Hjardemaal, 2018). Therefore, this possible source of error was being taken into account when conducting the interviews, such as asking for clarity when it was unclear what the informant referred to. However, this might not have eliminated all misunderstandings.

#### 4.2.4. Reliability

Reliability is another concept that is important to evaluate the quality of the research, or the trustworthiness. Traditionally, reliability is concerned with whether the results are repeatable, given that the same procedure is followed (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, the term replication or consistency is closely connected to reliability. This means that the study should be able to be replicated by someone else, and the results should be the same. What is important to remember here is that constructionism accepts that the social reality is constantly changing, meaning that it is to some extent impossible to replicate completely. However, what is necessary is that the process of the study is transparent, so that it is possible for others to evaluate the quality of each part. Therefore, a thorough description of analysis and findings in the following sections is a necessity. A crucial prerequisite for quality of the analysis is how the data is handled. Creswell (2013) has emphasized the need to do complete transcriptions of the material, and to code all the material thoroughly, in order to ensure reliability. This process is described in detail in the next section.

#### 4.2.5. Ethical Considerations

The relationship between researcher and informants needs to be addressed. I have been present in teaching contexts at the schools of two of the informants prior to the interviews for purposes outside of this study. This might have contributed to me having some assumptions or biases during the interviews. As previously stated, the project has been approved by NSD, and all ethical requirements are met. See appendix 2 for consent form and appendix 3 for assessment of processing of personal data.

#### 4.3. Analytical Approach

The analytical approach used in this paper is thematic analysis, mainly relying on the work of Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis has been described as a foundational method for qualitative research, as 'thematizing meaning' is a core conduct in qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, Braun and Clarke explains that "(...) thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data" (2006, p. 78). Braun and Clarke (2006) has developed a six step recipe for thematic analysis, and these include 1) familiarizing yourself with your data; 2) generating initial codes; 3) searching for themes; 4) reviewing themes; 5) defining and naming themes; and lastly 6) producing the report. The process that is described in the following can be categorized as a combination of deductive and inductive. On the one hand, the initial codes are mainly deductive, meaning that it is the data that serves as the base for the codes. At the same time, preconception does indeed influence the process, as explained by Braun and Clarke (2006).: "(...) researchers cannot free themselves of their theoretical and epistemological commitments, and data are not coded in an epistemological vacuum" (p. 84). That means that when identifying interesting words, phrases, or passages in the data material, what I consider interesting or significant has been influenced by my ontological and epistemological position, as well as the theoretical framework on the topic that was accounted for previously. This is not to denigrate deductive approaches, but rather to be transparent about preconceptions, and to make assumptions explicit. As thematic analysis is flexible, both approaches can be used, which has been the case for the current study.

#### 4.3.1. Thematic Analysis

The first step in thematic analysis is to familiarize oneself with the data material (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To begin with, all the interviews were transcribed verbatim, in order to keep them as close to its original nature as possible. As I had conducted the interviews, I was already familiar with the data material prior to the transcription, and I made some initial notes right after each interview. Also, the process of transcribing was an important process, as it allowed me to re-listen to the interviews outside of the interview setting. After transcribing, I read through each document as a way to gain a better overview. During this phase, I marked interesting words, phrases, or passages, as well as writing some notes that could be of interest in the next step.

The second step is generating initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Here, the goal is to identify interesting parts of the data material. In this phase, I worked through each document of transcription, and wrote codes in the margin. Examples of codes in this phase included: perception on the role, importance of bilingual teachers/diversity among staff, benefits, challenges, the adults' responsibility, multilingualism, traumas, leisure activities, the leader role, interconnectedness, transitions, competence, unprepared, attitude, adaptation, pedagogical dilemmas, integration, inclusion, mapping/allocation, miscellaneous, among many others. What follows is an example from the first interview:

Data extract:	Coded for:
"That one has a resource perspective. That one must remember that	
one must have that as an adult. Because here it is the adults that	The adults'
must do something, it is not the children that should change, it is the	responsibility
adults that work in school. To have that resource perspective when	

we have a child that speaks Spanish or speaks Dari or Pashto. [And	Resource
ask] 'how can this be a resource for us'?" (Linda)	perspective

After writing these initial codes, a new document was created. In this document, several initial codes served as small headlines, and data material from all the interviews matching these codes were grouped. This process served as a way of "(...) *organizing* your data into meaningful groups" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). By grouping material that is related to the same code, it became clearer what codes were repetitive, and which codes were unique for only one or a few of the participants. In this phase, the coding process could be described as more data-driven, or inductive, as the codes were a result of the actual data material.

The third step concerns searching for themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this phase, I collated different codes into groups, and these groups were drawn into a simple thematic map. The goal was to identify which codes could be combined with a shared overarching theme. At this stage, the groups were inclusive, in the sense that I did not discriminate on codes if I found a weak connection. However, this resulted in several groups including many of the same codes. Therefore, some codes were moved into new groups, and deleted from old. Through this process, names of possible themes appeared. Using the example from step two, the codes *The adults' responsibility* and *Resource perspective* were placed into the category called *Recognition*.

The fourth step is reviewing themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). At this point, only data material concerning the school, the educational offer, or other factors in close relations to these were developed further. While there were themes that could be considered worthy of further exploration, this stage of analysis required a narrowing, as the scope of possibilities were too extensive. Examples of themes excluded in this round includes leisure time and school-home contact. Such themes are undoubtedly important both for the children and for the school community. However, because of the limited scope of the current paper, only data directly connected to the research question could be developed further. In this fourth phase, some candidate themes encompassed a too wide range, which resulted in separation. Others were found to be too narrow, and were included into already existing themes. The rationale was to establish internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. The former relates to codes within the particular theme consisting of codes clearly related to each other, and the latter relates to how the different themes are unique from each other. During this phase, an important step is to re-read the entire data set. As coding is an "ongoing organic process" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91) perceiving the whole data material in connection to the current coding and grouping was useful, and led to more changes, and to some new codes written into the thematic map.

The fifth step is defining and naming themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this phase, the grouping was mainly complete. Therefore, I began to write in full sentences and paragraphs about each group, in order to search for words or phrases that could possibly summarize or connect the different codes within each group. This process led to some minor changes and reorganization. The findings section of this paper was begun in this phase. Presenting and justifying themes of the findings uncovered some weaknesses, which again led to minor changes. This phase was more deductive, as the different codes and categories were set up with the theory presented previously in mind. While previous

knowledge and theories have had an indirect impact throughout the whole project, as described in the section of ontology and epistemology, the different steps of analysis have varied in what degree they have been mainly data-driven or theory-driven.

The sixth, and last step, is producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This means a final analysis and presentation of findings, which is presented subsequently. Braun & Clarke (2006) explained that the goal of this phase is the following: "Extracts need to be embedded within an analytical narrative that compellingly illustrates the story you are telling about your data, and your analytic narrative needs to go *beyond* description of the data, and make and *argument* in relation to your research question" (p. 93). In other words, an important part of thematic analysis is to also connect the findings to the research question and to research. This phase was also deductive, as the way in which the report was produced was to see the findings in light of theory. This is dealt with in the findings and discussion section.

What became apparent during analysis was that even though some codes and themes appeared as important, they were not necessarily relevant for all five participants. This might be a result of several factors. Firstly, the schools vary greatly, both with regards which grades are represented, where in the city they are located, and also differences in the student population. Especially the fact that both primary and secondary schools are represented in this study is important to keep in mind. Working with younger children or working with teenagers do have many similarities, but also many differences. Secondly, each of the participants are different individuals, and their work experience varies greatly. Those section heads who have had the role for a longer period have encountered a greater number of scenarios and challenges simply due to years of experience. Lastly, even though all five respondents have in common the role as section heads, they are undoubtedly unique individuals, with their own unique ways of interpreting specific situations and the larger society.

## 5. Findings

In this section, main findings are presented. There are two main thematic categories: 1) opportunities, and 2) challenges. While the findings certainly suggest that there are many positive aspects of having an introductory offer in Trondheim, there are also serious challenges that needs to be dealt with. What follows is a presentation of the findings, in combination with references to the theory previously presented. These findings are followed by a discussion on some of the main points, in addition to limitations and implications of the study.

#### 5.1. Opportunities

The first main category, opportunities, refers to themes that relates to positive aspects of the IO, or in what ways the IO is beneficial. Firstly, the resource perspective was an important core value of several of the section heads. This perspective refers to an attitude that treats multilingualism and coming from a different background as something positive, and that it is the adults' and the schools' responsibility to recognize this. Secondly, the benefits of the IO, according to the section heads, are presented. Although it was possible to identify different arguments, all the section heads argued in favor of having an IO. Thirdly, and lastly, the section heads' perspectives on second language acquisition (SLA) are dealt with. While they do indeed recognize that SLA is a long process that must continue into mainstream education, the IO is a significant beginning of this process.

#### **5.1.1.** The Resource Perspective

The resource perspective refers to an attitude where diversity or difference is perceived as something positive and beneficial. This perspective was prominent among several of the section heads. To begin with, Linda expressed the following when asked what is most important when working with NAMR children:

That one has a resource perspective. To remember that one must have that as an adult. Because here it is the adults that must do something, it is not the children that should change, it is the adults that work in school. To have that resource perspective when we have a child that speaks Spanish or speaks Dari or Pashto. [And ask] 'how can this be a resource for us'? (Linda).

By asking how multilingualism, in this instance, can provide something for the school community, the section head is thereby recognizing that the children come with prior knowledge and competence. Actively requesting and promoting attributes of an individual or group is of great importance for achieving real recognition (Jordet, 2020). More importantly, Linda emphasized the importance of adults recognizing this, instead of demanding that the children assimilate completely. Such an attitude reflects well the change for equity principle in transformative leadership, where rejecting an attitude of deficiency is central (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). Similarly, Silje made a point about perceiving multilingualism as a resource and to recognize that many of the children have prior knowledge that should be appreciated: "We [the specific school] are so used to look at this multilingualism as a resource, it is something positive. They [the children] come in and often know many languages, right. We have had pupils who speak three languages fluently prior to coming to us" (Silje). In this statement, Silje explicitly gave value to being multilingual. The same section head continued to argue that it is important that the teachers show interest in each child and that they highlight and celebrate diversity: "Small things that many teachers are very good at, [such as] to promote the language in the teaching, 'what's it called in your language?', just small things like that are very important.

(...) But I see that in some schools, or some teachers might be a little afraid to approach, a little afraid to appear racist if we talk about you having a hijab or you being dark skinned. But what we see is rather that when we highlight the differences, we give them value" (Silje). In this statement, she made an argument for the importance of acknowledging differences, and to actively find ways in which this diversity can be positive in the school context. This approach reads well with Honneth's (1995) recognition theory, where real recognition means actively requesting for an individual's attributes and to facilitate for them in a social community (Jordet, 2020). The classroom can definitely be categorized as a social community, and when a teacher actively asks for multilingual competence, such competence is thus given value in that context. Marianne also emphasized recognition as important when interacting with NAMR children: "The most important is to appreciate them, see them for who they are, see each individual. To be curious, and to not give up, even though they might have their challenges" (Marianne). In this comment, there appeared to be an acknowledgement that some children do indeed have challenges. Such challenges can be socially, academically, personally or a mixture. In any ways, Marianne emphasized that the adult has a responsibility in recognizing the child actively, regardless of whatever struggles might be present, which resonates with recognition theory (Honneth, 1995). Ingvild did not explicitly state the importance of recognition while interacting with NAMR children, but when characterizing these children during the interview, she did so in a recognizing manner:

Very many of those pupils are motivated to learn. (...) We do have exceptions there as well, but most of those who come are motivated and really wish to learn. And that is fantastic. Determination and don't give up. (...) Yes, so it is really the contact with the pupils that is the most rewarding when working in a school and then it is the pupils that one is passionate about (Ingvild).

In this statement, the section head used descriptions of the pupils that can be categorized as positive, and also stated that contact with the pupils is one important factor for staying motivated in the role. In other words, the quote is in line with the resource perspective, where the adult is actively searching for positive attributes or aspects of the children. The children in the IO are in many ways very different from each other, but they have all in common that they are minority language speaking pupils that are trying to learn the majority language. Contrary to how minority language speaking pupils were treated historically in Norway (Moen & Lund, 2017), the resource perspective expressed by these section heads demonstrated an important improvement of how this group of pupils are perceived. Furthermore, the resource perspective can be read as an essential foundation of values that affect how the section heads understands the education situation of NAMR children. Put another way, the reflections, descriptions, arguments, and proposed changes that the section heads expressed in the interviews, and that will be presented later in this text, should be read in light of how they perceive the target group. In sum, these different statements regarding the NAMR children indicated a perspective that recognizes the inherent value of each child, and the adults' responsibility of having a resource perspective, regardless of the challenges explored later in the paper.

#### 5.1.2. The Benefits of the IO

As the section heads are responsible for the introductory offer, it is of interest to understand how they assess this offer. All five section heads defended the IO, but did so in different manners. To begin with, all the respondents shared the view that the teachers and staff in the IO were generally professionals with high integrity who worked hard. Examples of descriptions of the teachers were "very dedicated" (Ellen) and "they walk the

extra mile" (Silje). With regards to arguments for why the IO is beneficial, these were either related to academic or linguistic concerns, social concerns, or lastly, the potential risks of not offering a separate offer.

Firstly, one argument was academically or linguistically, where three of the section heads pointed to the necessity of systematic language instruction:

It is super important that you secure a systematic language instruction, since you must have the foundation before you build the house (Marianne).

They benefit greatly from the offer. They become very quickly proficient in Norwegian, the younger ones, when they receive systematic instruction (Silje).

And then there are those teachers out in the local schools, what competence do they have? Language is not contagious. It requires instruction (Linda).

The need for some Norwegian competence prior to joining mainstream classes has indeed been emphasized by NAMR children previously (Jama, 2018). Also, offering systematic language instruction is important for second language learners (Hedge, 2000). While all three argued for systematic language instruction, they were also implying that this is not possible to achieve in the ordinary offer, and therefore the introductory offer is necessary. This coincides with the reported lack of second language competence as a general problem in Norwegian schools (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

Secondly, another argument that was used addressed the social benefits for the children of being in the IO. Silje stated the following:

The fact that they are in a separate group has the advantage that we often get a very good class environment in the introductory classes. They identify with each other, just by virtue of being in the introductory offer. And it becomes very safe for them. It becomes a safe space for trial and error, and to use their voice (Silje).

In this quote, the emphasis was on creating a safe space as an important factor for the NAMR children. This coincides with what NAMR children have expressed regarding the IO being a safe learning environment (Jama, 2018). Furthermore, the statement of Silje implied that the ordinary offer does not necessarily succeed in making a safe space for NAMR children. Ellen stated that "They come to school and they want to be here" (Ellen), when discussing pupils who had initially been reluctant to go to school, but that the IO became a safe arena. In that sense, she seemed to argue that the IO had succeeded in meeting the needs of vulnerable children. Linda argued that the social aspects are very important in order to achieve academic development: "You must have some relationships in place in order to achieve language learning, in order to gain academic achievement. Yes, everything is tied together" (Linda). This statement resonates well with Klafki's (2000) concept of Bildung, where a key point is the interconnectedness of all aspects of a person's life.

A third argument was that a lack of a proper introductory offer might harm the children. As previously mentioned, there is a maximum of two years in the IO, which means that the children must be transferred to mainstream classes after this period, regardless of competence and abilities. Marianne referred in the following statement to those pupils who arrive with little or no school background, thus being illiterate when arriving in Norway:

Those arriving in the younger grades are lucky. Because if you arrive in  $8^{th}$  grade, then you have two years [in the IO], and then you have to join ordinary teaching. (...) When you have two-three years of school background and then you are supposed to sit in a classroom with pupils who are in their  $10^{th}$  year of education. You are perhaps in your fourth. It doesn't really work, right. But that is how

Norwegian law is. They must join ordinary classes after two years, and it doesn't add up. Because when they are applying for high school, they can apply to combination classes and there they can get instruction for up to four years before they join ordinary, right. Why do we (...) have that breach? I have experienced through many years that you create school refusers (...). Even though you try to facilitate, but it speaks for itself that when you have up to 28 pupils that you must take care of in the same way as in an introductory offer, you don't stand a chance (Marianne).

The section head was in this statement identifying the difficulty of placing pupils with highly different prerequisites in the same mainstream class, and she claimed that such practice has harmed pupils, by making them 'school refusers' [Norwegian: skolevegrere]. While school refusers, or involuntary school absenteeism, is an important topic, it will not be the focus of this paper. However, the statement can be interpreted as critique towards a system that she understands to be potentially very damaging for the individual. As described previously, a school system where the pupils are not meeting the ambitions of themselves or of the surroundings can harm the self-worth (Jordet, 2020; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). The statement of Marianne resonates with this, as she claimed that placing NAMR children prematurely in the mainstream education might only make them acutely aware of their inabilities to perform according to the expectations. The same section also provided a suggestion on how the law should be changed: "Should be possible for the ones who needs it with a third year, so that they get continuity" (Marianne). The argument appeared to be that the pupils with little to no school background who arrive late, in this case in 8<sup>th</sup> grade, should be allowed to be enrolled in the IO throughout 10th grade, instead of joining a mainstream class after the maximum period of two years. This suggestion is interesting to read in combination with transformative leadership. First of all, the section head seemed to be aware of pedagogical practices that might lead to disadvantages of the target group (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). Additionally, she was balancing critique on the one hand, with suggesting concrete solutions on the other hand, also in line with transformative leadership. The last section head, Ingvild, argued in a similar manner, and also advocated for a change in the law:

I have a strong wish for a change in the law. According to the law, you can have affiliation to an introductory group for up to two years. Those who arrive as illiterate in 8<sup>th</sup> grade, they have two years to learn to read and write, get updated academically, and then they must in and follow ordinary curriculum in 10<sup>th</sup> grade. That is abuse. It is indeed abuse. I almost want to say it that strongly. They don't stand a chance. (...) There is no experience of mastering for them, to just sit there and not understand the academic content, not being able to follow instruction. (...) It hurts deep into my soul when we must do stuff like that (Ingvild).

Both section heads pointed out that the maximum period of two years in the IO is problematic for some of the older pupils, and seemed concerned for the consequences of this system for those individuals that might struggle as a result. These reflections are in line with Jordet's (2020) term pathologies in the school, where the main point is that a lack of recognition in the school practice can lead to actual harm of the pupils. The same concern for NAMR children arriving late with little to no school background was also mentioned by Linda and Silje, where both stated that it should be possible with a third year for that group. By criticizing this practice, they are thereby also claiming that the IO is better equipped in educating these pupils. This coincides with the statements of the other section heads presented above, who also argued for the benefits of the IO, given how the ordinary education offer is currently. The criticism of the maximum period could be categorized as a challenge rather than an opportunity. However, the reason why it is

included in this section is that the criticism works as an argument for why the IO is beneficial for many NAMR children, and particularly those with little to no prior school background. The criticism displays the advantage of offering a separate option for some pupils. In sum, all the section heads defended the IO, but did so by pointing to different arguments. The fact that the respondents strongly argued for the benefits of the IO showcase important opportunities of organizing the education offer in that way. Yet, the goal is for the pupils to eventually join mainstream education, and while the SH did indeed defend the IO, they also emphasized that the IO is only the beginning of a long process.

#### 5.1.3. SLA - a long process

The introductory offer is only supposed to be the beginning of a long process of second language acquisition (SLA), though an important beginning. Several of the section heads expressed an understanding of SLA being a long process, and that learning Norwegian continues after the children are being transferred to mainstream education. Linda and Ingvild both stated clearly that the process of learning Norwegian continues after the IO:

They are not done learning Norwegian when they are done here, but they do get to a certain level before they transfer (Linda).

Even though they know some Norwegian, they are not done with their training. It takes many years to learn Norwegian (Ingvild).

In other words, both section heads expressed an understanding that learning Norwegian is a long process, which resonates with research on SLA (Cummins, 1981). Similarly, Silje agreed with the former two, and also explained that proper accommodation was a necessity:

That part is so challenging. Because linguistically, they are not fully trained after one year, a lot remains. However, when we transfer them, they know enough to take part in the ordinary. They might not know enough to get a complete benefit from ordinary teaching, but they should know enough to take part in it, and with enough adaptation and facilitation, to manage it (Silje).

In this quote, the section head acknowledged that most pupils have not reached a sufficient level of Norwegian when transferring, and simultaneously underlined the necessity of accommodating according to this. When asked more about how to do so, she further explained her view:

I believe that the Achilles heel is to get the teachers to understand that very much of the special Norwegian instruction happens in the ordinary. They often think about how many hours does this particular pupil have a right to, to go out in a group and have special Norwegian instruction there. But the special Norwegian instruction happens all the time and depends on a consciousness in the teacher to design teaching that also tends the multilinguals in the classroom. To use all big and small opportunities like meal times, time in the wardrobe, recess, trips, to practice terms. Because special Norwegian is all the time (Silje).

While Norwegian instruction traditionally has been understood as teacher led lecturing, this section head emphasized the importance of teachers being aware of the educational potential in all interactions and situations, thereby reflecting research on the topic (Hedge, 2000). Furthermore, she seemed to advocate for a continuation of the introductory offer into the ordinary. What appeared to be the point of these statements made by the section heads, is that language learning is indeed a lengthy process, and that even though the introductory offer can provide a beginning of language learning, the process continues into the ordinary. In other words, they seemed to express an acceptance that there are limits to what the IO should and could entail, and that ordinary teachers also should acknowledge

the responsibility of this limit. The IO is only the very beginning of Norwegian language learning, and indeed an important beginning, which is also why this theme is categorized as an opportunity. As will be later explored, some teachers seem to believe that when a pupil is transferred from the IO, they are supposed to be at the same level as the rest of the pupils in the mainstream class. However, the fact that the section heads acknowledged that this is not the case, and should not be expected either, is an important awareness in order to accommodate correctly for NAMR children, both in the IO and in the mainstream.

#### 5.2. Challenges

This thematic category relates to what challenges the section heads identified during the interviews. Firstly, several of the respondents described challenges in connection to the academic level within the IO, as the amount of school background of the pupils varies greatly. Therefore, it was suggested to map the pupils prior to allocating them. Secondly, transferring the pupils into mainstream classes appeared to be sometimes challenging, and findings suggests that negative attitudes and a lack of necessary competence were important factors. Thirdly, too little mother-tongue instruction was claimed to be a challenge, as this was understood as a significant factor for the pupils' chance of learning Norwegian and become integrated. Lastly, past traumas in combination with a lack of support from other actors was brought up as a challenge, and the respondents discussed the difficulties of learning and socializing while simultaneously processing traumas.

#### 5.2.1. Pedagogical Split

There appeared to be a general challenge that the group of pupils within the IO are academically different, thus resulting in difficulties in adapting the instruction according to each of the pupils. As described previously, the prior knowledge and school background of the pupils in the IO varies greatly. Therefore, the same group can include both illiterate pupils and pupils with a school background similar to the peers in Norway. To begin with, Ingvild stated the following:

One can say that it is difficult to adapt the teaching in an ordinary class. Here, it is even bigger difficulties. Even though there are fewer pupils, the gap is greater. The context they come from is completely different within the group, so very different backgrounds, which means that is much more challenging to adapt the teaching for these pupils than for ordinary (Ingvild)

In this statement, Ingvild described the challenge of having a diverse class with regards to prior school background. Silje also described the same challenge, and added that it was at least necessary to have groups with the same age group. In other words, having enough NAMR pupils in each school to be able to divide them into different age groups was understood as important. It was suggested by four out of five of the section heads that the pupils should be mapped on their academic level prior to joining the IO. This is already a practice in Oslo. The main argument appeared to be that by mapping prior to allocating the pupils, the pupils could be enrolled in an IO in a school that specialized more on their academic level. Importantly, it was suggested that this mapping should be done by representatives in the municipality, as the local schools do not have the competence or capacity to do so. On the one hand, sorting pupils according to academic level is a pedagogical dilemma, as the tradition of an inclusive school for all, despite academic level, is important in Norway (Uthus, 2020). On the other hand, the concept of inclusion has been problematized, and a mere physical presence does not necessarily entail social inclusion and academic progression (Göransson & Nilholm, 2014; Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2018; Uthus, 2020). Moreover, the IO is already a separate offer with an aim of transferring the pupils to mainstream education as soon as possible. Therefore, the argument of mapping the pupils prior to allocating them appears reasonable in the sense that it might enable each IO teacher to facilitate and teach in ways that are better adapted to that specific level. Whether that would be the result is not obvious, but it is indeed interesting that four out of the five respondents argued in favor of mapping the pupils.

#### 5.2.2. Dilemmas of Inclusion

The benefits of a safe and separate class that was highlighted previously appeared to also have disadvantages. For example, Silje described the challenge of dividing pupils into separate classes: "But we also see that it can lead to a little 'us and them'. But that is something we are working on constantly" (Silje). The 'us and them' refers to the social divide that might occur between pupils in the IO and pupils in the ordinary. While such a divide is indeed a challenge, what is positive is that this section head expressed an awareness of it, and also claimed to be constantly working on it. Ingvild problematized the fact that the pupils are physically excluded from the rest of the pupils: "One can say that the inclusion is not great towards the other classes prior to joining them [permanently]. But then again, what is inclusion? You belong to a community, that is what is important, to be part of a community. And to have a safe home base will, we believe, contribute on helping them to be safe when they transfer to ordinary classes as well" (Ingvild). In this statement, the section head indirectly defended the IO, though she acknowledged that there are dilemmas. Previous research has indeed suggested that having a separate introductory offer might contribute to maintaining segregation more than promoting inclusion (Fandrem et al., 2021). Yet, the point made by Ingvild was that the separate IO creates a safe space for a generally vulnerable group of pupils, which might benefit the children for inclusion into the mainstream in the future. This dilemma is indeed at the core of inclusion in the school, and it has proven difficult to determine with certainty what is correct (Göransson & Nilholm, 2014; Hilt, 2016; Uthus, 2020). In any way, asking normative and self-critical questions about school practices is essential for any school leader with an aim of equalizing injustices (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010), and is also of especially importance when working with such a complex target group (Norozi, 2019).

#### 5.2.3. Transitions from the IO to the Mainstream

This theme relates to the transitions where NAMR children are transferred from the IO to mainstream classes permanently. The section heads are responsible for this transition, in cooperation with the teachers both in the IO and in the receiving class. As the IO is a limited offer, the transition process is both important and certain to happen. The children are being transferred to an ordinary class in the school that is in closest proximity to their home. For some children, the IO offer is in the same school as the one they are transferred to, while for others, it means they must change school. When the section heads referred to this transition during the interviews, it included both transitions to other schools and transitions within the same school. As the section heads have an administrative role with responsibility for employees, many of their responses connected to transitions concerned how the adults in mainstream classes were able to receive the children. It is important to note that the section heads have presumably a better overview over transitions within their own school, and statements regarding other schools should therefore be considered with caution, as there is a risk of bias due to their position.

#### 5.2.3.1. Attitudes and Competence in Mainstream Education

Experiences from the transition appeared to be sometimes a challenge. There were examples of the transition being unproblematic, such as Ellen stating that "I haven't heard anything", when asked about challenges connected to transitions to other schools. However, several of the section heads described challenges in detail. These challenges were mainly regarding either competence or attitudes among teachers or staff. For example, Linda stated the following: "I do understand that it is challenging when they [the children] don't speak Norwegian well enough when they are transferred. I do recognize that. But after all, it is your job" (Linda). Here, she recognized that it is indeed challenging for the staff, but that it is the adults' responsibility to handle this challenge. Similarly, Ingvild had experiences with complaints from teachers in ordinary classes: "We do get complaints sometimes like 'Why can't they be in the introductory class longer, because this is difficult'. Adaptation is difficult for many" (Ingvild). The adaptation refers to how the teacher can adapt or modify teaching or tasks in order to meet the current level of each pupil. Adaptation was also mentioned by Marianne, who rhetorically asked why some teachers find it more difficult to adapt their teaching to minority speaking pupils: "What is the difference between Ole, who comes with his challenges on other things than linguistic ones, and Ali, who does come with linguistic challenges? Well, both shall have facilitation. Why is it so much easier to facilitate for Ole than for Ali?" (Marianne). Such a statement implies that this section head has had experiences with staff that is either more willing or more competent to facilitate learning for Norwegian speaking children than for minority language speaking children. Ellen stated that the pupils are "Well, perhaps a bit at the mercy of what teachers they come to" (Ellen). This implies that there are some who manages to accommodate to minority speaking children, and some teachers that do not. The same section head, as well as Ingvild stated that they wished all teachers, or at least more, had second language pedagogy competence. Linda claimed that few schools have enough competence to accommodate sufficiently to the needs of NAMR children: "I believe only the minority [of the schools] are prepared to receive them as of today" (Linda). This is in line with previous research from Scandinavia, where many schools lacked resources and expertise to systematically address the needs of NAMR children (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al., 2020). Trondheim municipality has recently prioritized second language pedagogy, according to the informants, in their offer for additional education for in-service teachers, which means that there is a chance that more teachers will have second language pedagogy soon. This was brought up by several of the section heads as important and favorable.

Lastly, Silje also expressed challenges connected to the transition, and claimed that it was a combination of lack of competence and negative attitudes:

It varies greatly what competence the different schools have. Competence is one thing, and attitude is another thing. Now, Trondheim is not very bad. I have done some lectures around in some other municipalities, and got a little chin drop. It is really only the Norwegian terms they [the pupils] lack, they are not stupid. And they are only children, they only need what all other children need. But some teachers in some schools seem to perceive it as a problem that they are coming, that they are coming too early, and struggle a little, and do not know exactly how to facilitate for these children (Silje).

In this statement, Silje underlined that challenges with transitions were more a result of attitudes among staff, rather than difficulties in the children themselves. Yet, this account was modified by accentuating that it was regarding 'some teachers in some schools', and

therefore not all. The deficit discourse regarding NAMR children has indeed been identified among some teachers in previous research (Martinsen, 2021). Also, by rejecting such a discourse, as the statement above does, Silje is in line with transformative leadership theory (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). In other words, the transition of NAMR children from IO to ordinary appears to be sometimes challenging, as some professionals perceive the children as a problem for their lack of language competence, according to the interviews. Several of the section heads claimed that providing second language competence to more teachers might improve this challenge. In addition to competence improvement, improving attitudes was also identified by four out of the five section heads as an important factor.

## 5.2.3.2. How to Meet the Challenges

Some of the section heads provided suggestions on how to handle the challenges described above, and while some commented on how to improve attitudes among professionals, others discussed more practical and organizational concerns. To begin with the former, Linda stated that her own role is important, and that her own behavior must reflect the same values: "It is to talk to the teachers. And to bring it up at different arenas that we have, common cultural experiences and to use the resources that the child is bringing. And to praise all the time. Being positive. You as a leader must be positive as well" (Linda). A central component of transformative leadership is deconstruction and reconstruction of practices, and initiating difficult conversations (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). It is necessary as a leader to be self-critical, and to facilitate in ways where the employees also can participate in these difficult conversations. Furthermore, this is closely connected to recognition theory, as the section head underlined the importance of actively giving the background of minority pupils relevance and value in the school context (Honneth, 1995; Jordet, 2020). Similarly, Marianne emphasized that it is necessary to "(...) work at the school level with culture". Also, the same section head suggested the school leaders should facilitate ways to raise awareness of multilingualism in their school:

One must have a consciousness, thinking that as a teacher you must have a genuine interest to understand a culture. Using common time to perhaps talk about what languages are present at the school, what are some distinguished features for this linguistic group, what should we be aware of. Simply get a discussion around what being a multilingual school community entails (Marianne).

In this quote, the section head suggested that raising awareness would improve the attitudes of teachers. Common time refers to the time each week where all the staff at a school meets to receive information and oftentimes discuss relevant issues. This is a well-established practice in most schools, oftentimes being facilitated by either section heads or the principal. Both section heads seemed to hold the school leaders accountable, who include themselves, in the sense that they recognized that the school culture is affected by the priorities and values expressed at the leader level.

With regards to the more organizational approach to the challenges previously described, self-accountability continued to be present. For example, Silje emphasized the importance of the newly initiated network for teachers in IOs, where the teachers from different schools can share experience and give each other guidance. This can be understood as leader accountability, as the SH underlined her own role in facilitating such a network. Another example was Ingvild, who stated the following: "Creating good plans that works for the pupils is an important part of my job. Ensuring that everyone is doing alright" (Ingvild). She was in this quote both acknowledging the importance of organizational

decisions, and identifying this as her own responsibility. The same section head provided examples of what type of organizational decisions are made to meet the challenges of integrating NAMR children in the Norwegian school system. One example was to unofficially disobey the rule of maximum two years affiliation with an introductory class for those pupils with little to no educational background in higher grades:

It does happen that we cheat a little. (...) That we are letting them be there [in the introductory class] a little, even though it is not according to the law. So they do have an affiliation to an [ordinary] class, but get some time in the introductory class (Ingvild).

By doing so, this section head appeared to actively search for what she found to be the best solution for the pupils, by being flexible organizationally, rather than rigidly acting according to the law. Such practice is interesting when comparing it to statements presented previously, where the same section head perceived it as abuse to force a pupil into a mainstream class too early. By acting contrary to the law, it is possible to categorize such behavior as moral courage, in the sense that she appeared more willing to take risks for the benefit of the target group, which is a central component of transformative leadership (Shields, 2010). The different statements above demonstrated that these section heads are holding themselves accountable, by acknowledging that organizational decisions can have a great influence, and by actively searching for best possible practice.

## 5.2.4. Too Little Mother-Tongue Instruction

Receiving mother-tongue instruction was identified as significant for the NAMR children, thus making it a challenge that this is not a more extensive offer. Four out of five respondents emphasized the importance of NAMR children receiving mother-tongue instruction, arguing that this is an important priority in order to increase the children's chances of succeeding academically. Ingvild simply stated that "To get instruction and an explanation of Norwegian words and terms in one's own mother-tongue is a strength for the pupils" (Ingvild). Marianne discussed that Oslo municipality has cut out mother-tongue instruction completely, and concluded that "I think that is completely wrong when you know the importance of the mother-tongue when learning both new subjects and also a new language" (Marianne). Utilizing mother-tongue when learning Norwegian is indeed beneficial for the SLA (Cummins, 1981; Krulatz & Torgersen, 2018). However, the two others criticized Trondheim municipality more directly, as they believed the current amount of instruction each pupil receives is insufficient. For example, Ellen stated that "They receive far too little mother-tongue [instruction]. And they should have had teachers in all languages. Because all research shows that the mother-tongue is good for learning Norwegian" (Ellen). Access to teachers in all languages refers to the fact that some NAMR children have a mother-tongue where there are no teachers with competence in that language. In other words, the lack of mother-tongue teachers in all relevant languages that has previously been reported as an issue (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014), appeared to still be relevant, according to this section head. Silje stated a similar opinion regarding the importance of mother-tongue instruction, only elaborating more. In the following quote, the financial aspect is emphasized:

They should have had far more bilingual subject instruction. The municipality has cut and cut so now we are at a 2014 level with regards to money, and the salaries to the teachers have increased, so that means that the number of minutes the pupils get with bilingual teaching is getting less and less. So one really gets only resources for a little over a half hour per pupil in the week. And that is completely ridiculous. I think it is disgraceful for Trondheim municipality, quite simply. (...) I

believe it would do wonders for the integration of these children if they got more bilingual teaching and could get it for a longer period (Silje).

In this statement, Silje overtly criticized the Trondheim municipality with regards to how much money is allocated to mother-tongue instruction, with an argument that it is an important factor for the pupils to succeed with integration. A lack of economic resources and little prioritization in regulatory provisions has also been identified previously (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). The statement of Silje indicates that the challenges mentioned in the report have not been met. The criticism made by Silje is in line with the fifth dimension of transformative leadership that concerns erasing barriers that created discrimination (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). The argument of the section head appeared to be that insufficient funding of mother-tongue instruction is a disadvantage in their integration process. In sum, these section heads accentuated the importance of mother-tongue instruction for NAMR children, but also pointed out that this offer could be strengthened further. As mother-tongue instruction is offered parallel to the IO, but not as a part of the IO, this is another example of in what ways the IO is dependent on good structures outside of the IO.

## **5.2.5. Traumas**

Traumas was a topic that was brought up by four of the five respondents. Note that traumas were not specifically asked about. Rather, this was a topic that was typically brought up when they were asked about challenges in the IO. The comments that the four section heads made regarding traumas were two-folded; firstly, they expressed an understanding of why the children might struggle; and secondly, that the schools are not able to meet this challenge alone.

To begin with the expressed understanding, Linda stated that it is a big challenge for many of the children to conform to the traditional expectations of classroom behavior, as many struggle with traumas:

To be concentrated, to sit down and pay attention. Because there is so much else that interrupts. Whether you come from war traumas or have had to flee, or simply just leaving your friends, that can be traumatic for some (Linda).

In this quote, Linda appeared to acknowledge that behavioral expressions are complex and that traumas can have a great impact on the children's abilities to meet the standard expectations of classroom behaviors. The claim that past traumas affect behavior is supported by research (Fazel & Betancourt, 2018; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). Similarly, Silje described that for the first one or two years, their life is in "deep crisis" (Silje). The first period of children entering a school in a new country is indeed often a period of highest vulnerability (Norozi, 2019). Marianne stated that many of the NAMR children have a steep learning curve the first few months, but that after this initial period, many struggle: "Because then the circumstances are settled, so then comes the thoughts and the bodily unrest, in other words strategies they have in order to handle what has been repressed" (Marianne). Another section head connected traumas to the pupils' abilities to learn, and expressed that it is more difficult to learn a new language: "If you struggle with a lot of different things and you perhaps have traumas and there are social challenges, it [language learning] won't go fast, so there is a lot that needs to be in order first" (Ellen). These are examples of how the SH expressed an understanding of the fact that it is indeed difficult for many NAMR children to adapt to a new reality, and that traumas might interfere with the learning process. Furthermore, none of the section heads indicated that the children were to blame for this behavior or for experiences of traumas. Rather, challenging

behavior or learning difficulties were discussed in a manner in which it was a struggle for the individual, and the school is responsible to meet this struggle appropriately. Such an attitude reads well with recognition theory, as challenging behavior is understood as a way of communicating more complex feelings (Jordet, 2020).

The other point that was made concerned how the IO is not equipped to handle these challenges alone, but that the schools often do not get the financial or professional support they need. Firstly, it was expressed that it would be beneficial to early examine the children by other professionals in order to detect traumas: "I would really like someone who could have examined them and helped them with the traumas they might have" (Ellen). This statement was further explained by pointing out that the people working in the IO are teachers, and not health care workers: "It is difficult to know just based on the behavioral expressions what is what. These teachers are not psychologists, and they don't have the resources to sit down and take care of them as they perhaps should have" (Ellen). This statement reflects previous research that has found that many schools lack the competence and resources to address complex migration-related needs (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al., 2020). Furthermore, there seemed to be a gap in the municipality, where other professionals where not able to examine and treat the NAMR children that are in need, as long as the Norwegian language is not developed further: "That is what's so challenging with these children, because when they don't speak Norwegian, BUP [child and youth psychiatric polyclinic] don't want them for an interview. This is a big drawback. We can contact a general practitioner or the Child and Family Services, and they can contact BUP. But if BUP is not able to do their mapping before they speak Norwegian sufficiently, it can take quite a long time to get papers on the challenges" (Silje). In this statement, Silje identified a dilemma, namely that the children must have sufficient language competence in order to receive trauma treatment, but that the very same traumas might be a hindrance in achieving this competence. In addition to the language barrier, there seemed to be a challenge for other professionals to support the NAMR children when their difficulties were too complex: "PPT [pedagogical-psychological service] don't want to examine them because they say that if there are any diagnosis, it will not be detected in the beginning because it is difficult to examine those who arrive with traumas, it is so complex that it is difficult to know what is what" (Ellen). People who are forced to relocate might have complex traumas (Fazel & Betancourt, 2018). It is possible to argue that because of the very fact that the traumas are complex, the need for proper health care is only reinforced. Yet, as Ellen problematized, the complexity might hinder the children to receive appropriate health care, leaving the schools to handle the complex traumas themselves. This challenge was further underlined with the financial dimension. As one section head expressed, having an IO in a school is likely resource demanding, but the schools do not have the money to meet these demands:

We received some pupils this fall who were deeply traumatized, a lot of acting out. So then we moved some staff, hired some new people, in order to give these children what they need. Predictability in everyday life, a safe adult who has the responsibility for them, we train the staff in trauma-conscious care, and really do a lot of the right things. But when deeply traumatized children come into an introductory class, no extra money follows (Silje).

The same SH explained this challenge further:

When we are an introductory school, the chance that we have children with major traumas is greater than in schools without introductory classes. We receive them the first year, or the two first years, while their life is in a deep, deep crisis, and we have to take from the ordinary special pedagogy budget (Silje).

The IO is primarily an offer for linguistic reasons, where learning Norwegian is the goal. Yet, Ellen accentuated in the quotes above that the IO is also the institution that cares for the pupils during a time of their life where some of them are in personal crisis. Therefore, having enough resources and support to meet the children's needs seemed to be of importance. The need for more people and more resources was also expressed by Ellen, and she emphasized that especially children doing violent actions would benefit from even smaller groups, both to better accommodate for these children, but also to protect the rest of the class. In other words, these section heads expressed that there are indeed many challenges connected to the traumas of the children, but that the IO or the school receive too little support from other professionals outside the school and that the school needs resources, in order to meet the needs of the children in the IO.

# 6. Discussion

This study began with the following research question: How do section heads understand the education offer for newly arrived migrant and refugee children in Trondheim municipality? This research question concerns both the IO and also the education offer they get after being transferred to mainstream education. Through qualitative interviews with five section heads, the findings suggest that these professionals find the IO in Trondheim to be highly important for several reasons, but at the same time are facing challenges. The rationale of the current study is neither to assess the morality of the section heads' decisions or values, nor to evaluate whether the IO accomplishes its mandate and its aims. Assessing values and morals should be done with great caution, since good morality depends on perspective. Similarly, evaluating the outcome of the IO would require a completely different approach, as evaluating the quality of education is a highly complex process. For example, whether more funding of mother-tongue instruction would improve integration of NAMR children, would require different measurements. Rather, the rationale has been to highlight how professionals in a powerful position understand and reflect about a group of pupils who are placed on the outside of mainstream education, and what challenges they identify in the process. As accentuated by Nygård (2018), a relatively great freedom within each municipality regarding how to organize the educational offer to NAMR children requires assessments and decisions based on good professional judgement. Even though it is the teachers that meet the children in the classroom, the role of the section heads is of great importance, as they make significant decisions for the whole school, as well as being in contact with actors outside of the school. The findings can be better understood by comparing it to the core values and principles of the Norwegian curriculum, as well as to relevant research. As it is expected that migration to Norway will continue in the future (Thomas, 2022), it is of great interest to identify the normative perspectives and practices of those who are responsible for NAMR children, as well as to identify what challenges these professionals experience. This is particularly interesting when revisiting the perspectives of Berger & Luckmann (1966), who articulated the view in which it is recognized that humans and culture are mutually constitutive. Thus, investigations of normative perspectives are inherently valuable, as these perspectives should be perceived as a product of the society, but that they also in turn have great influence in the same society.

By reviewing all the data material together, the five section heads appeared to be professionals who considered their role to be of great importance, and who took that responsibility seriously. Their perspectives on the target group, NAMR children, were marked by a rhetoric of recognition, particularly due to the emphasis on perceiving multilingualism and diversity as a resource. It is clearly stated in the core curriculum that both multilingualism and diversity should be perceived as an asset (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020a), and the section heads are thereby in line with such values. On the one hand, they are obliged to facilitate the IO in a way that fulfills the values of the core curriculum. Every professional in the school is obliged according to the curriculum, but it is possible to argue that section heads have a particular obligation as they are in a leader position. On the other hand, the way in which these section heads argued was characterized as an attitude that went beyond obligation, and more like a genuineness that these matters are indeed important. There appeared to be an awareness among the section heads that the education system has serious flaws, and that the system has a great impact on both each pupil and the society in general. This reflects a core point in transformative leadership, where they "inextricably link education and educational

leadership with the wider social context within which it is embedded" (Shields, 2010, p. 559). Furthermore, it is possible to identify elements of transformative leadership in the statements that concerned self-accountability and self-reflection. Especially Linda stated this attitude clearly, by emphasizing the adult's responsibility when working with children, in addition to underlining the importance of reflecting the same values as they impose in the leader position. In this sense, she was holding herself accountable, in addition to articulating clear expectations for other professionals.

There appeared to be an awareness that second language acquisition is a long process, and that the pupils are not done with learning Norwegian after the period in the IO. More importantly, it was underlined that the lack of competence in Norwegian is not the same as being "stupid", as put by Silje. Acknowledging this is interesting, as previous research has found a lack of linguistic competence has in some cases been misunderstood as cognitive deficiencies (Pihl, 2010). Transitions from the IO to mainstream classes where mainly characterized as challenging, though with some variations. The challenges were claimed to be partly a result of lack of competence in second language pedagogy, in combination with ignorance among some professionals. Rejecting the deficit discourse has proven difficult among some teachers (Martinsen, 2021), thus accentuating the importance of section heads emphasizing the resource perspective. These findings should be read with caution, as there is a chance of bias when the section heads are describing practices and attitudes of other professionals in other schools. Yet, the findings are interesting for two reasons. Firstly, despite a chance of some bias, the fact that so many of the section heads described in details experiences with poor attitudes suggests that there is a real problem of ignorance among some professionals in some schools. Secondly, the section heads are in a powerful position where they can both guide other professionals as well as define requirements and make demands. In other words, by rejecting the deficit discourse, and repeatedly searching for recognition and opportunities of NAMR children, they were likely sending important signals to other professionals and contributing to beneficial learning environments.

In addition to concerns connected to language learning and transitions, challenges with traumas appeared to be a great concern among the respondents. Their expressed understanding of the consequences of traumas, and how this might affect classroom behavior, reflects research on the development of self-worth (Jordet, 2020; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017), as well as Honneth's (1995) theory of recognition. Attributing great importance to recognition can be justified in a didactical perspective, as it is fundamental and necessary for individuals to be recognized in order to perform in a social context, such as the school (Jordet, 2020; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). Additionally, it can be justified in a Bildung perspective, as the school is obliged to promote the all-round development of each pupil (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020a), and real recognition reflects the principles of Bildung (Klafki, 2000). How the section heads perceived and described the children can give information about why they behave and believe as they do. When they later in the interviews explained and discussed organizational decisions, didactical concerns, or about the behavior of the children, all their comments appeared to be affected by a genuine wish for these children to thrive. Generally, the interviews demonstrated that these section heads acted in accordance to several of the principles of transformative leadership (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). This is not to say that their decisions are necessarily always correct, or that their perspectives are free of biases or misunderstandings. Rather, the point is that the expressed genuineness in their work with NAMR children gives meaningful information about the normative aspect of the execution

of their role. It is possible to argue that with good intentions, in combination with the ability to be self-critical, the chance of a positive outcome is greater. However, even though the section heads clearly underlined the challenges of traumas among some of the NAMR children, this was not used as an explanation for why some teachers in mainstream education struggle to accommodate properly for this group of pupils. While the attitudes in combination with a lack of competence on linguistic minorities that has previously been discussed certainly appears to be a challenge, it is also reasonable to assume that issues with traumas and behavior continues after the relatively short period in introductory classes.

The challenges with traumas are interesting, as they clearly underline that the school is an institution with far more responsibilities than only instruction of subjects. This responsibility is articulated in the core curriculum, as part of the dual mission (Ministry of Education and Research, 2020a). While the school indeed has a responsibility for the wellbeing of every child, it is an important point that teachers are not health professionals. Both Silje and Ellen complained about other institutions outside of the school that are not able to follow up on health-related issues before the pupils become proficient enough in Norwegian. This indicates that there might be a lack of competence on language minorities and migration-related issues in other institutions, that affect the school and the children. These are also findings that should be read with caution, as uncovering whether that is the case would require a different and more thorough approach on that specific matter. Thus, more research on the collaboration between different institutions in Trondheim municipality regarding NAMR children is needed. However, it is interesting as it shows the interconnectedness between institutions and within the society at large. In order for the school to fulfill its mandate, the rest of the society, through its many institutions and individuals, must also fulfill their mandate or responsibility. In the same way as Bildung and recognition theory underline how all aspects of a person's life will affect them in the school system, all aspects of a society can have significant impact on the school and on each individual. In other words, "everything is tied together", as expressed by Linda.

While the section heads indeed expressed serious critique during the interviews regarding several aspects of the IO, this critique was combined with concrete suggestions. All the five section heads defended that the introductory offer is beneficial for the students. Some accentuated the linguistic factors, such as the necessity of offering strategic language instruction in Norwegian. Another argument was that premature transfer to mainstream classes could potentially harm the children. Especially the words of Ingvild were relatively strong, as she called it 'abuse' to have a maximum period of two years in the IO. Importantly, this was regarding those pupils that have little to no school background prior to coming to Norway. Both Ingvild, as well as three of the other section heads wanted to change the law, in order to let some pupils be enrolled in the IO for a longer period. Even though the municipality has freedom to choose how to organize the IO, the law is inflexible. While there certainly are dilemmas connected to keeping a pupil physically separated from mainstream classes, simply transferring them does not automatically result in social inclusion and academic achievement. The concern for these specific NAMR children, the children with little to no school background, has also been problematized previously (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Yet, how to properly include and educate these children seems to still be an unresolved issue, as the section heads strongly criticized the practice, and Ingvild even admitted that their school had rebelled and allowed pupils to take part in the IO for longer than two years. This is an example of how serious critique of the school system is combined with concrete suggestions and actions on how to improve the system,

which is in line with transformative leadership (Andersen, 2022; Shields, 2010). Allowing some pupils to stay longer in the IO reflects the suggestions of previous research, that has found it useful to consider flexible and individualized alternatives of schooling, according to each individual's situation (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). How such individualized alternatives should work in practice could be subject for future research. A third perspective that defended the IO was the benefit of creating a safe learning environment for a group of students that can be considered especially vulnerable. For example, Marianne emphasized that in large mainstream classes, a teacher is not able to give as close attention to a NAMR child, as a teacher in a significantly smaller IO class can. This concern is valid in the sense that previous research has also found that NAMR children appreciate the safe learning space that the IO can create (Jama, 2018). Yet, Marianne did not discuss the possibility of downscaling all mainstream classes, in order to give more attention to those who need it, NAMR children or others. Having an IO and downscaling mainstream classes are not opposites, and it would be interesting for future research to challenge section heads or other school leaders more on how to redesign mainstream education to better accommodate all those children that differ from the norm. In essence, asking normative questions about both the introductory offer and also about mainstream education should happen in parallel, as neither can be understood in a vacuum.

# 7. Conclusion and Implications

The school's social mandate is to promote youth's education and all-round development, i.e. Bildung. With a constantly changing society, and thereby a constantly changing school context, how to fulfill this social mandate requires a continuous analysis of school practices. The aim of this study was exactly that, by investigating the normative perspectives and challenges of central persons in the school institution. The voices of section heads are interesting and influential in the school context, yet their perspectives are less common in research. The respondents of the study all defended the introductory offer, based on several different arguments. These included both linguistic and social aspects, as well as a critique of mainstream education's ability to accommodate the needs of the target group. The fact that some NAMR children arrive in Norway with little to no school background accentuate why joining mainstream education without an IO could be too challenging for many children. Keeping the resource perspective in mind, where the core attitude is that NAMR children are inherently valuable and with many strengths, was highlighted as an important point during the interviews. Holding onto such a perspective might appear self-evident for some readers, but it is important to note that the school institution has a long history of assimilation. Therefore, having school leaders that argue in favor of real recognition of minority pupils is significant and worth accentuating. The section heads described several challenges connected to educating NAMR children, yet avoided to place blame on the pupils themselves, thus rejecting the deficit discourse. Having school leaders that hold themselves and other adults accountable is a great strength.

The pupils in question, NAMR pupils, are not a homogenous group. This was repeatedly brought up by the informants in the study. They differ in linguistic background, school background, family situation, whether they have experiences of traumas, in addition to being individuals like everybody else. As a result of this, the target group cannot be treated as one group with one type of needs. Rather, policy concerning the target group should more clearly acknowledge the diversity within the group. As suggested by some of the informants, there should be a more flexible legislation with regards to how long a pupil can be enrolled in the IO. This is most important for the older pupils, as the education usually becomes increasingly theoretical and demanding in higher grades. Still, more flexible legislation should not result in a mainstream education that assumes that NAMR children are fully trained when transferred. Improving mainstream education to better accommodate the target group should happen parallelly.

In terms of implications for future research, there are many research areas that could contribute to better understand the educational situation of NAMR children. It is important to take into account that the findings are a result of qualitative interviews. This means that the values and practices described in the findings are self-reported from the informants themselves, which always entails a chance of bias. Ideals and practice are not necessarily the same, and it can be difficult for anyone to uncover this gap in themselves. Therefore, it would be useful to conduct more research from different angles. For example, some of the section heads emphasized the importance of their own behavior reflecting the same values, such as being positive and promoting the resource perspective, as well as to utilize common time meetings appropriately. It could therefore be a possibility to do observations at some common time meetings to investigate how such ideals are reflected in behavior. Another example could be to conduct interviews with teachers and other staff members within the same schools as well, or to conduct interviews with pupils or parents.

In that way, it could become clearer whether the ideals of the section heads are also experienced among the people they work with and the pupils they serve. Additionally, investigating how different actors work together with the school on traumas and healthrelated challenges among NAMR children within Trondheim municipality could also be an important contribution in the research field. As the current study only interviewed five section heads, there is a possibility that there are other perspectives and experiences present at other schools that have not been explored in this study. In any case, understanding more of the normative fundament has value, regardless of how it is reflected in practice, though investigating practice also is highly important. Furthermore, to fulfill the dual school mission, professionals must constantly revise and challenge school practices. The section heads who agreed to be informants in this study demonstrated a willingness to be self-critical and to discuss dilemmas and challenges connected to NAMR children's education offer, and were thereby exposing important aspects of the education system that have relevance also beyond the school context. While the experiences and perspectives of school professionals are highly relevant when investigating the education offer, perspectives from outside of the school context could also contribute. As pointed out initially in this study, the school is an institution in the society that is politically decided and that has in turn a great impact on the society. Therefore, how to do schooling, how to integrate, how to include, and many other questions, are of relevance to everyone in the society, not just school professionals. Having transparent conversations about the opportunities and challenges of the education offer for this target group specifically, and all pupils generally, benefits the society as a whole. The aim of this study was to contribute to this conversation, and to possibly contribute with new insights in the field.

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# Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview guide (intervjuguide)
Appendix 2: Consent form (samtykkeskjema)

Appendix 3: Assessment of processing of personal data (vurdering av behandling av

personopplysninger

# Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Åpningsspørsmål	<ul> <li>Hvor lenge har du jobbet som avdelingsleder?</li> <li>Hva er dine arbeidsoppgaver?</li> <li>Hva er givende med jobben?</li> </ul>
Organisering	Kan du beskrive opplæringstilbudet nyankomne elever får på skolen? - Organisering? - Tospråklig fagopplæring? - Morsmålsopplær? - Spesialundervisning?
	Hvilke fordeler og utfordringer mener du det er med denne organiseringen?
	Hvilke endringer tror du kunne vært positive?
	Hva tenker du om lengden på perioden som elevene er i innføringsklasser? I hvilken grad tenker du elevene overføres til ordinær undervisning på et hensiktsmessig tidspunkt?
	Det er variasjoner mellom organiseringen av innføringstilbudet i de ulike byene. Hvordan oppleves det?
	Hva slags tilbakemeldinger har du fått fra lærere i innføringsklasser?  - Hvilke utfordringer trekker de frem? Hvordan kan slike utfordringer håndteres?
	Hva slags tilbakemeldinger har du fått fra lærere i ordinære klasser som mottar elever fra innføringsklassene?  - Hvilke utfordringer trekker de frem? Hvordan kan slike utfordringer håndteres?
	Hva slags tilbakemeldinger har du fått fra foreldrene til nyankomne elever?
	- Hva sier elevene selv?
Ekstra pedagogisk støtte	Hvilket tilbud får de elevene som er overført til ordinære klasser, men som fremdeles har språkutfordringer eller andre faglige utfordringer? - Hva tenker du om den ordningen?
	I hvilken grad strever skolen eller kommunen med å oppfylle rettigheter knyttet til denne elevgruppen?  - Hva er i så fall noen årsaker til at dette er vanskelig?
Samarbeid	Opplever du å få faglig støtte i utfordrende situasjoner? Av hvem i så fall?
	Hvordan er samarbeidet med kommunen? I hvilken grad opplever du støtte på feltet fra kommunen?

	<ul> <li>I hvilken grad samarbeider ulike skoler i Trondheim om innføringstilbudet?</li> <li>Skulle du ønske et eventuelt samarbeid var organisert annerledes?</li> </ul>
Integrering og inkludering	Hvordan tenker du at denne gruppen med elever kan best integreres i samfunnet?  Hvilken rolle har skolen for integreringen til nyankomne elever?  På hvilke måter jobber skolen med inkluderingen av nyankomne elever?  Hva tenker du er den største suksessfaktoren for integrering for denne elevgruppen?  Dersom du hadde mandat og ressurser til å gjøre større endringer med hvordan norsk skole inkluderer nyankomne elever, hva ville gjort?
Avslutning	Er det noe som har overrasket deg i jobben din?  Er det noe du ønsker å legge til av det som allerede er sagt eller er det noen andre temaer du ønsker å belyse?

# Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet «Avdelingslederes opplevelse av innføringstilbudet til nyankomne elever»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å undersøke hvordan avdelingsledere opplever innføringstilbudet til nyankomne minoritetselever. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

# Formål

Formålet er å identifisere hva som fungerer godt med dagens innføringsmodell, samt hvilke utfordringer skoler kan oppleve i forbindelse med utdanningen og inkluderingen av nyankomne minoritetselever. Masteroppgaven vil bli skrevet på engelsk og tar utgangspunkt i følgende problemstilling: How do section heads understand the education offer to newly arrived migrant and refugee children? Problemstilling oversatt til norsk: Hvordan opplever avdelingsledere utdanningstilbudet til nyankomne migrant- og flyktningelever?

# Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Forskningsprosjektet er en masteroppgave som blir skrevet av meg, Tara S. Aksnes. Studieretning er master sosialpedagogikk, som del av grunnskolelærerutdanningen 50-10, Institutt for lærerutdanning, Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanninsgvitenskap, NTNU (Norges teknisk- og naturvitenskapelige universitet). Veileder er Armend Tahirsylaj.

## Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Du får forespørsel om å delta på prosjektet på bakgrunn av din stilling som avdelingsleder på en skole med innføringsklasser. Det er i alt fem avdelingsledere som får henvendelse om å delta i dette prosjektet. Dine kontaktopplysninger har jeg fått av representant ved Fagenheten for oppvekst og utdanning i Trondheim kommune.

# Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det et intervju på opptil én klokketime. Spørsmålene vil være knyttet til din rolle som avdelingsleder, samt utdanning, skole og integrering mer generelt. Jeg tar lydopptak og notater fra intervjuet.

# Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. 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

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Personopplysninger vil bli anonymisert. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Det vil kun være meg, samt min veileder som har tilgang på datamaterialet. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Opplysningene blir behandlet på fysisk isolert maskinvare tilhørende behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

# Hva skjer med personopplysningene dine når forskningsprosjektet avsluttes?

Personopplysninger vil bli slettet ved prosjektets slutt. Lydopptaket vil slettes fortløpende som materialet transkriberes.

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

Jeg behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra NTNU har Personverntjenester vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

# **Dine rettigheter**

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

- innsyn i hvilke opplysninger vi behandler om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene
- å få rettet opplysninger om deg som er feil eller misvisende
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger

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

- Masterstudent: Tara S. Aksnes, tlf: 950 10 955, <a href="mailto:tara.aksnes@stud.ntnu.no">tara.aksnes@stud.ntnu.no</a>
- Veileder: Armend Tahirsylaj, armend.tahirsylaj@ntnu.no
- NTNUs personvernombud: Thomas Helgesen, tlf: 93 07 90 38, mail: thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til Personverntjenester sin vurdering av prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med:

Personverntjenester på epost (<u>personverntjenester@sikt.no</u>) eller på telefon:
 53 21 15 00.

Med vennlig hilsen

Tara Solum Aksnes (Masterstudent)

Armend Tahirsyla (Veileder)

# Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Avdelingslederes opplevelse av innføringstilbudet til nyankomne elever», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:
□ å delta i intervju □ lydopptak fra intervjuet
Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet
(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

# Appendix 3: Assessment of Processing of Personal Data

Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger

16/01/2023, 12:01



Meldeskjema / Innføringstilbudet til nyankomne elever / Vurdering

# Vurdering av behandling av personopplysninger

ReferansenummerVurderingstypeDato768404Automatisk ☑06.12.2022

## Prosjekttittel

Innføringstilbudet til nyankomne elever

#### Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for lærerutdanning

#### Prosjektansvarlig

Armend Tahirsylaj

#### Student

Tara Solum Aksnes

## Prosjektperiode

02.01.2023 - 25.08.2023

#### Kategorier personopplysninger

Alminnelige

#### Lovlig grunnlag

Samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a)

Behandlingen av personopplysningene er lovlig så fremt den gjennomføres som oppgitt i meldeskjemaet. Det lovlige grunnlaget gjelder til 25.08.2023.

Meldeskjema 🗹

#### Grunnlag for automatisk vurdering

Meldeskjemaet har fått en automatisk vurdering. Det vil si at vurderingen er foretatt maskinelt, basert på informasjonen som er fylt inn i meldeskjemaet. Kun behandling av personopplysninger med lav personvernulempe og risiko får automatisk vurdering. Sentrale kriterier er:

- De registrerte er over 15 år
- · Behandlingen omfatter ikke særlige kategorier personopplysninger;
  - o Rasemessig eller etnisk opprinnelse
  - o Politisk, religiøs eller filosofisk overbevisning
  - Fagforeningsmedlemskap
  - Genetiske data
  - $\circ~$  Biometriske data for å entydig identifisere et individ
  - Helseopplysninger
  - o Seksuelle forhold eller seksuell orientering
- Behandlingen omfatter ikke opplysninger om straffedommer og lovovertredelser
- Personopplysningene skal ikke behandles utenfor EU/EØS-området, og ingen som befinner seg utenfor EU/EØS skal ha tilgang til personopplysningene
- De registrerte mottar informasjon på forhånd om behandlingen av personopplysningene.

Informasjon til de registrerte (utvalgene) om behandlingen må inneholde

- Den behandlingsansvarliges identitet og kontaktopplysninger
- Kontaktopplysninger til personvernombudet (hvis relevant)
- Formålet med behandlingen av personopplysningene
- Det vitenskapelige formålet (formålet med studien)
- Det lovlige grunnlaget for behandlingen av personopplysningene
- Hvilke personopplysninger som vil bli behandlet, og hvordan de samles inn, eller hvor de hentes fra
- Hvem som vil få tilgang til personopplysningene (kategorier mottakere)
- Hvor lenge personopplysningene vil bli behandlet
- Retten til å trekke samtykket tilbake og øvrige rettigheter

Vi anbefaler å bruke vår mal til informasjonsskriv.

#### Informasjonssikkerhet

Du må behandle personopplysningene i tråd med retningslinjene for informasjonssikkerhet og lagringsguider ved behandlingsansvarlig institusjon. Institusjonen er ansvarlig for at vilkårene for personvernforordningen artikkel 5.1. d) riktighet, 5. 1. f) integritet og konfidensialitet, og 32 sikkerhet er oppfylt.



