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# Barriers to Inclusion of Minority Language Minors in Norwegian and Dutch education

*A comparative analyses of various reported voices  
connected to education*

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Comparative and International Education

45 study points

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### **Abstract**

With the increase of immigrants in Norway and the Netherlands, it is increasingly important to have an inclusive education system that sets every minor up to succeed. This comparative research considers the barriers of inclusion to quality education for minority language minors in Norway and the Netherlands. Using UNESCO's (2008b) inclusion framework, the content of 70 media sources were analysed to give insight to the types of barriers and suggested solutions. A holistic approach is taken that examines and compares the different voices that were heard in each country. The data discusses three categories of barriers: racism, unqualified teachers and segregation. Norway's sources focussed more on long-term effects of racism and the sense of belonging and the those of Netherlands focussed more on getting enough skilled teachers in front of classrooms with a large minority language population. Both countries are concerned with barriers regarding segregation. This concern indicates that the Dutch and Norwegian education systems are underprepared for the presence of minority language minors in all classrooms. Additionally, the curriculum in both countries does not leave enough room for a language delay. This means that not all minority language minors are able to adequately follow classes, which impacts the participation and achievements of pupils. Lastly, the voices reported in the data are mainly majority groups that talk about minority language minors. Teachers are especially concerned about the future that is in reach for minority language minors. An unsupportive social context hinders the feeling of inclusion amongst minors. Whilst the majority population recognises some of the barriers in place, there is little willingness to actively support the removal of barriers. The results of this study indicate that there is a long way to go before Norway and the Netherlands can provide inclusive, quality education to all minority language minors.

Keywords: inclusion, minority language minors, Norway, the Netherlands, inclusive education, integration, UNESCO

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For everyone who reads this, I hope this research sheds light on the dimensions of inclusion in education and inspires to re-evaluate ones' position in a world filled with diversity.

Ariane Nèden Schram

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## Introduction

### Background and significance of study

Migration trends towards the Netherlands and Norway have been high in recent decades. These new arrivals need to find their place in society, and this has increased the need for proper integration for both migrant children and adults. For adults, the countries have set up integration tests and language training (Nonchev & Tagarov, 2011). Those under 18 years old, however, are increasingly quickly integrated into the regular school systems of the country. This is an attempt to include newly arrived minors in the host countries' school system and society. However, for minority language minors a hurried inclusion can result in exclusion both in education and society. The reason for this exclusion is in part the tension between minority language minors and their access to quality education. According to Essomba (2014) there are three dysfunctions that characterise access to quality education for minority language minors: an unprepared education system (1), inadequate curricula (2), and an unsupportive social context (3). This research will try to get an understanding of these characteristics that can hinder a student's success in Norway and in the Netherlands from an inclusive approach. To answer this question a comparative case study is conducted of voices in different types of media regarding education of minority language minors in Norway and the Netherlands.

Inclusion is a process concerned with the identification and removal of barriers (UNESCO, 2008b). Within the field of education this process focuses on barriers between learners at risk of marginalization and the education system. This includes minority language minors as they are at risk of marginalization because of their limited language proficiency of the majority language. Minority language minors are defined as having a mother tongue other than an official recognised language of the country. There has been much debate on whether minority language minors should receive separate education until they are proficient enough in the majority language. According to Legrain (2016) including minority language minors in the regular classroom benefits their future prospects in the country. However, if it is not done right, these minors risk falling behind. Whilst Legrain denotes the benefits of immediate inclusion of minors, many countries have opted for an initial segregated

phase for minority language minors. Because there is often a language disparity, many minority language students initially end up in introductory education before moving on to the regular school system (Eklund, Sjöberg, Rydin & Högdin, 2011; Sletten & Engebrigtsen, 2011; Hilt, 2017). Norway and The Netherlands are two of those countries. They both have separate education for those who do not possess an adequate level of one of the officially recognized languages. In the Netherlands these are often called *schakelklassen* or *taalklassen* and in Norway *mottaksklasser* or *innføringsklasser*. Introductory education has the role of both language learning and civic integration (Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013). Norway and The Netherlands have therefore opted for an inclusion through exclusion approach of education for minority language minors (Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013; Hilt, 2017).

The transition to inclusive education is, according to United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), *“not simply a technical or organizational change— it is a movement in a clear philosophical direction”* (2008a, p.14). In developing more inclusive education systems, schools and communities have to become more inclusive too. This means that schools must be capable of educating all children in their communities (UNESCO, 2008a). There are several reasons for adopting an inclusive approach to education. An educational justification for a more inclusive school system is that in order for inclusive schools to educate all children together means that they have to develop ways of teaching that respond to individual differences and that therefore benefit all children (UNESCO, 2008b). A social justification is that inclusive schools are able to change attitudes to differences by educating all children together, and form the basis for a just and non-discriminatory society (UNESCO, 2008b). An economic justification is that it is likely to be less costly to establish and maintain schools which educate all children together, than to set up a complex system of different types of school specializing in different groups of children (UNESCO, 2008b). These justifications are related to the first two dysfunctions mentioned by Essomba (2014): an unprepared education system and inadequate curricula. For the justifications address the problems of preparing a supportive school context and adapting the curriculum to support individual needs. As inclusive education, and by extension inclusive society, is more a philosophical approach than a straightforward change (UNESCO, 2008b). This means that the way this approach is translated into practice is a topic of debate and

the process of adopting inclusive education is long and ever-changing. As Norway and The Netherlands are adopting a more inclusive approach to education, changes both on policy and societal levels should be visible. This means that the process of identifying and removing barriers should be visible. This research will thus use a holistic approach to identify the barriers to inclusion to quality education for minority language minors that are still in place. This will be used to get an understanding of how this shapes the reality of minority language minors concerning their education.

### **Defining the scope of the research**

The purpose of this research is to get a better understanding of the barriers that are still in place in regards to minority language minors' access to quality education. To be able to do so, an assessment of the current situation is necessary: what is going on? This is both in regards to policies that are currently in place as well as personal experiences of those involved. The underlining aim is to get an understanding of how barriers to inclusivity shape the reality of minority language minors. This in turn provides feedback to all actors involved of what a possible road towards change can be and towards fulfilling the international agreed upon promises.

For this reason, the key question of this research is: which barriers to quality education for minority language minors are reported in Oslo and Amsterdam? To be able to answer this question fully, different aspects are taken into consideration. This research looks at which voices have been characterizing which barriers and which suggestions they give to improve inclusivity. Lastly this research will take differences between Oslo, Norway and Amsterdam, the Netherlands, into consideration. This in order to see how different policies in similar contexts can influence which barriers present themselves.

### **Delimitations**

This research will include a qualitative analysis of media sources concerning minority language minors in school in Oslo, Norway, and Amsterdam, The Netherlands. The main method of collecting data is through document analysis of different types of media sources. The primary objective is to get an understanding of how inclusive the school system has been for minority language minors. In other words: which barriers to education exist and what solutions have been given.



Both Norway and the Netherlands are part of the United Nations (UN) (Government of the Netherlands, 2019; United Nations Association of Norway, n.d.). The Netherlands is also a European Union (EU) member country. Norway is not part of the EU, but does have close ties with various EU policies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). International policies have thus had an influence on national decision-making. On national level, different historical factors may have influenced the way inclusion is viewed. This research will therefore consider factors macro, meso and micro level to get a broader understanding context of inclusion in education. Oslo and Amsterdam are used as exemplary cases, as they are capital cities with a large minority population in each country.

Privacy regulations involving research with minors in both the Netherlands and Norway are quite strict. This made it rather difficult to interview minors about their experiences. Interviewing teachers and parents proved difficult because of busy schedules and lockdown restrictions. This made using media content the best method for answering the research questions. Using this method, allows different voices to be heard, whilst complying with regulations. A broader scope of subjects on all different levels of education in both countries would have given a better representation of the different philosophical input at different levels. However, this was beyond the scope of this research as such an intensive study required more time and resources than were available to a single researcher.

## **Outline**

The next chapter describes the context of education for minority language minors in Norway and the Netherlands. In this chapter both contexts are discussed and compared. Special attention is paid to the relevant policies that are in place. The literature chapter discusses relevant research on international and national levels that concerns minority language minors. The framework of the thesis is the philosophy of inclusion as described by UNESCO. The research is discussed in further detail in the method section. Here the focus is on micro level: Oslo and Amsterdam. The main focus of the research is on the experiences of barriers to quality education from an inclusive perspective in different media sources. The result chapter will focus on the information gathered from the different sources and the voices that are reported both in Oslo and Amsterdam. The discussion reports the

data in relation to the research questions, regarding the barriers to quality education for minority language minors and the differences between Oslo and Amsterdam. The conclusion holds concluding remarks regarding the barriers to quality education for minority language minors, as well as research recommendations in the field of inclusive education, and policy recommendations for governmental bodies involved in education for minority language minors in Oslo and Amsterdam.

## Context

This chapter discusses the context of Norway and the Netherlands and the way this affects minority language minors and their education. This includes the approaches to education and integration from each country, both the policies at play as well as relevant facts. Special attention is paid to the two capital cities that form the local sites of this research. Additionally, the ties that Norway and the Netherlands have to other countries are discussed, as these ties can influence policy changes at a national level. After going through the most relevant context characteristics the contexts of the two countries are compared.

### The Norwegian context

The Kingdom of Norway is located in North-Western Europe. It has a population of approximately 5,5 million people in an area of almost 400 thousand square kilometres (Kartverket, n.d.). The majority of the population live in cities. Norway's capital, Oslo, being the largest, with a population of 694 657 (Statistics Norway, n.d.). The Kingdom of Norway consists of mainland Norway, Svalbard (including Bjørnøya) and Jan-Mayen (Kartverket, n.d.). Norway is divided into eleven counties (*fylker*), with a total of 356 municipalities (*kommuner*) (Kartverket, n.d.). The city Oslo is both a county and a municipality. In 2018, Oslo counted 222 843 citizens with an immigrant background, that was 33.1% of the city's total population (Oslo Kommune, n.d.).

### Ties to other countries

As Norway is a country in Europe, Norway has close ties to other European countries. Because of their similar geographical location and shared history the closest European countries are the other Nordic countries. The Nordic countries work closely together on many issues. The Nordic Council was introduced in 1952 to encourage better inter-parliamentary co-operation (Nordic Cooperation, n.d.). Its members are Denmark, Finland, Norway, Iceland and Sweden. Though many of these countries are EU member states, Norway is not. Norway is, however, part of many of the EU's agreements and of the European Economic Area (EEA). The EEA consists of EU member states and Liechtenstein, Iceland and Norway (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). The EEA Agreement pertains mainly to trade, investments,

banking and insurance, and buying and selling services. In addition, it enables citizens of EEA countries to work, study and live in other countries in the EEA. Whilst its main purpose is economic, it also covers cooperation related to education and social policies. International co-operation between EU member states allow Norway to follow EU policies with their own twist to it (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017).

On a global scale, Norway's main ties are visible as member of the UN. Norway is amongst the 50 members of the UN, during its established in 1945 right after the Second World War. Norway has been a big contributor to the UN both economically and with military resources (United Nations Association of Norway, n.d.). In turn the UN has been important to Norway, because it decides over disputes about sea ownership. Norway has also benefited greatly from the positive image it has gotten through the UN (United Nations Association of Norway, n.d.).

### **Integration and inclusion policies**

Norwegian integration inclusion policies have a primary focus on creating a safe and inclusive environment for all its citizens (Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013). 'All inhabitants in Norway have the same basic obligations and rights, and all must respect the same laws' (Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013, p.6). To ensure this, several rules and regulations concerning integration and inclusion are applicable to immigrants, amongst which are the Introduction Act of 2003 and the Immigration Act of 2008. The EU expansions from 2004 and 2007 have divided immigrants into two categories: EU citizens and non-EU citizens (Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013). The majority of immigrants in Norway are EU citizens.

In 2013 the Norwegian government has set a set of goals for itself regarding the introduction of immigrants (Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013):

- Immigrants to qualify for participation in the Norwegian labour market
- Better use of immigrants' skills and competence
- More women with immigrant backgrounds to enter the workforce

- Immigrants and their children to have receive a quality education that is adapted to their needs
- All children to have quality early-development conditions and to fully use their abilities in their best interest
- Young girls and boys to make independent choices about their own life and future
- Faster settlement of refugees in municipalities
- To create a sense of belonging in Norway through citizenship policy
- To combat racism and discrimination
- Activities in the voluntary sector to be open and inclusive
- Welfare provision to be adapted to the needs of a diverse population

Furthermore, Norway has not only focussed on the inclusion of migrants, but also on the inclusion of their own minority populations. Inclusion policies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have largely focussed on including the Sami population in Norway education and society. Norway opened up Sametinget, which is a branch of government that handles issues regarding the Sami population specifically and represents the Sami population in parliament (Sametinget, n.d.).

### **Education**

Norway's education system consists of various aspects among which are primary and secondary school, upper secondary school, tertiary education, kindergartens and more. These are all the responsibility of the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research. Every child in Norway has the right and obligation to attend primary, and lower and upper secondary school (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2014). They will do so from the year they turn six years old. Mainstream basic education consists of seven years of primary school, three years of lower secondary school and three years of upper secondary school. The first ten years of these are compulsory (NMER, 2008). It is the responsibility of the municipalities or counties to provide institutions of compulsory education. They also carry the responsible for said institutions to follow the Norwegian Child Welfare Act. The state supervises and monitors the municipal and county authority (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2014). Primary school and lower secondary school are the same for all pupils. Lower secondary school encompasses both theoretical and

vocational programmes (NUFFIC, 2017). There are three documents that guide activities in basic education in Norway: The Core Curriculum, The Quality Framework and The Subject Curricula.

The number of newly arrived minors in need for introductory education has increased in the last decades. Norway is one of many countries that have integration policies for minors. Schools in Norway offer ‘innføringsklasser’ or ‘mottaksklasser’ (Sletten & Engebrigtsen, 2011). Introductory education has the role of both language learning and civic integration (Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013). Each municipality has the freedom to decide what is best for their students. The purpose of the introductory education classes is to give newly arrived minors extra language education lessons, whilst enrolling them in regular subjects (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2012). Each municipality, therefore, needs to be prepared to accommodate these minors. The municipality of Oslo has reported that 18.8 % of the pupils get “*særskilt norskopplæring*” [special Norwegian language education].

### **The Dutch context**

The Netherlands is a Western-European country that borders Germany and Belgium. It has a population of approximately 17.4 million people (Statistics Netherlands, n.d. a). The Netherlands is part of a Kingdom that consists of four countries. The other countries are the Caribbean islands Aruba, Sint Maarten and Curaçao (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). The three Caribbean islands, Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba, are considered special municipalities. The Kingdom of the Netherlands used to include various other countries such as Suriname and Indonesia and still has a large population from these areas in the Netherlands. The country the Netherlands consists of 12 *provincies* [provinces] with a total of 355 *gemeentes* [municipalities]. Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands, is part of the province Noord-Holland and is its own county. Most people in the Netherlands live in de Randstad, which is an area that encompasses four big cities, including Amsterdam. In 2019 Amsterdam, counted 862 965 citizens (Statistics Netherlands, n.d. b). A little more than half of these citizens had an immigration background and 35.7 % of the total citizens had a non-western background (Statistics Netherlands, n.d. b).

Since 2015 a lot of tasks have been decentralised: from being regulated by the central government, i.e. parliament, to being regulated by municipalities. This has increased the number of tasks that municipalities have to perform, amongst which are *jeugd zorg* [youth services] (Government of the Netherlands, 2013).

### **Ties to other countries**

The Netherlands has close ties with the other members of the Benelux Union, Belgium and Luxembourg. This international partnership was established in 1944 as a borders union. Since then it has gone through many changes. Since 2008 it was officially dubbed the Benelux Union with three core focus areas: internal market and economic union, sustainable development, and justice and internal affairs (Benelux, n.d.). Like Belgium and Luxembourg, The Netherlands is also a member of the EU and the UN (Government of the Netherlands, n.d., Government of the Netherlands, 2019). The foundations of the EU were laid around the same time as the Benelux Union. The Netherlands is also one of the founding countries of the EU. The Netherlands considers migration one of the main priorities of the EU (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.).

### **Integration and inclusion policies**

Dutch integration and inclusion policies are heavily dependent on decisions by the European Union (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.). However, there are some goals regarding migration that the Netherlands has set for themselves (Ministry of Justice and Security, 2018). In 2018 the policy intentions of six pillars of migration were introduced:

1. Preventing irregular migration
2. Improving reception and protection for refugees and displaced persons in the region
3. Achieving a robust asylum system, based on solidarity, in the EU and the Netherlands
4. Combating illegal residence and stepping up returns
5. Promoting legal migration routes
6. Encouraging integration and participation. (Ministry of Justice and Security, 2018)

The last point deals with integration and participation goals. Here the aim is to have each migrant become a part of Dutch society as soon as possible. Where language acquisition is considered the key. The argument is that language is important for finding a job, which in turn is important in being able to participate in the Dutch society. A successful integration depends on developing talents of migrants (Ministry of Justice and Security, 2018).

Like in Norway integration policies have been part of Dutch politics for a long time. The Dutch colonial history and the consequent immigration from Suriname and Indonesia have shaped policies regarding migrants. Since the 1980's there have been official policies regarding migrants as a response to migrant workers from Turkey and Morocco (Multicultureel Nederland, n.d.). This shaped the integration policies in the Netherlands today.

### **Education**

Primary school in the Netherland is meant to broadly educate minors (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008). Compulsory education starts at the age of five, but most minors attend primary school from the age of four. There are a couple of subject areas that are compulsory under the Primary Education Act, however schools are free to decide how much time they devote to each domain. The compulsory domains are (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008, p.8):

- Sensory coordination and physical education
- Dutch
- Arithmetic and mathematics
- English
- Factual subjects, including geography, history and science
- Social structures and religious and ideological movements
- Expressive activities, including the use of language, drawing, music and handicrafts
- Social and life skills
- Healthy living



Primary schools are thus required to have the above mentioned subject areas in their curriculum in one way or another. The Primary Education Act was last revised in 1998 (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008). This was to include that primary education should stimulate “active citizenship and social integration” (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008, p.7). The Dutch ministry of Education has also formulated core objectives that they feel are the desired results of a primary learning process. The aim of these core objectives are to encourage teachers to address and stimulate children’s natural curiosity and to develop children in a broad and coherent way (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008).

Secondary schools are meant to preparation for pupil’s future place in society, in particular their employment (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008). Most minors are 12 years old when they start secondary education. Secondary education consists out of four different tiers of education: pre-university education, general education, pre-vocational secondary education and practical training (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008). The length of a pupil’s secondary education depends on the tier of education they end up in. All tiers have at least two years of basic lower secondary education, before offering some form of specialization in the upper secondary education. All minors have a right and obligation to attend at least primary and secondary education.

A noticeable aspect of the Dutch educational system is the stress of freedom of education (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008). Freedom of education in the Dutch context refers to “the freedom to found schools (freedom of establishment), to organise the teaching in schools (freedom of organisation and teaching) and to determine the principles on which they are based (freedom of conviction)” (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, p.11). For this reason there are both private and public schools in the Netherlands. Private schools are funded by the national government, but they are subject to different laws. These schools often have their own board, or an external board that supervises a group of private schools with similar educational beliefs. Public schools are open for everyone, regardless of beliefs or educational outlook. These schools are run by the municipal government and are subject to national laws on primary education (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008).

### **Comparing the two contexts**

The context of Norway and the Netherlands are quite similar. Their geographical locations have led to close ties with neighbouring countries. Additionally are both Norway and the Netherlands closely related to the EU and the UN. Norway is not part of the EU but is part of the EEA. Its fellow Nordic countries are part of the EU. This means that the EU can influence Norwegian policies, although this may be more indirect. The Netherlands is an integral part of the EU and has enjoyed privileges because of this. The ties that both countries have to the UN are quite similar.

Integration and inclusion policies have originated in different areas. For Norway inclusion of Sami has been a hard fought and important issue. With the Sami even having their own representation in parliament. In The Netherlands the bottlenecks were the former colonial territory, where many people decided to move to The Netherlands right before the territory gained independence. This meant that a lot of people with Suriname and Indonesia background came to The Netherlands in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The policies that both Norway and The Netherlands have come to are currently quite similar. Where migration within the EEA is very easy. Immigrating from outside the EEA is more difficult.

The education systems of the Netherlands and Norway differ quite. Children in the Netherlands start their education earlier and they change to secondary education earlier. Norway has a system that is less stratified than the Netherlands. The Netherlands has different tiers of education that start at 12 years of age. Whilst Norway has 10 years of compulsory education and an additional three years for those who seek tertiary education. The main similarity is that municipalities are in charge of education in both countries.

## Literature review

### Introduction

The upcoming literature study aims to get an understanding about the macro level, international organisations, and meso level, Norway and The Netherlands. The focus on macro level will be on international organisations that influence introductory education in each country. On meso level, national documents from Norway and the Netherlands will be analysed.

In this chapter the literature in regard to quality education for minority language minors is discussed. As stated Essomba's (2014), three dysfunctions that characterise access to quality education for minority language minors: an unprepared education system, inadequate curricula, and an unsupportive social context. This is due to the invisibility of reception and access to education, lack of acknowledgement regarding schooling, and social resistance in the community. These themes are discussed for international, Norwegian and Dutch perspectives.

### International studies and perspective

Across the world there is an increasing problem of new refugees that ask for asylum (Essomba, 2017). Whilst a lot of them seek to stay in countries temporarily, an increasing number have no immediate plan of return. Many western countries that host these individuals have decided that they need to assist migrants in finding their place in the host countries' society (Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013; Nonchev & Tagarov, 2011). For adults this is largely on their own account and is tested by integration tests (Nonchev & Tagarov, 2011). However, for minors this is mainly the task of the education system.

On an international level, members of the UN and the EU have signed treaties that give all minors have the right to education (Essomba, 2017). As there is often a language disparity, many minority language minors end up in introductory education before moving on to the regular school system (Eklund, Sjöberg, Rydin & Högdin, 2011; Sletten & Engebriksen, 2011). The increasing numbers of refugees have put a strain not only on acceptance centres but also on the school system (Berg, Bjørnstad, Gran & Kostøl, 2016; Essomba, 2017). This means that there are inconsistencies in the education that they receive (Essomba, 2017). In order for

minority language minors transition adequately from introductory education to the public school system, introductory education needs to take into account individual differences and provide the basic language skills and social competencies that minors need (Essomba, 2017).

### **Norwegian perspective**

The Norwegian school system is adapted for minority language minors by various aspects. According to Valenta (2008) newly arrived minors in Norway do not have to wait long to enrol in schools. The vast majority of minors start school within a month, only 3% wait slightly longer. The introductory education classes are meant to be as short as possible, and minors are enrolled in public classes as soon as their Norwegian language skills are good enough (Valenta, 2008). The Norwegian government states that they believe minors will integrate better when they are amongst Norwegian pupils. However, not every municipality (*kommune*) knows enough about the rights and needs of newly arrived minors to meet the rights and needs (Berg et al., 2016). This results in many differences between municipalities in practises and quality. Not every child has access to the education they require. At the same time, research shows that almost all schools in Norway offer both education in the Norwegian language as well as education in the regular subjects (Sletten & Engebriksen, 2011).

The Norwegian curricula have been adapted to minority language minors by giving them the right to extra language education. This is a difficult issue because minority language minors have a right to extra language education “until they are sufficiently proficient in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school” (Eklund, Sjöberg, Rydin, & Högdin, 2011, p.10-11). However, various studies have shown that municipalities struggle in doing so. Additionally, minority language minors have a right to education in their own mother tongue until the minors are “sufficiently proficient”. Providing minors with adequate schooling in their mother tongue is difficult, as many municipalities do not have the resources to do so. Determining when a student is “sufficiently proficient” in a language is also a point of contention.

Norway’s approach to egalitarianism is deeply imbedded in their approach to education (Befring, 1990). The understanding of the term inclusion has its roots in ideas grown out of social, political and educational processes over the last 150

years. Accordingly, the introduction of the term inclusion in the Norwegian National Curriculum of 1997 (NC-97) did not cause any major debate. Instead, the education debate has been turned towards differentiation and the implementation of adapted education.

### **Dutch perspective**

Whilst all minority language minors have the right to specialised education, such as extra language education and temporary education classes, not every child that needs it is able to access this. According to Le Pichon, Van Erning & Baauw (2016) about 25% of children in Rotterdam with extra educational needs have lived in the Netherlands for too long to qualify for specialised education. They do not have access to temporary education classes, but are unable to integrate into regular classes (Le Pichon, Van Erning & Baauw, 2016). One of the reasons mentioned for this phenomenon is a lack of uniformity in local education policies in the Netherlands, both in the form of education that children receive and in who qualifies as a newly arrived migrant minor. Educating newly arrived migrant children can be challenging, and there is not a uniform way of preparing teachers for this task (Le Pichon, Van Erning & Baauw, 2016).

To create a safe and inclusive learning space for minority language minors, teachers need to be pedagogically sensitive and responsive to the needs of the pupil. This is something the curriculum should take into account as well. A case study by Van den Berg and De Groot (2018) denotes the importance of the teacher to help the pupils to connect with the world around them, and to create shared and inclusive spaces in a school.

In terms of social context Dutch researchers have found that education and Dutch language proficiency are factors that correlate positively with social interaction both between ethnic minorities and in minority-majority context (Koops, Martinovic & Weesie, 2017). A study of parents from Turkish and Moroccan minorities and Dutch majority shows that 'ethnic differences in parental involvement are fully explained by ethnic minorities', i.e. 'lower levels of education and language skills, and cannot be attributed to differences in household composition and motivation' (Fleischmann & De Haas, 2016, p.562). These two studies indicate that level of education and language skills are important keys to social interactions outside of the out-group of

family. However, the level of ethnic prejudice that minorities face have increased over time despite higher education and secularisation and this trend is likely to continue (Thijs, Te Grotenhuis & Scheepers, 2017). This indicates that higher education of both parents and minors, will aid them in their social lives. However, the increase of ethnic prejudice makes it more difficult to navigate the social context, despite the effort families put into it.

### **Summary**

Both Norway and the Netherlands have clear structural barriers to inclusive education for minority language minors. Whilst every child has access to schooling, not every child has access to education that fits their needs. Because of the lack of uniformity in both countries, some children get left behind. There seem to be misunderstandings about who qualifies for what and for how long. These basic understandings can cause a lot of confusion amongst municipalities and schools, and this hinders a smooth transition to the regular school system. This lack of uniformity enables some schools to dig deep and redefine inclusive education, as seen in a Dutch case-study (Van den Berg & De Groot, 2018). However, not every school and teacher is equally prepared for these pupils. Improvements in teacher education is therefore ideal. Firstly, because of the different educational needs, teaching minority language minors differs from teaching native language pupils. Secondly, because of different emotional needs of minority language minors that require more specialisation from the teacher. Thirdly, teachers need to be more pedagogically sensitive and responsive to the pupils to create an inclusive educational space.

Another barrier a lot of families face is the social context. There seems to be a variety of circumstances that can make it difficult for both pupils and their families to have meaningful social contact. There is an increasing amount of prejudice that hinders contact with natives. Additionally, some parents struggle in their communication and, therefore, involvement with their children's school. Especially parents with lower education and language skills seem to have trouble with both communicating with the school and helping their children with their schoolwork.

## Theory

### Introduction to integration and inclusion theories

Understanding the role of integration and inclusion in education is difficult as there is not a commonly accepted definition of the terms (Goodman, 2010). A similarity amongst current definitions is that integration always deals with friction between integration towards a new nationality versus keeping one's cultural identity (Goodman, 2010). Throughout the years the focus within integration and inclusion policies have shifted: from a multicultural framework, to an integration framework to an inclusion framework. Countries in Northern Europe have therefore adhered to many different frameworks in accommodating newcomers in their country. The multicultural framework talks about different cultures living together, without anyone having to give up any part of their culture (Goodman, 2010). This framework often had assimilation as an opposite. Newcomers must give up their cultural baggage, as to be able to completely immerse themselves in the new culture (Goodman, 2010). The integration framework has been the most dominant in recent decades and has become a prominent part of the language surrounding immigration policies. This framework talks about familiarizing oneself with a new culture without necessarily giving up one's own culture. However, it does often ask newcomers to adapt to existing norms, styles, routines and practices of the educational system (UNESCO, 2008a). According to Essomba (2014) the framework is now shifting towards an inclusion framework. 'Inclusive education is an ongoing process aimed at offering quality education for all while respecting diversity and the different needs and abilities, characteristics and learning expectations of the students and communities, elimination all forms of discrimination' (UNESCO, 2008b, p.3). There are many discrepancies in ideology and approach between different agencies that influence local practices. It is therefore important to consider the different roles integration policies have at different levels influencing local practices.

### Inclusion theory according to UNESCO

Inclusive education generally deals with the complete inclusion of all marginalized groups in society by removing barriers. UNESCO sees inclusive education as: "a part of a reform of the position of marginalized groups in society as a whole [...]"

Inclusive education can also be part of more fundamental democratic reforms aimed at forging and consolidating open and inclusive societies” (UNESCO, 2008b, p.14).

Inclusion is a process that is concerned with the identification and removal of barriers for learners at risk of marginalization so their presence, participation and achievement in education is considered. UNESCO recommends the following elements (UNESCO, 2008b, p.18-19):

- *Inclusion is a process.* Inclusion has to be seen as a never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity. It is about learning how to live with and learning from differences and learning how to learn from difference. In this way, differences come to be seen as a stimulus for fostering learning, amongst children and adults.
- *Inclusion is concerned with the identification and removal of barriers.* Consequently, it involves collecting, collating and evaluating information from a wide variety of sources in order to plan for improvements in policy and practice. It is about using evidence to stimulate creativity and problem solving.
- *Inclusion is about the presence, participation and achievement of all learners.* Here, ‘presence’ is concerned with where children are educated, and how reliably and punctually they attend; ‘participation’ relates to the quality of their experiences whilst they are there and, therefore, must incorporate the views of the learners themselves; and ‘achievement’ is about the outcomes of learning across the curriculum, not merely test or examination results.
- *Inclusion involves a particular emphasis on those groups of learners who may be at risk of marginalization, exclusion or underachievement.* This indicates the moral responsibility to ensure that those groups statistically most at risk are carefully monitored and that, where necessary, steps are taken to ensure their presence, participation and achievement within the education system.

### **Summary: how does it relate to practice**

The framework of inclusion in schools is defined as a process, as a never-ending search for solutions to dealing with diversity in education. This means that a part of inclusion in practice should be a continues loop of identifying and removing barriers by lawmakers, educators, parents and others. A problem solved, means the start of



identifying new barriers or ways of improvement. This is done partially by looking at the presence, participation and achievements of learners. Which pupils are present? Are they participating? What are their achievements? Having pupils be present, does not necessarily mean they will be active participators and/or high achievers. Identifying barriers to all three should therefore be considered.

As the inclusion theory takes a special interest in marginalized groups, without taking a value-stance on degree of assimilation by newcomers, this theory fits best with this research. It denotes the moral responsibility to take care of those at risk. The theory allows finding what the existing barriers to quality education are, what steps have been taken to remove barriers and whether or not this is seen as an ongoing process. This framework is particularly suitable to the context of minority-language minors, as it is a group that is incredibly diverse and will continue changing.

## **Method**

### **Introduction and research strategy**

This research will be a comparative case study. It will be a detailed analysis of two cases in Norway and The Netherlands. Both Norway and The Netherlands are exemplifying cases of Northern and Western European countries, as the contexts in each country are not extreme or unusual. It therefore allows them to be studied for common practices of education for minority language minors on different levels (Bryman, 2012), as well as delineating fine differences between the two countries.

This study will look at the effect of different policies on various groups: what the general tendencies are and what different voices are saying. The research will therefore contain in depth qualitative analyses of different sources from Norway and the Netherlands. COVID-19 regulations have made more hands on approaches impossible. Instead, existing sources are going to be used for analysis.

The research will use a phenomenological paradigm, and thus an inductive approach. This allows various voices to give their story, whilst the research will try to make sense of what is said. No particular hypothesis has been stated beforehand. Instead, the theory acts as a set of concerns for the collection of data. The framework of inclusion, as described in the previous chapter, will be used to analyse different sources.

### **Units of analysis**

There are different units of analysis used in this study. Firstly, to be able to analyse national differences, Norway and The Netherlands have been selected. Within those the capital cities of Oslo, Norway and Amsterdam, The Netherlands will provide a foundation for a regional analysis. Secondly there will be a focus on classes and school, the community and the parents, policy and management. The emphasis will be on the relations between school - parents – social context and what implications they have for policy making.

### **Sampling and participation selection**

Sampling and participation selection will happen in two different stages. The first subsection deals with the steps taken, which ultimately did not result in enough

collection of data. Whilst this did not affect the data that will be analysed, it does explain the process this study has gone through before finally landing on a selection method that has proven effective. The second subsection deals with the sampling and participation that will be analysed in this study.

### **Different avenues that were taken**

Several sampling methods are used throughout the course of this study. The sampling method used started out as selective sampling. However, as the subjects of the study are difficult to access a convenience sampling method had to be applied. The constraints concerning the sampling method were difficulty in access subjects, as parents of minority language students both language and marginalization/participation act as barriers. A realistic way to access subjects and be able to hold focus groups, was to contact non-governmental organisations that get mothers together.

The sampling started in October 2018. The first people that were contacted were schools that have introductory classes. After not hearing from them, teachers were contacted directly. By June 2019 a resounding 'no' was received from almost all the subjects contacted. The reason given was their heavy workload.

Having worked at the Red Cross in Oslo, the idea of contacting parents, specifically mothers, seemed relevant and realistic. They are both a great source of information as well as a group that is often left out in research projects. I was introduced to two projects in Oslo through a colleague at the Red Cross. The organisations contacted in the Netherlands were varied and over the whole country. Most were not interested, or did not feel they could accommodate this research project. Finally, a few organisations in Amsterdam were willing to participate in the project. That was however right before Covid-19 hit and everything that had been set in motion shut down. Many organisations contacted are, as of April 2021, still not open.

### **Actual selection**

In the end the most feasible way of selecting data is by using information of which the availability is certain. This research will therefore analyse documents, flyers, videos and other types of information that give platform to different voices. The main

selection method has been by searching online. There a selective sample was made using keywords. Any form of information falling within the scope of this research was selected.

There were 70 online sources found using different keywords. These included: migrant education, newcomers, language delay, language education, refugee. As the two countries also use very specific language to describe education for minority language pupils some specific keywords were used in one language that were not used whilst searching in the other language. In Norwegian that included “mangfold” (*diversity*), “Oslo-skolen” (the Oslo comprehensive school), “særskilt språkopplæring” (*special language training*). In the Netherlands that included “ISK” (*International transition class*), meertaligheid (*multilingualism*) and “LOWAN” (organisation that regulates education for newcomers).

The delimitations used are: Is it clear whose voice(s) is/are heard in the source? Is the publishing date between 2005 and now? As this research talks about different voices from the in-group and out-group, there is no reason to discard out-group voices. The time restraint contains a 16-year period as to give room for any changes that can have occurred because of policy changes during that time. A larger time limit would have been beyond the scope of this research.

### **Research sites and participants**

The main research sites are in Oslo, Norway and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. These are both capital cities in their respective countries. The information will be mostly accessed online through means available to anyone or through university resources. The data was collected between September 2019 and April 2021. The database Pressreader, which can be accessed through UiO, was used to find data in digital editions of newspapers. This was both to find news articles and to find opinion pieces. Through this database, articles from the following newspapers are used: Aftenposten, Dagbladet, NRC Handelsblad, Dagsavisen and Bergens Tidende. As this database only has access to one Dutch newspaper, De Volkskrant and Het Parool will also be accessed. De Volkskrant is partially out of convenience, whilst Het Parool is specifically chosen because it includes Amsterdam specific news. Because as many different voices as possible should be included, different types of sources will be used. These sources are from the following organisations: Norsk

rikskringkasting AS (NRK), Utdanningsnytt, Het ABC, NOS, Kennisnet, Utdanningsforbundet, Utdanningsforskning, Kennisrotonde and Pakhuis de Zwijger will be used. Where possible, and if it is within the scope of the research, the comment section will be included in the analysis. In total at least 18 different organisations will be consulted from The Netherlands and Norway. The sources include videocasts, documentary series, podcast episodes, informational flyers, trade magazine articles and blog posts.

### **Coding and data analysis**

This research will code the sources in terms of subjects and themes. This is to categorize the phenomena of interest (Bryman, 2012). The first step here is to report the unit of analysis. Does the source talk about Norway or the Netherlands? And does it talk about the local or national level? This gets followed by the publishing date of the source. Is there a trend over time?

Additionally, relevant information about the subjects in the source is collected. Whose voice are we listening to? Different voices can be heard in each source. For example: a newspaper article has a writer, that uses their voice, whilst the article can also contain an interview with a teacher. Voices can be teachers and schools, parents, pupils, community and other organisations related to integration/inclusion.

Table 1

#### *Themes and relevant questions of inclusion*

Main themes	Relevant questions
Barriers	What barriers are identified? What are the suggestions for the removal of the barrier?
Presence, participation and achievement	What does the source say about presence? What does the source say about participation? What does the source say about achievement?
Process	Does the source recognise inclusion as a process?

The main part of the study deals with inclusion, as seen in Table 1. Here the different themes from the framework are identified. Different subthemes and

questions relevant to the analysis are also reported. As the framework is chosen because of the status of minority language minors as at-risk learners, the questions regarding this status are not added to the themes. The themes, as seen in Table 1, will be used to answer the three questions raised in the literature review:

- Is the education system prepared?
- Is the curriculum adequate?
- Is the social context supportive?

### **Reliability and data validity**

Triangulation between the different sources will be used to cross check and improve the findings (Bryman, 2012). During the different stages of the research, records will be kept, to increase the dependability of the research. In order to enable a minimum amount of confirmability the researcher shall try not to overtly allow personal values to overtake the research process.

As the research relies on the interpretation of sources, without clarification from the creator, detailed descriptions of the sources and the voices involved will be used in the analysis. By combining this with as many direct quotations as possible, the aim is to stay as close to the sources as possible. The descriptive collecting and reporting of the data will increase the reliability of the information. However, the analysis can only be as good as the sources it will be based on. Therefore, each source will be scrutinized on authenticity, credibility and representativeness (Bryman, 2012).

### **Ethical considerations**

The research will be cleared by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). This is especially important since the research is centred around a vulnerable group, i.e., minority language minors. Since the collection of data does not directly involve minority language minors and the method used is generally seen as unobtrusive, there should be no ethical issues during the collection of data (Bryman, 2012).

Researcher bias is limited as much as possible, by using detailed descriptions and direct quotations. However, in this type of research it is almost impossible to not include some interpretation on the researcher's part (Bryman, 2012). This will be considered and avoided as much as possible.

### **Methodological limitations**

The most significant methodological limitation will be the use of existing information, rather than holding interviews. This makes the research dependent on already recorded information. It is not always clear in which way the information was produced and which possible limiting factors were involved. For example, newspapers write to a certain type of audience and can therefore prefer to write information in a way that fits their audience, instead of keeping closer to their sources. Additionally, politicians can have a different political agenda, when speaking out about minority language minors. This topic has been highly politicised. However, as this research was also aimed at the social context surrounding the topic, the information that is collected is still valuable.

Additionally, as this research deals with social aspects the themes that are talked about are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This means that some themes may overlap with each other in certain ways. This is taken into account during the analysis. However, as themes in social sciences influence each other, the line between the themes may in some cases be subjective.

Considering time constraints, limited resources and a pandemic, no other approach is feasible. Ideally the study would include different types of indicators, for example: randomly selected in depth interviews with pupils, parents and teachers in both Amsterdam and Oslo.

### **Summary**

In this chapter the methodological considerations for this qualitative study are reported. An inductive approach is used to analyse 70 various online media sources that illustrate the context in Oslo, Norway and Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Various voices influencing or shaping the context of education for minority language minors are listened to and their messages analysed. This study uses the literature as a

guideline for analysis and UNESCO's inclusive framework to categorize the phenomena. Whilst this method is not what was intended, it is what has been available and possible considering significant constraints. An inductive approach is taken to give a platform to the different voices reported in the media sources and triangulate their messages. This allows the study to uncover what different voices say about barriers to quality education for minority language minors.



## Results

In this chapter the information gathered from various sources is reported. These results are sorted in accordance with the themes of inclusion, as described in the previous chapter. This starts with the data regarding identification and removal of barriers. Here the data is reported in accordance with subthemes that have arisen from the collected data. Then the results regarding presence, participation and achievements of the minority language minors are reported. This is followed by a collection of which voices have said what. Each subchapter reports the results for Norway and the Netherlands separately and considers the similarities and differences between the Netherlands and Norway.

### Identification and removal of barriers

In the data regarding the identification and removal of barriers three general subthemes were recognised. The barriers are sorted according to the subthemes: racism, qualified teachers and segregation. For each of these subthemes the specific barriers that were identified in the data are discussed as well as the given suggestions for removal of these barriers.

#### Racism

A recurring theme throughout many sources is racism: being treated differently because of racial features or heritage.

In Norway a radio interview on NRK's Dagens on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, 2020, Mathias Nylenna talks with Therese Elise Nøsen Opoku. Opoku has collected stories of Norwegian minorities and people of colour and their experiences with racism. She reported that over 60% of the incidents happened at school. "*Vi kan ikke være stille lenger*" [We can't stay silent anymore], she says about why she shared these stories, "*Når så mange deler historier [...] at rasisme ikke er noe vi sliter med her i landet*" [When so many people share stories that racism isn't a thing we struggle with in this country] (Raundøy & Nylenna). The sentiment that racism is underappreciated and underreported in Norway gets shared in the Lærerrømmet, a podcast from Utdanningsforbundet [education union]. In 2019 the podcast series for Norwegian teachers had an episode exclusively on racism at school with Guro Sibeko and

Camara Lundestad Joof. They talk about their own experiences with racism but denote that they both have been out of school for a long time now. That the situation has not changed much, gets shown in the first episode of the 2019 Norwegian documentary series *Sjuende*. There Nora, a minority language minor in her seventh year of school, gets attacked on the metro on her way to football practice. A woman yells racial slurs at her before doing something that cuts open Nora's hand. The rest of the documentary series Nora is shown visiting the school nurse and her general practitioner, whilst maintaining she was fine and that it was nothing. In an article by Helene Mariussen on P3, 18-year-old Sara Mehri talks about her experience with racism:

*“Jeg har også opplevd å bli kalt «terrorist» av en lærer. Det var i utgangspunktet ment som humor, men det er en hendelse jeg aldri kommer til å glemme. Det har påvirket måten jeg ser på meg selv, og måten jeg forholder meg til identiteten min.”* [I have also experienced being called a «terrorist» by a teacher. It was meant to be humorous, but it is something I will never forget. It has affected the way I look at myself and the way I relate to my identity.] (Raundøy & Nylenna).

This puts into perspective Opoku's reaction to Nylenna's question about Opoku's own experiences with racism. She explains that she does not want to relive trauma for the purpose of educating others and that is why she chose to collect stories instead. Sibeko and Joof discuss in *Lærerrømmet* that racism is generally seen as a one-sided thing, where having a dark skin automatically means one is immune to racism. Sibeko, a teacher in Norway, denotes that this is not the case: racism gets internalised and repeated by everyone in society. It is thus fully possible for a minority minor, who is the victim of racial bias, to be acting on their own racial biases. Sibeko talks about having to be aware of her own biases as well. Everyone deals with conscious and unconscious prejudices, some even about yourself.

The issues that make racism such a barrier is that schools often do not have the capability to handle situations properly. In a videoclip from NRK meant for schools, Usman Choudri, a teacher in training, talks about his experiences with parents during his internship. Choudri says that migrant parents automatically focus more on him because of the colour of his skin. That parents feel a kinship and feel that he understands. Choudri says that this is something parents assume, based on skin

colour, and that it is therefore easier for him to reach parents. Diverse and well-educated school staffs are thus the main solutions to remove barriers that relate to racism. Further aspects related to teachers in Norway are discussed in the next subchapter.

In the Netherlands an Amsterdam based teacher Debbie Dussel explains in videocast EduCaution that unconscious prejudices are tied to expectations. In her 2020 interview with fellow teachers Emin Kececi and Yasin Yaylali she explains that lower expectations in Dutch school systems of minority language minors often leads to minors underperforming. This can also occur when dealing with parents. As Dussel explains it: an attitude of pity can be denigrating to parents, which hinders an important home – school connection. Dussel stresses the importance of schools and the school system treating the parents with decency and understanding. *“We hebben een gezamenlijk belang en dat is het kind”* [we have a common interest and that is the child] (Kececi & Yaylali). In a 2021 periodical in Dutch newspaper De Volkskrant, teacher Merel van Vroonhoven writes about the power of diversity and representation in schools. Van Vroonhoven reports that about four percent of teachers have a non-Western background, as opposed to 20% of the pupils. School staff and teachers are important role models. *“... als het team verscheidene rolmodellen omvat, is het een betere afspiegeling van de samenleving.”* [if the team includes different role models, it will be a better representation of society] (Van Vroonhoven). Siep de Haan and Zeki Arslan agree with Dussel and Van Vroonhoven in their 2019 opinion piece in Het Parool. They argue that the education system therefore ignoring their duty of promoting inclusion and missing out on the power of diversity. The role of the teacher and segregation specifically are discussed further in the next subchapter.

The subtheme racism is more talked about in Norwegian sources than in Dutch sources. The Norwegian interview on Dagens, the podcast episode of Lærerrummet and the article on P3 all talk about systemic problems regarding racism of minority minors in schools in Oslo. These sources talk about racism and the way in which this affects the wellbeing and self-perception of minority language minors in the long run. The suggestions given to solving this barrier are generally focussed on educating teachers and having a more diverse curriculum. Sources from Amsterdam put the emphasis on the effects of unconscious prejudices and expectations. Here the

importance of having high expectations of pupils and treating parents with respect gets denoted.

### **Qualified teachers**

The second subtheme is the lack of qualified teachers. This subtheme does not just take official qualifications into account but also being able to teach minority language minors adequately.

Oslo-based teacher Inger Merete Hobbelstad says in her 2020 opinion piece in *Dagbladet*: *‘Det er velkjent at mange minoritetselever jobber hardere på skolen og har høyere ambisjoner og bedre karakterer enn klassekamerater med majoritetsbakgrunn.’* [it is well-known that many minority pupils work harder in school and have higher ambitions and better grades than their classmates with majority background] (Hobbelstad). Hobbelstad denotes that minority language students do not equate poorer learners and that there is a need to remove that stigma. Being taken seriously by their teachers is something that Lucky Pascal and Alex Mwakisulvin, two former language class pupils in Oslo, find worthy to brag about in their 2018 interview with Jantra Hollum and Tom Vestreng. Pascal and Mwakisulvin look fondly back on their time at Bredtvet, a part of Kuben high school in Oslo, and especially on their skilled teachers.

In *Dagens*, Opoku says “... *det var ikke det elevene sa og gjorde, de satt med. Det var det faktum at lærerne ikke gjorde noe*” [it wasn’t what pupils said or did that they were left with. It was the fact that the teacher didn’t do anything] (Raundøy & Nylenna). Sibeko, in *Lærerrommet*, talks about how dealing with racism is not really something teachers get taught during teacher education. Opoku also advocates for better training on how to handle racism in teacher education. Additionally, Opoku suggests having more minority role models, both in school and the media, and more minorities and their stories reflected in the curriculum.

As teacher Debbie Dussel describes in the videocast *EduCaution*: pupils do not always start at the same position. Minority language minors start further back than pupils that have grown up speaking the majority language. Dussel explains that to be able to compensate for this a school needs good teachers: those who are capable of engaging the parents and have high expectations of the pupils. This is also the reason why Dussel believes that qualified teachers are especially important in

schools such the one she works at in the south-east of Amsterdam, where 50% of her pupils have a certain level of extra needs. However, finding qualified teachers who meet the needs of these pupils, can be challenging when there is already a shortage of teachers. That there is a shortage of teachers in the Netherlands already got reported in 2015 in the newspaper *De Volkskrant* by Maartje Bakker. In this newspaper article Marieke Postma of LOWAN, the organisation in charge of providing education to newcomers, talks about there not being enough new graduates in certain parts of the Netherlands and that this poses a problem in education for refugee minors. Postma explains that there are not enough experienced teachers willing to leave their jobs to work in schools with temporary students. Additionally, to be able to teach refugee minors teachers are required to be able to teach Dutch as a second language, which is not a common qualification amongst teachers. Two months earlier in the same newspaper, Rik Kuiper interviews Petra van Haren, chairman for the principal association. Van Haren explains that the problem is not just limited to finding the right teachers, but it also deals with language. Without translators the teacher cannot get a clear picture of where in their education the pupil is and what their educational needs may be. A pupil can therefore get even further behind, whilst the teacher is trying to figure out what the pupil already has been taught, according to Van Haren. The unattractiveness of the teaching profession has not escaped Bart Ogering, a teacher himself. In an 2018 interview with Eefje Oomen in Dutch newspaper *Het Parool* he explains: *"Het gaat niet alleen om geld. Status heeft te maken met aanzien, ook dat is minder geworden. Vroeger was de onderwijzer iemand."* [It is not just about money. Status has to do with distinction that has diminished. In earlier days the teacher was someone (to be regarded).] (Oomen).

However, being taken seriously is not always the norm, as Bowen Paulle an educational sociologist explains in the documentary series *Klassen*, 2020. According to Paulle are the expectation especially low in the lowest levels of education: *"niemand verwacht dat er meer dan vier minuten in zit. Maar in een bepaalde situatie zit er niet meer in, dus dan moeten we de situatie veranderen."* [nobody expects that pupils can do more than four minutes. But there isn't more in certain situations, so we have to change the situation] (Sylbing & Gould). This is something Paulle observed in his work in the United States, but in recent years he has been able to

spot it in certain schools in Amsterdam. Being able to change the situation to fit the needs of the pupils, requires quite a bit of proficiency and creativity, as Dussel explains in EduCaution. Dussel elaborates that teachers must be able to think outside the box and *“te schakelen”* [to switch between situations]. This was also visible in episode two of the 2020 documentary series *Klassen* by Sarah Sylbing and Ester Gould. In this episode the teachers Jolanda Rietel and Astrid Brugman talk about the teaching material they created, because the existing material was too dependent on text and thus language skills. The pupils in their school in the north of Amsterdam generally struggle with the Dutch language and by letting the pupils discover things themselves through their teaching material the pupils learn more. Another school in Amsterdam, *Het Vogelnest*, in the same documentary series shows minority language minors that have had low quality education and have thus fallen behind. In reaction to these cases, Amsterdam city council member Marjolein Moorman argues that structural investment in teachers is the solution to removing barriers to quality education.

Whilst racism and qualified teachers are linked, this subtheme focuses on the role of the teacher more in depth. In Oslo, the quality of teachers is generally linked to the barriers discussed in the racism subtheme. Norwegian teachers need to be able to deal with racial issues in the classroom and prepare their pupils of colour for a future in which they can be treated differently because of race. Whilst the sources from Amsterdam emphasize a more fundamental problem: the shortage of teachers who are willing to work in schools with large minority language populations, especially temporary education classes. The Dutch sources discuss the necessity of a range of capabilities in teachers who handle minority language minors. This can include creating new or adding to existing teaching materials.

### **Segregation**

Another subtheme found in the data was the absence or lessening of spaces where everyone in society meets, independent of education level, language and skin colour. In an article on NRK doctor Wasim Zahid talks about growing up between two cultures in Norway. *“Selv om jeg er norsk, vil det pakistanske alltid være en del av meg.”* [Even though I am Norwegian, the Pakistani will always be a part of me] (Zahid). He does recognise that for minority language minors it is difficult to have a

feeling of community when they do not feel included. Whilst there is a certain segregation visible in certain areas of Amsterdam and Oslo, the segregation is even stronger when looking at schools specifically.

Ida Søråunet Wangberg even wrote a book about her experience with finding a school in the eastern part of Oslo. In a 2020 interview with Gina Grieg Riisnæs in Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* Wangberg talks about hearing rumours that the nearby school with a large minority population, Rødtvet, was not a good school and she should pick another school for her daughter. According to Wangberg, these rumours correspond with schools that have a large minority population and a large percentage of pupils that need extra language support. Wangberg argues that the rumours incentivises parents to choose other schools, which in turn increases the segregation of schools. The freedom of school choice is, according to Wangberg, the reason behind this increase in segregation. In an opinion piece in 2020 in the newspaper *Dagbladet* Inger Merete Hobbelstad reacts to Wangbergs book. Hobbelstad argues that there already exists a socioeconomic segregation of neighbourhoods and even without the freedom of school choice the local schools would still be homogenous. A solution to segregated schools is therefore not that simple.

Teacher Emin Kececi says it best in the 2018 interview with Eefje Oomen *"Migrantenkinderen gaan in hun eigen wijk naar school, hoogopgeleide witte ouders rijden liever een blokje om voor een 'betere' school."* [migrant children go to school in their own neighbourhood, well-educated white parents rather go a bit further for a 'better' school] (Oomen). In the same article fellow teachers Yasin Yaylali and Bart Ongerling agree with Kececi. Yaylali continues: *"er is één plek waar mensen wel van jongs af met elkaar omgaan: op school. Maar daar wordt dat dus ook steeds minder"* [there is one place where people from an early age interact with each other: at school. But that is now also getting less and less.] (Oomen). Emma Lieske principal of Peetersschool in Amsterdam-Zuid argues, in a 2019 interview with Peter Giesen in newspaper *De Volkskrant*, that segregation is the fault of expensive living situations in certain neighbourhoods. Lieske is interviewed in reaction to the new legislation by the municipality of Amsterdam to limit the amount of parental contribution that a school can ask of parents. Her school is in a more expensive neighbourhood of Amsterdam and asks about 700 euros a year from parents as a

voluntary contribution as Lieske explains this includes everything, there are no hidden costs, and stresses that it is a voluntary contribution. Amsterdam city council member Marjolein Moorman argues, in the same newspaper article, that lower-income parents tend to avoid schools with higher parental contribution, which in turn increases segregation. Though parental contribution may be voluntary, there still exist social pressure and the wish for their child to participate in school events, that makes it difficult to say no, according to Moorman.

Kim Putters, researcher and policy advisor at Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (SCP), argues that the core of the issue of segregation is the focus of schools on qualifications for the job market. Thereby schools are missing their social purpose. *“Als we onderwijs versmallen tot louter die [beroep]kwalificatie en een bepaalde beroepskeuze, dan krijgen we een heel schrale samenleving”* [If we limit education solely to [professional] qualification and career choice, we get a meagre society] (Van Walsum). This is Putters' explanation for the results of a rapport by SCP that he discusses in a 2021 interview with Sander van Walsum for De Volkskrant. SCP conducts independent research and advises the Dutch government. As Putters describes it:

*“De samenleving is geen samenleving als er geen enkele verbinding meer is tussen mensen. Zonder lotsverbondenheid groeit het risico van spanningen tussen bevolkingsgroepen. Mensen die elkaar niet kennen, hebben eerder een karikaturaal beeld van elkaar en van elkaars opvattingen.”* [Society is not a society if there is no connection between people. Without solidarity the risk of tension between groups grows. People that do not know each other, have a caricature image of each other and their opinions] (Van Walsum).

Putters recommends designing school buildings so pupils of different departments are encourage to interact with each other.

A connection between people is thus important. In both Oslo and Amsterdam, the segregation of the city turns into segregation in schools. Both cities have a freedom of school choice that allows parents to opt out of the local school and choose another school for their children instead. The parents who generally opt out are often of the majority population and the more resourceful ones. This affects the schools and the pupils they leave behind. Minority language minors are thus often



segregated from their majority language counterparts. This hinders them in learning from and interacting with the majority language population.

### **Presence, participation and achievement**

The following is a collection of the data regarding presence, participation and achievement of minority language minors in education in Norway and the Netherlands. Each subtheme discusses the information that was found in the data.

#### **Presence**

Presence is concerned with where children are educated, and how reliably and punctually they attend. As described in the previous paragraph, several sources denote that presence is important to combat alienation. Unfortunately, the segregation of schools in Oslo and Amsterdam means pupils are in more homogenous classes and thus not present in certain classrooms. This subtheme regards the information that deals with presence within schools.

Even though Oslo is segregated, this does not necessarily mean that minors do not interact with majority language minors. Pascal and Mwakisulvin, two former pupils of a large secondary school in Oslo with many different departments, denote the importance of meeting local children at their school and learning the majority language whilst playing football. The school organised activities where pupils from all departments could meet each other. Pascal and Mwakisulvin argue that this was the way for them to find friends and learn more about Norway. Playing football with majority language minors is also a way of being present. "*Fellesskoler*" [community schools] are a way of providing communal spaces for all kinds of pupils. According to principal of Kubes in the East-Oslo Kjell Ove Hauge, there are three things that minority language pupils must learn: language, culture and system. Language can be learned in separate language classes, but culture and system benefit the presence of majority language minors.

As several sources mention, minority language minors are more at risk of not being present for certain things. In the documentary series *Sjuende Nora* and *Nilani* experience less structural forms of missing out. When Nora gets attacked on the metro, her mother decides that it is not safe for her to continue with football practice. Nora must take the metro to get there and there is no one to accompany her on her

way there. This is an extracurricular that she not only enjoys but it also allows her to interact with majority language minors. In the same documentary Nilani talks about missing out on extracurriculars because of money problems at home. In more extreme cases parents completely opt out of the national school system. Though this does not concern many parents, Nur does talk about Norwegian-Somali parents who are scared of the school system and therefore decide to send their children to school in Somalia instead. There they pull their children completely out of the national school system.

In the Netherlands segregation within schools is especially prevalent in secondary schools in Amsterdam. In a 2021 newspaper article by Sander van Walsum, Kim Putters talks about the underrepresentation of minority language minors in higher school levels in the Netherlands. He argues that the emphasis of the education system is too much on the entrance exam to secondary education, which causes schools to lose sight of their social purpose. Marjolein Moorman in the documentary series *Klassen* agrees with Putters. She says *“het effect is dat je een soort enorme race krijgt”* [the effect is that you get a kind of enormous race] (Sylbing & Gould). This results in those with minimal means missing out, this often includes minority language minors. As is shown in *Klassen* minority language children are less likely to go to the higher levels of secondary education. Whilst achievement may be a factor in this, as will be discussed later, there are other factors that hinder minority language minors from being present in higher levels of education. As teacher Emin Kececi discusses in an article by Eefje Oomen: *“Witte kinderen lijken vaak het voordeel van de twijfel te krijgen en migrantenkinderen niet.”* [white children get the benefit of the doubt and migrant children do not] (Oomen). Moorman discusses this with three minority language minors in *Klassen*. Whilst they are now at the highest level of secondary school, this was not a given. Their teachers argued they were hesitant to give them a high *“schooladvies”* (school recommendation). This recommendation was only changed after a high entrance exam score.

Whilst primary schools are hesitant to give high recommendations, secondary schools in the Netherlands are hesitant in accepting minority language minors. Jur Moorlag explains that secondary schools are *“bang dat het de kwaliteit van de school aantast als ze veel ISK-leerlingen toelaten. De leerlingen zouden met minder goede cijfers de scores van de school omlaag kunnen halen.”* [afraid that the quality

of the school is affected if they admit too many pupils from temporary education classes. The pupils could lower the scores of the school by getting lower grades] (Vasterman). There is thus resistance from primary and secondary education to include minority language minors in classrooms across all levels of secondary education.

In this subchapter the Dutch and Norwegian sources focussed on different aspects regarding presence. In Oslo, sources discussed interacting with majority language minors during spare time and less structural forms of missing out that are more prevalent amongst minority pupils. Whilst sources from Amsterdam discussed minors that are not present in certain levels of secondary education. The reasons given, do not have to do with a pupils test results, but rather the hesitancy of schools and teachers.

### **Participation**

In order to be included in education a minority language minor needs to be able to and be encouraged to participate. Participation relates to the quality of their experiences of minority language minors whilst they are at school.

In Norway, a former minority language minor Wasim Zahid explains the relation between presence and participation in a self-written article on the Norwegian news website NRK:

*“For å være med i fellesskapet, og føle deg inkludert, må du være til stede på de arenaene hvor mennesker møtes og sosialiseres. Foreldre må tenke på hva som er best for barnet frem i tid. Barnehage er et viktig knutepunkt der man lærer språk og kulturelle koder. Fritidsaktiviteter og idrett er nødvendig for lagånd og fellesskapsfølelse. Utdanning og arbeid er grunnleggende viktig for både inntekt og sosialisering.”* [To be part of a community and feel included, you must be in places where people meet and socialize. Parents must think about what is best for their child in the future. Kindergarten is an important hub where one learns language and cultural code. Extracurriculars and sports are necessary for team spirit and community feeling. Education and work are of basic importance for income and socialising.] (Zahid).

Zahid argues that feeling excluded does not inspire participation. This starts in kindergarten and primary school and affect the feeling of belonging throughout a minority language minor's life. Helene Fulland, a researcher at the University of Oslo, talks to Ulf Grefsgård, a writer for Utdanningsforbundets online platform for employees in the education sector, about the minority language minors she interviewed. Through the interviews with 56 minors, she could see that they had a strong loyalty to using Norwegian and perfecting their Norwegian. They are motivated to be good in Norwegian as well as their mother tongue. In the classroom minority language minors use their mother tongue with pupils with the same mother tongue to explain exercises or the teacher. Fulland, explains:

*“Lojaliteteten til å lære seg norsk godt, kan i første rekke forklares med et ønske om å lykkes i det norske samfunnet. De har lyst til å få seg venner. De har lyst til å gjøre det godt på skolen. De har lyst til å få seg en jobb.”* [The loyalty to learning Norwegian, can initially be explained by a wish to succeed in Norwegian society. They want to make friends. They want to do well in school. They want to find a job.] (Grefsgård).

The wish to do well both in school and later in society is thus a main part of the motivation for minority language minors to participate in school. According to Fulland the minority language minors she interviewed seem to understand that the Norwegian language plays an important role in this. Whilst minority language minors might be motivated to participate, this does not mean that there are no language barriers. Gunhild Nohre-Wallden recognises a language problem amongst her pupils at Mortensrud barneskole in Oslo, where 92% of the population are minority language minors. Nohre-Wallden describes in a 2019 self-written opinion piece on NRK that have many pupils with difficult lives and many struggle to follow regular education because of their low Norwegian skills. Their ability to participate in the classroom and other aspects of education is therefore significantly diminished.

In the Netherlands in the documentary series *Klassen*, teacher Jolanda Rietel denotes that the wish to participate in education is present in every minor: *“de kinderen willen leren. Er is geen kind dat niet wil leren.”* [the children want to learn. There isn't a child that doesn't want to learn] (Sylbing & Gould). She explains that the will to learn is there, but that the situation presented to the minors does not always

encourage participation. Debbie Dussel, in EduCaution, adds to this that not every minor has the same knowledge of the world. A knowledge rich curriculum ensures that each minor has the same basic knowledge, which enables them to participate in class. Klassen shows several minors who struggle at home and that this shows in the classroom. Ten-year-old Yunuscan, one of the pupils of Rietel, talks about not always being able to do his homework. He points out that speaking Turkish at home makes it difficult to work on his Dutch. He waits until he has unrestricted access to the computer and there are no distractions in the living room before he does his homework. This is a situation that teacher Debbie Dussel, in her 2020 interview on the videocast EduCaution, recognises from her pupils in Amsterdam-Zuidoost too. Especially with remote education during the Covid-19 shutdown, Dussel could see her pupils doing their schoolwork on the floor or with siblings on their lap.

Former principal of a school in Drachten, Jur Moorlag, explains that minority language minors, specifically refugee minors, can be a difficult group to reach in school as they are not always in the state of mind to learn and can be distracted. In an interview with Juliette Vasterman in the Dutch newspaper NRC Handelsblad Moorlag says: *“Ze komen niet aan leren toe door alles wat ze meemaken of hebben meegemaakt.”* [They don't get to learning, because of everything they're experiencing or have experienced] (Vasterman). For minority language minors who arrived as asylum seekers, this gets exacerbated by being moved around a lot. Floor Boon and Linda Toussant wrote a 2020 newspaper article in NRC Handelsblad about an urgent letter that was sent to the Dutch parliament regarding this. As Boon and Toussaint explain, minors get moved around five or more times due to a long process of asylum seeking that includes different steps and delays. As a consequence, the minor gets moved around again once they finally feel at ease at school. Toussaint, who works as an internal supervisor at a school with special language classes, explains that at her school asylum seeking minors need social and emotional assistance before they can start learning.

The Dutch and Norwegian sources show the difficulty in creating spaces which encourage participation. Sources from both countries agree that minority language minors are generally motivated to learn and participate. However, there may be extenuating circumstances which inhibit minors from doing so. A Norwegian source says that schools and society can help minors by giving them a sense of belonging

and community. A Dutch source denotes the need for social and emotional assistance of refugee minors.

### **Achievement**

As described before, for many minority language minors the school needs to compensate for family situations in order for them to thrive in the school system. Achievement, therefore, discusses the outcomes of learning across the curriculum, not merely test or examination results.

In Norway, language abilities already gets measured before minors enter school. In a blogpost on Læringsbloggen, a website for those working or intending to work in education, Monica Melby-Lervåg writes about new regulation that requires all Norwegian municipalities to map children's language ability before they start school. Melby-Lervåg argues that the regulation fails to detail how or which aspects of language abilities exactly get measured. Minors would be evaluated by kindergarten teachers, which Melby-Lervåg argues can be problematic as studies show that teacher evaluation corresponded poorly with test results. This means that children with difficulties may be overlooked and teacher may 'discover' the wrong child. Minority language minors have had little exposure to Norwegian before the age of three or four, and still have much to gain in language skills in comparison to their peers. Poor test scores on Norwegian language tests before they enter school are therefore to be expected and not a sufficient way of measuring underlying conditions.

Saleh Mousavi, who works for *Nasjonalt senter for flerkulturell opplæring* [National Centre of Multicultural Education], talks in a 2013 NRK video clip for schools about the positive effects of native language education on Norwegian language skills. Mousavi argues that there is very little native language education in Oslo, even though minority language minors have a right to that. This has to do with identity forming of a pupil and general language skills. Mousavi explain that when you master your own language, it is easier to learn a next language. However, even when the possibility of native language education exist, Mousavi says that mother language teachers (tospråklige lærere) are not regarded as actual teachers in schools and that their status is much lower. Minority language minors are therefore missing out on language education that could improve their overall achievements.

Oslo city council member Inga Marte Thorkildsen writes to Aftenposten in a 2020 email that they are aware that living conditions correspond with school results. With minority language minors having a greater chance of living in poverty. Thorkildsen argues thus that the Oslo city council tries to lift both the living conditions and the school situation of minors. This email was a reply in Gina Grieg Riisnæs article about Wangbergs book on the reputations of schools in the east of Oslo. Wangberg argues in the article that certain schools in Oslo are getting worse. They are losing their pupils that generally come with a lot of resources and are left with pupils that require extra resources. The achievements of pupils in these schools are declining, which reinforces the decline of reputation and resources of the school.

In the Netherlands, dealing with diversity is one of the issues talked about regarding achievement. A 2017 informational article by Kennisnet, an organisation that supports schools in the use of IT, talks about the use of IT to deal with diversity of minority language minors. They argue that the diversity of new arrivals at school is extensive: there are some pupils who have never been to school before as well as minors who received education in a different language. They argue that IT can be the key to dealing with different types of students in one classroom, whilst upholding the quality education. This in turn can give new arrivals a better start and achievement.

Whilst IT solutions may be alleviate some problems regarding achievement, Floor Boon and Linda Toussaint describe in a 2020 article in NRC Handelsblad that refugee children move around a lot during their asylum process. This also means that the financial aid aimed at their schooling is depleted by the time they arrive at a school where they will spend a longer amount of time. This also makes it difficult for schools to assess the educational needs of the pupil. Toussaint expresses her worry about what these minors are able to achieve during their time in the Dutch school system and what their futures will look like. That migrant minors underperform is also highlighted in a 2016 news article by Juliette Vasterman in NRC Handelsblad. Vasterman talks about a research by the *vo-raad* [secondary education council] that shows that 35 percent of migrant minors in *internationale schakelklassen* [temporary education classes] move on to a school level under their capabilities. This is based on a poll amongst 44 principals of temporary education classes in the Netherlands. Paul Rosenmöller, the chairman of the secondary education council, explains that

the majority of these minors end up in the lowest levels of education. This means that a lot of talent does not come to fruition. According to Rosenmöller, the main reason for this is the language delay of these minors. Rosenmöller adds that other research has shown that migrants need five to six years to become self-reliant in education. This is time that a lot of minority language minors are not given and therefore impacts their achievements in the Dutch school system.

A 2017 news article in *Het Parool*, by an unnamed author, report the results from a research by the municipality of Amsterdam. This research indicates that minority language minors are less often diagnosed with dyslexia. They are considered to have a language delay instead. Whilst minority language minors can also have a dyslexia. The oversight of the dyslexia significantly diminishes the chances of the minor to get the right aid to deal with dyslexia. The achievements of the minor can therefore suffer. The Dutch education system puts a heavy emphasis on the final exam in primary school, the CITO-toets. Having to overcome a language delay or a late diagnosis of dyslexia can be visible in the results of this exam. Sander van Walsum explains in a 2021 newspaper article in *De Volkskrant* that the Dutch system does not allow a lot of room for those that start to achieve more later in their school career. Van Walsum recommends that the final exam of primary education should not be that important. For minority language minors a lesser emphasis on that exam could mean finishing compulsory schooling at a higher level.

The language delay of minority language minors is not always considered when testing for other abilities. In Oslo, this can happen when the language abilities get tested before the minor enters primary education. There, a disability can erroneously be discovered. In Amsterdam, the opposite gets discussed. There, dyslexia is not always diagnosed, because it gets mistaken for an aspect of the language delay. Norwegian sources talk about the positive effects that proper native language education can have in learning the Norwegian language and the effects of living conditions on achievements. Dutch sources discuss the possibilities of using IT tools to differentiate between pupils. Other aspects that are discussed are the difficulties of assessing pupils when they get moved around or are new in school. This denotes that it takes time for minority language minors to become self-reliant as learners in school.



## Inclusion as a process

Whilst the different sources talk about inclusion, there are not many sources that talk about what inclusion means. UNESCO describes inclusion as a process, as a never-ending search to find better ways of responding to diversity. This part considers the different ways in which inclusion is discussed in different sources.

In his 2014 NRK opinion piece Wasim Zahid starts his article by talking about the NASA Apollo mission and the way in which NASA was able to create a feeling of inclusion and sense of community. *“Når alle i en bedrift, en organisasjon eller et samfunn føler seg inkludert, og som en del av det samme prosjektet, skaper det en tilhørighet og et eierskap. Da drar alle i samme retning for å forbedre prosjektet.”* [When everyone in a company, an organisation or a community feels included and as a part of the same project, it creates a sense of affiliation and ownership. Then everyone pulls in the same direction to improve the project.] (Zahid). Zahid explains that the key to inclusion is that minority language minors *‘trenger å se at Norge verdsetter alle sine borgere. Da vil de også føle seg inkludert.’* [need to see that Norway values all their citizens. Then they will also feel included] (Zahid). He bases this amongst others on his own experiences growing up as a minority language minor in Norway.

Dutch newspaper Het Parool published an article in 2017 by Lorianne van Gelder and Josien Wolthuizen on integration of majority population in Amsterdam. Van Gelder and Wolthuizen interview Maurice Crul, researcher at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, talks about integration as a process. Crul explains: *“We hebben het altijd gehad over integratie van migranten en migrantenkinderen. We zeggen altijd wel: het is een tweezijdig proces, maar zo wordt het niet onderzocht. Je moet opnieuw gaan nadenken wat integratie betekent als geen enkele groep meer de meerderheid is.”* [We have always talked about the integration of migrants and migrant children. We always say: it is a two-sided process, but that is not how it is researched. You have to start rethinking what integration means when there is no majority group] (Van Gelder & Wolthuizen). According to the article, Amsterdam no longer has a majority group, as more than half of the population has a minority background. *“Als je geen ervaring hebt met omgaan met mensen van andere afkomsten, als je alleen maar leeft in je eigen witte bubbel, kun je in situaties*

*terechtkomen waarin je je niet thuis voelt. Je wereld kan kleiner worden.*" [If you don't have any experience of interacting with people of other cultures, if you only live in your own bubble, you can end up in situations where you don't feel at home. Your world can become smaller.] (Van Gelder & Worthuizen).

Whilst there is not a lot information regarding the treatment of inclusion as a process, Zahid's article talks about what inclusion means for minority language minors and Crul talks about the two-sidedness of integration.

### **The voices that are reported: who said what?**

This part of the results deals with the different voices that have been heard. It answers the questions: who was talking and what did they say? Three different groups were identified: minority language minors and their parents, teachers and schools, and other. Each of these groups are briefly discussed. Some of the groups have already been mentioned in this chapter and are only mentioned when this includes additional information.

In Norway the main source that gave a platform to minority language minors was the documentary series *Sjuende*, which translates to seventh [grade]. In the east of Oslo, Tøyen, three twelve-year-old girls are followed through their seventh year of primary school. The documentary series does not have a voice-over, it relies solely on the information provided by the girls: Nilani, Nora and Zahra. They film some of the parts themselves in a diary format. The main theme they bring up regarding school is fitting in. Nilani says about her classmates: *"Ingen vil være med meg, ingen hører meg"* [No one wants to be with me, no one hears me] (Sundby & Bø). In the same series Nora tells her well-meaning football friends that she is not really a *"norsk jente"* [Norwegian girl] and that she does not feel like this is something she can just choose to be. When they go on a school trip outside of Oslo, Nora says goodbye to Tøyen and adds *"jeg kommer til å savne utlendinger"* [I'm going to miss foreigners] (Sundby & Bø). Indicating that she does not feel part of the Norwegian population. Former minority language minors have also reported their experiences of feeling excluded. Pascal and Mwakisulvin, both 19 years old, talk to *Dagbladet* about how many of their former fellow minority language pupils have no friends. Pascal explains: *"På skolen snakker de ikke med de andre elevene og etter skolen drar de rett hjem og er alene. Når det er hverdagen din så tenker du fort negativt."* [At school

they do not talk to the other pupils and they go home directly after school and are alone. When that is your everyday life then you quickly think negatively.] (Hollum & Vestreng). They argue that it is important for the pupils themselves to show initiative. Another former minority language minor, Wasim Zahid, writes in his 2014 article in NRK that *‘en oppvekst isolert fra majoritetskulturen kan bli en indoktrinering om den enestående fortrefeligheten til foreldrenes kultur, og det kritiske blikket kan tapes.’* [an upbringing isolated from the majority culture can be and indoctrination of the unparalleled excellence of the parents’ culture and the critical gaze can be lost.] (Zahid). This makes it even more important that minority language minors find their place in Norwegian society. Involving the parents of minority language minors is also discussed. A 2018 news article in Aftenposten by Thomas Olsen and Olga Stokke describes Jordal school in East Oslo that introduced parent meeting in Somali. This was an initiative from parents in the Somali parent group, who wanted closer cooperation between parents and the school. Somali parents are generally sceptical towards the Norwegian system and its authorities. Jamal E. Diriye, who helps the Jordal school, says that the Somali parents have started to feel more comfortable at school and with the Norwegian system because of the Somali parent meetings. Diriye explains that they discuss the differences between the school system they have grown up with and the Norwegian system and the expectations of the parents and the school. *“Vi bruker møtet til å styrke skole-hjem-samarbeidet og ta opp utfordringer til foreldre som har en annen bakgrunn og kultur.”* [We use the meeting to strengthen school-home-cooperation and take on challenges of parents with different background and culture.] (Olsen & Stokke). Teacher at Mortensrud Barneskole in East Oslo, Gunnhild Nohre-Wallden, expresses the important task of inclusion of schools. In her opinion piece Nohre-Wallden expresses frustration with the current political climate that has enabled schools to compete for resourceful pupils. *“Jeg tenker: At dere politikere tør! At dere tør å la fellesskolens viktige inkluderingsprosjekt falle. Er det ikke på tide å ta ansvar? Politikere kan ikke lenger tillate at segregering og ulikhet vokser seg enda større.”* [I think: that you politicians dare! That you dare to drop the community schools’ important inclusion project. Isn’t it time to take responsibility? Politicians can no longer allow segregation and inequality to grow further.] (Nohre-Wallden). Teacher Inger Merete Hobbelstad points out in her 2020 opinion piece in Dagbladet that minority pupils do not equal poor performing pupils and this misconception can be very damaging. Hobbelstad argues

that the discourse of equating minority language minors with poor performing pupils makes it difficult to debate these problems in public fora. Minister of Education, Guri Melby, argues in a 2020 radio interview with Dagens that diversity should be looked at as a resource. Melby adds that schools should be an inclusive and inspiring learning environment. The new curriculum will emphasize values more, such as tolerance and respect. It is the responsibility of the school to adhere to these values throughout the school. Norwegian researcher Sandra Fylkesnes explains in an interview with Aamli, on Utdanningsforskning.no, that language concerning cultural diversity is worrisome. Pupils that are considered “*de flerkulturelle*” [the multicultural] are categorized into two subgroups: those that are “*flerspråklige*” [multilingual] and those that are “*minoritetsspråklige*” [minority language speakers]. She argues that the subgroup multilingual is generally described as something positive. The pupils are considered to bring language resources to the school. Whilst the subgroup minority language speakers is considered challenging and in need of extra resources.

In the Netherlands, in a newspaper article by Juliette Vasterman, minority language minors Angila Aloush (15), Daniel Addo (17) and Arjon Berish (15) talk about their experiences in temporary language education. They explain that they think it is difficult to learn the language. When asked about the future of their education they are happy with what they get. It is the principal, Jur Moorlag, who explains that Berish getting into the second highest level of secondary school is quite the achievement and unusual for pupils in this class. Minority language minors in the documentary series *Klassen* explain how hard it was for them to get into the highest level of secondary education. One of the girls tells Marjolein Moorman that her primary school teacher told her: “*Ik weet dat je VWO aankan, maar ik geef het je nog niet*” [I know you can handle VWO, but I’m not giving it to you yet] (Sylbing & Gould). This was without sufficient arguments as to why. Another girl explains that the lack of faith from her teachers, has caused her to doubt herself too. Something that she still struggles with. In the same documentary series ten-year-old Yunuscan explains that he is motivated to do his best in school, so he can earn money and help his parents. He is less concerned with the level of secondary education he can get into, than he is with finishing school altogether. Although a higher level is preferred. In another episode, Viggo and his friends, all majority language minors, all agree that the

highest level of secondary education is the best. Even getting a recommendation for combination classes of the two highest levels are considered a let-down. Viggo's parents recognise that secondary school choice has gotten a little out of hand. They say the pressure to perform may have gotten bigger than it actually is.

Teacher Merel van Vroonhoven writes in a column. “... *waar het in mijn oude wereld [top van bedrijven] langzaam de goede kant op gaat, daar is het in mijn nieuwe wereld [onderwijs] zorgelijk gesteld met de diversiteit.*” [While in my old world [leadership of companies] the diversity is slowly moving in the right direction, in my new world [education] the state of diversity is worrying.] (Van Vroonhoven). The discussion of diversity is also talked about in an EduCaution videocast. Jochem de Vries, a principal in Amsterdam, talks about starting his own school because he could not find a school that prioritised interculturality and had an inclusive curriculum. De Vries explains the importance of recognising oneself in the school and curriculum. Dealing with diversity in the classroom is something Debbie Dussel, in another videocast episode of EduCaution, talked about extensively. Dussel argues that doing so effectively is by working evidence-based. As a teacher for a classroom that is diverse, it is important to be updated on recent literature and best practices, according to Dussel. Working evidence-based is not something all teachers agree with. Math teacher Yvonne Killian wrote in 2009 an opinion piece in NRC Handelsblad criticising recent research that showed that language classes improved pupil's language skills. Killian argues that thinking logically is more important than research. Karin Hoogeveen and Anne Luc van der Vegt reacted to Killian in the same newspaper with their own opinion piece. They argue that thinking logically does not always work. Hoogeveen and Van der Vegt use as an example that research has shown that smaller classes do not help pupils learn better. Dussel argues that working evidence-based and reflecting on your work, is the best way to ensure that this generation of pupils can thrive.

Lorianne van Gelder and Josien Wolthuizen interviewed various residents in Amsterdam in their 2017 newspaper article in Het Parool. They interviewed members of the majority population about how integrated they themselves are, as Amsterdam has a minority majority now. Van Gelder and Wolthuizen point out that minorities generally have friends from other minority groups, this is not the case for

the majority population. The five out of six interviewees all agree that it is not up to them to accommodate minorities. Adriane Ruis (65) says: *“Maar je ziet in wijken als IJburg dat mensen niet genoeg mengen. Het blijft vaak bij een groet bij de deur. Ik denk zelf dat het eerder aan de allochtonen dan aan de autochtonen ligt”* [You see it in neighbourhoods like IJburg that people do not mix. It generally ends with saying hi at the door. I think this is more dependent on the minority group than the majority group] (Van Gelder & Wolthuizen). Rina van Amsterdam (86) says about the same neighbourhood that she does not mind that a lot of minorities live there *‘als ze zich maar een beetje aanpassen’* [as long as they adapt] (Van Gelder & Wolthuizen).

Norwegian parents and minors mostly discuss their role in the Norwegian society. Minority language minors talk about not fitting in and being stuck between two cultures. The parents and the schools discuss the role of the parents and how this can be communicated. Teachers are frustrated by the political climate that does not take the social purpose of schools into account. This is also reflected in the way minority language minors get talked about. Being a minority language speaker is associated with requiring resources, not adding value through diversity. In the Netherlands minority language minors report being happy with the level of education that is within reach. The teachers that are heard are generally concerned with the state of diversity amongst school staff as well as dealing with diversity in the classroom. They are not in agreement on the best way of handling minority language minors. Interviews with majority population in Amsterdam reveal that the majority population does not feel the need to adapt to accommodate minority groups in Amsterdam.

## Summary

This chapter considered the differences between minority language minors in Norway and the Netherlands, with a special focus on the respective capital cities: Oslo and Amsterdam. In the previous subchapters various themes have arisen. Whilst the themes are relevant in both Amsterdam and Oslo, different sources have denoted different aspects. General themes regarding barriers in both countries were racism, qualified teachers and segregation. Racism deals with the systematic problems in schools from Norwegian sources and unconscious prejudices of minority groups from Dutch sources. Qualified teachers talks about whether a teacher has the

ability to deal with the stigma of minority language minors and adequately teach them. Dutch sources also point out the systematic problem of finding teachers who are able to adapt their teaching to minority language minors for schools with a large minority language population. Segregation focusses even more on this problem. Both Oslo and Amsterdam are more segregated when looking at schools than when looking at areas people live in. Whilst not all sources agree, the freedom of school choice that exists in both cities gets cited as a main issue. Sources from both countries agree that interacting and connecting with different groups in a city is important for combating stereotypes and creating a community feeling. This is reflected in the presence and participation sections of this chapter. Whilst Norwegian sources talk about the instances in which pupils have been able to have quality interactions, Dutch sources talk about the extra barriers that exist within schools. It is more difficult for minority language minors to reach the higher levels of secondary education than for their majority language counterparts. Which has led to segregation between as well as within secondary schools. Dutch and Norwegian sources also show the difficulty of creating inclusive spaces that encourage participation. Whilst the motivation to be an active learner is present, the curriculum and home situation can hinder participation in class. This is in turn reflected in the achievements of minority language minors, as it takes time for minority language minors to become self-reliant in the education system. Dutch and Norwegian sources talk about difficulties of testing and diagnosing language related issues, such as dyslexia, in pupils with a language delay. Suggested points for improving achievements are native language education and the use of IT to differentiate between pupils. Few sources talk about inclusion as a process. Those that do mention the two-sidedness of the inclusion and the importance of feeling included and appreciated. Three different groups of voices were identified: minority language minors and their parents, teachers and schools, and other. Recurring themes are not fitting in, learning the school system and the social purpose of education. Especially teachers have voiced their concern about the state of diversity in schools as well as the treatment of diversity in the classroom. These results are analysed and used to answer the research questions in the next chapter.

## Discussion

This chapter discusses the results presented in the previous chapter. These results are used to answer the research questions discussed in the introductory chapter. This is done through analysis of the data and by connecting the data to the literature. First a summary of the results is given. To answer the research questions there is an analysis of the barriers, followed by an analysis of the voices and an analysis of Oslo and Amsterdam. The chapter finishes with some concluding remarks.

### Summary of results

Whilst there are stories about minority language minors thriving in the Dutch and Norwegian education systems and finding their place in the respective country, this is generally presented as the exception and not the rule. As data from the media sources shows, the road to inclusion of minority language minors both in the education system and in society has not been made easy. There are barriers regarding racism, teachers and segregation. Whilst these are presented in the results chapter as different barriers that require different solutions, they are intertwined. For example, a suggested removal of barriers regarding racism is having a more diverse staff. In order to do this, it is important to attract minority students to teacher education. This would also broaden the pool of teachers in teacher education and thus alleviate some of the teacher shortage. The subchapter segregation talks about the social purpose of schools and their inability to properly reach this purpose when there is no interaction between the different groups in society. This ties nicely in with the presence. Where children are educated is already segregated. Whilst Norwegian sources report community schools that provide spaces for every pupil to meet each other, the opposite gets reported from Dutch sources. In Amsterdam the segregation continues within schools, where minors of different levels of secondary education do not have communal spaces and are not encouraged to interact with each other. This makes participation of minority language minors in classrooms where they can learn from majority language speakers difficult. This is in addition to other factors that can distract them from their schoolwork, such as equipment and space needed to do their schoolwork at home and emotional barriers that inhibits a focus on education. Testing and tracking of the



progress of minority language minors can be difficult as language delays are not always considered during tests. All these factors cumulate in the achievement of minority language minors that is within reach.

Not a lot of the data deals with the concept of inclusion or inclusion as a process. Inclusion and integration are used interchangeably throughout the data. Two sources, one from each country, briefly address what inclusion means for minority language minors. Even here, the terms inclusion and integration are both used. The Norwegian source talks about being valued by society that creates a sense of belonging and inclusion. The Dutch source mentions the two-sidedness of integration, where the majority group should also integrate with the minority groups.

When looking at the different voices that are heard throughout the data, three different groups were identified: minority language minors and their parents, teachers and schools, and other. Especially teachers have created platforms to have their voices heard. Teachers are heard speaking about diversity, teacher education and the social purpose of education. They argue that discussing education of minority language minors can be difficult because of misconceptions regarding migrants. Additionally, minority language minors can be a difficult group to teach, without the time and resources to deal with a language delay. Minority language minors and their families are heard the least. Whenever they are given a platform to voice their opinion, they talk about fitting in both in society and the education system. For parents learning about the school system of the country and the expectations this system has of them can play a vital role in establishing a good home-school relationship. Members of the city council of both Amsterdam and Oslo are heard throughout the result section. In Amsterdam the focus is mostly on segregation between and within schools. Whilst Oslo focusses more on the effects of living conditions on school results. The category 'other' includes researchers and members of the majority population. A Norwegian researcher discusses the term 'minority language speakers' and how this generally refers to groups that require resources. In Amsterdam, various citizens are asked about whether they should integrate with minority groups, as the majority population is now a minority in Amsterdam. Five out of six disagree with this and argue that it is up to migrants to integrate into the county.

### **Analysis of the barriers**

This research sought to answer which barriers to quality education for minority language minors are still in place in Oslo and Amsterdam. To answer this question UNESCO's inclusion approach is used. The data found three categories of barriers: racism, unqualified teachers and segregation. From the inclusion perspective additional issues regarding presence, participation and achievement were also recognised. The literature points out three distinct problems associated with barriers to quality education: an unprepared education system, an inadequate curriculum and an unsupportive context. This part will try to connect the literature to the data in order to answer the question regarding barriers to quality education.

An education system that is prepared for minority language minors is important. Previous research has shown that education systems in Norway and the Netherlands are prepared to send minority language minors to school within the required time. However, the data shows that whilst minors enrol into school, schools do not always know how to make up for the time lost in other education systems or for the home situations. Meeting the rights and needs of minority language minors can therefore be difficult for schools. In the Netherlands refugee minors can be set back even whilst being in Dutch school, because of the moving around they do during their asylum process. This makes it difficult for schools to educate these minors adequately, in addition to depleting the resources available to a pupil. As different municipalities have different regulations, moving between municipalities can mean that these minors receive different treatment and different levels of education. Teachers report difficulties in educating minority language minors. Dealing with diversity in the classroom is difficult when there is not a lot of diversity amongst the staff and teachers are not educated in this during their teacher training. Dealing with diversity of levels because of language delays is also a challenge in an education system that is designed for pupils of the majority language group. That the system is designed for pupils of the majority language is also visible in different tests that measure language ability and dyslexia. Minority language minors may be overlooked or misdiagnosed. The effects of an underprepared education system are most visible in Dutch secondary education. The Dutch system is characterized by an early selection into several tiers of secondary education. Minority language minors are generally mostly present in the lower tiers as they need time to acquire sufficient

language skills of the majority language. This early selection makes secondary schools even more segregated than primary schools. Minority language minors are given less time to eliminate their language delay. The Dutch education system makes it difficult for learners who start achieving after they have finished primary school. This means that minority language minors are underrepresented in the higher levels of secondary education and therefore have a worse starting point at the end of their time at school than their majority language counterparts. In Norway there are also signs that the education system is unprepared for minority language minors. The reputation of some schools with large minority populations have gotten so poor that parents are reluctant to send their children there. These schools are generally characterized by a high number of pupils with the right to extra language education, which requires extra resources. When resourceful pupils opt out of schools, schools struggle to provide extra language education and other resources to minority language minors. Whilst freedom for school choice gets the brunt of the blame of the disparity in allocation of resources in schools in Norway and the Netherlands, it is up to the respective municipalities to assure that every minor has access to quality education and the resources this requires. It is also important that the school system meets the social purpose of schools by enabling and encouraging quality interactions between all groups in society, this includes minority language minors interacting with majority language minors.

In order to educate minority language minors an adequate curriculum is imperative. Whilst the data describes teachers having difficulties in educating minority language minors, it also mentions the qualities that a teacher has to have. One of which is being able to adapt the curriculum to the needs of the minority language minor. This is in line with various sources from both countries mentioning that the curriculum is very language dependent and minority language minors struggle to follow along and actively participate. In the data the burden of resolving this issue falls largely on teachers and their training. In some cases, teachers are forced to make their own lesson materials. When minority language minors struggle to follow the curriculum, the curriculum is inapt in differentiating between educational needs. Minority language minors need time to become self-reliant in school, even when their language skills are considered adequate. The curriculum should allow the creation of a safe space where minors can connect with the world around them and

improve their language skills. This includes a comprehensive curriculum of extra language education as well as native language education that is available to each minor that is in need of this. Other different solutions such as the use of IT and continuously working evidence-based, can be adapted into the curriculum. The data also points out that not every minor has the same basic knowledge of the language and the world, having an inclusive and knowledge-rich curriculum in which minors can recognise themselves and that creates an inspiring learning environment can be a start. According to Norwegian sources, the new curriculum in Norway emphasizes values, such as tolerance and respect. It is still up to schools to adequately work this into their teachings and learning environment. This can be especially difficult for schools when it concerns dealing with diversity and racism. A curriculum that enables schools to share stories from every group and encourages discussions about biases, can combat a feeling of alienation and encourage participation in the classroom.

Schools are not independent of society's influences, which makes a supportive social context important. As reflected in the literature, ethnic prejudice of minorities have increased over time. The data shows the effects this has on minority language minors, both in their self-image as well as the expectations the school has. Prejudices of minority groups also affect the home-school relationship. In Oslo a school has introduced parent meeting in Somali, where they can take time to explain the Norwegian school system and they can have a dialogue about the expectations parents and teachers have of each other. This is a good example of including parents that are generally apprehensive about the education system. Encouraging dialogue between parents and teachers can be difficult because of language barriers as well as prejudices. By having the possibility of parent meetings in other languages, it encourages parents with lower language skills to participate. Treating each other with respect and dignity is central. However, members of the majority group generally do not believe that the burden of change lies with them. This is amongst others, visible in the segregation of schools that are exacerbated by certain parents opting out of local schools that have poorer reputations. Whilst municipalities have the duty to ensure that every school gives quality education, opting out also means opting out of a diverse classroom. The negative discourse that is associated with minority language minors and certain minority groups in general, misses the

power that diversity can bring. Where multilingualism is considered a resource, minority language is considered a challenge. Schools can help by improving the inclusivity within their walls and by creating communal places. The municipality still has to play a key role in removing the barriers of the social context regarding minority language minors in Norway and the Netherlands.

The education systems in Norway and the Netherlands are not unprepared, but rather underprepared. The systems are not designed to handle minority language minors and as a result minority language minors are not present in all classrooms and the systems under qualify teachers. The curricula of both countries are not flexible enough to adapt to the language delay that is present in minority language minors, this hinders minors participating. The social context does not provide enough support to make up for the systemic barriers to quality education of minority language minors.

### **Analysis of the voices**

This part of the discussion considers which voices have been characterizing which barriers and which suggestions they give to improve inclusivity. Three groups of voices have been heard: minority language minors and their parents, teachers and schools, and other.

Whilst this research focusses on minority language minors, not a lot of minority language minors and their families have been given a platform to voice their opinions and inform others of their situations. There is a general tendency to talk about minority language minors without talking to them or those closest to them. Whenever minority language minors are given a platform they talk about struggling to fit in and wanting to do well in school. Struggling to fit in often ties in with issues regarding racism. Minority language minors understand that being proficient in the majority language gives them the best start in life, both in terms of a career as well as the social context. This is in line with positive correlation of language proficiency and social interaction between minorities and minority-majority. The feeling of being included in the country does hinder participation in the classroom as well as society. This makes it difficult for all minority language minors to do their best in school and create meaningful relationships with majority language minors. However, as

research has shown that higher education generally improves social interactions between groups, not participating because of exclusion, becomes a circular issue.

Teachers are mainly concerned about the future of minority language minors. The task of adequately making up for a language delay or a home-situation, without enough resources is big task. Teachers have created various platforms, such as blogs, videocasts and podcasts, as well as written opinion pieces that deal with minority language minors in the classroom. This indicates that teachers do not feel equipped to handling situations that are specific to minority language minors in their classrooms. Teachers also raise the issue of the schools social purpose in society. Principals have been more positive in the various sources. Whilst principals understand that educating minority language minors requires more resources, the data reports more principals that talk about the minority language minors that succeed. Systematic issues regarding stigmatisation and finding a place in further education are also raised.

The category 'other' mainly consists of policy makers and researchers. It is Norwegian researchers that denote minority language minor's right to education in their mother tongue and benefits of native language education. Whilst the research discusses this right, there are few mentions of this in the data. The researchers mainly talk about the systemic problems regarding minority language minors, whilst policy makers talk about the systematic problems. Policy makers in Amsterdam mainly raise issues regarding segregation, early selection and equal opportunities for minority language minors and the way the Dutch education system is designed to undermine this. Lastly the majority language population is heard voicing their opposition to actively aiding in inclusion of minorities. They argue that it is the minorities that should integrate. This is also visible in parents choosing to opt out of schools, even when they politically may be in favour of inclusive schools.

Minority language minors and their teachers are generally motivated to learn and teach. However, as researchers and policy makers point out different systemic and systematic problems make it difficult to do so adequately. A general consensus of the voices is that by not preparing minority language minors for their place in society, schools are missing out on an important part of their educational duties.

### **Analysis of Oslo and Amsterdam**

This part examines the difference between Oslo, Norway and Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The aim is to shed light on influences of different policies in similar contexts on the barriers to quality education.

The educational context of minority language minors in Oslo and Amsterdam is quite similar. The themes that are identified in this research are the same, but the focus is on different aspects. The main similarity is segregation. Both Amsterdam and Oslo see segregation in their cities, where minority groups generally live in certain areas of the cities. Whilst schools often cover areas that are larger and more diverse, the segregation is worse between schools. Minority language minors generally attend the neighbourhood school, but majority language minors attend schools with a larger majority population. The freedom of school choice is talked about in the data as a main cause of this issue. In Amsterdam high parental contributions and early education further segregates schools. Whilst in Amsterdam teachers and policy makers raise the issues regarding segregation, in Oslo it is teachers and parents.

The data from Oslo focuses more on issues regarding racism, whilst data from Amsterdam focuses more on a shortage of qualified teachers. Oslo's data on the issues regarding racism tie in with the feeling of belonging and inclusion, as well as the long-term effects of racism on self-image. The suggested solutions mainly concern educating teachers in handling diversity, having a more diverse staff in schools and adapting the curriculum to include diverse narratives. Data from Amsterdam does mention racism, but ties this in with the perception and treatment of minority language minors and their families. Finding teachers qualified and capable of dealing with minority language minors in their classroom is more of a concern in the data. As well as teaching teachers to set high expectations of minority language minors regardless of the low expectations that stem from misconceptions about the group.

Whilst data from both countries focus mostly on the problems they encounter, there are good stories that are reported. Mainly data from Oslo reports stories of positive breakthroughs, such as positive experiences with parent meetings in Somali

and former minority language minors that have found their place in society. Whilst struggling with feeling excluded does get reported, the data discusses situation in which meaningful connections to the majority population were made. In Amsterdam there were not as many positive stories. More stories of minority language minors being happy with what could be considered settling. The data reports teachers and schools being hesitant to give minority language minors the benefit of the doubt, this causes minors to start doubting themselves too.

The data shows that Amsterdam and Oslo have a lot in common. The main difference is early selection in Dutch education. This leads sources to emphasize teacher expectations and the effects of minority language minors in secondary education. The data from Oslo puts the emphasis more on barriers regarding racism.

### **Summary**

The data from this research provide a clearer picture of the barriers to quality education still in place regarding minority language minors. The main categories of barriers that were identified are racism, unqualified teachers and segregation. These barriers are related to the barriers that Essomba (2014) identified in his research and it is discussed how each of the barriers hinders inclusion of minority language minors in the respective countries' education systems

The analysis of the voices heard in the data shows a lack of attention being paid to the minority language minors and their parents. They are rarely given a platform, and when they often talk about not fitting in, in spite of motivations both to learn the majority language, as well as to do well in school. The teachers were most vocal in the data and spoke of lacking training and tools to better equip them to do their jobs.

In Norway racism is keenly focused on in media sources, whereas the Netherlands' teachers decry the lack of qualifications as well as a more general shortage of teachers. Both Oslo and Amsterdam have significant issues with segregation. Schools in Eastern Oslo with large concentrations of minority language pupils attract few majority language pupils, as they have gotten bad reputations. In Amsterdam a similar thing happens. In both places the free school choice shoulders a lot of the blame for the segregation, but higher "voluntary" contributions the schools also play a part in Amsterdam.



The data of this research indicates education systems that are underprepared, where teachers are not given the training and resources to properly educate minority language minors. A curriculum that is not flexible enough to accommodate a language delay in its' pupils, as well as lacking a diversity of the narratives. Finally the social context is not supportive enough to bridge the systematic gaps regarding quality education of minority language minors and to motivate change amongst all those involved in education.

### **Conclusion: Implications and Recommendations**

In this chapter the implications and recommendations based on the results are considered. This study has explored the inclusion of minority language minors in the Dutch and Norwegian education system by analysing various types of media sources. Different types of barriers have arisen from these sources that shed light on the hurdles to the success of minority language minors in each education system. The three main types of barriers are racism, a lack of qualified teachers and segregation. Whilst these barriers are prominent in both Oslo and Amsterdam, this study found a difference in emphasis. With Oslo focussing more on racism and segregation of schools and Amsterdam on lack of qualified teachers and segregation within educational levels. When looking at the different voices, it is clear that mainly teachers are worried and talk openly about the challenges they have with minority language minors in the education system. They argue that they do not have the knowledge and the resources to adequately help every minority language pupil. One of the main frustrations is that the language delay in the minors makes it difficult for them to follow along with the curriculum. Whilst the education system may be ready to send minority language minors to school, the schools themselves struggle to adequately educate each minor. The curriculum cannot be adapted sufficiently to take the language delay into account without causing delays in other areas of the curriculum. In many instances the social context in both Oslo and Amsterdam is not supportive enough to adequately establish a school – home connection. The research data indicates education systems that are underprepared and teachers that are underqualified to teach minority language minors. As well as an inflexible curriculum and social context that is not supportive enough to bridge the systemic gaps regarding quality education of minority language minors.

#### **Delamination of the findings**

Though a lot of different sources have been analysed, still not every voice has been heard equally in this study. One of the voices that has not been given enough of a platform to tell their story is minority language minors and their parents. This is unfortunate, for the influence of parents can be very important for children's schooling. Additionally, this research has not looked at specific heritage of minority language minors and whether or not they have lived in Norway or the Netherlands

their entire life. This information is reported where possible. However, as there is a tendency in Norway to talk about minority language minors as a group that requires resources. This indicates that the results of this research may not represent all minors that have a mother tongue other than the recognised languages of the countries. In order to do this further research of the different migrant groups is necessary.

A lot of compounding factors, as is shown in the Dutch documentary series *Klassen*, have influenced the lives of children of minority language minors. Minors with parents with lower education and in poorer socioeconomic classes have more trouble navigating the school system. This is also true for minors who have grown up speaking the majority language. Whilst this study may have inadvertently reflected some of the compounding factors, there is a problem of minority language minors having a greater risk of living in poverty. It is therefore important to look at barriers related to socio-economic class, in addition to socio-economic status of minority groups in Oslo and Amsterdam.

This study has not been able to collect enough sources to confidently say anything about the change of integration to inclusion over time. Though one can tentatively say that 'inclusion' has not taken over the word 'integration' in dialogue when it comes to migrants in Norway and the Netherlands. Though it may be possible that the word integration has taken on a different meaning. In the results Crul says about integration that it's a two-way process, but that it doesn't get researched like that. Here the framework of inclusion may be better suited. This is especially relevant in Amsterdam, where the majority of the population has a minority background. The focus in research and society is on migrants themselves choosing to segregate in society. This brings with it a certain negative discourse, as Fylkesnes describes: where multilingual is considered a resource whilst minority language is considered a challenge. Whilst a focus on inclusion, on identifying and removing barriers, is a good way to start. Talking about inclusion as a two-way street is imperative for the actual removal of barriers.

### **Research recommendations**

There are some voices that are less likely to get reported in media sources. Amongst which are minority language minors and their parents. As parents can have

a powerful role in the education of their children, there is not enough literature on what parents of minority language minors need in order to sufficiently support their children in education. In a 2018 Aftenposten article by Olsen and Stokke a principal talks about setting up parent-teacher meetings in Somali in order to explain to the parents what the Norwegian education system is and what their role as a parent is. This indicates that not all parents with a minority background fully understand their role in their child's education. There is therefore a need to further study the importance of the role of the parents in education of minority language minors.

Additionally, there is not enough information on the experiences of both minority language minors and their families in the Dutch and Norwegian education systems. Their voices are often not heard in the media either. This makes it difficult to have relevant discourse about the politics and systematic changes beyond the basic right to education. Further research on what it means to be a minority language minor in Norway and the Netherlands is needed to get a better understanding of the barriers to inclusion and the role that quality education plays in this. In several media sources former minority language minors have talked about their experiences. Talking about the experiences of those who have graduated can provide a longitudinal array of experiences. This can provide insight on the effect of policy changes or changes in society.

This research has focussed on inclusion in the education system. Whilst inclusive education can be a way towards inclusion in society, this is not a given. One of the themes that minority language minors talk about is a sense of belonging. What constitutes a feeling of inclusion and a sense of belonging is not researched. In depth research on this topic in the context of Oslo and Amsterdam can provide valuable information for policy changes regarding minority language minors.

Whilst this research analysed different media sources, the selection was based on the existence of certain keywords in sources. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg on the representation of minority language minors in the media. The power of media reaches further than just the mention of certain words. For example, by absence: children with minority backgrounds are often less represented in film and tv. An analysis of the way minority language minors are represented in media and

the effect this has on the minors, can be valuable in creating a more inclusive media presence.

### **Concluding remarks**

Both Norway and the Netherlands agree that each pupil should be treated equally, this study shows that in order for minority language minors to be included in the education systems they are in need of equity instead. Minority language minors often start behind at the beginning of their school career. This is even more prominent amongst minors who arrive in Norway and the Netherlands later in their school career. For they have even less time to eliminate their language deficiency. The language deficiency requires extra help and resources. However, even with extra help and resources there are still barriers to catching up to their majority language counterparts. This is made more difficult because minority language minors are more likely to be affected by racism, segregation and a lack of qualified teachers. The inclusion framework talks about an ongoing process of identifying and removing barriers. Whilst inclusion is a theme in the international policies, a shift both in culture and policies that focuses on minority language minors still has to occur. There are still people in Norway and the Netherlands who believe that inequality no longer exists in the country and that the solution to segregation is for minority groups to adjust to the majority group. This leaves little room for a culture where barriers are continuously identified and removed. Both cultural and policy changes in accordance with the changing nature of the situation of minority language minors are therefore needed.

One of the ways that can provide the beginnings of a solution is by further including minority language minors and their families in the fields that impact education. This can be to include more voices from minority groups in key positions in the field of education, such as teachers and policy makers, as well as other fields that shape the world of minority language minors. Additionally, a platform should be given to the voices of former minority language minors and parents of minority language minors in the media. This would prevent the majority group from talking about minority language minors without talking to minority language minors and their families. It is understandable that it is difficult to talk to minors in media, because of ethical guidelines, and it is difficult to talk to parents, because of language barriers.

However, this can be avoided by having a more diverse team of content creators with diverse language skills. There is a need to feel part of the majority group, and one of the ways to show that there is a place in society for those growing up with a minority language is through role models. Inclusivity is not limited to the field of education, but reaches all aspects of society.

For Norway and the Netherlands to honour national and international agreements, both countries must set minority language minors up to succeed in society regardless of initial language skills. This means setting up schools to adequately teach minority language minors by having inclusive classrooms and teachers that have the tools and training to teach minority language minors. Additionally, the role of the rest of society must be taken into account. Racism reaches further than one-on-one interactions. Without properly and thoroughly addressing issues of racism the majority group will be encouraged to keep excluding minority groups. Teaching minority language minors as if they are the majority group does not prepare them to live in a society that is not inclusive. Fundamental change is needed. The first step is to understand that the education systems in Norway and the Netherlands are fallible and do not work for every pupil. The next step is to create culture where continuous improvement is the norm and a process of inclusivity is adopted.

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